

Planning the intangible: place attachment and public participation in South African town planning

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ABSTRACT

Local opposition to town planning applications creates time delays for developers, town planners, and municipal authorities, while also increasing financial costs associated with development. For local communities, opposition means considerable time and financial investment to protect the place they live in from unwanted development. Place attachment, which develops as a result of experiences with or in a place, is one of the reasons why local communities oppose land development – this reaction towards proposed land changes is often considered NIMBYist. Although disciplines such as natural resource management already trained its focus on the influence of place attachment as a motivating factor in participatory planning intentions internationally, it is not clear whether there exists a relationship between place attachment and public participation in South African town planning processes. As such, the aim of this research is to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in a South African town planning process. This research focuses on the lived experience of place attachment of residents of the Bult area of the Tlokwe Local Municipality in the North West Province of South Africa, and the role that place attachment experiences played in their participation in a town planning process. The research design is qualitative, using archival data, located participant interviews, and supportive photographic data to explore the lived experiences of 18 participants from three case studies. The data was analysed thematically. The data indicated the link between actual or potential incremental changes through town planning actions in an urban environment and the impact these changes had on the well-being of the residents of that place. The effect of incremental urban changes, actual or potential, motivated participants to participate in the public participation process of rezoning applications in order to oppose the environmental changes. These potential and/or actual environmental changes also led to place protective actions outside the formal participation process. This research indicates that due consideration should be given to opposition to town planning applications, as it can in fact be driven by deeper emotional reasons that cannot be expressed in the legal and technical language associated with the town planning discipline. These reactions should not be considered in a negative light by developers, town planners, and municipal authorities, as they can provide insight on what types of land use changes can be implemented successfully in a place. To this effect, a life cycle relationship between place attachment and public participation in a town planning process (as it happened in the three case studies) is proposed as a point of departure for future research. A suggestion is made to incorporate place attachment in urban planning practice.

Keywords: town/urban planning, public participation, place attachment, incremental urban change, Tlokwe Local Municipality

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"Two roads diverged in a wood, and I -
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference."



The Road Not Taken, Robert Frost

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Chapter 1

Introduction to place attachment and public participation in South African town planning

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the main concepts (place attachment and public participation), problem statement, aim, and research questions of this thesis. It concludes with a brief discussion on the purpose and content of the various chapters in this thesis.

1. Introduction

Being able to identify and evaluate one's environment has long been known to increase orientation and a sense of well-being in an environment (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Downs & Stea, 1977; Rapoport, 1977:31; Lynch, 1960:4). The simple acts of identifying and evaluating environments suggest that humans connect pre-existing constructs or schemata to environments to make sense of them (Louw, Van Ede & Louw., 1998:73; Downs & Stea, 1977:83-84; Rapoport, 1977:29; Tuan, 1977:36). This means one usually attaches some form of meaning to the place one passes through (Vedru, 2011:53).

Perhaps the place reminds one of a childhood playground - human memory and experience are both often linked to a place (Knez, 2014:164). Perhaps the beautiful scenery relaxes an overwrought mind, the historical architecture engages the stroller with minute detail and a sense of place, one feels unsafe in a place that is filthy and run-down, or one feels connected to the neighbourhood where one has spent many happy years with family and neighbouring friends. It is a well-known place, the landscape of the everyday. Often one feels attached to a place where so much of one's energy and time was spent in pursuing life (Vedru, 2011:53).

The physical environment, however, is known for one certainty: change (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:1). It is not always easy to conceptualise the impact of changing a place through physical development on the place meanings and attachments that individuals associate with that place. Often, seemingly emotional reasons form the backbone of objections to such environmental changing developments (Devine-Wright, 2005) - motivations considered irrational by those decision makers with the power to alter the landscape (Clifford, 2011:13). Why then should decision makers and town planners pay attention to the meanings and bonds that communities and individuals attach to places in the town planning process?

2. Background to research

This question feeds into the two areas of interest for this research: place attachment and public participation. In this research place attachment is defined as both i) a product or end-state: a multilevel

positive affective person-place bond that evolved from specific place conditions and characteristics of individuals (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983:223), “the functional and emotional ties that connect people to places” (Payton, Fulton & Anderson, 2005:511); and ii) a process that “reflect[s] the behavioural, cognitive, and emotional embeddedness individuals” experience in their socio-physical environments” (Brown & Perkins, 1992:279). Place attachment is thus a continuous dynamic process and a flexible and adaptive end-state/product.

In terms of town planning, place attachment is often seen as an emotional reaction equated to NIMBYism (a Not-In-My-Backyard reaction to local unwanted land uses) and accepting such 'emotional' aspects as a valid component of the public participation aspect of the planning process has not been received well (Devine-Wright, 2005). However, when zooming out of local opposition to environmental changes in the town planning process to the changes that can be observed in international literature it seems that accepting 'emotional' aspects - like place attachment - in physical development and its subsequent public participation processes is not that far-fetched.

2.1 Emotional aspects of the physical environment

According to Leonie Sandercock (2004) 21st century planners will have to address several aspects in increasingly diverse cities. One of these aspects is the changing role of town planning which is expected to become more therapeutic, accepting that conflict with regard to urban planning is usually accompanied by emotion. The challenge for planners will be to acknowledge emotions, despite a disciplinary background that for many years devalued emotion as irrational and supported rational thinking and action as based on Enlightenment ideals (Sandercock, 2004).

The increasing interest in knowledge other than positivistic knowledge (such as legal or technical knowledge) seems to have happened concurrently with the rising postmodern and participation movements across disciplines (Ellen, 2002: 237; Schönhuth, 2002:139). At approximately the same time town planning took a humanistic turn, and embarked on a quest to humanise the world by not only focusing on measuring things or defining planning decisions based on monetary value, but also appreciating intangible values (such as place attachment) that were not so easily defined by the measures of economy (Camhis, 1979:12; Fagin, 1967:328).

The increased interest in the ‘softer’ or intangible issues surrounding the physical environment, such as place (as opposed to space), place identity, place attachment, and sense of place (or *genius loci*) also appears in other disciplines (Patterson & Williams, 2005). Both qualitative and quantitative research in psychology, sociology, anthropology, humanistic geography, forestry, resource management, architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and town and regional planning contributed to place

research. Geography in particular, according to Patsy Healey (2004), contributed considerably to research on what is termed 'relational geography', an approach that challenges Euclidean geography by seeing the physical environment as a social construct, "generated as meanings are given in particular social contexts to particular sites" (Healey, 2004:47). The physical environment is therefore not only a tangible, measurable pre-existing object; it is also an intangible and symbolic construct.

In the town planning discipline the 'softer', more human-focused research largely originated in Jane Jacobs' (1961) critique against modern town planning and general failures experienced with housing and urban renewal projects in the United States (Bailey, 1975:37). With the rise of civil society in the 1960s and the communicative turn in planning theory a few years later, the human element steadily became more pronounced in the town planning discipline. People have emotions – it can therefore be assumed that the more planning focuses on people, the more it will have to deal with emotion-related aspects.

2.2 People in town planning: participation literature

The greater focus on people within planning is the outcome of increased democratic thinking (Pearce, 2010; Cooke & Kothari, 2001:5; Cleaver, 2001:36; Pateman, 1970). Town planners and local authorities started interacting with communities to convey the difficulties faced by planners (Bailey, 1975:36), and as a way to increase trust between communities and local institutions (Bedford, Clark & Harrison, 2002).

The first instances of public participation in urban planning was the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 (Taylor, 1998:86), followed by the UK's Housing Act of 1956 (Haumann, 2011:55; Hamdi, 1995:76). The first papers on public participation from the USA appeared in the 1950s (Damer & Hague, 1971:218). Research and practice on this topic, however, remained relatively scarce in the 1950s, but experienced a rapid growth in the 1960s (Damer & Hague, 1971:218), perhaps highlighted by the instances of civil uprisings in the 1960s (Hague & Jenkins, 2005:52; Sandercock, 2000:9). Notable scholars on this topic was Paul Davidoff (1965) and Jane Jacobs (1961), noted for her critique against modernist planning, revitalisation, and housing projects in the United States (Bailey, 1975:37).

The increasing interest in public participation as part of the town planning procedure can therefore be linked with the heightened popularity of post-modern thinking, especially as espoused with communicative planning theory (Fischler, 2000:361). Public participation indicated a shift in planning thinking away from what Nigel Taylor (1999:327) described as "primitive town planning theory" towards either a paradigm shift (Sandercock, 2002, 1998; Innes, 1995:183), or a new planning discourse (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2006; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000; Friedmann, 1998).

In general, it seems that the participation process in town planning is mainly researched from socio-economic (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:336) and political viewpoints. This is largely due to the popular view that town planning is a practical and political endeavour (Forester, 1999; Taylor, 1998). However, in some cases important aspects in need of deliberation during the participatory process cannot be classified as subjects that can be solved by scientific, legal or political means. These are the subjects that involve cultural, symbolic, spiritual, or emotional forms of knowing and experiencing one's environment (Sandercock, 1998; Cosgove & Kliger, 1997), such as place attachment.

2.3 Place attachment, public participation, and town planning

Place attachment - or topophilia (Tuan, 1977, 1974) and biophilia (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014) - has been linked to emotional aspects in the development of physical environment (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Place attachment and socio-cultural or symbolic meanings associated with specific locations can be motivating factors for individuals to participate in development (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Williams & Patterson, 1999). Place attachment is considered a mostly socially constructed, intangible, and emotional interpretation of a place (Williams & Patterson, 1999:142). Place meanings and place attachments play an important role in the wellness of individuals and communities (Harrison, 2011:89; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Korpela, Hartig, Kaiser & Fuhrer, 2001). Development that causes disruption or destruction of place attachment can be traumatic to the point of disintegrating the way a community functions (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:1; Davenport & Anderson, 2005). However, the role that the emotional physical environment plays in the participation process (as expressed as place attachment is sometimes seen as irrelevant input and is often discarded by the formal participation procedures because it cannot be quantified, or expressed in technical or legal language.

With the so-called communicative turn in town planning discourse, the reader will find that even though greater emphasis is placed on the human element in planning, emotional aspects are rarely mentioned (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:348). In geography and environmental psychology (e.g. Tuan (1977, 1974), Relph (1976) and Altman and Low (1992)) contributed largely to the topic of human-environment interactions, while scholars like Jan Gehl (1987), Gehl and Gemzøe (1996), Jane Jacobs (1961), and Donald Appleyard (1967, 1981) contributed to town planning literature on the same topic. As town planning actions can change the physical structure of urban areas, and thus also place meanings, it is clear that the way a place is perceived by a community, both before and after the physical change, can in some cases play an important role in the participation process and outcomes (Radmilli, 2011:184).

Schofield and Szymanski write that “local perspectives¹ do matter” in development “and are often grounded in a strong emotional connection to the place that is threatened” by development (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:2). “Most people will be familiar with the experience of returning to a place known and loved from one’s past, only to find it altered, removed or demolished. The feelings of loss which such an experience can engender are one poignant reminder of the non-tangible or social attachments which we form to a place” (Harrison, 2011:79). In the cases where local built resources were destroyed, the feeling of loss can be acute, especially as certain built resources (like built heritage resources) are considered an intrinsic part of identity formation, such as individual and place identities of communities (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Increasingly, the importance of the social and historic values and meanings of places – whether individual or collective, tangible or intangible – are recognised in research (Harrison, 2011:79). However, these values and meanings can only be identified collaboratively between the researchers and communities (Harrison, 2011), and researchers (and practising town planners and municipal workers) must realise that in such situations memory and nostalgia are very much part of the participation process for current or future development decisions (Radmilli, 2011:184).

3. Problem statement, aim, and research questions

Hillier (2000) writes about a reaction that can occur due to a community’s emotional place motivations. Her research about community action in local planning processes focuses on the occurrence of informal networking between members of the public outside the formal public participation process. Informal networking occurs only when the formal processes fail the community (Hillier, 2000; Bailey, 1975:38). Informal networking action usually occurs as reactive lobbying against a specific development proposal. Usually, lobbying is motivated by personal reasons of a specific individual or group to either further their own agendas (Hillier, 2000), or because the participation system devaluates the values a community places on an environment (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:2; Cosgrove & Klinger, 1997).

Jean Hillier’s findings (2000) highlight an interesting phenomenon in town planning’s public participation process: eventually it was not formal participation procedures that guided the final planning decision regarding development; rather, it was an informal network that had the greatest influence on the final planning decision. It was ‘irrational’ motivations that triumphed over a ‘rational’ (technical and legal) planning process due to lobbying. The devaluation of emotional motivations such as place attachments and symbolic place meanings by the formal network or planning process can open up informal networks that use lobbying to gain momentum. Lobbying uses the media to gain popular support for the lobbyists’ cause, putting community pressure on the local authority to take development decisions in favour of the

¹Schofield and Szymanski (2011:4) warn that when developers consider local place views, they should keep in mind that a community is not a homogenous entity and that different – even opposing – place meanings and attachments of a place can exist simultaneously. Such differences can dictate what communities expect of development – some will welcome development, while other communities, or different sectors of a community, will oppose development, such as the research of Vedru (2011) shows.

emotional motivations furthered by the lobbyists. In planning practice such actions can incur extended litigation costs and delays in the planning process, as was recognised early on in the practice of public participation (Damer & Hague, 1971) and is still relevant in certain situations today (see Vedru, 2011). It would therefore be advantageous for the planner to formally acknowledge underlying emotional motivations that can propel a community to object to a proposed development project to prevent time and financial delays.

Town planning must build its theoretical basis to be able to adapt to various meanings and experiences (such as place attachment) of place (Hillier & Healey, 2008:3; Sandercock, 1998). One such channel where these meanings and experiences of place of the community can be expressed is through the public participation process.

South African town planning seems to support participatory town planning processes, especially since democratisation in 1994. Its Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996) upholds democracy and human rights as the ultimate foundation. Jim Ife (2010) makes a definitive link between human rights and participatory community development, an element reflected in certain South African town planning legislation. However, the influence of place attachment and place meanings on the public's decision to participate in the town planning process needs to be explored, as these are often disregarded in urban planning (Ujang, 2014:66; Manzo & Perkins, 2006:348). Though other disciplines like natural resource management already trained its focus on the influence of place attachment as a motivating factor in participatory planning intentions (e.g. Kil, Holland & Stein, 2014), it is not clearly understood whether there exists a relationship between place attachment and public participation in South African town planning processes.

As such, the research aim is to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in the South African town planning process, with the following main and sub-research questions:

Main research question

What is the relationship between place attachment and community members' participation in the South African town planning process?

Descriptive sub-question

- i) How did participants define their attachment to place?
- ii) Why did community members take part in the public participation process?

4. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this research is three-pronged (Figure 1.1), using symbolic interactionism in conjunction with place attachment literature and literature on public participation within town planning. This framework provides the basis for the research design and is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

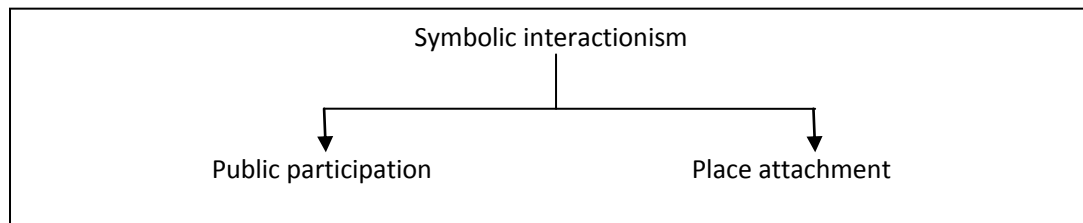


Figure 1.1 - Theoretical framework of this research.

Symbolic interactionism attempts to understand people by focusing on their interactions with each other and with themselves - people define their contexts, rather than just responding to it (Charon, 2010:40). Interaction with others in the present and interpretation of the present situation (based on the individual's past experiences and interactions with himself and others) motivates the individual's actions in a present situation (Charon, 2010:40).

People-place relationships in this research specifically refers to affective or meaningful bonds individuals form with their environments, such as *place attachment*, “a positive connection or emotional bond between a person and a place” (Williams & Vaske, 2003:838), or *sense of place / ‘genius loci’*, which is the character or atmosphere of a place, determined by the physical structure, the activities that happen therein, and the *meanings* associated with the above (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005; Carmona, Oc & Tiesdell, 2003; Sancar, 2003; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Rapoport, 1977; Relph, 1976). These human-environment relationships have been researched extensively in environmental psychology, a discipline dealing “with the reciprocal relationships between humans and the built and natural environment”, based on relationships with biological roots or roots grounded in *experience* and culture (Bell, Greene, Fisher & Baum, 1996:v). Environmental psychology characteristically studies the relationship between humans and their environment holistically, including not only the content of the landscape and the way human senses and cognitive functions interpret sensual data, but also how people’s personalities and life experiences work in conjunction to form these relationships (Bell *et al.*, 1996:7). Thus, the “environment cannot be studied separately from the behaviour, and the behaviour cannot be studied separately from the environment, without losing valuable information” (Bell *et al.*, 1996:7; Ittelson, Proshansky, Rivlin & Winkel, 1974:5).

People, the environment, and knowledge therefore form an unbroken extension of human society – the physical environment becomes the matrix wherein intangible meanings, experiences, and knowledge are embedded (Posey, 2002:30). As a research strategy, this meant that the meanings of individuals' environmental experiences needed to be researched (Van Deventer, 1987:81).

Participation literature is the concept chosen for this research and refers to the body of literature in town planning that broadly relates to the inclusion of members of the public in the town planning process. This literature is not unified and is also known as deliberative planning (Umemoto & Igarash, 2009), participatory planning (Forester, 1999), transactive planning (Friedmann, 1998), community engagement (Reddel & Woolcock, 2004), community participation or community-based planning (Manzo & Perkins, 2006), collaborative planning (Healey, 1997), and communicative planning (Mannberg & Wihlborg, 2008; Sager, 2006; McGuirk, 2001; Huxley, 2000; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000; Innes, 1998; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998; Faludi & Altes, 1994). Every one of these literature sources have a specific meaning that relates to its origin within the main schools of thought, being either based on Habermas's theory of communicative action (1984), Michel Foucault's writings on power and conflict, and even theories that include aspects of both Habermas and Foucault. Habermas-based theories tend to emphasise a normative approach to ideal communication to reach consensus between the various role players in the planning process, building mutual trust and reciprocity (Hiller & Healey, 2008:5). Foucault-based theories hold that consensus-building is not possible due to the unbalanced spread of power and thus knowledge (Hillier & Healey, 2008:8). This research refers to all three schools and as its aim is not to defend any school's position in town planning or to relate itself to only one of these schools, the term 'participation literature' will be used as an umbrella concept.

5. Structure of the thesis

This section gives a brief overview of the structure of this thesis. The purpose and content of each chapter is described succinctly in the following paragraphs.

The purpose of the first chapter is to provide a broad introduction to the main concepts, problem statement, aim, and research questions of this thesis. This serves to situate the reader into the three main focus areas of the literature review (symbolic interactionism, place attachment, and public participation in town planning), and provides the motivation for the structure of the rest of the thesis.

The purpose of the second chapter is to provide the reader with some basic background (important scholars and key assumptions and concepts) regarding symbolic interactionism, the first section of the theoretical framework. It also discusses how symbolic interactionism links to public participation and place attachment in terms of this specific research.

The purpose of the third chapter is to provide a detailed literature review of place attachment by indicating the theoretical origins of place attachment as research topic, the three research traditions of place attachment, the constructs of place attachment (person, place, and process), the effects of disrupting place attachments, and how place attachment connects with town planning. This literature review was structured according to the main constructs of place attachment, and not chronologically as was done in Chapter 4, as place attachment research has a much shorter history than research on public participation.

Chapter 3 is followed by a chapter on the third part of the theoretical framework, public participation. The purpose of the fourth chapter is to provide a detailed chronological literature review on public participation in town planning. As research on public participation has a longer history than that of place attachment, it is possible to illustrate to the reader the development of public participation since the 1940s.

The purpose of the fifth chapter is to provide the motivation for and detail regarding the research design. It discusses the ontological and epistemological stance from which the research was done, and provides detail regarding the choice of research design (multiple case studies), data generation methods, the way data analysis was approached, trustworthiness, and ethical issues.

Chapter 6 to 8 present the three case studies with the purpose of providing background information (site and history), a participant profile, the emergent themes from the interview data, and a discussion of these themes for each of the case studies in question. The sixth chapter introduces the first case study, which also doubled as pilot study. The case study focused on what is known in the Tlokwe Local Municipality as the Piet Malan residence, one of the oldest residences in the city and named after its original owner, Mr Piet Malan. This is followed by the second case study regarding the Nelly Edwards house, an Art Deco house named after the architect who originally designed the house on this site. The third case study, the P1 Restaurant, refers to a residential property that was converted into a restaurant, which became the focus of the final case study.

The purpose of Chapter 9 is to present the themes that emerged across the three case studies and to discuss these themes in the light of the theoretical framework of this research. Six main themes emerged across the cases, each of which is discussed separately.

The final chapter is devoted to answering the research questions and indicates future research opportunities with regard to the research topic. It introduces a novel framework for place attachment

(the Life Cycle Framework) in the context of incremental environmental change due to town planning actions, as a point of discussion for future research on this topic.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework: Symbolic Interactionism

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with basic background (important scholars and key assumptions and concepts) of symbolic interactionism. It discusses how symbolic interactionism links to public participation and place attachment in terms of this research.

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to the basic premises of symbolic interactionism; the theoretical perspective² (Charon, 2010:12) that will ultimately be used to position the other theoretical chapters on place attachment and public participation (Chapters 3 and 4). A brief explanation of the aim of symbolic interactionism is given, followed by this research's motivation for using symbolic interactionism as the first section of the theoretical framework. This is followed by a brief discussion of scholars who made important contributions to symbolic interactionism that are relevant to this research, as well as the basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism. The two main constructs of symbolic interactionism - the symbol and action – are then discussed in more detail. The chapter concludes with known critique on symbolic interactionism.

2. Symbolic interactionism: an introduction

Symbolic interactionism (hereafter referred to as SI) is a perspective within sociological social psychology, which places emphasis on researching real-life events (Charon, 2010:24). Interactionism uses a micro-level approach and focuses on social interaction in specific situations and contexts. While sociology mainly focuses on broad social structures that shape society as a whole, symbolic interaction views society as the product of those everyday interactions between individuals and uses this as a framework to generate theoretical concepts. To an interactionist, perception is reality - the reality that people experience is variable and changing.

SI in this research is associated with a variety of interpretive social sciences specifically associated with the Chicago school of sociology of the 1920s-30s (Neuman, 2011:101; Stryker, 1980:15). The Chicago School developed a specific concept relating to sociological theory, which posits that when an individual defines a situation in a specific way, the definition can be considered as real in its consequences. Truth and meaning of ideas and concepts are dependent on the practical difference they make in society (Knapp, 1994:180).

²A perspective is the way one sees reality and orders one's view of the world (Charon, 2010:35) - the 'glasses' through which one looks at the world.

SI attempts to understand people by focusing on their interactions with one another and with themselves - people define their contexts, rather than just responding to it (Charon, 2010:40). Interaction with others in the present and interpretation of the present situation (based on the individual's past experiences and interactions with himself and others) motivates the individual's actions to a present situation (Charon, 2010:40). As such, people are continuously active and dynamic beings (Charon, 2010:40).

SI was chosen for its ability to delve into the emotional and contextual meaning-making processes and actions of individuals (Fine, 1993). SI helps to delve into the *experiences* of individuals in terms of public participation and their place attachment *constructs* as they relate to these experiences³. The aim of a symbolic interaction study is not to uncover laws to understand how people function in society. Rather they aim to *understand* or explore the meaning of a specific situation for its actors (and thus their motivations behind their related participation or place protective actions) independent of whether these can be considered "irrational, carry deep emotions, and contain mistaken beliefs and prejudices" (Neuman, 2011:104) in order to - as Stryker (2008:16) so eloquently put it - "generate researchable theory" from the theoretical frame⁴.

The following section gives a brief overview of some of the central figures⁵ in the history of symbolic interactionism and discusses SI according to its five basic assumptions.

2.1 Central figures in symbolic interactionism⁶

The Chicago School symbolic interactionism⁷ is closely linked to American Pragmatism (Mortensen, 2000) and refers to an approach to study human life and conduct, based *inter alia* on the intellectual works of American Pragmatists (Benzies & Allen, 2001:542; Knapp, 1994; Blumer, 1969:1).

³This, in turn, links with the sub research questions stated in Chapter 1, namely: i) how did participants define their attachment to place? and ii) why did community members take part in the public participation process?

⁴ "The value of a frame is commonly understood to be found in its fertility in generating researchable theory; frames are not subject to direct tests of "truth" (Stryker, 2008:16).

⁵Note that the list of scholars central to symbolic interactionism presented in this research is by no means complete (see for instance also Powell, J.L. (ed.) 2013. *Social perspectives in the 21st Century*. Hauppauge, NY : Nova Science Publishers, Inc.). Only scholars who contributed to the direct line of thinking regarding this research are included.

⁶Stryker (1980:16-33) traces the fetal origing of SI back to the Scottish moral philosophers like David Hume, Frances Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson, before moving on to pragmatic philosophers like William James, James Mark Baldwin, and John Dewey, as well as other scholars like Charles Horton Cooley, William Isaac Thomas before moving on to Mead. However, others - like Sheldon Stryker, and Meltzer, Petras, and Reynolds (1975:3-41) - before me have already done a good job of discussing these individuals in relation to SI. In fact, Plummer (1991) compiled a whole volume on the foundations and history of SI. This research does not attempt to reinvent the wheel and as such such a detailed discussion of these authors is not included in this chapter.

⁷For a discussion on the varieties of SI, namely the Chicago and Iowa schools, please refer to Meltzer *et al.* (1975:53-81). The Chicago school SI was chosen for this study as it is more applicable to the qualitative nature of this research.

2.1.1 George Herbert Mead (1863-1931)

Mead is considered to be the founder of symbolic interactionism (Knapp, 1994:179), despite the fact that his contribution to SI rests on the work of scholars like John Dewey, William James, Charles Peirce, William Thomas, and Charles Cooley⁸ (Charon, 2010:29). Mead’s work is mainly known through notes, lecture transcripts, and the interpretation of his work by his students, like Herbert Blumer (1969), as Mead was not a particularly prolific writer.

Mead was fascinated by the ideas of pragmatism, the evolution theory of Darwin, and behaviourism (Charon, 2010:29-34). Their contributions to Mead's SI is summarised in the table below.

Table 2.1 - The contribution of pragmatism, evolution theory, and behaviourism to SI (Source: Adapted from Charon, 2010).

Pragmatism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals themselves determine what is real. • Only knowledge useful to the individual is believed and remembered. • Objects in the environment are defined according to its usefulness to the individual. • Individuals must be understood by their <i>actions</i> within situations.
Evolution theory (Darwin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals are dynamic and are constantly undergoing change. • As such, individuals are active participants in their own lives and contexts.
Behaviouralism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human <i>behaviour</i> must be understood to understand the human <i>behind</i> the behaviour. • Individuals are unique because their behaviour is motivated by interactions with others and with their own mind.

SI's focus on interaction *between* individuals and *within* the individual himself/herself had a very specific methodological implication for this research. Methodologically this meant that the inner workings of the individual could not be ignored by focusing exclusively on external observable happenings (Mead, 1934:7 in Knapp, 1994:182). The social ‘outside’ had to be researched from the context of the individual ‘inside’ (Knapp, 1994:187).

In this research:

- interaction between individuals (the external observable happenings) related to public participation (and place protective actions, which are discussed in more detail as it relates to public participation in Chapter 3), and
- interaction within the individual's mind related to place attachment.

⁸These are scholars who historically contributed to Mead's understanding of SI and as such will not be discussed in further detail in this chapter.

2.1.2 Tamotsu Shibutani⁹ (1955)

For Charon (2010:35-39), Shibutani added value to SI with his concept of 'perspective', the way through which an individual interprets the world, or the individual's guide to reality (Charon, 2010:37). This extends to Mead's work in the sense that it explains how knowledge and/or viewpoints are carried over or shared between individuals and groups through interaction.

A perspective is usually adopted from others. The 'others' from which the perspective is adopted, is known as the reference group, the group (or groups) that the individual communicates with and whose perspective the individual adopts (Charon, 2010:36) - in essence, the groups an individual identifies with depend on the various contexts the individual finds himself in.

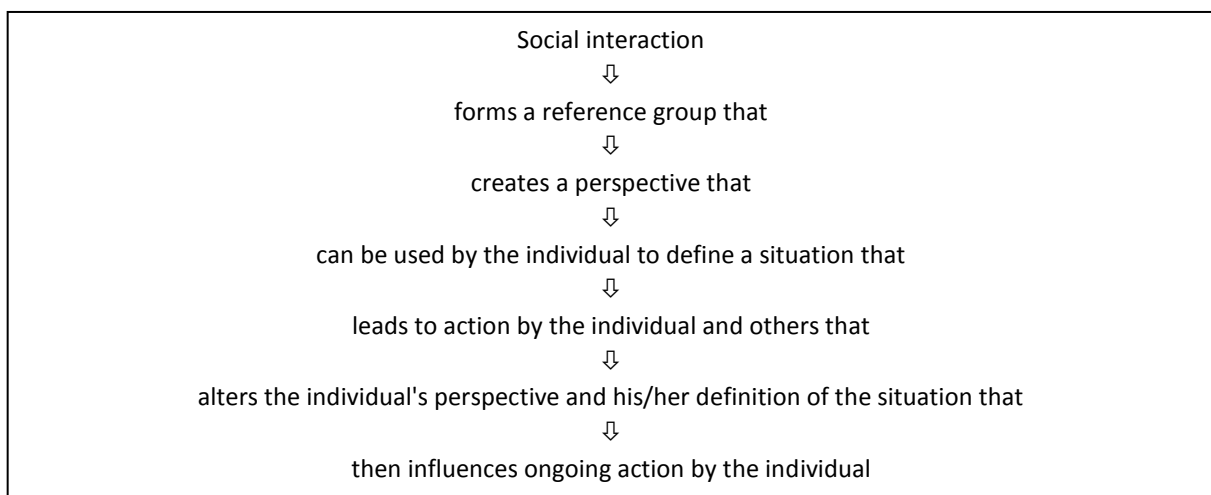


Diagram 2.1 - Perspectives and human action (Source: After Charon, 2010).

In short, a perspective:

- guides the individual's definition of a situation and the subsequent action in that situation,
- is dynamic and constantly adapts as the individual interacts socially with other individuals (Diagram 2.1).

Shibutani's work contributed to this research as it provided the framework for understanding why the participants from within case studies appear to share the same environmental ideals for their neighbourhood, and how these ideals motivated collective place protective actions and public participation, though individuals also acted independently from the group. It also explained why certain place meanings that underlie place attachment have come into being, even though some of these meanings were *learnt* and not *experienced*.

⁹It should be noted that Shibutani and Blumer were contemporaries and that it was mostly Blumer who consolidated Mead's work. As such, Blumer's work is often closely associated with Mead's work in academic discussions on this subject.

2.1.3 Herbert Blumer (1969)

Blumer, one of Mead's students, consolidated Mead's notes and lecture transcripts into an understandable body of theory, on which he and others subsequently based their own interpretations of SI (Charon, 2010:30).

Blumer noted three basic premises of SI:

- Firstly, the ways humans act towards objects are based on the meanings they attach to the objects, which can be physical objects, individuals, categories of humans, institutions, ideals, activities, and daily life situations.
- Secondly, the meanings associated with objects are based on the social interactions individuals have with one another.
- Lastly, these meanings are modified through an interpretative process that people use when encountering such objects (Blumer, 1969:2).

Blumer wrote at length about the *manner* in which meaning is created within SI. Different schools of thought exist on the origin of meaning, with SI situated uniquely therein (Blumer, 1969:2). Originally, meaning was thought to be intrinsic to an object or situation. This idea was held especially in the traditional realism position in philosophy. Later, meaning was seen as something that is accumulated around an object or situation by those who value these objects or situations. This accumulation is based on sensations, emotions, ideas, memories, and attitudes. SI views meaning as arising through the interaction process between people: "[t]he meaning of a thing for a person grows out of the ways in which other persons act toward the person with regard to the thing" (Blumer, 1969:2-3). Meanings are social products, but these meanings are not necessarily accepted unprocessed by an individual. The individual receives these meanings via social interaction, but what is especially relevant for social interactionism is that the individual then interprets these meanings in his or her own way to create individual meaning that will guide further action.

Blumer's work contributed to this research in explaining how meaning comes into being. The different schools of thought he described are also reflected in the schools of thought within human-environment interaction. These schools are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.1.4 Charles K. Warriner (1970)

Warriner compared the traditional social science view of humans (described as stable), in which humans are born, shaped, and directed during adulthood, to his emergent-human view, in which humans are social, interactional, and symbolic in nature (Charon, 2010:35). In this sense Warriner brought in an even

more dynamic view on human interaction and the role of free thinking than was previously emphasised by symbolic interactionism.

The immediate situation, defining the immediate situation, ongoing social interaction, communication, and interpretation contribute to the individual's choice of action in the present situation (Diagram 2.2).

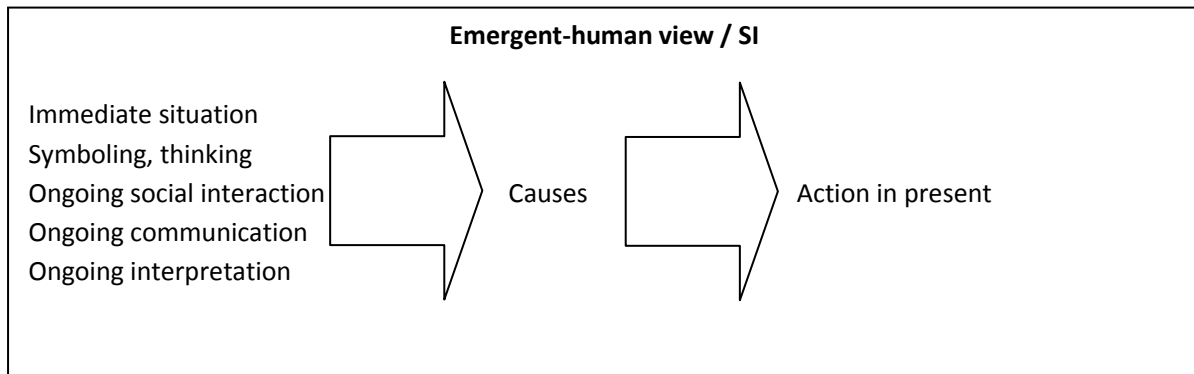


Diagram 2.2 - Warriner's emergent-human view as SI (Source: After Charon, 2010).

Individuals are always changing as their context changes, and as such are not purely products of their pasts; how they define a present situation motivates their actions within it (Charon, 2010:40).

The work of Warriner was important for this research as it described the individual as being in constant interaction with others, with his/her own thoughts, and with the environment, which all accumulate into action in the present (public participation/place protective actions) and explain how places were given meaning in the past and are therefore important to protect in the present or future.

2.2 Basic assumptions in symbolic interactionism

Five basic assumptions underlie symbolic interactionism (Charon, 2010:28-29). Firstly, the human being is a social person - continuous social interaction with one another and society motivates humans to do whatever they do. In this sense, SI looks at the actions that take place between individuals. Individuals and society are created through *interaction*, thus interaction is the basic unit of study. Individuals' actions depend on past interactions, as well as current interactions with other individuals and society (Neuman, 2011:103).

Public participation (for example a rezoning) is not an isolated activity. Many people are usually involved and have to continuously interact with one another to follow the prerequisite steps. Additionally, community members only participate if they are motivated enough to do so. This motivation depends on their personal history with a place and its people, and the implications of a land use change for their own life and living quality.

Secondly, interaction is not only limited to interaction between different individuals (who are considered to be symbols in SI); it is also interaction of the individual within the individual self (the individual has his/her own definition or symbol of himself/herself as an object). The individual is also a thinking being. As one interacts with others, so one also mulls over these interactions within oneself, which adds to the definition of the situation and one's reason for one's actions.

In later chapters the reader will find examples of participants' inner dialogue regarding their participation in a rezoning process – one participant (CS3 Participant 1) excellently expressed her inner dialogue regarding her experiences from the past and how they influenced her current definition experiences of place.

Thirdly, environments exist, but it is the human's definition of the environment (the symbols that individuals associate with a place) that is important. This definition is formed through continuous interaction with others and with oneself.

Fourthly, whatever happens in the present context is what causes human action. Past experiences influence the individual's choice to act by *defining* the present situation. The past is replayed through the mind to find a definition of the present situation, so that the individual can act in the appropriate manner.

A negative example of the fourth central idea was given by another participant (PS Participant 6), whose past experiences with public participation in a rezoning process currently dampers her willingness to participate in a similar process again.

Lastly, humans are actively involved in their environment, as humans can control the extent of their actions and overcome the forces brought on by the environment. The environment can create certain situations, but the human can choose how to react to those situations, based on how he/she defines the situation and what needs to be done in the present.

The central ideas to SI were important for this research because:

- by focusing on interaction, SI formed the framework for understanding the interaction *between participants*, with *themselves*, and their interactions with *place* (like place protective actions) and *structures* (like public participation as guided by planning legislation);
- by focusing on symbols, SI formed the framework for understanding *place meanings* that were associated with *place attachment*.

This brief introduction of SI and some key figures in the SI perspective is concluded by providing the framework in which SI is discussed in more detail below as it relates to this research. SI is discussed¹⁰ around (Charon, 2010:25):

- symbols (individuals create and depend on symbols),
- taking on the role of the other (in essence: standing in somebody else's shoes as a way of interpreting a social situation),
- social interaction (human action is continuous: individuals continuously interact with themselves and others to define their situations and direct action therein), and
- society (social interaction between various actors cooperating over time and creating a culture).

3. Constructs of SI

The two constructs comprising symbolic interactionism - symbols and action - are discussed below.

3.1 Symbols

Symbols form an integral part of SI as they represent the meanings given or associated with objects and situations and are the centre of human interaction. To understand symbols within SI, one must know how the nature of reality, objects, and symbols within this reality are defined from the SI perspective.

3.1.1 The nature of reality, objects, and symbols

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, a physical objective reality does exist - however, this reality is perceived by individuals through their *perspectives*, which are learnt from social interaction with other individuals (Charon, 2010:43). Reality is thus interpreted according to one's perspectives. Additionally, individuals interact with themselves when interpreting reality by thought action (Charon, 2010:44). From a symbolic interactionist perspective this means that three types of realities exist: i) the objective physical reality; ii) the social reality; and iii) the privately interpreted reality, formed uniquely in every individual's mind.

In SI the physical reality, objects, though existing, carry no meaning until they become socially created symbols (the *physical* reality then at this point becomes *social* reality). Anything can be an object (Charon, 2010:47; Blumer, 1969:10):

- physical natural objects,
- human-made objects,

¹⁰The self within SI is an integral part of the perspective as a whole and explains how individuals come to see themselves as social objects and act back towards themselves. However, this is a topic which will mostly interest psychologists, but within the limits of this particular research, the centrality of the self does not contribute significantly to the research topic and was therefore not included in this discussion. The same goes for the **mind**, which explains how individuals engage in mind actions almost constantly in every context. For more detail on the centrality of the self and the mind, please refer to Charon, J.M. 2010. *Symbolic Interactionism: an introduction, an interpretation, an integration*. Boston, MA : Pearson Education, Inc. pp. 70-101.

- other people,
- past, present, and future experiences and memories,
- the self,
- emotions,
- ideas and perspectives, and
- symbols such as words, acts, etc.

In the social reality and the private interpreted reality, objects are only meaningful because they are symbols, and one comes to know the meaning by interacting with other individuals (Charon, 2010:45). Thus any object - seen from SI - is a *social object*¹¹ - is constantly defined and redefined as the context changes and individuals interact with others (Charon, 2010:45).

Through social interactions and the placing of various objects in relation to each other in specific contexts (Snow, 2001:369), individuals can learn about the various meanings attached to the same object and even identify mutually-held meanings of a large number of people. Humans therefore understand reality because the objects therein have meaning, and once humans understand the meaning of objects, they know how to use these objects (Charon, 2010:46). In using the same objects in different situations, one's meaning of that object is redefined through social interaction and reflection (Charon, 2010:59). That which is not considered meaningful is ignored or discarded (Charon, 2010:46). The meaning of an object determines how a person sees it and acts towards it. Meaning thus inspires action, and action redefines meaning.

As already mentioned above, symbols are social objects. As such, symbols are usually understood by the one who uses them to communicate and by those to whom they are intentionally communicated (Charon, 2010:48-49). However, the individual who is on the receiving side of the communication may have a different meaning attached to the social object than that which the sender has, which can lead to miscommunication (Charon, 2010:51). The same symbols can also be used to communicate with ourselves (Charon, 2010:51).

3.1.2 The importance of the symbol

The symbol "translates the world from a physically sensed reality to a reality that can be understood, interpreted, dissected, integrated, and tested. Between reality and what we see and do stands the symbol" (Charon, 2010:59). This means that:

¹¹A social object is "any object in a situation that an actor uses in that situation", with the use also socially defined and understood by the individual doing the using action (Charon, 2010:46).

- individuals do not see an objective reality, but rather the interpreted version of the physically sensed reality;
- symbols are the way in which society carries meaning over from one generation to the next (through communicating in language, which is also a symbol). Thus it is through symbols that an individual learns a perspective from others;
- communication through symbols is the basis for cooperation between individuals;
- symbolising social objects makes abstract thought possible, allowing the individual to compare the present context/situation with past and future context/situations; which in turn
- directs self-direction, making the individual an active participant in his or her context/situation (Charon, 2010:59-67).

It is important to note that power relations affect the creation of meanings and symbols (Stokowski, 2002; Pred, 1984), as meanings are socially created and influenced by the viewer's specific view on life. For Stedman and Ingalls (2014) this implies that some meanings become more prominent than others.

For this research, the environment and others' actions were symbols for participants. Some of the symbols' meanings were clearly *learnt*, while other social objects became symbols with meanings through personal *experience* with the relevant study area itself, and with the people within the study area.

Comparing past, present, and future versions of the same version of place as social object, one is able to understand the participants' actions as they relate to this place symbol (place meaning), changed by changing land uses through town planning.

3.1.3 Taking on the role of the other

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, an individual's ability to take on the role of another (in other words, imaging yourself in someone else's shoes) begins with an individual being able to see himself as an object apart from other individuals, as well as having the ability to communicate and interact with his own mind through the use of social objects like words and symbols.

Through social interaction, individuals learn about and take on various perspectives about various situations. Taking on the role of another means temporarily taking on someone else's perspective to define a situation according to how we believe that person defines the situation (Charon, 2010:103). Our own meanings or symbols attached to social objects may unknowingly differ from those of the individual we are switching roles with, and as such our own understanding of 'the other person's shoes' may be different from what they actually experience, leading to miscommunication (Charon, 2010:105). Despite this, it is this ability that allows individuals to communicate successfully with each other by sharing

basically the same meaning of a social object (Charon, 2010:109). It is this ability that allows individuals to understand the actions of others in the group (accurate or inaccurate) and align their own actions with those of the group, making cooperation in communal action possible (Charon, 2010:110).

The ability to take on the role of another was relevant to this research in the sense that it provided a framework for understanding communal public participation and place protective actions. It also provided an explanation for the frequent occurrences of participants acting out of sympathy or empathy for others when it came to public participation or place protective actions. This was also evident in their underlying choice to oppose land use changes: those individuals who instigated, drove, or managed the land use change were not 'in the residents' shoes', and as such did not understand the situation on the ground, which resulted in miscommunication and conflict between the various actors in the town planning process.

3.2 Action

For symbolic interactionists, life is a series of continuous action (Charon, 2010:115) arising from the current situation, our definition of the current situation based on our past experiences, and interaction with others. It is the individual's *definition* of a situation which is the driving force behind action (or inaction, which can also be considered a form of action) (Diagram 2.3):

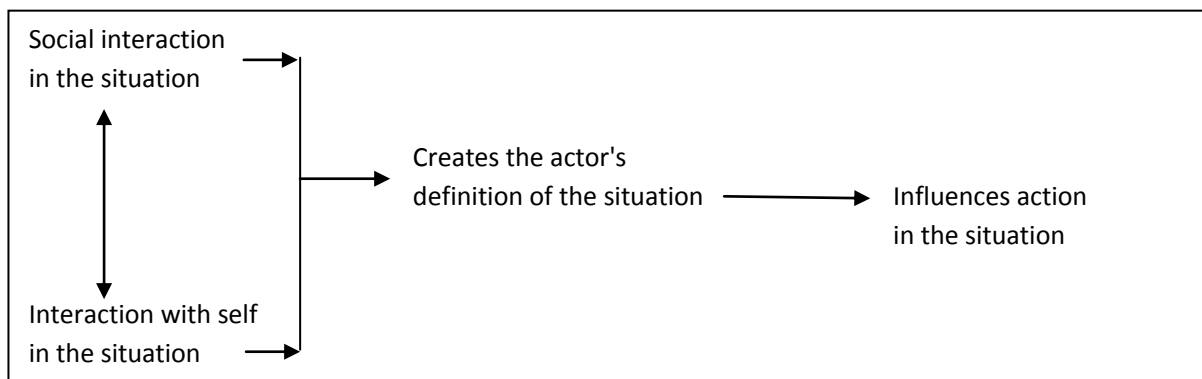


Diagram 2.3 - Definition of a situation that influences action (Source: Charon, 2010).

In SI, an act can be considered a social object that an individual selects from a constant stream of action in order to make a decision about something in the present (Charon, 2010:117). This act is chosen because it has some use value for the individual in the situation *as the individual defined the situation*. This use value is usually connected to a *goal* that the individual wants to achieve in the present situation (Charon, 2010:119). This use value can change as the individual's definition of the situation or goals change, which in turn changes the line of action an individual takes in a specific situation (Charon, 2010:117-120).

For Mead, however, an act is a social object that can be dissected into four stages (Charon, 2010:120-122):

1. **Impulse:** the act and first stage begins when an individual finds herself/himself in a state of disequilibrium or discomfort, which makes it highly possible that the individual will act 'to solve the problem'.
2. **Perception:** the second stage begins when the individual has assessed - through mind interaction and applying learnt perspectives - what the definition of the situations is and what goals he wants to achieve in the situation of disequilibrium, followed by selecting social objects (after defining them according to their nature and usefulness) that will be used to achieve his goals. Usually, such goals are to restore equilibrium to the present.
3. **Manipulation:** this is the stage where individuals "use their environment, act on it, handle it, reassess what it is, and move objects in the environment according to their use" (Charon, 2010:121). This is where the individual actually uses social objects to achieve her/his goal in the given context.
4. **Consummation:** this is the point where the goal is achieved and equilibrium is restored to the situation. This phase is also the starting point of a line of action which may or may not be related to the point of consummation. When equilibrium is not restored, an act is considered to be not consummated.

The centrality of action was relevant for this research, because it provided a way to structure the experiences and actions of the participants. In applying symbolic interactionist thinking to this research, it was clear that participants' reasons to act in objection to proposed land use changes (environmental changes) often stemmed from their past decisions to live in a particular place (each one of the study areas), which was often defined in terms of their past experiences and actions. Environmental change (or potential environmental change) was the first stage (impulse) of the act as described by Mead, the disequilibrium or discomfort experienced by participants when the land use change was proposed or ensued. At that stage participants still had to define what the land use change meant to them. This was followed by the second stage (perception) in which the participants decided on their goals to achieve in this situation (ignore, go along with, or object a proposed land use change), what social objects are present that they can use (e.g. urban planning legislation and lawyers), and what course of action was to be followed (e.g. protesting, petition signing, and submitting written objectives to the municipality). The third stage (manipulation) described the participants' manipulation of the situation to achieve their goals: forming pressure groups and instigating protests, hiring lawyers to provide legal backing, convening community meetings to discuss and map out a plan of action to prevent environmental change. The fourth stage (consummation) was only temporarily successful in one case study, when participants were

able to return to some form of equilibrium. In the other case studies, consummation was only partially achieved (to be discussed in more detail in a later chapter).

3.2.1 Social interaction

One of the core concepts of SI is mutual social interaction, where individuals interact with each other via symbolic communication and by interpreting each other's acts (Charon, 2010:136). Interpreting each other's acts means the individual takes on the role of the other to understand the other one's actions, and then decides on a course of action based on that definition of the other's act (Charon, 2010:149). This is an ongoing process, and also the process through which one takes on perspectives of one's reference group (the group whose perspective one adopts). Social interaction on its own can cause action (Charon, 2010:149) - this means that one's interaction with others can be enough reason to initiate a line of action in the self that may not have happened, had that social interaction not taken place.

The centrality of social interaction was important for this research, as it provided an analysis frame for understanding how participants within case studies influenced or contributed to the individual and communal actions during the rezoning process.

3.2.2 Society

Society in this sense is defined as individuals in interaction with each other, taking on the role of others, communicating, interpreting each other's acts, adjusting their own acts to one another, directing and controlling self, and sharing perspectives (Charon, 2010:152; Stryker & Vryan, 2006) - in essence, cooperating with each other to create a shared culture (Charon, 2010:162). Individuals acting together to achieve a specific goal in a situation, are cooperating and in cooperating, a society is formed (Charon, 2010:154-155; Blumer, 1969:16). Cooperation implies:

- sharing the same or a relatively similar perspective, or negotiating a new shared perspective,
- ongoing communication,
- mutual role taking,
- defining others as social objects of use in the situation at hand,
- defining or negotiating a goal to be achieved communally by the majority of actors in the situation, and
- adapting one's own action to be in line with or supportive to the communally defined goal (Charon, 2010:155-161).

Society lay at the heart of communal place protective actions or public participation in this research. This provides the frame for understanding the actions and decisions taken by participants that eventually led to communal action, as well as the obvious strengthening of social bonds and increased interaction with each other, even though participants who were neighbours for years (or not even direct neighbours) did not really interact with each other before the environmental change.

It also provided the guideline for explaining how such communal action was achieved, mainly through the adoption of or adaption to a specific perspective, the definition of the environmental change, and the goals to be achieved in that situation.

4. Critique on symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is not without critique¹². Like every perspective used in science, it emphasises certain aspects of the world, while deemphasising others (Charon, 2010:209). SI sees the human as an extremely complex entity (Charon, 2010:207) and as such humans and their world cannot be studied by experimentation, for example. It is not a mechanical model of causation, but a model that emphasises *process* (Charon, 2010:189). Also, it needs to study humans in their natural world - in real life settings (Charon, 2010:187; Blumer, 1969:47). As such, there is a limit on the types of data gathering techniques that can be used in SI research, such as participant observation, interviewing participants, personal accounts, and life histories (Charon, 2010:187). Additionally, non-reactive data gathering techniques for SI include analysing nonverbal communication, content analysis of written material and audio-video tapes (Charon, 2010:187).

The data gathering techniques used in this research align with SI, namely: participant interviews that include personal accounts of happenings, and content analysis of written materials and photographic material created by the participants themselves.

Lack of knowledge and understanding also is a limitation of the SI perspective (Charon, 2010:185). Without adequate knowledge and understanding - or limited knowledge and understanding - it is difficult to define a situation and identify appropriate action.

For each of the case studies there were instances in which some of the participants did not have extensive knowledge about urban planning and the public participation process and were clearly confused and distressed by this. However, in every case study there were either one participant who had

¹²Meltzer *et al.* (1975:83-122) provide a detailed, late 20th century critique against SI as it stood at the time their book was published. Since 1975 SI has been worked and reworked, with some of the shortcomings addressed by later authors with a long-time presence in the field of SI, like Joel M. Charon (2010). As such, only critique that proved relevant to this research was included in this chapter.

adequate knowledge, or attempted to learn the 'urban planning lingo', so as to provide guidance for those who did not 'know the lingo'; or there were other participants who had adequate knowledge and understanding and were therefore able to participate fully in the public participation process. In this sense, this particular critique was balanced out once again by the participant characteristics themselves.

In a critical reflection of participatory research methods within the symbolic interactionist framework, Van Maltzhan and Van der Riet (2006) also pointed out concealed shortcomings of SI. In Blumer's original theoretical propositions human agency plays an important role in the actions of individuals (Blumer, 1969). Conscious free will guides the interpretation processes that happen in social interaction, thus *conscious* decision ultimately guides action within some existing institutional and social constraints. According to Van Maltzhan and Van der Riet (2006:109), Blumer did not pay enough attention to the role that the human unconscious mind and deeply ingrained socially learnt meanings (also see Stryker, 1980:152 and Meltzer *et al.*, 1975:84) play in directing individual action.

When researching the experiences and actions of participants, it was assumed that the participant's action was guided fully by *conscious* decisions. If any *unconscious* influences played a role in the action taken by the participant, it might never be known as it is most probably not consciously known by the participant himself/herself and could therefore not be identified and verbalised.

Moving on to the final point of discussion for this section, I want to highlight the contexts wherein SI does not provide sufficient understanding of the human world.

The first of these contexts are situations of extreme power or extreme selfishness:

"A totally selfish act may, in fact, simply ignore other people and arise only from the viewpoint of the one who acts; understanding the other in this case has no value. The same goes for someone who has great power in a situation. Others may not be seen as people, but simply physical objects to be played with and pushed around; what they might think in the situation may have no relevance to the power holder" (Charon, 2010:108).

The other is taking on a static and deterministic view of society in general, with a strong focus on structure:

"[S]ociety is a set of institutions, stratification systems and cultural patterns into which individuals are born and socialised, playing roles according to scripts laid down by others, living and dead. Society has a permanence that shapes each individual. Society socialises the individual; the individual internalises society" (Charon, 2010:151).

In both of the above cases, the active role the individual plays in manipulating and interacting with the world in general is minimalised and as such holds little water to the SI perspective: symbolic interactionists' conception of society is one of dynamics: individuals constantly interacting with themselves and others, defining and changing the line of direction of each other's acts (Charon, 2010:152).

In this research, I did not encounter any instances of extreme selfishness or extreme power from the perspective of the participants as objectors. However, a number of participants did express their feelings of powerlessness towards the planning system and developers with financial backing, as well as instances of selfishness from the developers' side during the rezoning process. However, power and selfishness are not main themes of this research and are therefore only mentioned where applicable. These themes need to be addressed in more detail in future research.

In terms of a static view of society, a dynamic view on society is held as basis for this research. The basic assumption is thus that individuals and society are not static or predetermined.

5. Conclusion

This chapter acted as an introduction to symbolic interaction as it relates to the research. It introduced a few of the scholars who contributed to SI, provided the basic premises of SI and discussed each in relation to this research. It also noted some critique of SI as it is related to this research.

SI provides the lens through which people-place relationships, like place attachment, and public participation in town planning are viewed in Chapter 9, the across-case analysis chapter. From a symbolic interactionist lens place attachment explains the symbolism of place for participants, while public participation explains the action and interactions taken by participants.

The next chapter therefore provides the literature review of the second section of the theoretical frame, namely place attachment.

Chapter 3

Place attachment as people-place relationships

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed literature review of place attachment by indicating the theoretical origins of place attachment as research topic, the three research traditions of place attachment, the constructs of place attachment (person, place, and process), the effects of disrupting place attachment, and how place attachment relates to town planning.

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of people-place relationship literature, especially in terms of the concept of place attachment. It also highlights the importance of place attachment for individuals and groups, and explores how place attachment dovetails with urban planning.

The rationale for this chapter structure is to provide the reader with the origin of place attachment research as part of the space/place debate in spatial sciences. This section is followed by the various research traditions in place attachment research which flowed from the differing positions in the space/place debate. This research is then situated within the space/place debate and the Integrated Tradition of place attachment.

Following the three research traditions of place attachment the three main constructs of place attachment - person, place, and process - are used to discuss and order the literature review. These three constructs provide an indication of the importance of place attachment in people's everyday lives, as well as what happens when these place bonds are under threat of destruction or damage. Finally, the chapter turns its focus to town planning and how it links with place attachment.

2. People-place relationship research

Kevin Lynch (1960) was one of the earliest researchers to probe the meaning and social significance of the built environment for individuals (Goss, 1988:394). This interplay between people and places has been discussed for decades in disciplines like environmental psychology and human geography. More recent research seems to indicate that this interplay - the psychological ownership that individuals take of place, changing it from 'place' (a general declarative fact) to 'place of mine' (a personal fact) - is still of importance for human well-being (Knez, 2014:165). As such, a brief introduction to the basic principles of this interplay would be an appropriate starting point for this chapter.

According to Davenport and Anderson (2005:626), the four basic principles of human-place relationships are: i) places are the settings where the physical characteristics of the site, the activities, experiences, social phenomena and processes, and individual and group interpretations of the places are manifested; ii) individuals and groups assign meanings to places and also use these places to derive meaning in their lives; iii) some meanings associated with places form the basis of strong emotional bonds that have the potential to influence individual and group attitudes and behaviours within the context of those places; and iv) urban planning has the potential to maintain, challenge, and negotiate place meanings. The last point is important, as existing social and cultural settings can disintegrate as a result of unfit physical development (Ujang, 2014:66) or through aspects like outmigration of industries and jobs, resulting in demographical changes of places (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014).

The past five decades have seen the growth of a large body of literature on human-place relationships, a topic which was already popular by the early 1990s (Kaltenborn, 1997:175) and is still enjoying increasing popularity (Lewicka, 2011:207). The most recent and extensive literature review of place attachment research was done by a Polish environmental psychologist, Maria Lewicka (2011). Her review of almost 400 papers published during the last 40 years revealed that human-place relationships is a topic that is researched in psychology (environmental and community), sociology, human geography and demography, cultural anthropology, leisure sciences, tourism, forestry and ecology, as well as architecture and urban planning (Lewicka, 2011:207; Kaltenborn, 1997:175).

Another recent literature review was done by Scannell and Gifford (2010), whose subsequent tripartite organising framework of place attachment – simplifying an enormous body of literature into an easily understandable structure – was used to discuss place attachment in a holistic and orderly manner. In essence, place attachment as a person-place relationship can be understood as a multidisciplinary concept – it is multifaceted, involving emotional bonds with natural and built landscape, as well as cultural, communal, and historical aspects of places (Kaltenborn, 1997:176).

Beckley (2003) is another scholar who did a detailed literature review on place attachment. For him, it is necessary to go beyond describing communities' place attachment, towards firstly, understanding the link between place *meanings* and place *attachments* (Wyveen, Kyle & Sutton, 2012:287); and secondly, identifying place *attributes* to which people become attached, as well as *how* this happens (Ryan, 2005:7; Beckley, 2003:105). "Improving understanding of the human values associated with attachment to place may have implications for policy...It may reveal underlying causes of conflict over land management and how to better predict potential areas of conflict" (Beckley, 2003:105). As such, Beckley's literature review (2003:106) reveals the potential for place attachment - specifically for town planning - as a way to

understand why 'irrational' conflict arises (Beckley, 2003:106) in land use planning and how to approach it in the planning process.

That human-place relationships is a very lively and still-growing topic, is evident in the growing number of human-place research papers (Figure 3.1) in academic literature (Lewicka, 2011:208). Scanning the literature it becomes obvious that place attachment has been researched from both a qualitative and a quantitative perspective. The basic terminology is often used inconsistently, resulting in the reader having to use the same concepts in different contexts, a fact lamented by scholars like Beckley (2003), Trentelman (2009), and Raymond, Brown and Weber (2010:422). In short, place literature is messy (Trentelman, 2009:196). This, however, is not seen as negative by Scannel and Gifford (2010:2) who view this diversification as natural progress of place attachment's theoretical development.

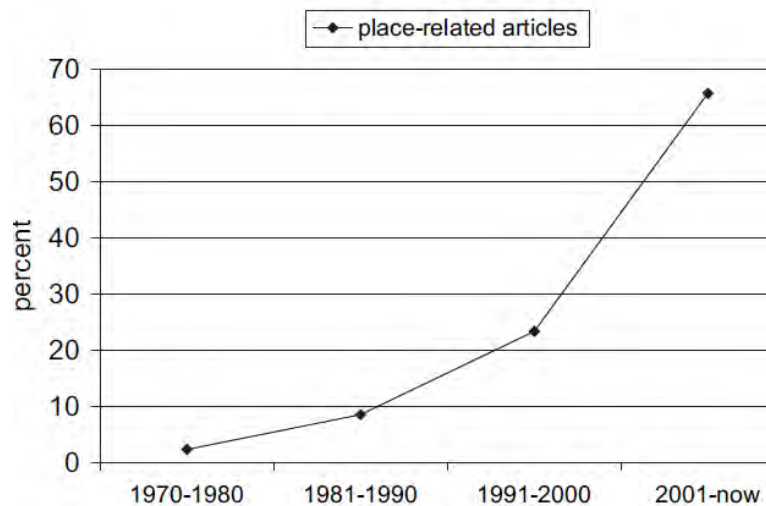


Figure 3.1 – Relative percentages of academic articles in various disciplines regarding people-place relationships across time (Source: Lewicka, 2011:208).

3. The space/place debate

People-place relationship research seems guided by basic epistemological assumptions about place or geographical location. On the one side of the fence, human-place relationships are seen as being rooted in the physical characteristics of a place, the result of cognitive and perceptual processes; on the other side the fence, these relationships are social constructions, formed by individual personality traits and life experiences, as well as by shared behavioural and cultural processes (Lewicka, 2011:214; Cantrill, 1998:303). In the former camp, a place has its own *genius loci* (sense of place¹³), a *genius* or spirit that determines what a location is or wants to be (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:18). It is the character, the comprehensive atmosphere, the ambience of a location, as well as the concrete space-defining forms present (Rapoport, 1977:179) that enables individuals or groups to form bonds with places. Meaning thus

¹³ Sense of place research has also been done from a social constructionist viewpoint (Lewicka, 2011:214; Stedman, 2002:562), but currently this debate falls outside the boundaries of this thesis.

lies in the mere existence of a physical site and is not transferred onto it by individuals; individuals gain the meanings through perceptive and cognitive processes of the environment.

In the latter camp, these bonds are formed because people associate meaningful symbols with these places – in essence, what Greider and Garkovich (1994) referred to as the symbolic transformation of landscapes. In this sense, a site has no meaning by merely existing. A place cannot be sensed¹⁴ unless an individual is in such a position that he or she can perceive it (Casey, 1996:18). A site becomes meaningful because individuals or groups are in a position to transfer meaning onto it.

In the literature, the social construction camp of human-place relationships received more attention (Lewicka, 2011:214). The former camp seems to assume that place meaning (and therefore human-place bonds) is fixed, while the latter camp enables the researcher to imagine the multitude of meanings and human-place relationships that can exist in the same place over time by various individuals and groups (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1). This makes it easier to conceptualise the conflicts that arise when different people and groups use the same landscapes or settings for different reasons. The social construction camp also includes human-place relationship research done from a symbolic interactionist perspective (e.g. Kyle, Mowen & Tarrant, 2004:440; Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003; Milligan, 1998; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1).

The perspective this research uses to approach people-place relationships is one that assumes that these bonds are socially constructed and can thus be researched from a symbolic interactionist perspective. To get a clear understanding of how places are seen as social constructions, it is necessary to return to the epistemological question of ‘what is place?’. To define the concept of ‘place’ one needs to understand the basic debate on space and place (Kaltenborn, 1997:175).

3.1 Space

Space as a term carries many meanings (Norberg-Shulz, 1980:11). Space is considered to be neutral, a “pre-given medium” (Casey, 1996:14). Space is an open expanse with an abstract meaning (Madanipour, 1996:23). It is a region with physical dimensions; it contains objects; it is basically the physical environment as created by natural forces.

Space is perceived through the senses and is different from the individual’s mental interpretation of the space (Madanipour, 1996:12). In other words, space is what is objectively measurable or what can be

¹⁴ In contrast, Pretty *et al.* (2003:273) defines place as space that has “many different dimensions such as physical size, tangible vs symbolic, known and experienced versus *unknown or not experienced*” (the researcher’s emphasis). They do not differentiate between the two camps, but instead accept that place can be meaningful in itself, as well as meaningful when human meaning is bestowed upon it.

classified into categories (Carmona, Heath, Oc & Tiesdell, 2003:138; Downs & Stea, 1977:84), while place is a subjective human interpretation of the same space. Space is thus any geographical location on earth, but without the presence of human meaning and symbolisation. However, the physical qualities and form of space have a definite impact on the way space is comprehended, learnt, and used by individuals to orientate themselves therein¹⁵ (Downs & Stea, 1977:27).

In Western thought *space* has held a long victory over its sibling *place* (Casey, 1996:20). Place was seen only as a description, while space was a tool used to develop scientific generalisations (Cresswell, 2002:12). However, place is increasingly making a return in the disciplines of ecology, landscape theory, geography, history, sociology, anthropology, and politics (Kaltenborn & Williams, 2002:189; Casey, 1996:20). Since the 1970s humanistic geographers and environmental psychologists have 'rediscovered' the importance of place in society (Cresswell, 2002:12; Graumann, 2002:107).

The last three decades – part of the postmodern movement – increasingly focused on the interrelatedness of events and activities with the places they are bound to – identification, attachment, and love of places seem to be part of fundamental human qualities (Sancar, 2003:270). Even with increasing globalisation and mobility, the development of so-called non-places due to virtualisation of everyday life, the large body of research on place indicates that place is still an important part of being human in the 21st Century (Lewicka, 2011:209).

3.2 Place

Place is considered something posterior to space, even made from space – it is a space onto which culture and history are engraved¹⁶ (Casey, 1996:14). Place can be defined as the physical characteristics of an environment with the meanings associated with it in the course of everyday life (Violich, 2000:113). Place is space that has become familiar to us, that has acquired definition and meaning (Tuan, 1977:73, 136). It is more than physical structure – it is structure that is meaningful to the individual or group, space that carries personal symbolism. Subjective human meanings are therefore cemented onto objective physical structures. Greider and Garkovich (1994) referred to this symbolisation of space as 'landscape', a mirror-term sometimes used in human-place literature. Place and the individual can therefore not be separated from one another (Violich, 2000:113). In fact, place can also be described as a location that has a gathering function, whether it is to gather meanings, objects, people, histories, languages, or thoughts (Casey, 1996:24).

¹⁵ Here reference is not made to pure environmental determinism; rather, to space as the physical container that – due to its physical characteristics – enables humans to carry on with their everyday lives and activities. Certain spaces are more suitable for specific lifestyles and activities. Highways, for example, are spaces that enable rapid movement, while traditional European town squares, on the other hand, disable rapid movement while encouraging ambling, socialisation, and small scale economic activities.

¹⁶ This is only one viewpoint held by theorists on the topic of space and place. Edward Casey (1996) discusses other viewpoints in his paper *How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time*.

Place can be seen as the root of human identity (Cresswell, 2002:12; Tuan, 1977:159). It is central to the understanding of how people turn nature into culture – which in turn has a spatial influence on settlements – into a centre of meaning and felt value, and into a field of care (Cresswell, 2002:13; Rapoport, 1977:9; Tuan, 1977:4, 137-138; Relph, 1976:38). Relph (1976:38) describes place as the most important significance-giving factor in life, as a fundamental human need that allows humans to grasp their relationship to the world and to create a spiritual and psychological attachment to a location. A human environment is one that elicits a feeling of belonging, founded on a space that is easily understood and can be used to orientate oneself therein (Downs & Stea, 1977:27). Therefore place is not only a physical manifestation, but also an intricate part of what it means to be human – our physical environment cannot be separated from the affective side of being human.

As such, there are as many place meanings as there are individuals that interact with a place (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1). The meanings of places are rooted in their physical setting, objects, and activities (Relph, 1976:47) and can be expected to change through time as the physical or the social landscape changes (Kaltenborn, 1997:177).

Images of places can be individual or communal (Relph, 1976:56), but are always unique. As such, what is a meaningful place to one person may not be considered a meaningful place by another (Williams & Vaske, 2003:831; Tuan, 1977:162). “Cultural groups use symbols to define the natural environment and fit it into their ongoing, everyday, taken-for-granted worlds within which they organize both their relationships to each other and their relationships with the environment. The natural environment is transformed through symbols and concepts that organize people’s relationships in the social world” (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:8).

Cultural identity and the coupled value or belief systems, in turn, subsequently provide knowledge and guidelines for how these cultures interact with physical environment (Beckley, 2003:116; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:10). This is one way to explain the apparent clash between indigenous cultures and Western cultures over resource use and management, and the types of knowledge (socio-cultural or scientific) applied in a context (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:10). ‘Landscape’, as the physical embodiment of symbols associated with communal identity, can therefore also be used to explain the occurrences of conflict and dissent within communities in the face of proposed changes in the physical environment (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:13).

3.3 Positioning place attachment in the space/place debate

From the descriptions of the terms 'space' and 'place', one can therefore assume that 'place attachment', as an expression of people-place relationships, has a definite subjective connection to *place*. An emotional bond cannot be formed with space – space has to be imbued with some symbolism before it becomes meaningful to the individual or group. Various individuals and groups can also be attached to the same place for various reasons and these various place bonds can differ considerably, to such an extent that conflict arises. From the Symbolic Tradition where place attachment is a social construction, one can also expect that these bonds will fluctuate and change over time, depending on the social, physical, economic, political, and environmental contexts wherein a place is situated.

4. Place attachment¹⁷

This section on place attachment provides a definition and discusses the importance of place attachment, the theoretical traditions in place attachment, the tripartite structure of place attachment, and disruptions or loss of place attachment.

4.1 A definition of place attachment

From this example one can now begin to define¹⁸ what place attachment is. One of the earliest definitions of place attachment comes from Tuan, who wrote about a mirror concept of place attachment, namely topophilia, or the love of places. Topophilia refers to the affective ties that people form with their material environment (Tuan, 1974:93), and is emotional in nature, invoking pride of ownership and creation (Tuan, 1974:147). More recent definitions tend to be more expansive and complex, a result of the plethora of literature that has mushroomed since Tuan first defined topophilia. Place attachment is a complex, holistic concept grounded in contextualist, transactionalist, and phenomenological positions (Altman & Low, 1992, *in* Kaltenborn, 1997:175). Researchers like Brown and Perkins (1992) suggested that place attachment is more than just a bond with a place, with Inalhan and Finch (2004:125) and Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004:439) viewing it as a process too.

Place attachment here is thus defined as both a i) a product or end-state: a multilevel positive affective person-place bond that evolved from specific place conditions and characteristics of individuals (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983:223), "the functional and emotional ties that connect people to places" (Payton, Fulton & Anderson, 2005:511); and ii) a process that "reflect[s] the behavioural, cognitive, and emotional embeddedness individuals' experience in their socio-physical environments" (Brown & Perkins,

¹⁷ Though falling outside the scope of this thesis, place attachment theory has been linked with attachment theory, which focuses on the emotional attachments formed to other people (Morgan, 2010:14). However, Knez (2014:175) argues that - in contrast with attachment theory where closeness between caregiver and infant is a two-way process - place attachment is a one-way closeness, as an environment cannot truly reciprocate emotional attachment.

¹⁸ There are many definitions of place attachment and by no means do they always show conformity in content (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:1). For more definitions, please refer to Brown and Perkins (1992:281), Scannell and Gifford (2010) and Lewicka (2011).

1992:279). Place attachment is thus a continuous dynamic process and an end-state/product (albeit a flexible and adaptive state). As such, studying place attachment from a symbolic interactionist perspective seems appropriate, as it allows for both the end-state and the process of place attachments.

4.2 The importance of place attachment

Through the multitude and complex definitions given to 'place attachment', one can gain an inkling of the importance of researching and understanding this subject within the social sciences. Scannell and Gifford (2010:1) illustrate some situations where understanding place attachment can be meaningful:

- Forced/willing relocation - to understand the grief and distress experienced by individuals forced to relocate (e.g. Fullilove, 1996; Fried, 1963) through (for example) natural or human-made disasters (e.g. Brown & Perkins, 1992), or willing relocation due to immigration or mobility reasons (e.g. Giuliani, Ferrara & Barbotti, 2003; Gustafson, 2001). In South Africa, the context of forced relocations under the apartheid regime – like District 6 (Cape Town) and Sophiatown (Johannesburg) fall under this type of situation. Recent research on the role of place and forcible removal was done by Roos, Kolobe and Keating (2014). A future research option of this type of situation can also be the (voluntary or involuntary) displacements caused by land restitution under the post-apartheid South African regime.
- Another situation where research on place meanings and attachment can be of value, is when enabling managers to plan and encourage the manner in which the public uses public spaces (e.g. Brown & Donovan, 2014; Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Williams & Stewart, 1998).
- It can also explain why certain places provide a feeling of safety for those within it even when the context around that place seems dangerous or unacceptable to outsiders (e.g. Morris, 2013; Billig, 2006; Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2003).
- Lastly, place meaning and attachment research can shed light on individual and group place-protective or pro-place actions when changes to the environment are proposed or happen (e.g. Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004; Stedman, 2002; Uzzell, Pol & Badenas, 2002; Vaske & Kobrin, 2001; Vorkinn & Riese, 2001; Nordenstam, 1994).

4.3 The theoretical traditions in place attachment research

In terms of human-place relationship research three theoretical traditions are evident (Lewicka, 2011:208):

- the Instrumental/Commodity Tradition (from which human-place relationships are researched by means of a quantitative research methodology),
- the Symbolic Tradition (where qualitative research methodology dominates), and

- the Integrated Tradition, where dovetailing of the Instrumental and Symbolic Traditions happen and a mixed-method research methodology is used.

In the literature the first two traditions received various names, depending on the discipline from which the scholar originates. In the Instrumental/Commodity Tradition the term 'instrumental' is used, *inter alia*, by scholars from the spatial sciences, like Donald Appleyard (1979). 'Commodity' is often utilised by authors from forestry or leisure sciences, like Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck and Watson (1992). Scholars like Brown and Perkins (1992) refer to this as an economic/utility viewpoint, while Kaltenborn (1997:175) refers to this as an 'expert' view.

The Symbolic Tradition is also known as the 'holistic approach' (Brown & Perkins, 1992), or is broadly referred to as being more 'symbolic', 'emotional', or 'psychological' in approach (e.g. Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Appleyard, 1979). Kaltenborn (1997:175) viewed this tradition as an interpretive, context-dependent position. These scholars usually originate from the various branches of psychology, such as environmental psychology or community psychology. In order to maintain a sense of conformity, the nomenclature *Instrumental* and *Symbolic* Traditions will be used.

4.3.1 The Instrumental Tradition

The various traditions are discussed in terms of their origin, basic assumptions, views on place, and research approaches.

4.3.1.1 Origin and basic assumptions

The Instrumental Tradition is popular in place attachment research from natural resources management, forestry, and leisure sciences (e.g. Beckley, 2003; Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck & Watson, 1992; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989; Schreyer & Roggenbuck, 1981). This economic analysis of human-place relationships (the utilitarian viewpoint) was developed to explain voluntary mobility within a stable society (Brown & Perkins, 1992:283). The underlying assumption is that place is a commodity used by individuals and groups to fulfil some functional need (like a recreational need) (Backlund & Williams, 2003:321) as adjunct to identifying him/herself with others (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989:2). Should the place not fulfil the need anymore and cease to maintain the place attachment (for example) due to environmental changes, the individual can exchange this specific place with another place with similar characteristics to fulfil this need (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989:3). More recent research in this tradition focus on the role that place attachment plays in place brand attitude and positive citizenship behaviour (Zenker & Rütter, 2014).

4.3.1.2 The view on place

Places with similar characteristics – like nature reserves, mountainous areas, forests, and rivers that provide white water rafting opportunities – are interchangeable and not considered to be particularly unique (Kaltenborn, 1997:176). Place attachment is based on the activity opportunity and utility that the place provides for individuals and groups; the place does not necessarily contribute significantly to the way in which the individual defines herself as a person. As such, attachment to place can be quantified to explain how place attachments are formed by various types of place users, to predict user behaviour in the place (Halpenny, 2010:409), and to guide resource management decisions in these places.

The Instrumental Tradition places more emphasis on the use value of a place – often connected to the physical structure of a landscape – than the psychological or symbolic value a place has for the individual or a group. From this perspective, emotional connections to these places rarely go deep enough to influence the identity of the place users on a psychological or spiritual level. In this sense individuals rather form a utility-based place dependence than an emotional place attachment (though in the literature these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, like Brown and Perkins (1992) did).

Place attachment and place dependence can be differentiated by their theoretical positions in relation to place: “Place attachment implies an individualistic perspective, concerned with an individual’s emotional and behavioural commitment, or bonding, to place... place dependence describes an individual’s internal representation of place in relation to his/her personal goal-oriented behaviours that are supported by the physical and social resources of the place, and his/her personal comparison of the quality of life in the community compared to other alternative communities” (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995 *in* Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003:276).

4.3.1.3 The research approach

The research approach in this tradition is usually quantitative and aimed at quantifying aspects of place in order to predict human behaviour in a similar setting (especially in terms of natural resources management or tourism).

4.3.2 The Symbolic Tradition in place attachment

This section provides an overview of the second tradition as was done with the Instrumental tradition.

4.3.2.1 Origin and basic assumptions

The Symbolic Tradition differentiates itself from the Instrumental Tradition by openly acknowledging the emotional and subjective character of place attachment (Davenport & Anderson, 2005:626; Fischer, Jackson, Stueve, Gerson, Jones & Baldassare, 1977:139 *in* Brown & Perkins, 1992:281). This tradition is

popular in the various branches of psychology (often community and environmental), sociology and sometimes ethnography (e.g. Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Altman & Low, 1992; St. John, Austin & Baba, 1986; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983), hence the greater emphasis on the emotional value of attachment, rather than the use value as in the Instrumental Tradition. The symbolic transformation of landscapes as described by the Symbolic Tradition occurs in both Western and non-Western cultures (Greider & Garkovic, 1994:10).

The underlying assumption of this tradition is that the bonds that people form with their environments have intrinsic emotional value. In some cases, these place attachments form an integral part of their psychological make-up as part of their place identity on an individual and/or group level (the latter is referred to as community identity) (see for example Stedman, 2002; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminof, 1983). Places can be part of one's past identity (e.g. "I live in a coastal town because it reminds me of my childhood") and/or part of one's current identity (e.g. "I live in a coastal town because I value a sea-side way of living") (Knez, 2014:175).

4.3.2.2 The view on place

The Symbolic Tradition is mostly rooted in the social constructionist view on places: places have meaning because humans assigned meanings or symbols to these places (Appleyard, 1979:144). To understand place meanings, one needs a holistic and integrated understanding (Davenport & Anderson, 2005:630). Psychological bonds between an individual and a place can develop through engaging with the setting and others in the setting (Kyle *et al.*, 2004:440). "...humans are active participants in the landscape – thinking, feeling, and acting – leading to the attribution of meaning and the valuing of specific landscapes and places" (Brown & Raymond, 2007:108).

These place meanings depend on the socio-psychological and cultural-economic contexts wherein the individual is situated (Beckley, 2003:116; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1-2). The meanings can be shared or individual, learnt from other individuals or elders, or negotiated between individuals or within the individual himself (Kaltenborn, 1997:177; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:5-6). In some cases, these place meanings can actually be expressed verbally or placed visibly as symbols of place identity (Kaltenborn, 1997:176), for example neatly kept gardens as symbols of ownership pride (Appleyard, 1979:146). These place symbols therefore do not always stay intangible as one tends to assume.

Seen from the symbolic viewpoint, it is more difficult to define the boundaries of the place component of place attachment, as the meanings and symbols assigned to the place is not necessarily only bound to the physical characteristics of the place (Stedman, 2002:565), but also on the social bonds to the individuals that move through this space (McCool & Martin, 1994 *in* Beckley, 2003:110). Beckley (2003:112) refers to

the former as 'ecological bonds' and the latter as 'social bonds'. From the symbolic perspective, however, the physical dimensions of place often stands secondary to the web of human relationships within and across it (Brown & Perkins, 1992:284), though it still has a noticeable influence on the formation of individual or group place attachment (Stewart, Liebert & Larkin, 2004:315). The place component is therefore more fluid in concept than in the case of the utilitarian viewpoint of place attachment.

Place meanings and attachments are as unique and varied as the persons who experience them (Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004:213; Greider & Garkovic, 1994:1; Brown & Perkins, 1992:280). In this sense, the places the individual feels bonded to, is considered unique. The place cannot easily be replaced by a similar type of place should access to it be limited, or the place be changed irrevocably by environmental change, as in the case of the Instrumental Tradition. Place dependence therefore plays a much smaller role in human-place bonds here than in the Instrumental Tradition. The implication of a threatened place attachment (usually through environmental change instigated by development or degradation of the character of the place) is therefore more far reaching (Brown & Perkins, 1992:301) than in the case of the Instrumental Tradition.

4.3.2.3 The research approach

In the Symbolic Tradition place attachment cannot be quantified as in the case of the first tradition; place attachment can only be understood within the person-place context it is situated. The majority of studies are therefore based on a qualitative methodology (e.g. Davenport & Anderson, 2005), moving away from the Instrumental Tradition's survey methods towards in-depth interviews and photo-elicitation techniques. Symbolic interactionism is often used as an epistemological position in this tradition of place attachment (e.g. Milligan, 1998; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1).

4.3.3 The emerging Integrated Tradition

More recently, an emerging Integrated Tradition is visible in place attachment literature. Its origin, basic assumptions and research approach is discussed in the following section.

4.3.3.1 Origin and basic assumptions

When literature is studied in chronological fashion it sometimes becomes difficult to classify an academic work as belonging solely to the Instrumental or the Symbolic Tradition, indicating an increasing blurring of boundaries between what was considered the traditional approaches to place attachment. Williams and Roggenbuck (1989) were of the first scholars to hint that dovetailing the two theoretical traditions of place attachment can enrich the findings of empirical research. Though still approaching their research mainly from the Instrumental Tradition, they repeated their view of integrating the traditions in later research (Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck & Watson, 1992 and Williams & Patterson, 1996). Other

scholars who supported a more integrated tradition of place attachment research are Bricker and Kerstetter (2000), Warzecha, Lime and Thompson (2003), Inalhan and Finch (2004), and Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004).

4.3.3.2 The view on place

In research, the integration of the traditions seems best represented in quality of life and urban environmental quality studies from urban social geography (e.g. Pacione, 2003), environmental psychological research on the restorative qualities of favourite places (e.g. Korpela, Borodulin, Neuvonen, Paronen & Tyrväinen, 2014; Nordh, Alalouch & Hartig, 2011; Grahn & Stigsdotter, 2003; Korpela & Hartig, 1996), and research into the concept of biophilia, which broadly focuses on the impact of urban greenery on the emotional well-being of urban communities (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014).

When researching cities, it is necessary to take note of both the “internal psychological-physiological mechanism that produces the sense of gratification, and external phenomena that engage that mechanism” (Pacione, 2003:21). ‘Favourite places’ can be seen as external phenomena that produce some sense of gratification for their users, because the person has become attached to it in some manner (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:221).

Korpela and Hartig’s research (1996:226) identified general types of favourite places that provided psychological benefits to individuals. Though this classification is not necessarily applicable everywhere, it does provide a starting point for such a discussion. Favourite places most frequently identified were the home, followed by natural environments (places with greenery, water and scenic quality (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:231). Unpleasant places were frequently places with large volumes of traffic, crowds, and noise (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:226). The psychological benefits provided by favourite places included restorative qualities like relaxation, calming down, emotional mind clearing, aesthetical experiences, feelings of control, freedom of expression, and escape from social pressure (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:221).

From this integrated perspective, people feel attached to places and use these places because they address a psychological need. In more recent research from Ryan (2005:20) it seems that – in contrast to Korpela and Hartig’s research (1996) – these attachments form to very specific places with specific structure, and that the specific site and the landscape features associated with it do contribute to an individual’s attachment to that place. Ryan’s findings (2005:37) strongly indicate that place attachment to urban natural areas are influenced by the physical landscape characteristics, individuals’ environmental experiences in these places, as well as their knowledge about the place. These places thus cannot be substituted with a similar type of landscape or location.

4.3.3.3 The research approach

Whereas the Instrumental Tradition often approaches place attachment from a quantitative research approach, and the Symbolic Tradition from a qualitative research approach, integrated research tends to implement a mixed-method research approach to study place attachment, though this may not always be the case (see for example Windsong (2014) who followed the Integrated Tradition theoretically, but used a qualitative research approach).

4.3.3.4 The Integrated Tradition and this research

From the researcher's epistemological perspective and disciplinary background, the Integrated Tradition seems the best way to approach this research¹⁹. This research was approached from an individualistic perspective in an urban setting (that includes both human-made and natural features), focusing mainly on the neighbourhood scale (and in some cases, the individual home), while including both long and short-term residents.

The researcher's view on place attachment is based on the social constructionist viewpoint of place attachment, while still attaching value to the physical characteristic of sites as an important factor in the formation of place attachment. This view is shared by Windsong (2014) and Pacione (2003) - as Pacione put it, a more well-rounded understanding of life in the city can only be obtained by considering "both the city on the ground and the city in the mind" (Pacione, 2003:20). Thus Scannell & Gifford's (2010) tripartite organising framework is considered suitable as a framework to discuss place attachment literature, as it allows for such a temporal interplay between people and geographical spaces, or what Knez (2014:177) refers to as the place-related self²⁰. This framework was ultimately also designed to further place attachment research (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:8).

5. The tripartite structure of place attachment

From their research, Scannell and Gifford (2010) identified three constructs that form the basis of place attachment. To this extent they structured these constructs into the tripartite organising framework (Figure 3.2): person, process, and place dimensions (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2).

Accordingly, the literature was reviewed according to content (based on the three dimensions of the tripartite organising framework) and their traditions (Diagram 3.1).

¹⁹ However, as the aim of this research was to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in town planning, the researcher did not follow the mixed-method approach as most scholars of the Integrated Tradition do and decided on a qualitative inductive research approach. More detail on the research design is given in Chapter 5.

²⁰ The view of the place-related self model "is that physical places and times *position* - anchor - one's reminiscence by forming psychological person-place ties, emotional and cognitive bonds that conduct the psychological agent towards physical place and time as *the* organising formats for its personal memory... A place-related self is, thus, assumed to be a substructure of the self emerging when we cogitate about our lives, when our self-representations are online, triggering streams of *noeses* - ways of knowing about ourselves" (Knez, 2014:186).

5.1 The person dimension

When considering the literature map (Diagram 3.1), it seems that the greatest amount of research focusing on the person dimension of place attachment was done from the Symbolic Tradition. This is not surprising, as psychology and sociology are the main disciplinary contributors in this dimension; these two disciplines focus on the psycho-sociological experiences of individuals and groups.

The person dimension refers to place attachments that happen on an individual level and/or a group level (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2-3). This means that places can have specific meanings and provide bonds to both the individual and to specific groups.

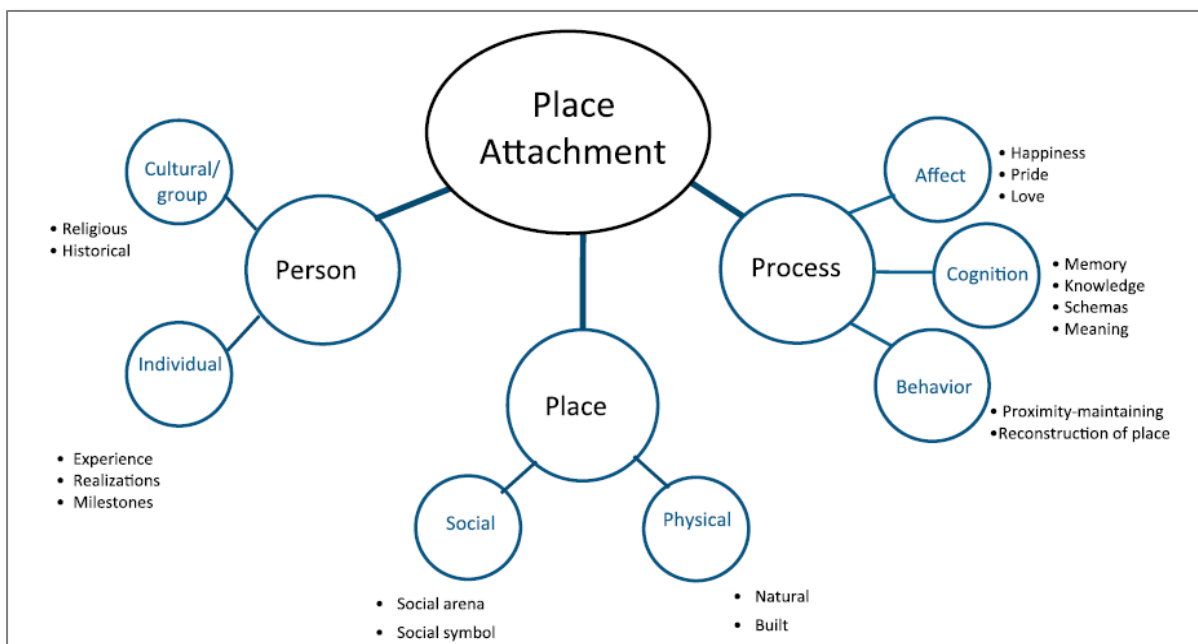


Figure 3.2 - The tripartite organising model of place attachment (Source: Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

5.1.1 Individual place attachment

For the individual, place attachment is not necessarily removed from a communal attachment to a place, as place attachment includes some form of commitment from individuals to their neighbours and the neighbourhood wherein they live (Fischer *et al.*, 1977:139 in Brown & Perkins, 1992:281). In this sense it might be helpful to place any type of attachment on a scale between individual bonding and communal or group bonding to a specific place. Research seems to have no quarrel with the idea that individual and group place attachments can overlap (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2). In fact, when seen from a social constructionist perspective, it is a given that place meanings will overlap.

Year	Person dimension	Process dimension	Place dimension
1960-1969	2	2	1
1970-1979	3 4 5 6 7 9	3 5 6 7 8 9	4 7 8 9
1980-1989	10 13 16 17	11 12 14 17 18 19 20	10 15 18 19 20
1990-1999	21 22 23 25 26 29 30 32 34 37 38	21 23 24 25 26 27 28 30 31 32 33 35 36 37 39	24 28 34 36 37
2000-2009	43 44 45 48 50	40 41 42 43 44	43 44 45 46 47
	51 52 53 54 55	45 46 47 48 49	48 49 50 51 52
	60 61 63 64 66	50 52 55 56 57	53 54 57 58 60
	67 68 71 72 74	59 60 62 65 69	61 62 63 64 69
	75 76 79	70 71 73 77 78	70 71 73 74 77 78
2010-2012	82 88 89	80 83 84 85 87 89 90	81 86 87 89 90

Key:

Instrumental Tradition

Symbolic Tradition

Integrated Tradition

Non-specific

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Lynch 1960 | 31. Moore & Graefe 1994 | 61. Preston 2004 |
| 2. Fried 1963 | 32. Harris <i>et al.</i> 1996 | 62. Stedman <i>et al.</i> 2004 |
| 3. Johnson & Burdge 1974 | 33. Korpela & Hartig 1996 | 63. Stewart <i>et al.</i> 2004 |
| 4. Kasarda & Janowitz 1974 | 34. Plas & Lewis 1996 | 64. Davenport & Anderson 2005 |
| 5. Tuan 1974 | 35. Twigger-Ross & Uzzell 1996 | 65. Hwang <i>et al.</i> 2005 |
| 6. Sarason 1974 | 36. Williams & Patterson 1996 | 66. Lewicka 2005 |
| 7. Gerson, Stueve & Fisher 1977 | 37. Kaltenborn 1997 | 67. Payton <i>et al.</i> 2005 |
| 8. Proshansky 1978 | 38. McAndrew 1998 | 68. Pollini 2005 |
| 9. Appleyard 1979 | 39. Milligan 1998 | 69. Reinders 2005 |
| 10. Tuan 1980 | 40. Bricker & Kerstetter 2000 | 70. Ryan 2005 |
| 11. Schreyer, Jacob & White 1981 | 41. Eisenhauer <i>et al.</i> 2000 | 71. Manzo & Perkins 2006 |
| 12. Stokols & Shumaker 1981 | 42. Gustafson 2001a & b | 72. Stedman 2006 |
| 13. Rivlin 1982 | 43. Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001 | 73. Brown & Raymond 2007 |
| 14. Proshansky <i>et al.</i> 1983 | 44. Vaske & Kobrin 2001 | 74. Burley <i>et al.</i> 2007 |
| 15. Oliver-Smit 1986 | 45. Warzecha & Lime 2001 | 75. Kovacs 2007 |
| 16. St. John, Austin & Baba 1986 | 46. Bonaiuto <i>et al.</i> 2002 | 76. Kelly & Hosking 2008 |
| 17. Edelstein 1988 | 47. Kaltenborn & Bjerke 2002 | 77. Budruk <i>et al.</i> 2009 |
| 18. Goss 1988 | 48. Præsholm <i>et al.</i> 2002 | 78. Devine-Wright 2009 |
| 19. Korpela 1989 | 49. Backlund & Williams 2003 | 79. Trentelman 2009 |
| 20. Williams & Roggenbuck 1989 | 50. Beckley 2003 | 80. Halpenny 2010 |
| 21. Feldman 1990 | 51. Clark & Stein 2003 | 81. Mishra <i>et al.</i> 2010 |
| 22. Rowles 1990 | 52. Daigle <i>et al.</i> 2003 | 82. Morgan 2010 |
| 23. Stokols 1990 | 53. Pacione 2003 | 83. Raymond <i>et al.</i> 2010 |
| 24. Giuliani 1991 | 54. Preston 2003 | 84. Rollero & De Piccoli 2010 |
| 25. Altman & Low 1992 | 55. Pretty <i>et al.</i> 2003 | 85. Budruk <i>et al.</i> 2011 |
| 26. Brown & Perkins 1992 | 56. Williams & Vaske 2003 | 86. Devine-Wright 2011 |
| 27. Lalli 1992 | 57. Brown <i>et al.</i> , 2004 | 87. Nordh <i>et al.</i> 2011 |
| 28. Williams <i>et al.</i> 1992 | 58. Inalhan & Finch 2004 | 88. Spartz & Shaw 2011 |
| 29. Brown 1993 | 59. Kyle <i>et al.</i> 2004 | 89. Brehm <i>et al.</i> 2012 |
| 30. Greider & Garkovich 1994 | 60. Mazumdar & Mazumdar 2004 | 90. Wynveen <i>et al.</i> 2012 |

Diagram 3.1 - Literature map on place attachment research (After Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The individual's attachment to a place is often formed through personal experiences *with* a particular place, or via experiences *within* that place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2). In the former case, a person can feel bonded to a place because it is the site in which their everyday life happens, or a special place she visits because of the restorative or recreational benefits afforded by it. In the latter case, individuals can feel bonded to certain places because they represent the site of happenings or milestones in that person's life. A specific place can become a point of symbolic reference in a person's life, a physical phenomenon acting as a continuous symbolic anchor through the person's life to which he connects memories and meanings.

These symbolic anchors provide a sense of continuity in an individual's life (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:207, 217; Rubinstein & Parmalee, 1992 *in* Pretty *et al.*, 2003:276), a form of psychological assurance and point of reference to compare one's earlier life with one's current state of life. Controlling continuity seems important for psychological well-being, as loss of control or forced change in the physical environment can actually create feelings of loss and grief for individuals (or communities) subjected to such change, as in cases of forced removal (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:208).

5.1.2 Group place attachment

In terms of group place attachment, religious beliefs and cultural practices provide the bases for communal place bonding (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2-3). Religious centres like Jerusalem and Mecca, or individual sites and buildings associated with religious practices, like churches and temples provide a physical site where an aspect of an individual's or a group's religious meanings are expressed and practiced (see Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004). People - as individuals of a particular group - often go to great lengths to visit such places. Even when a person never visits a place of particular religious meaning to a group, she can still feel some form of attachment to it due to the deeply imbedded meaning it represents. In fact, both groups and individuals can feel attached in some manner to a place never personally experienced before, with or without religious meanings attached to such a place (Pretty *et al.*, 2003:273).

Cultural practices also have the power to bind groups to specific places. Whole regions to individual sites or structures on sites can provide the focal points for communal place attachment. Place meanings associated with such attachments are often emotionally-laden and socio-culturally-based, and therefore often political in nature, connected to types and levels of power that groups have (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014).

5.1.3 Examples of group place attachment

A long-term example of how group place attachment fuelled opposition against urban development comes from Doel, Belgium.



Figure 3.3 - Officials barricading entrance to demolition sites in Doel during demolition on 18 August 2008 (Source: Paul Maes/Doel2020, 2008)



Figure 3.4 - Using built structures as the canvas for protest: "Doel must stay!" and "Stop the madness" (Source: LimoWreck, 2008 (above) and Tellberg, 2005 (below)).

Doel, a polder town with a history dating back more than nine centuries was threatened by total demolition since the 1970s to make way for the extension of the Antwerp port (Erfgoedcel Waasland, n.a.).



Figure 3.5 - Festival advertisement about the "Festival in the town that doesn't want to disappear" (Source: Doel2020, 2014).

This extension of the port and subsequent destruction of a whole town were heavily opposed by residents (Van den Broeck, 2012). Though the number of inhabitants has dwindled since the announcement of the port extension and periodic demolition of buildings in the town, there are residents who refuse to leave, despite attempted forced removal and intimidation by police (Doel2020, 2014) (Figure 3.3); they spread the news of the destruction through a published book on Doel (Creve, de Bondt & Marten, 2000), a website (www.doel2020.org), by planting visible protest signs around town (Figure 3.4), and even by holding a local festival on-site (Figure 3.5).

In South Africa the proposed hydraulic fracturing for shale gas in the Karoo region created large scale opposition to the mining company. A prominent reason provided by opposition groups against fracking, is that the Karoo is one of the natural regions relatively untouched by development or scarred by human activities. "Stretching across the heart of South Africa the Karoo has stirred emotions for centuries, a stunning semi-desert wilderness that draws artists, hunters and the toughest of farmers", Cropley (2013) boldly proclaims. The Karoo in this case symbolises a relatively unspoilt natural place as part of South Africa's unique natural capital (Figure 3.6), with small towns like Graaf-Reinette having Typical Cape Dutch-style architecture unique to South Africa²¹.



Figure 3.6 - Anti-fracking protesters marching through Cape Town (Source: Trevor Samson, Business Day Live, 2013).

²¹ As with all place attachments, the readers should keep in mind that this is only one perspective on the Karoo. Various interest groups have various perspectives on what the Karoo symbolises. For some groups it symbolises a source of energy (like Shell), for others a source of living (farming), and yet other groups see the Karoo as a stronghold for specific racial groups as a leftover of colonial and apartheid rule (Cropley, 2013).

In Henley on Klip, Daleside and Witkop, Midvaal, the local community launched protest actions against proposed industries in the area by forming a protest committee, the NO Afrimat Furnace Committee, establishing a website through which information about the proposed industries are spread to other community members (www.no-afriatfurnace.co.za), as well as placing clearly visible protest signs in public places (Figure 3.7).

A final example of places that have the potential to foster communal place attachment are monuments and buildings. The *Taal Monument* (language monument) in Paarl, South Africa, acts as a symbolic point of reference for certain Afrikaans speaking groups' cultural identity, whose language is symbolised by the monument. Often, communal place attachment is carried over from one generation to another generation through stories and cultural practices - historical events therefore frequently form the basis of communal place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2). It seems then that the role that an individual's interests in his or her own past, as well as the history of the place of residence, play an important role in the forming of place attachment (Lewicka, 2005:392).



Figure 3.7 - Community protest signs in Henley on Klip, Midvaal (Source: Own collection, 2014)

Beckley (2003), however, cautions that place attachment might not feature strongly in some individuals, as they might have a different source of self-identity. For people who draw a salient section of their

identity from a place, place attachment will feature more strongly in their human-place relationships than those individuals who identify more strongly with their careers, for example (Beckley, 2003:121).

5.2 The psychological process dimension

The psychological process dimension of place attachment is mainly concerned with the “way that individuals and groups relate to a place, and the *nature* of the psychological interactions that occur in the environments that are important to them” (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3; my emphasis). Considering the literature map, this particular dimension of place attachment received the most attention in place attachment research. Interesting to note is that the majority of papers – especially in the last two decades – is grounded in the Instrumental Tradition, with environmental psychology, tourism studies, and environmental resources management studies dominating the literature. Research falling within the dovetailing tradition has also increased when compared to research on the person dimension.

The existing literature on the psychological dimension of place attachment can be divided into three subgroups, namely those mainly concerned with place attachment as affect/emotion, cognition, or behaviour.

5.2.1 Place attachment as effect

Effect in person-place research refers to emotion connected to place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3). Classic person-place scholars like Tuan (1974) and Relph (1976) describe a place bond in emotional terms and even suggest that it is a basic human need that provides a sense of well-being to the individual. Moreover, place attachment is not only a *felt* emotion, but also an emotional *investment* (e.g. Hummon, 1990), time and energy spent in adapting a place to the individual’s needs and tastes, as well as building social ties with others living in the same place or in close proximity to the individual.

The effect of place bonds becomes most prominent when these bonds are threatened or severed in some way, as most place attachments remain subconscious in the course of everyday life (Brown & Perkins, 1992:283). The reason why place bonds contribute to individuals’ quality of life is because – once formed – they provide stability, security, predictability, and a sense of continuity, a link between past, present, and future. Disruption of attachment means change, and change can overwhelm individuals (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:207, 217; Brown & Perkins, 1992:280-285; Rubinstein & Parmalee, 1992 *in* Pretty *et al.*, 2003:276). Place attachment fosters a sense of belonging and purpose and gives meaning to life (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000:234), while fostering positive attitudes amongst individuals towards the places they feel bonded to, as well as increased interaction with these places (Præsholm, Jensen, Hasler, Damgaard & Erichsen, 2002:102).

Threats to place bonds can be classified as either voluntary or involuntarily induced. Voluntarily induced threats often occur when an individual makes a life choice that will temporarily or permanently physically remove her from the place to which she feels bonded (Brown & Perkins, 1992:287), like a young adult leaving home to go to college, or an individual moving to another city to better her economic prospects and develop her career. In general, voluntary induced threats to place bonds are not perceived to be extremely psychologically jarring, as one usually has some time before the change to come to terms with the life choice and the possible loss of place attachment (Brown & Perkins, 1992:288).

Involuntary induced threats shock emotionally more than voluntary threats to place attachment, mostly because they are unexpected, unsolicited, and cannot be controlled, creating a state of chaos in the individual (Brown & Perkins, 1992:281). These threats come in the form of displacement due to natural disasters, religious, cultural, or political prosecution (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Brown & Perkins, 1992:279). Burglaries have also been researched as a source of threat to place bonds (Brown & Perkins, 1992:279). In South Africa, forced removals during the apartheid era – of which the most popularised example is District Six, Cape Town - can be identified as a prime example of involuntary severing of place bonds (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:208). Another type of threat identified in literature is actual or even potential environmental change due to human activities. Changes can be to the physical features of an area, or result in shifts in social characteristics of the area (e.g. Fried, 1963 *in* Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3). Environmental change can be induced by – to name a few examples – new mining activities in an area previously untouched by mining companies, large government infrastructure projects like the Three Gorges Dam in China, by towns economically stagnating due to loss of its primary function, by urban renewal programmes, or by land use change brought on by urban development.

In terms of land use change in urban areas, these can be induced by:

- legal or illegal changes in activities happening on a site,
- by the legal owners of a site,
- by legal or illegal users of a site,
- speculative development (Pacione, 2005:153), or
- by government initiatives like removing squatters from dangerous locations (flood zones and dolomitic areas) or by land restitution initiatives as is the case in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

According to Beckley (2003:112), areas undergoing environmental changes are excellent “laboratories for the study of place attachment”. For this thesis, environmental change brought on by urban development is of special importance and one of the motivating factors for the chosen case studies presented later on.

The effect of potential or actual threat or destruction of place bonds have been well documented; this threat sometimes result in feelings of loss, sadness, grief, and longing (e.g. Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Fullilove, 1996; Fried, 1963). Research seems to indicate that demographic characteristics have an influence on how long and intense such feelings are experienced: in the case of youths, such feelings after loss of place bonds heal much faster because of this age cohort's tendency to be more flexible and adaptable (Visser, Bolt & Van Kempen, 2014).

The value of these types of studies lie in their ability to clarify why environmental changes can elicit negative reactions (such as NIMBYism) from communities, which often result in costly negotiation processes between the communities and developers, and how to manage the efficiency of development projects and community responses (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:14). Unfortunately, it is mostly through loss of place attachment that one becomes aware of the value of these place bonds. Methodologically therefore, the best way to study place attachment is retrospectively (Brown & Perkins, 1992:283). Broadly speaking, this thesis falls within the retrospective type of research.

5.2.2 Place attachment as cognition

Place attachment as cognition refers to human-place relationships built on cognitive constructs like memories, beliefs, meanings, preferences, and knowledge about specific places (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3). It mostly refers to the act – or process – of constructing attachments to places by means of cognitive constructs and is often integrated into one's definition of the self within a place, or place identity (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3), a concept originally promoted by Proshansky et al. (1983) (*in* Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:206).

Place attachment forms an integral part of individual and communal identity, as “[p]hysical settings and artefacts both reflect and shape people’s understandings of who they are as individuals and as members of groups” (Brown & Perkins, 1992:280). Places to which one is attached to, inherently implies insider/outsider and me/you relationships in the bounds of a specific space, thereby creating the psycho-social boundaries of what individuals perceive themselves to be. Goss (1988:399) in turn – following his interest in Foucault – went as far as to suggest that the built environment is used by individuals to express their created identity and orientate them with existing or perceived power structures within the place.

A created identity means that identity is fluid and implies the adaptation of the individual or group identity to changing place contexts, making renegotiation of place identity necessary (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:206; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:7-12). How that adaption is made depends on the value or belief systems (cognitions) present within the individual or group (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:12).

Because of the salient position of cognitive constructs associated with the forming of place bonds, knowledge about place stands central in this type of research. Knowledge about place does not necessarily refer to factual knowledge about a place alone; it can also include memories associated with previous interaction with a place, beliefs about a place, and meanings (individual or collective) associated with places that contribute to the individual's understanding of a place. Cultural identity and the coupled value or belief systems, in turn, subsequently provide knowledge and guidelines for how these cultures interact with physical environment (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:10). "The breadth and depth of a person's knowledge of a place is positively associated with affirmative, affective attachment to that place" (Beckley, 2003:116): what knowledge an individual possesses of a place will affect the manner in which socio-cultural and ecological factors contribute to that person's place attachment. These suggest that the more familiar a person becomes with a place, the more enhanced the person's place attachment (Beckley, 2003:117).

A cognitive basis for place attachment can also be cultivated, it seems, moving away from Greider and Garkovich's experiential model of place (Greider & Garkovich, 1994 *in* Stedman, 2002:577) towards Pretty *et al.*'s (2003:273) position that people can feel attached to places without having been to those places. Stewart, Hayward and Devlin's research (1998) seems to point to the fact that place meanings and place attachments can be fostered among individuals who do not necessarily have vested interests or long-term associations with a specific place (Stewart *et al.*, 1998:257) by means of the stimulation, facilitation and extending of people's understandings of place so that they develop empathy towards heritage, conservation, culture, and landscape (Stewart *et al.*, 1998:257). Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004:443) thus make an indirect distinction between place attachment and place identification, the former more reserved for those with an experience of a specific place, and the latter for those who have indirect knowledge of a place and still feel that it symbolises something to them, without having actually been there.

An interesting concept of place attachment as cognition relates to how groups of individuals legitimise their place meanings. Usually, this is done by means of capturing place knowledge in laws, customs, myths and legends, stories and literature, historic accounts, art, music and other forms of media (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:18). The more access a group has to media and the more wide spread the group's place knowledge and cognitions are, the more legitimate these cognitions may seem (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:18-19), in some cases even overriding another group's cognitions, making their place attachments seem less legitimate.

An important point that Stedman, Beckley and Ambard (2004:583) makes, is the role that power plays in the creation of place attachments and meanings. Power is not a salient theme in place attachment literature before their paper was published. Place attachment research devoid of discussions about power seem to assume that individuals and groups have the freedom to choose their own experiences, as well as how they interpret these experiences and the subsequent meanings and attachments to places (Stedman *et al.*, 2004:583). Such studies neglect the greater social context which can – in some cases, depending on which social actors are more dominant in the specific context – enforce meanings onto places (Stedman *et al.*, 2004:583). Place meanings can thus be shaped by the goals and desires of powerful individuals or groups” (Pred, 1983 *in* Stedman *et al.*, 2004:583).

In conclusion to the topic of place attachment as cognition, Beckley (2003:120) makes the same connection between people’s different bonds to the same place as did Greider and Garkovich (1994:1): depending on who you are, how you define yourself will depend on how you experience and interact with or use a place. “Changes to the land, through policies, laws, or even natural change, will affect...groups differently. Oftentimes, identity with a place is a core element in a person’s self-identity. Land use change or proposed land use change, therefore, often meets with heated, emotional resistance, at least from some segment of society” (Beckley, 2003:120). Understanding the cognitions that underpin place attachments therefore seems critical to understand why a place is meaningful to groups or individuals, and how these cognitions influence people’s behaviour resulting from environmental change.

5.2.3 Place attachment as behaviour

Place attachment as behaviour refers to the actions individuals or groups perform as they relate to specific places (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4). A number of studies on this topic relate mainly to proximity-maintaining behaviour – some examples include the wish to return to a previous home when homesick, or to visit a place for religious purposes, such as a pilgrimage (e.g. Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004). Additionally, proximity-maintaining behaviour includes the reconstruction of places as they were before environmental change (often in cases where places were destroyed by natural disasters), or relocation to places similar to those left behind when an individual moves, for example, due to economic reasons, to another place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4).

Another proximity-maintaining behaviour similar, but not identical to territoriality (the control of space and the regulation of access to the self, based on ownership (Altman, 1975, *in* Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4)), is place protective behaviour. Place protective behaviour refers to any action that intends to protect a place from environmental change, because this change presents a threat to important existing place meanings (Stedman, 2002:567). It seems that people are more willing to fight for places central to

their identities and satisfaction, than places that are not (Stedman, 2002:567). The higher the place attachment, the more willing individuals are to engage in place protective actions (Stedman, 2003:567).

Place protective behaviour creates a possible interesting intersection with place attachment and place dependence and the two traditions from which the terms originate. Place dependence from the Instrumental Tradition implies that places can be substituted, as the value derived from interacting with a place can be reproduced elsewhere. The need to protect such a place seems smaller, as 'more of it exists elsewhere'. In contrast, place attachment from the Symbolic Tradition implies that certain places are unique and cannot be substituted by another. Its very uniqueness makes it protect-worthy, as – once it is gone or changed irrevocably – 'there is no more of it, ever'. It seems fair then to expect place protective behaviour to be more common in cases of place attachment, than in cases of the more utilitarian place dependence.

From this research's perspective, understanding the motivation behind place protective behaviour can prove important to understand the psychology behind public participation (Backlund & Williams, 2003:324). A more common term linked to place protective action is NIMBYism, public opposition to unwanted local developments (Bruningham, Barnett & Thrush, 2007 *in* Devine-Wright, 2009:430). Devine-Wright (2011:336; 2009:426) makes a clear link between NIMBYism and place protective behaviour as an expression of place attachment in order to provide a framework to explain local opposition to new developments that threaten to disrupt pre-existing emotional bonds. From an urban planning perspective, understanding such place protective behaviour can smooth the negotiation process and build trust between existing owners and residents of a place and proposed environmental changes brought on by development (Payton, Fulton & Anderson, 2005:511).

5.3 The place dimension of place attachment

The place dimension of place attachment refers to both the physical and the social aspects of place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4). Shorter associations with a place seemed to form place attachments to biophysical or landscape features, while longer associations seem to be focused on social relations (McCool & Martin, 1994 *in* Beckley, 2003:110).

5.3.1 Physical aspects of place

The physical aspects of the place dimension are often related to the spatial scale within which place attachments function. Mostly, in rural or natural settings, desirable landscape or ecological features – mountains, old-growth groves, wetlands, or rivers – attract important place symbols and meanings, and as such "[m]ining the mountain, cutting the old growth, draining the wetland, or damming the river, strikes at the heart of some individuals' or groups' attachment to place" (Beckley, 2003:109). This

statement can also be applied to an urban setting: It is possible that the salient aspects in urban settings and physical features – urban flora, architectural elements, spatial configuration of buildings and their surrounding spaces and the activities afforded by this interplay of built area and surrounding spaces "strikes at the heart of some individuals' or groups' attachment to place" (Beckley, 2003:109). Removal of mature trees, demolishing or irrevocably altering architectural elements or historical buildings, or altering the affordability of a place to allow certain activities or introduce new, unwanted activities, strikes at the heart of some individuals' or groups' attachment to place.

In urban settings this refers to the micro level (the home), the meso level (the neighbourhood), and the macro level (the city) (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4; Brown & Perkins, 1992:283), with the micro and macro levels garnering the strongest place attachments (Beckley, 2003:112; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). Length of residence, ownership²², and plans to stay in a particular place is usually associated with stronger place attachment (Hay, 1998:245-246; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981 *in* Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Tuan, 1974:147), most probably due to considerable personal investment in such a place. Additionally, place dependence functions on this level, as attachment to a place rests on the physical features and opportunities afforded by the features of a place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:5). Though place dependence is usually associated with natural places like mountains and rivers, urban physical settings like houses, streets, buildings, lakes, and parks can also be important (Manzo, 2003, 2005). It is necessary to note that when indicating the importance of the physical characteristics of a place to foster place attachment, environmental determinism is not implied. It is just – as Scannell and Gifford (2010:5) aptly put it – that the physical characteristics of a place can limit the symbolic meanings that can be associated with such a place. The physical features of a place therefore create the symbolic meanings associated with it.

In contrast, symbolic meanings can also *create* the physical features of a place as an expression of identity and culture, thereby creating culturally-produced physical urban phenomena (Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2004:361; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1-2), like buildings (Goss, 1988:392) and spaces that form the arena for social interaction. In short, the built environment is used by individuals to express their created identity and their understanding of their position in society (Brown & Perkins, 1992:280; Goss, 1988:399), once again raising the questions of who creates places and whose symbols and places count (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:17).

5.3.2 Social aspects of place

The social aspects of the place dimension refer to the bonds formed with places via the social relationships (family, friends, and neighbours) and group identity that a place facilitates (Scannell &

²² Brown *et al.*'s (2004:361) findings indicate that home ownership is not necessarily a precondition for creating attachments to places.

Gifford, 2010:2:4; Brown & Perkins, 1992:284). Interpersonal relationships in a specific place – especially those formed over the long-term – and access to spaces that facilitate social interaction, such as neighbourhood coffee shops, seem to create one type of glue for bonding with a place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2:4; Beckley, 2003:117). Neighbourhood ties seem to facilitate strong place attachment and civic involvement – the social network one has access to in that place therefore plays an important role in both (Lewicka, 2005:392). In contrast, people tend to form fewer bonds with places characterised by racial or ethnic conflict, than more democratic or tranquil places (Beggs *et al.*, 1996 *in* Beckley, 2003:110).

6. Disruptions or loss of place attachment

Up until this point, most of the literature discussed saw place attachment as a positive part of life, and disruption of place attachment as a negative experience. Though it would be difficult to argue that disruption of place attachment is *not* a negative experience at the time when it occurs, Ryan's research (2005:21) seems to indicate that for some individuals, environmental change, such as making urban natural places more accessible, actually increased their bonding with that place.

It is through environmental change that place attachment feelings often come to the surface (Ryan, 2005:4), and the implications of losing a place and its place meanings to change becomes prominent. Ryan (2005:5) places place attachment on par with the essentiality of forming attachment to people – it is part of the human condition. He equates place attachment to a need, which – through its hidden nature – is often overlooked and negated to the background when compared to other more salient basic human needs, like access to clean water. It can thus be considered a higher order need, when placed on Maslow's pyramid of needs. Disruption of this need further points to the following (Ryan, 2005:24):

- loss or weakening of place attachment can profoundly influence an individual's personal well-being;
- disruption of place attachment can change a person's place-related behaviour; and
- some bonds are so strong that even if a place undergoes negatively perceived environmental changes, an individual will still visit that place.

Nevertheless, in a rapidly changing world it can be expected that place meaning is not stable; it is created, managed, and adapted over time as the environmental context changes (Kaltenborn, 1997:177). Adaptation to these changes largely depends on the value or belief systems present within the individual or group (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:12). As such, "it is important to understand how attachments and meanings attributed to place may affect environmental quality and social well-being" (Brehm, Eisenhauer & Stedman, 2012:1).

A few scholars (e.g. Brown & Perkins, 1992; Greider & Garkovich, 1994) focused on tracking the process of place attachment disruption as environmental change influenced pre-existing place meanings. Brown and Perkins (1992) identified phases of place attachment disruption on the individual, while Greider and Garkovich (1994) researched the sequence of reactions experienced by groups in reaction to changing environmental features and their associated meanings. A critique this research offers against Greider and Garkovich's framework (1994), is that it seems to adhere to the underlying principle that cultures are homogenous, and as such the concepts of individual reaction and motivation in a changing landscape remain underdeveloped. Brown and Perkin's work (1992) provides a more detailed understanding of individual reaction and motivation to environmental changes.

Brown and Perkins (1992) presented a palatable framework for understanding the different phases through which an individual goes when place bonds are disrupted. Attachments usually take some time to develop, but can be destroyed in much less time than it took to form, creating stress in the individuals involved (Brown & Perkins, 1992:284-285). Brown and Perkins identified three phases (predisruption, disruption, and post disruption) and two functions of attachment (individual/communal and stability/change) (Brown & Perkins, 1992:284-285). Voluntary place attachment disruptions are usually anticipated, gradual, and bring forth the realisation that the individual will need to establish new attachments to the future place. Often during this predisruption phase, the individual already starts with the creation of a new – or adapted – identity base (Brown & Perkins, 1992:288). During the disruption phase, individuals with a positive attitude towards the changes seem to adapt better to the changes than those with a more negative attitude (Brown & Perkins, 1992:288). During the postdisruption phase feelings of homesickness (emotions centering around loss of place and people) often highlight the intense feelings of attachment and the subsequent loss of these, together with the acute realisation of a change in personal identity (Brown & Perkins, 1992:289): "...even voluntary relocatees feel that part of their identity derived from the people and places left behind" (Brown & Perkins, 1992:289). This is usually followed by repersonalisation of the new environment (Brown & Perkins, 1992:290).

Involuntary relocations are often associated with natural disasters, human-induced environmental disasters (like toxic spills) or changes, such as highway, dam, or urban construction (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Brown & Perkins, 1992:290). Speculative development can also lead to the displacement and destruction of communities (Pacione, 2005:153). Such disruptions to place attachment is usually unexpected and sudden, and are experienced as more threatening than voluntary disruptions (and actually are in some cases) towards identity and the physical self.

In terms of communal place attachment, relocation of communities were not always successful in the past, as relocation authorities failed to take into account the benefits of prerelocation place attachments

(Brown & Perkins, 1992:298). From the Symbolic Tradition, it is also not possible to recreate the lost attachments in another location, as each situation is unique (Brown & Perkins, 1992:298). "The difficulty of coping with loss and reconstructing place attachments is exacerbated by the fact that individuals rarely appreciate the depth and extent of these attachments. Although residents quickly develop an understanding of their losses, others are not so sensitive. Relocation authorities assume residents simply need new housing" (Brown & Perkins, 1992:301).

Environmental change to the physical features of a landscape - induced by development - is a very credible reason for individuals to oppose a development project (Lombard & Ferreira, 2014:397). Disruption of place attachment on a communal level can either jumpstart or disable community action (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). In cases where the predisruption phase was characterised by a weak community identity, or where attachment disruption had socially and/or spatially isolated impacts on the community, disagreement among community members about the course of action appeared more probable (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). Alteration, removal, or destruction of physical characteristics/symbols in the environment towards which individuals felt some attachment undermine individual identity and therefore hampers community action (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). Without being too environmentally deterministic, it stands to reason that using physical symbols as tangible representations of community goals and interests enables community action.

The value of Brown and Perkins' work (1992) lies in their focus on the disruption of place attachment and the effect thereof on the psycho-social elements of communities and individuals (Brown & Perkins, 1992:301). To highlight the effect of such disruptions: "[a] disruption means that individuals must define who they are and where they are going without the benefit of the tangible supports that formerly bolstered such intangible understandings" (Brown & Perkins, 1992:301). They see the environment as a physical symbol of affective bonds: the environment is an extension of the everyday life, meaning that the inner lives of individuals do not stand in isolation/apart from the physical environment wherein they live.

7. Place attachment and town planning

Initially, it may seem farfetched to find a link between place attachment and town planning, yet recently Stedman and Ingalls (2014) indicated the link between changing urban landscapes and community reaction connected place attachment related concepts (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014). However, scholarly work on this subject dates back more than three decades, when Donald Appleyard (1979) underlined the importance of acknowledging the symbolic aspects of urban landscapes and not just the commodity value thereof.

7.1 Donald Appleyard, the Symbolic Tradition, and public participation

Donald Appleyard differentiated between passive role players of the environment (consumers / the community) and active role players (producers / developers and urban planners), the latter being the ones who shape the physical environment based on their social and environmental contexts and motivations (Appleyard, 1979:145).

Appleyard argued that for many decades producers functioned from an instrumental perspective where land was seen as a commodity and the processes that shape the land as technically or economically based – this viewpoint overlooks the more symbolic/psychological motivations that underlie actors and producers' actions which are based on their identity (Appleyard, 1979:145). "Professionals and social scientists tend to screen out the connections between the physical environment and its social meaning", seeing the physical environment *inter alia* (for example) as a physical container, a space for the accumulation of goods, the performance of social actions and the location of land uses, and seldom as a social or political symbol (Appleyard, 1979:143). The physical context is desymbolised to manage it in a technical and non-political manner (Appleyard, 1979:144).

This stands in contrast with more recent research where the symbolic meaning of landscapes are considered an integral part of the public participation process related to urban planning (e.g. Devine-Wright, 2011). Appleyard's paper indicated an early change in the overall instrumental way of thought in planning and a definite move towards understanding the plural nature of cities (Appleyard, 1979:147), an open connection to the Symbolic Tradition and the socially constructed nature of place bonds.

Appleyard (1979:146) preceded Cass and Walker (2009:66-67) in their perception of how planners are perceived or consider themselves to proceed as producers of environments: not as individuals with affective expressions of the environment, but as professionals who must act technically and rationally. Appleyard (1979:146) termed this the 'depersonalisation of environmental action', creating impersonal environments which are disliked by communities. In contrast, a reaction towards large scale depersonalisation is excessive personalisation, resulting in atomisation of the urban environment, like suburbanisation (Appleyard, 1979:149), and in more recent literature, occurrences of NIMBYism and opposition to proposed developments (Devine-Wright, 2011:336; Devine-Wright, 2009:432).

In terms of urban areas, perceived or actual ownership of place is often demarcated by physical changes in the urban environment, such as signs, architectural or landscaping styles, or changes in surface texture (Appleyard, 1979:147). Communication through environmental symbols also create the atmosphere, or sense of place, of an area (Appleyard, 1979:149). The smaller the spatial scale, the more symbol-laden the physical environment becomes as the symbols proceed to moving to individual-level – this creates a

symbolic misconception between planners and those who are involved in the planner's environmental action, as the planner views these symbols from an outsider and more distant perspective (Appleyard, 1979:151). Different environmental symbols of the same place create conflict (Appleyard, 1979:151). Insiders to a specific environment use the character/atmosphere of the place – as created by environmental symbols – to associate or disassociate themselves with the place: when alien characteristics/symbols are perceived in a specific place, one can experience a sense of loss (Appleyard, 1979:151). The further away one moves into unfamiliar places with unfamiliar symbols ('distant environments' versus 'home environments'), the more attachment to the character of the place is lost and in essence this too becomes an impersonal expression of someone else's environmental symbols (Appleyard, 1979:151).

Appleyard (1979:152) identified citizen participation in environmental action as a way to lessen the alienation that the community might feel about changes in their physical environment, as a way to take ownership over the amended environment.

Today the symbolic element in the use, design, and management of urban places cannot be denied anymore. Reinders' (2005:2) position is that policy makers – especially in spatial sciences like urban planning – increasingly use socio-cultural factors (like place identity) to design and construct urban space. This increasing use of concepts such as place identity is understood to be an expression of an underlying cultural turn in the design and management of places (Reinders, 2005:2). This cultural turn seems to be a reaction against the post-WWII reaction of despatialisation, a decontextualising, decreasing attachment to physical places due to transport and telecommunications technology developments (Reinders, 2005:3). However, with the increasing social diversification of urban places since the 1970s, urban planners could not ignore the multiple – and often contesting – perceptions of and needs within neighbourhoods, which in turn turned spatial design to the concept of place identity (Reinders, 2005:3).

7.2 Other scholars on place attachment in town planning

Beckley (2003) and Manzo and Perkins (2006) made a compelling case for understanding place attachment within a town planning contexts. Thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about places can influence people's behaviour toward places and determine whether these individuals will participate in local urban planning actions (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:336). Exploring how and why place attachment motivates some individuals to participate in the planning process is therefore a research-worthy subject (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:337).

This is especially important when seen in the light of disruptions or threats to place attachment, as this can motivate individuals to oppose development proposals, regardless of the value that such a

development can add to an area (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:338; Burley et al., 2007:352). Part of why Beckley (2003:118) sees the study of place attachment as crucial in planning and policy making, is that the socio-political context wherein landscapes (natural or urban) are formed or managed, is becoming more complex. "More people are demanding recognition of their values...planners are frustrated with the inability of the rational, scientific policymaking process to account for or mediate intense, emotional expressions of value for natural resources" (Beckley, 2003:118-119). Understanding the underlying place meanings and values ascribed to places on individual and communal level can increase the congruence between proposed planning actions and the existing residents in that place (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:338-339).

Payton *et al.*'s (2005:511) findings suggest that public participation can be increased by building trust between authorities and communities, by acknowledging the importance of place attachment, and thereby increasing the interplay between the public and development agencies. For Burley Jenkins, Laska and Davis (2007:349), when places are damaged due to environmental change, those individuals and communities that have attachments to the damaged/destroyed places need to be on the forefront when such places are restored. Public participation is thus essential in such cases.

7.3 The empirical implications of place attachment on town planning research

Empirically, place attachment research birthed a small number of research papers on place attachment and urban planning. The first of these papers was Manzo and Perkins (2006:343) who provide a framework to link place attachment and community participatory planning, in which they place the constructs of place attachment in three dimensions: 1) cognitive dimension (place identity), 2) affective dimension (place attachments), and 3) behavioural dimension (e.g. public participation, objections to planning applications, other social activities happening in the neighbourhood).

Another was Preston (2004), an example of how seemingly intangible place meanings relate to or indicate a gap between what happens on a community level in terms of development, and what legislation/policy views as important from a planning perspective. Stewart, Liebert and Larkin (2004) used photo-elicitation to connect community-based meanings to the physical environment and activities therein (Stewart, Liebert & Larkin, 2004:315). Finally, another paper suggesting how place attachment can be included in land use planning was written by Brown and Raymond (2007) who mapped landscape values and special places to create a map-based place attachment index to assess the risk associated with landscape modification (Brown & Raymond, 2007:89-90).

7.4 Place attachment and South African town planning

In South Africa not much attention has been paid to the socio-spatial dynamics of cities in spatial planning, indicating a need to understand how spaces in South African urban areas are used and to question if spatial planning is responding appropriately (Todes, 2008:10). This seems rather odd, seen in the light of the country's past forced removals and the disruptions to land ownership brought on by the country's increasing land restitution policy.

Additionally, a challenge that place attachment research faces in urban planning is that place attachment is often seen as a luxury that urban planners cannot afford (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:347). "For those seeking to foster participation, tapping into emotional bonds to place can help members of a community articulate and act upon place meaning. Even in communities with entrenched conflicts or negative responses to change, an understanding of place attachments and meanings can provide lessons about what mobilises people, and what feelings about place are at the root of their reaction, which can help move a community toward conflict resolution or even consensus" (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:347).

Considering the multi-cultural character of the South African society and the increasing emphasis that the government places on public participation and better living environments for all South Africans, research on place attachment can contribute to urban planners' understanding of working within these diverse communities to create better quality places, while understanding why conflict arises in the creation of communities.

8. Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed literature review of place attachment by indicating the theoretical origins of place attachment as research topic from the space/place debate in the spatial sciences like town planning, geography, and environmental psychology. Research on place attachment is located within the 'place' camp of this debate, as place attachment features from the position that a geographic location is only meaningful to people when some symbol is attached to this location. These symbols are subjective and intangible, though the geographic location itself has measurable and observable qualities. 'Place' is therefore comprised of both tangible and intangible aspects.

Place attachment is a subjective experience within a geographic location. However, within the literature on place attachment three schools of thought exist: the Instrumental Tradition, the Symbolic Tradition, and the Integrated Tradition. The Instrumental Tradition holds that though people attach subjective symbols (meanings) to places these symbols fulfil an adaptive need for the individual. Places are commodities and once the individual cannot derive value from the place anymore, another place can be found to replace the use value that the previous place had for the individual. The psychological impact of

losing such a place is theoretically not so deeply disruptive. Research in this tradition is mostly quantitative in nature.

The Symbolic Tradition, on the other hand, holds that people derive much deeper and psychologically grounded value from certain places. Places can provide a sense of identity, can have restorative effects on an individual's mood, and can provide a sense of continuity necessary for grounding individuals in a sense of continuity. From the Symbolic Tradition perspective places are unique and irreplaceable - once a place is destroyed or altered beyond a point of value for the individual, the symbolic value that this place provided to the individual is also destroyed. The loss of this value is felt much deeper and the impact is more lasting, as this symbolic value is connected to the unique qualities of this place; one place cannot be replaced by another. Research designs in the Symbolic Tradition were therefore mostly focused on qualitative approaches.

The Integrated Tradition is a more recent dovetailing of the Instrumental and the Symbolic Traditions. This is the tradition wherein this research is situated. From this perspective places can have both use value in the sense of a commodity, and a psychological value. Thus place attachment can be research with a mixed method research design, though pure quantitative and qualitative research designs are also present in this tradition.

The constructs of place attachment (person, place, and process) were also discussed in depth. Literature indicates the multidimensional nature of place attachment: in terms of the person dimension, place attachment can appear on both an individual and group level. The place dimension relates to the way people bond with both the social and the physical context of a place. The process dimension reveals that place attachments can be studied for the emotional experiences connected to or derived from places. Also, studying place attachments are interesting to reveal the cognitions that are connected or assigned to geographical locations. Finally, place attachments can have an influence on the way people behave towards or in a specific place.

Disrupting or destroying place attachments can cause feelings of loss, grief, and psychological trauma to those involved. The importance of place attachment for town planners therefore lies in the following:

- place attachment can help urban planners to understand why individuals express grief and distress – seemingly illogical reactions – in cases of (seemingly logical) proposed land use changes;
- it can help urban managers to plan and encourage the manner in which the public uses public spaces;

- it can explain why individuals keep returning to or continue to stay in sub-standard urban conditions that may seem dangerous or unacceptable to outsiders; and
- place meaning and attachment research can shed light on individuals' and groups' place-protective or pro-place actions when changes to the environment are proposed or happen.

The next chapter presents the literature review on public participation in town planning, which is the third and final topic of the theoretical framework.

Chapter 4

Participatory planning: an overview

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed chronological literature review on public participation in town planning.

1. Introduction

Public participation is a topic that has been researched in many countries (e.g. South Africa, China, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, and Norway) and in many disciplines, such as planning, natural resource management, tourism, forestry, heritage management, public administration, and community psychology. These lists are, however, by no means complete. A vast reservoir of literature on the topic exists and as such it is a challenge not to reinvent the wheel when writing on this subject, especially in urban planning where scholars like Nigel Taylor (1998) and Marcus Lane (2005) already produced detailed work.

Various perspectives on participation exist. The topic was researched – *inter alia* – from a development perspective (e.g. Human, Marais and Botes, 2009), a postcolonial perspective (e.g. Porter, 2010), a postmodern perspective (e.g. Sandercock, 1998), a feminist perspective (e.g. Lennie, 1999), and an Anglo-American²³ perspective (referred to as the EuroAmerican perspective by Roy (2009a)) which forms one of the bases from which communicative/collaborative planning theory sprung (e.g. Friedmann, 1973 and Forester, 1989).

The latter perspective guides this chapter, seeing that South African planning was historically heavily influenced by Anglo-American town planning (see Mabin & Smit, 1997) and further strengthened in a Western political, theoretical, and legislative planning position post-democratisation by choosing to follow a developmental government structure (Watson, 2003:397). To understand the roots of participation in South African town planning, it is therefore necessary to approach the subject from the Anglo-American/EuroAmerican viewpoint, while still keeping in mind the urban realities faced in a less developed country like South Africa.

As such, the purpose of this chapter is to give a chronological review of the literature on public participation in town planning. The chapter begins with an overview of the literature as it relates to this

²³ The *Anglo-American* approach to urban planning refers to the seemingly parallel development of planning thought on both North America and Great Britain during especially the 20th century. This term is not to be confused with *Anglo-Saxon*, a term used to describe an object from a specific historical era in what is now Great Britain.

research, followed by a literature overview in chronological format, and closes with a discussion on the current acceptance of emotional aspects - especially as it relates to place attachment - in public participation in town planning.

2. Overview of public participation literature

What follows in this chapter is a discussion of seven decades of literature on public participation in urban planning. The sources included in this chapter were selected because they all contributed to the researcher's thoughts about public participation and how the goal of it in urban planning changed. In this section the contribution of these sources to this research will be discussed (Table 4.1).

The sections of Table 4.1 provide the structure for the rest of the discussion.

3. Public participation literature: an overview

When reviewing the literature chronologically, some patterns emerge regarding the growth and development of participation in planning: from participation's birth in legislation, its stormy relationship with the social aspects of planning, to its moulding through various perceptions of democracy, communication and sustainability, participatory literature seems to reflect the greater social contexts in which it was written. Participatory literature is very much a social construction – or as Lane (2005:297) wrote, “public participation can only be understood in terms of the decision-making context in which it is embedded” – which in a manner explains why it is such a vague topic and difficult to clearly define (Alexander, 2008:58).

The chronological review of participatory literature starts with a discussion on post-war urban planning as background to public participation in planning. For reading convenience, a literature map is provided (Diagram 4.1).

3.1 The birth of public participation in planning: the 1940s to the 1960s

According to Nigel Taylor (1998), early post-war planning focused largely on reconstructing bombed urban areas. Development was mostly blueprint planning and largely technically oriented (Theme 1 of Diagram 4.1), which underplayed the social-political aspects of society. It seems generally accepted that the state had an interventionist role and was therefore the main development agent.

Table 4.1 - Contribution of the literature to this research (Source: Own construction, 2014).

Section		Contribution to this research
In general:		Public participation literature is a social construction.
3.1	The birth of public participation in planning: the 1940s to the 1960s	Blueprint/technocratic urban planning arose from the need to reconstruct bomb-blighted areas post-WWII. State intervention and development guidance through urban planners were necessary for this big task. 'Contracting' the public to contribute to understanding local land use change issues lighten the administrative load on the municipality and provides 'an ear on the ground'. Institutionalising public participation makes it easy to manage public input in a time of large scale reconstruction.
		This is important for this research to understand <i>why and how</i> institutionalised public participation formed in urban planning practice.
3.2	The rebellion of public participation in planning: the 1960s to the 1970s	The rise of civil society indicated changing societal values to which technocratic planning was slow to respond to. This shift was largely due to a shift in the societal definition of 'democracy', from <i>representative to participatory democracy</i> . The State was expected 'to abdicate development power' and hand it to the public.
		This is relevant for this research because the public was first seen as <i>active</i> participants in their development context, not as passively accepting their environments developed by the State.
3.3	Planning as democratic storytelling: towards better communication (1980s and 1990s)	Another shift in the definition of democracy occurred (participatory democracy to deliberative democracy), and what was to be eventually referred to as communicative/collaborative planning started to develop. Communication between actors became important in participation. Stories and personal experiences were first seen as a gate to understanding the gap between community's perception of place, compared to government's or professional planners' perception of what was happening in that place.
		The basic conditions of communicative planning show a definite resemblance to the basic precepts of symbolic interactionism, probably because of Mead's influence on Habermasian thinking in communicative planning. Communicative planning showed that conflicting viewpoints regarding planning can exist between role players, but <i>why</i> this was so, has not yet been clarified.
3.4	21 st Century participatory planning literature	Postmodern participatory planning literature widened its scope in an attempt to fit theory better with reality, by adopting theories from different disciplines. Broadening the theoretical horizon of participatory planning literature decentralised public participation in planning in a sense: informal types of public participation happening outside the guidelines of institutionalised participation channels are becoming more common due to a greater focus on the power of the individual over the institution, greater access to web-based technologies and social media, and a move towards accepting emotional aspects and drivers for public opposition or support to urban planning proposals.
		Participatory planning literature focused more on understanding why conflicting viewpoints exist in planning. One of the explanations for such conflict is misinterpreted or misunderstood emotional-based motivations against planning proposals. This is where this research situates itself, as it tries to provide an explanation for such contexts.

1. Town and Country Planning Act 1947 (UK)
2. Housing Act 1956 (UK)
3. Jacobs, J. 1961.
4. Davidoff, P. 1965.
5. Planning Advisory Group (UK)
6. Arnstein, S.R. 1967.
7. Town and Country Planning Act 1968 (UK)
8. Skeffington Report (UK) of 1969
9. Damer, S. & Hague, C. 1971.
10. Friedmann, J. 1973.
11. Cherry, G. 1974.
12. Halprin, L., 1974.
13. Hall, P. 1975.
14. Sanoff, H. 1975.
15. Turner, J.F.C., 1976.
16. Sewell, W.R.D. & Coppock, J.T. 1977.
17. Foucault, M. 1980.
18. Chambers, R., 1983.
19. Florin, P.R. & Wandersman, A. 1984.
20. Habermas, J. 1984.
21. Forester, J. 1989.
22. Mabogunje, A.L. 1990.
23. Cernea, M.M., 1991.
24. Jhatam, M.S. 1991.
25. Mandelbaum, S.J. 1991.
26. Max-Neef, M.A., Elizalde, A. & Hopenhayn, M. 1991.
27. Oakley, P. et al. 1991.
28. Healey, P. 1992.
29. Throgmorton, J.A. 1992.
30. Cvetkovich, G. & Earle, T.C. 1994.
31. Hamdi, N., 1995.
32. Mayoux, L., 1995.
33. Nelson, N. & Wright, S. 1995.
34. Salmen, L.F. 1995.
35. Sandercock, L. 1995.
36. Alexander, E. 1996.
37. Beauregard, R.A. 1996.
38. Faludi, A. 1996.
39. Lauria, M. & Soll, M.J. 1996.
40. SAITRP, 1996.
41. Zwarteveen, M. & Neupane, N. 1996.
42. Adams, W., Watson, E. & Mutiso, S., 1997.
43. Brigder, J.C. 1997.
44. Hillier, J. & Van Looij, T., 1997.
45. Mabin, A. & Smit, D. 1997.
46. Flyvbjerg, B. 1998.
47. Friedmann, J. 1998.
48. Healey, P. 1998.
49. Innes, J.E. 1998.
50. Sandercock, L. 1998.
51. Tewdwr-Jones, M. & Allmendinger, P. 1998.
52. Healey, P. 1999.
53. Lennie, J. 1999.
54. Fischler, R. 2000.
55. Hillier, J. 2000.
56. Huxley, M. 2000.
57. Huxley, M. & Yiftachel, O. 2000.
58. McBride, K. 2000.
59. Simoff, S.J. & Maher, M.L. 2000.
60. Sandercock, L. 2000a.
61. Sandercock, L. 2000b.
62. Cleaver, F. 2001.
63. Cooke, B., 2001.
64. Francis, P., 2001.
65. Hauptmann, E. 2001.
66. Kothari, U., 2001.
67. McGuirk, P.M. 2001.
68. Mosse, D. 2001.
69. Voogd, H. 2001.
70. Albrechts, L. 2002.
71. Allmendinger, P. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. 2002.
72. Booher, D.E. & Innes, J.E. 2002.
73. Sillitoe, P., Bicker, A. & Pottier, J. 2002.
74. Wiesenfeld, E. & Sánchez, E. 2002.
75. Buchecker, M., Hunziker, M. & Kienast, F. 2003.
76. Sandercock, L. 2003.
77. Stein, S.M. & Harper, T.L. 2003.
78. Watson, V. 2003.
79. Hampton, G. 2004.
80. Murtagh, B. 2004.
81. Pløger, J. 2004.
82. Sandercock, L. 2004.
83. Davenport, M.A. & Anderson, D.H. 2005.
84. Devine-Wright, P. 2005.
85. Campbell, H. 2006.
86. Manzo, L.C. & Perkins, D.D. 2006.
87. Bond, S. & Thompson-Fawcett, M. 2007.
88. Buccus, I., Hemson, D., Hicks, J. & Piper, L. 2007.
89. Hoch, C.J. 2007.
90. Kingston, R. 2007.
91. Maginn, P.J. 2007.
92. Alexander, E. 2008.
93. Shmueli, D.F., Kaufman, S. & Ozawa, C. 2008.
94. Skinner, A. 2008.
95. Brabham, D.C. 2009.
96. Cass, N. & Walker, G. 2009.
97. Davids, I., Theron, F. & Mapunye, K.J. 2009.
98. Human, F., Marais, L. & Botes, L. 2009.
99. Irazábal, C. 2009.
100. Laurian, L. 2009.
101. Mahjabeen, Z., Shrestha, K.K. & Dee, J.A. 2009.
102. Aitken, M. 2010.
103. Beebeejaun, Y. & Vanderhoven, D. 2010.
104. Bond, S. 2010.
105. Bugs, G., Granell, C., Fonts, O., Huerta, J. & Painho, M. 2010.
106. Devine-Wright, P. & Howes, Y. 2010.
107. Evans-Cowley, J.S. & Hollander, J. 2010.
108. Hillier, J. 2010.
109. Ife, J. 2010.
110. Porter, L. 2010.
111. Sager, T. 2010.
112. Versteeg, W. & Hajer, M. 2010.
113. Åström, J., Granberg, M. & Khakee, A. 2011.
114. Beyazli, D. & Aydemir, S. 2011.
115. Devine-Wright, P. 2011.
116. Grant, J.L. 2011.
117. Haumann, S. 2011.
118. Hollander, J.B. 2011.
119. Nienhuis, I., Van Dijk, T. & De Roo, G. 2011.
120. Winkler, T. 2011.
121. Agger, A. 2012.
122. Flyvbjerg, B. 2012.
123. Leino, H. & Laine, M. 2012.
124. Truelove, H.B. 2012.
125. Van Hulst, M. 2012.

Diagram 4.1 – Public participation literature map according to theme, date, and democratic context (continued from previous page).

The urban planner was the professional with the appropriate skills and knowledge, and as such acted as the main actor in achieving the government's development goals. The public was considered to be uniform, conforming their interests and values with those of the state, without being able to contribute to the planning process. The public's role was one of passive acceptance of the goods and services that the government delivered to them.

However, this view did not last long into the 20th century. Public participation was born – strangely enough – not from social need and theory, but from legislation. Britain's all important planning act, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, already required planning authorities to “publicise applications for planning permission and...to consult immediate neighbours of such proposals”. They also had to publicise the submission of development plans to the minister, while the public could inspect these plans and make objections in writing to the minister (Taylor, 1998:86). Additionally, the public could elect individuals to represent their interests in planning decisions in central and local governments. This is typical of a representative democracy.

By capturing public participation in legislation, the idea was institutionalised and formalised in urban planning. This institutionalisation continued with the UK's Housing Act of 1956 (Haumann, 2011:55; Hamdi, 1995:76). In terms of research, the first papers on public participation from the USA appeared in the 1950s (Damer & Hague, 1971:218). Already the almost-new concept of participation was absorbed into academia with Bell and Force's research on urban neighbourhood types and participation in formal association (Bell & Force, 1956 *in* Florin & Wandersman, 1984:691). Research and practice, however, on this topic remained relatively scarce in this decade, but experienced a rapid growth in the 1960s (Damer & Hague, 1971:218), so much so that Hamdi (1995:75) described public participation as “an ideology born of the 1960s”.

The increased interest in public participation can perhaps be found in the watershed between what was happening between the institutional and social levels of planning in Anglo-American cities. The continued institutionalisation of participation in planning legislation and policies was driven against what was happening in an increasingly diversifying social world on grassroots level. In the former sense, Britain's Planning Advisory Group's (PAG) 1965 report saw planning as a means to achieve participation (Taylor, 1998:86). It recommended the differentiation between two types of development planning: strategic planning and local planning, whereby the former must be approved on national level (the minister involved in development planning), and the latter by local planning authorities. It was the hope of the PAG report that in this way participation – especially on a local level – can be encouraged because the local planning authorities now had to provide opportunities for comment or objection. However, how this was to be achieved, was not stated clearly (Taylor, 1998:87). In contrast, scholars Damer and Hague

(1971:220-221) viewed the inclusion of participation in local planning (as a result of the PAG report) not as an act of democracy, but rather a practical decision to lighten the load of the ministerial office – who had the sole responsibility to respond to each development application and its objections at that stage – and so hasten the administrative process of local planning. The accepted position was that small, less important matters were to be solved by local municipalities (such as objections to development applications) while ‘more important matters’ were to be solved at ministerial (strategic) level.

This split between local and strategic planning created confusion regarding the place of public participation in planning. Participation was acceptable on a local level, but considered unimportant enough for national level planning. This confusion stayed with British planning legislation and reports – such as the Town and Country Planning Act 1968 and the Skeffington Report in 1969 – in the sense that participation (knowledge sharing) is acknowledged as being an important part of the planning process, but that planners and local authorities still had the final say (Taylor, 1998:87-88). The public was still consulted, yet not allowed to actively participate in decision-making.

Almost simultaneously in the United States, public participation was institutionalised by the Model Cities Program of 1967-1973, an initiative to move planning away from being centrally managed – as guided by the previous New Deal policies where the state had an interventionist role in development goals – to citizens having the right to negotiate and even contribute to directing government planning initiatives (Hamdi, 1995:78). US Federal law finally incorporated participation in planning legislation only in the 1970s (Hamdi, 1995:76).

3.2 The rebellion of public participation in planning: the 1960s to the 1970s

American-Canadian Jane Jacobs (1961) – as a critique against modern planning – wrote about the importance of considering communities in terms of development, redevelopment, and management of their urban contexts. Increasingly, institutionalised participation had difficulty keeping up with the concurrent rise of the civil rights movement across Europe, Australia and the US, especially in terms of urban renewal in the United States, anti-Vietnam demonstrations, Green Bans and women’s movements (Hiller & Van Looij, 1997:9; Hamdi, 1995:77). Arnstein (1967:216), in fact, made a direct link between the civil uprisings and citizen participation. Her ladder of participation illustrated perception changes in the Anglo-American world with regard to notions of democracy: the shift from *representative democracy* to *participatory democracy*²⁴ that happened at that stage (Damer & Hague, 1971:218-221). With this shift,

²⁴ A representative democracy is a form of government where power is delegated to individuals who are elected periodically to represent the whole nation (The Free Dictionary, n.a.). A participatory democracy, in contrast, is a democracy where citizens can participate individually and directly in political decisions and policies that influence their lives, rather than through representatives (Dictionary.com, n.a.).

the power of the government and the urban planner as main role players in urban planning diminished, while the power of the individual increased – in theory.

As such, the social ethic of planning with regard to providing better living conditions for the community made it more susceptible for the principles of public participation (Damer & Hague, 1971:218-221). Whereas early post-war planning was clearly based on the notion of a representative democracy where the state and planner reigned supreme over the public, participatory democracy changed the role of the public to an active participant in planning. In the latter sense, Davidoff's (1965) advocacy planning seems rather authoritarian with the planner in the powerful position as advocate for citizens. Despite this, the 1970s climate of planning as a political action proved to be a lucrative time for advocacy planning, with notable scholars like Halprin (1974) and Sanoff (1975) continuing in Davidoff's footsteps.

The 1970s and onwards brought new motivations for the increased popularity of public participation as a research subject: environmental concern (Theme 2 of Diagram 4.1) (Sewell & Coppock, 1977:1) and the recognition that society is steeped in plurality (Theme 8 of Diagram 4.1) (Cherry, 1974:79). Engaging with the public was therefore turning out to be not only essential, but also more complex than originally imagined. In this sense, John Friedmann's transactive planning (1973) proved to be an innovative bridge over the practice-legislative divide that has been haunting participatory planning for more than a decade at that stage, focusing on improving interpersonal relationships and opening communication channels between various parties in the planning process. This dogged interest in participation in planning practice meant that the academia had to renew its theoretical approaches. Traditionally, planning theory was developed in response to social and economic problems (Taylor, 1998:20; Hall, 1975:19). Researching public participation in planning, however, proved to be a horse of a different colour and scholars looked outside the boundaries of urban planning for guidance. In general, the works of Michel Foucault (e.g. 1980) and Jürgen Habermas (e.g. 1984) provided some inspiration for developing participatory planning theory. The contributions of these scholars are discussed in the following section as part of the developments in urban planning theory during the 1980s and 1990s.

However, before Habermas and Foucault are discussed, it is necessary to provide some background to the academic world's changing perception on democracy, and how it influenced a new 'type' of urban planning theory, namely communicative/collaborative planning.

3.3 Planning as democratic storytelling: towards better communication (1980s and 1990s)

With the content and approaches to participation literature developing along the shifting perceptions of democracy in less authoritarian countries (Beyazli & Aydemir, 2011:839; Sager, 2005:1; SAIRTP, 1996:1), it is not surprising that even participatory democracy in urban planning was finally critiqued. Participatory

democracy did not live up to expectations in creating a more democratic public participation process for planning (Beauregard, 2003 *in* Bond & Thomson-Fawcett, 2007:449; Hauptmann, 2001:401-405; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1977). In the 1980s the notion of participatory democracy was exchanged for deliberative democracy (Hauptmann, 2001:397), which had a distinct influence on the idea of public participation in urban planning theory, which eventually evolved under the nomenclature of communicative/collaborative planning (Theme 5 of Diagram 4.1).

Deliberate democracy implies a deliberative view of democracy in which society's problems are best solved through deliberation (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:13), rather than pure participation *per se*, which seems to create the impression that for planning to be 'democratic', citizens only need to be present in some manner, without actually being taken serious by those in authoritative positions. Participatory democracy assumes that individuals enjoy participating in politics (Hauptmann, 2001:401) and that people are always in a position to participate (Voogd, 2001:85). Other than participatory democracy, deliberative democracy does not promise sweeping changes in society and institutions (Hauptmann, 2001:402), painting a more realistic picture of society. Also, participatory democracy focuses too much on achieving consensus, even though a plurality of viewpoints publicly expressed can still be considered democratic from the deliberative viewpoint (Hauptmann, 2001:405).

Communicative/collaborative planning²⁵ seemed to reach a new dimension in the light of deliberate democracy, as seen from the sudden bloom of literature on the subject (see Figure 4.1). The main channels along which communicative planning developed from the 1980s onwards were those carved by Jürgen Habermas's communicative rationality (e.g. Forester, 1989; Healey, 1992), Michel Foucault's critique on Habermas (e.g. Flyvbjerg, 1998; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1977; Fischler, 2000; Huxley, 2000:369, and McGuirk, 2001), and subsequent planning scholars who combined the concepts of both Habermas and Foucault in an attempt to form a theoretical middle way (e.g. Healey, 1998; Stein & Harper, 2003 and Alexander, 2008). Healey (1992:154-155 *in* Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998:128) summarised the conditions of communicative planning as follows²⁶:

- Planning is a process that is interactive and interpretative.
- Plurality (Theme 8 of Diagram 4.1) and diversity in community characteristics and role players can be expected, especially in terms of points of public discussion.

²⁵ For the purpose of this research, communicative and collaborative planning is treated as a single entity, even though communicative planning developed in the UK (e.g. Healy, 1992) and collaborative planning subsequently in the USA (e.g. Booher & Innes, 2002). The aim of this chapter is not to differentiate between the two approaches. They are grouped because they both require some form of public participation based on the works of Habermas or Foucault (or both), and are often cited interchangeably or together in the planning literature. As such, when reference is made to 'communicative planning' further on in this research, it includes collaborative planning as an approach to public participation.

²⁶ The reader will notice the link between the conditions of communicative planning and the underlying principles of symbolic interactionism as discussed in Chapter 2.

- The manner of communication between role players should be respectful and open interculturally.
- The content of discussions is contextually driven. It should be a given that conflicting viewpoints²⁷ may occur.
- The participation process should be reflective and cyclical, instead of linear and rigid in terms of its original conception.
- Strategic discourses are more open and inclusive, opening the door to all interested and affected parties (Theme 2 of Diagram 4.1). This multiplicity and openness is supposed to generate new planning discourses.
- The interactive and multiple discourses enable participants to gain new knowledge, values, and understandings about the points of discussion from the other role players.
- Interactions between participants allow them to collaborate to find new solutions to their own and their community's planning needs by bringing practical solutions to the table.

Having described academia's changing view on democracy and its contribution to communicative planning, the following section will return to the influence of Habermas and Foucault on communicative planning.

3.3.1 Habermas and Foucault in urban planning: an introduction

According to Fischler (2000:358) there is no question that planning theory in the 1990s was dominated by communicative planning. This dominant focus in literature apparently indicated that urban planning is changing from modern expertise and politically controlled notions of the discipline, to a postmodern one of public deliberation and consensus building in practice (Fischler, 2000:361).

For Hauptmann (2001:400), Habermas's communicative rationality was strongly influenced by deliberative democracy. The idea of communication as central to planning became prominent by the late 1980s (Lauria & Soll, 1995:78) (Theme 5 of Diagram 4.1). This lay the groundwork for what was to become known as the 'deliberative turn' in planning, where communication – and not purely technical or legal knowledge as during the early post-war period in planning – forms the basis of planning actions. As Innes (1998:52) wrote, "[w]hat planners do most of the time is talk and interact...dialogue and other forms of communication in themselves change people and situations". Instead of a modern instrumental

²⁷ Note that the *reasons* for conflicting viewpoints were not yet really explored at this stage of urban planning theory. A reason that was eventually explored in planning, was NIMBYism, which is referred to later in this chapter and which has a connection to place attachment. This research aims to address this research opportunity by exploring one type of reason for conflicting viewpoints between urban planning and the community, which of course, is place attachment.

rationality²⁸ (Innes, 1998:52), planning was seen increasingly as a form of storytelling (e.g. Mandelbaum, 1991; Throgmorton, 1992; Bridger, 1997; Healey, 1998:14; Sandercock, 2003:11; Hampton, 2004:275; Grant, 2011:407; Van Hulst, 2012:300). Communication on a grassroots level became a medium through which public participation happened in planning and as such these 'stories' were given the power to influence physical urban development.

Though John Friedmann's transactive planning (1973) contributed largely to the idea of communication in participatory planning, it was mostly the works of Habermas and Foucault that laid the initial foundation of the deliberative turn in planning.

For easy comparison between the work of these two scholars, please read sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 together with Table 4.2.

3.3.2 Jürgen Habermas in communicative planning

The purpose of this section is not to give a detailed account of Habermas's work as it stands. Rather, it is to give an overview of how his communicative rationality was interpreted within communicative planning. It has subsequently been interpreted in various ways for use in planning, perhaps explaining why such a wide range of research exists on the subject (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1976).

3.3.2.1 The background

Habermas's work (e.g. 1984) is founded on the Kantian viewpoint of consensus as it relates to the reality of civil society as an extension of democracy (Flyvbjerg, 1998:211). Simply put, Habermas assumes a global acceptance of a civil society that achieves democracy through deliberation, with consensus on the relevant topic being the ultimate goal. It draws heavily, *inter alia*, on the writings of George Hebert Mead, is modern²⁹ in conception (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1975), and aimed at creating new and more democratic systems in society (Flyvbjerg, 1998:223).

3.3.2.2 The basics

According to Hauptmann (2001:400), Habermas's communicative rationality was strongly influenced by deliberative democracy. For Habermas, freedom in society is derived from universal norms (Flyvbjerg, 1998:223), meaning that differences between individuals, communities, cultures, and nations are not factored in as an important element of his work. As such, all individuals are treated in the same manner during deliberation and are assumed to hold the same ideals and perceptions about reality. The concepts

²⁸ Modern instrumental rationality in this context refers to the situation where technical and legal knowledge form the main basis of planning decisions, where the government's and urban planners' 'objective and scientifically-based' decisions carry the most weight in planning matters. Arguments that cannot be objectively verified by the public, are in such situations considered as invalid.

²⁹ Modern in this case refers to what is based on Enlightenment ideals, instrumental rationality and capitalism (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1975).

of civil society and democratic participation are built on the idea of the ideal speech process and ideal speech situation, which are universal, rational, situationally grounded, bottom-up and determined by the participants in that process. Reaching consensus between different parties is therefore i) a political process, ii) focusing on rational arguments and methods (as opposed to subjective experiences), iii) using the content determined by the relevant parties, iv) over issues within a specific context. Participation as a political action is therefore driven by a top-down political *process*, but is based on grassroots level political *content*. The outcome of such a situation is consensus; communicative rationality therefore has specific perceptions on how such communicative processes must proceed and what the outcomes of these processes are in civil society. How this is to be reached – despite power imbalances brought on by, for example, poverty and abuse, is, however, not explained (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

3.3.2.3 The critique

This is by all means not the only critique. Flyvbjerg (1998:216) and Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998:1977) view Habermas's pure communicative rationality as being too innocent of the influence of power in civil society and using it thus purely to study democracy in civil society will not give a true picture of reality. From their viewpoint, existing power relations between various role players will prevent a true democratic situation. Conflicting ideals will prevent the parties from reaching consensus. Habermas had a good understanding of political ideals, but not the processes. It is - in short - utopian, not particularly able to make sense of the issues of identity and cultural differences that are posed by minority groups and upcoming social movements in civil society (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Communicative rationality assumes that community – and thus civil society – can be defined as a single organism. Considering the acknowledged increasing multiplicity in the social spheres of cities (a topic discussed in detail by urban planner Leonie Sandercock) it becomes questionable whether it is in actual fact necessary – or valid – to reach a consensus with a social arena where such a diversity of values and opinions can be found (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1980).

Also, an ideal speech situation ignores the reality in which urban planning functions, which is largely institutionalised and often has to happen through designated, legal channels and procedures, driven by private individuals, urban planners, and municipal authorities, all with different goals and perceptions. A planning system that allows for appeal to planning decisions inherently indicates that Habermasian consensus was not successfully reached through a discursive participation process (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 1998).

This brings participatory planning back to the divide between modern-based participatory legislation and postmodern theoretical and grassroots perceptions on the impact that public participation is supposed to make in reality. Even if communities participate in the planning process, it seems that the final say often

comes from bureaucratic regulations and state resources (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000:334). For Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, communicative/collaborative planning "resembles little more than enhanced participation" by the community - more a 'life view' "based on a participatory perspective of democracy", less than a theory and more of an approach or tool to be used in practice (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1978). It enforces certain values (such as openness and consensus), bringing in an element of power it actually tries to avoid (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1979; Flyvbjerg, 1998:227). Also, communicative rationality ignores the individual in favour of the community (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1987): whose voice is to be heard in participation, the individual's or the collective's (Flyvbjerg, 1998:228)? This is an important point to take notice of, as town planning has often been motivated to work for the greater good. Finally, consensus reflects a desire to stifle rather than give voice to those in the margins of society (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998:1979).

In fact, discursive action may not even be the chosen route for civil groups to take action in civil society: a group can choose, for example, activism to achieve a goal (Hillier, 2000), rendering Habermas' communicative rationality non-functional in such a situation³⁰ (Flyvbjerg, 1998:226). Another situation where communicative rationality is not relevant is in the case of court cases, where cases are settled by power, "not by mutual understanding and agreement" (Flyvbjerg, 1998:227). Legal consensus might be reached, but not consensus on the level of the individual.

Also, communicative rationality wants to avoid instrumental rationality's power structures by replacing it with a new rationality on an institutional level. However, communicative rationality ignores power and motivation on the level of the individual stakeholder . Just because an open discursive planning process exists, it does not mean that the individual actors in that process will be open and honest in their argumentation (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1998).

3.3.3 Michel Foucault in communicative planning

The writings of Habermas's contemporary, Foucault, did much to stimulate debate in communicative planning, creating a clear line between Habermasian-based scholars and Foucauldian-based scholars. Whereas Habermasian planners tended to avoid issues of power, Foucauldian-based scholars embraced it.

³⁰ An example of this would be individuals following an *informal* participation route, like protesting. Often, but not always, informal participation includes cases of place protective action (refer to Chapter 3).

3.3.3.1 The background

The works of Foucault (e.g. 1980) - using Nietzschean domination and power³¹ as point of departure (Foucault, 1977:150-151; Flyvbjerg, 1998:211) - saw civil society as an extension of democracy.

3.3.3.2 The basics

Foucault views communication (rhetoric) as riddled by power from the beginning, as being non-rational and focused on keeping some form of *status quo* in society in an attempt to free various societal sectors from domination by others. It is not universalism that forms the normative foundation in civil society, but rather contextual norms based on a specific community's history and personal contexts (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

According to Flyvbjerg (1998:21), Foucault's view was that any form of government "must be subjected to analysis and critique based on a will not to be dominated, voicing concerns in public and withholding consent about anything that appears to be unacceptable". Public participation is therefore encouraged by Foucauldian logic, not as a way to reach consensus on planning matters, but rather to prevent domination of one affected party by another interested party. His norms for changes in society, however, rests not on universal norms (as is the case in Habermasian thinking), but rather socio-historic contextual norms. Law, policies and institutions, apparently, are not enough to ensure freedom, democracy or equality. Foucault's work focused on making existing institutions more democratic as they are in contemporary society, rather than creating a new institutional order as is the case with communicative rationality. As such, Foucauldian freedom is the option to resist and struggle in society. Conflict and power are inevitable in understanding civil society (Theme 6 of Diagram 4.1). The best way to fight political domination is through conflict and power relations. Therefore his focus on marginality opens the discussion to the topics of diversity and identity in civil society more than in the case of Habermas (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

3.3.3.3 The critique

This openness to embrace power and struggle into the language of communicative planning did not go unnoticed. More recently, the focus on power and struggle is considered an obstacle in participatory planning's productivity – it is, however, not the language of power that is needed in public participation, but rather the language of trust (Stein & Harper, 2003:137; Laurian, 2009:369). This seems to indicate a shift from the discussions of consensus, power, and struggle in deliberative planning as a *process*, towards creating the *pre-context* for deliberative planning as a *place* of trust where the various role

³¹ As an example of this: "The successes of history belong to those who are capable of seizing these rules, to replace those who had used them, to disguise themselves so as to pervert them, invert their meaning, and redirect them against those who had initially imposed them; controlling this complex mechanism, they will make it function so as to overcome the rulers through their own rules" (Foucault, 1977:151). For Foucault this means a continual struggle between parties to prevent being dominated by another party by doing the domination themselves.

players can be open about existing power relations, and the options to either struggle for a communicative outcome, or try for a relatively consensual outcome.

3.3.4 Concluding Habermas and Foucault: some thoughts on communicative planning

When comparing the influence of Habermas and Foucault on communicative planning (Table 4.2), the one does not necessarily have a bigger impact than the other in terms of public participation. Flyvbjerg's comparison between the two scholars identifies both the strengths and weaknesses that an analysis of civil society faces when applying either Habermasian or Foucauldian logic alone. A more balanced view on civil society (and thus participation) can be achieved by considering both scholars' works, as Habermas's universal, procedural and molar (large scale) points of departure enriches Foucault's particularistic, contextual, materialist and molecular (local scale) stance (Flyvbjerg, 1998:228).

Table 4.2 - A comparison of Habermas and Foucault in communicative planning (Source: Own compilation, 2014)

	Habermas	Foucault
The background	<p>Favours Kant and Mead.</p> <p>Views influenced by Nazism: conflict must be avoided as far as possible.</p> <p>Deliberation achieves democracy via reaching consensus.</p>	<p>Favours Nietzsche.</p> <p>Views influenced by Communism: consensus is not always good – diversity and conflict are more acceptable.</p> <p>Democracy cannot be reached through deliberation as every situation is riddled with pre-existing power structures.</p>
The basics	<p>Influenced by deliberative democracy.</p> <p>Equality is assumed for all actors.</p> <p>Participation is a top-down political process, based on grassroots level political content - the outcome is consensus through deliberation.</p>	<p>Government is something to be questioned by the public.</p> <p>Participation cannot reach consensus or be democratic. It can only prevent one group from being dominated by another, by dominating the other group itself.</p> <p>Conflict and power struggles are inevitable.</p>
The critique	<p>Power imbalances are ignored.</p> <p>Consensus is seen as good, while the regenerative and power-balancing properties of diversity are ignored.</p> <p>Does not take account of public participation as an institutionalised process, which means different goals and perceptions among actors.</p> <p>Ignores the individual in favour of the community.</p> <p>Actors may not choose discursive action as a line of action to participate in urban planning.</p>	<p>The language of power and struggle is not constructive to the productivity of public participation.</p> <p>The focus should rather fall on trust-building between actors.</p>

In this case, the role of the state and the public is clearly defined in communicative planning. However, the position of the planner in terms of specialised spatial knowledge in the planning process is questioned (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 1998:1984). For Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002:17), such thinking creates a situation of deprofessionalisation of planners, a sort of planner's angst (Booher & Innes, 2002:222): is planning as a discipline still necessary in the case where the public's or politicians' values and needs carry more weight than the professional knowledge and experience of the planner? And if they are valued as professionals, do all planners act from a moral base (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 1998:1985-1986)? Additionally, not all planners want to increase or better public participation in the planning process as is easily assumed from a participatory or deliberative democratic viewpoint. Besides this, not all participants in the communicative planning process possess the same level of knowledge, education and articulation - the playing field is therefore unequal from the start.

3.3.5 The 'other voices' of participation

By the 1990s, participation-based literature seemed far removed from its legislative inception in the late post-war years and already accepting of the Foucauldian and Habermasian influences on its development. Postmodern thinking was evident in planning literature, seen in an increasing call for the inclusion of alternative viewpoints, identities and demographics in planning literature (Lennie, 1999; Sandercock, 1995:78). As such, it became more acceptable to consider the stories from 'other voices' (Hillier & Van Looij, 1997:8). Participatory planning – for example – not only put the focus on social justice, but also on environmental justice (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:6) (Theme 2 of Diagram 4.1). Increasing interest in democratisation (Chetkovich & Earle, 1994:162) and environmental justice brought public participation to the forefront, especially in terms of conflict resulting from diverse interests in terms of development/preservation (Chetkovich & Earle, 1994:161). This expanded on the idea of communication as a means to mediate diverse interests in planning, but delved deeper by going to underlying values that cause the conflict, not only socio-cultural values, but also environmental values (Chetkovich & Earle, 1994:162) as a means to achieve some form of justice, even if on a theoretical level (Chetkovich & Earle, 1994:164).

On a theoretical level, participation was now not only the act of citizens contributing to the planning process; citizens had the right to voice their needs and offer their personal and localised knowledge in the development and management of their environment. Public participation moved from being an occasional concession from the state and planners towards citizens, to being a basic human need (Max-Neef, Elizalde & Hopenhayn, 1991:52), an integral part of human growth (Burkey, 1993:50) and human development (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2009:122). Including citizens in the planning process allows for the creation of collective, socially constructed knowledge (Innes, 1998:53), formed from technical

knowledge, personal experiences, stories of individuals (Innes, 1998:58), and even intuition (Innes, 1998:59).

The very basic assumption of public participation in urban planning therefore resides with the idea of democratic communication between interested and affected parties (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000:334). It is exactly a shaking in this foundation that seems to be driving the diversification of participatory literature in the 21st Century.

3.4 21st Century participatory planning literature

The new millennium created the impression that town planning scholars lost faith in a pure communicative approach to answer questions from planning theory and practice. Participatory literature multiplied during this period (see Figure 4.1). Increasingly, instances of cross-fertilising communicative planning theory with theories from other disciplines such as ethnography or community psychology appeared in planning literature (e.g. Manzo & Perkins, 2006:335; Maginn, 2007:25; Shmueli, Kaufman & Ozawa, 2008:360; Irazábal, 2009:116; Van Hulst, 2012:300). Also, communicative planning synced with internet-based technologies, as seen from attempts at e-participation and use of social media for participation from various corners of the globe (e.g. Simoff & Maher, 2000:86; Booher & Innes, 2002:222; Kingston, 2007:138; Brabham, 2009:258; Bugs, Granell, Fonts, Huerta & Painho, 2010:172; Evans-Cowley & Hollander, 2010:297; Åström, Granberg & Khakee, 2011:571; Hollander, 2011:587; Flyvbjerg, 2012:170) (Theme 4 of Diagram 4.1).

As such, three important themes arise from 21st Century planning literature: i) the influence of network theory on public participation in planning, ii) the questioning of the value of 20st Century communicative planning, and iii) an increasing focus on the role that emotional aspects play in participatory planning. The rest of this section will be discussed according to these themes.

3.4.1 The Information Age: networking participation

Scholars dabbling in web-based research in participatory planning introduced network theory into planning literature (Booher & Innes, 2002:223). The change of focus from instrumental to deliberative rationality in planning theory did not mean that planning systems on a pragmatic level adapted just as eagerly (Sandercock, 2000a:14), creating a situation where participation channels split along at least two ways: formal and informal³². Formal institutionalised participation pathways include written objections

³² Alexander (2008:59) identified several different forms of public participation, of which institutionalised participation (formal participation channels) and informal participation channels (e.g. lobbying) are only two. The others include i) planning by referendum, ii) appointment of representatives from outside the planning system to planning boards, iii) consultation with interested and affected parties outside of the planning system, usually early on outside of the formal planning process, iv) tools such as surveys, and v) planning processes that include opportunities for the public to lodge objections, attend hearings and appeal (the latter is assumed as part of the formal institutionalised participation process as used in this research).

and appeals from the public (e.g. Alexander, 2008:57) – as is usually required by planning legislation – and the verbal output of planners and other officials about their knowledge and practice experiences (Fischler, 2000:358) (Theme 3 of Diagram 4.1). Informal pathways include lobbying, protests, signing petitions, or networking through social media on the web (e.g. Hillier, 2000:34-37; Skinner, 2008:187).

Seen from the Habermasian/Foucauldian discussion earlier on in this chapter, the formal participation channels *seem* to adhere more to the principles of Habermasian logic, where top-down democratic political processes allow citizens to voice their concerns based on proposed town planning applications (grassroots level concerns). Informal participation channels seem to link more with Foucauldian logic, where grassroots level concerns expressed through protesting, seem to indicate a ‘struggle’ to move power from an ‘oppressive’ party (institutionalised participation procedures and actors) to those being ‘oppressed’ (the affected community).

Network theory (Theme 4 of Diagram 4.1) is another way to explain these diverging participation channels. Hillier studied social networks and lobbying in Western Australian urban planning as a form of communicative action that falls outside of Habermasian communicative rationality (Hillier, 2000:33). She refers to lobbying (e.g. taking direct action against a planned development by oneself chaining to trees or signing petitions) as public objecting that falls outside the formal realm of communicative actions associated with communicative planning practice (Hillier, 2000:34). Lobbying or direct action, however, usually link only to those powerful and organised enough to take such action, leaving the resource poor and other marginalised groups from the loop (Hillier, 2000:39), returning the debate to the question of how planners can achieve just participation.

For Booyer and Innes (2002:223), technological inventions make interactive communication and information flows globally possible, decentralising power from traditional institutions (Theme 3 of Diagram 4.1) to the individual or networked individuals (Booyer & Innes, 2002:224). The power of the network lies in diversity, the bringing together of various personal experiences, interests, values, knowledge and resources to create new collectively and socially constructed conditions and solutions (Booyer & Innes, 2002:227). Individuals who participate in networks usually do so in self-interest and for personal motivations that are furthered or shared by the network (Booyer & Innes, 2002:227).

Such networked participation circles back to the debate of what the purpose of participation in planning is supposed to achieve, and what is considered to be just planning: should planning solve the problems of the individual or the collective society (Voogd, 2001:77)? Whose voices and needs will be heard (Campbell, 2006:103)? The network theory of collaborative planning also leads to the position of the planner becoming one where the planner is considered the unifier of network members and a facilitator

of information spreading (Booher & Innes, 2002:232), possibly nullifying the professional knowledge that a planner can contribute to the creation of places. This definition of the planner, however, puts the professional outside the mandate of one who contributes to the forming of space and place (see for instance Healey, 1998, 1999 and Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000).

The neglecting of the spatial elements of planning in favour of social-technological elements was not the only point of critique against participatory planning literature. Some scholars started questioning the value of communicative planning theory, of which some (though not all) points of critique are succinctly indicated in the following section.

3.4.2 'Not the Holy Grail': questioning participatory planning theory

Communicative planning did not turn out to be "the 'Holy Grail' as some enthusiastic proponents seemed to suggest" (Voogd, 2001:79). Communicative action seemed to impose a western rationality over other cultures, was too normative to explain reality, and focused too narrowly on communication aspects (Hoch, 2007:272). Human difference and diversity is a given in the postmodern city and the planning profession and literature must find constructive ways to deal with this (Sandercock, 2000a:14). Planning systems seem slow to respond to diversity, especially when considering that the dominant culture's norms and values often form the basis of the existing legislative and policy frameworks of planning (Sandercock, 2000a:15). Even when professing democracy - as is the case for the legal planning framework in the west - a majority rule is implied and once the majority has spoken, differences in society will "disappear" or "go along" with the majority's viewpoint (Sandercock, 2000a:15; Hauptmann, 2001:399). How democracies reach consensus through justifying majority decisions and imposing them on differing minorities' opinions is an ongoing subject of concern for deliberative theorists (Hauptmann, 2001:399).

Additionally, Beebejaun and Vanderhoven (2010:283) and Alexander (2008:57) proposed that formal participation in planning is not effective and enhances conflict. This concurs with Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998:1987) and Mahjabeen, Shrestha and Dee (2009:46) in the view that the institution wins with institutionalised participation, and not those of the public who participate. In South Africa, Human, Marais and Botes' research (2009:1) seem to indicate that institutionalised participation is not effective as it does not cater for the community's requirements. Winkler (2011:258) concluded that if no political will exists to include the public's rights into the planning process, the "transformative potential of active citizenship may remain unrealized". Public participation alone, it seems, cannot lead to democracy and must be used as a basis for re-envisioning the state in order to achieve democracy (McBride, 2000:507).

Finally, other scholars saw the need to change the focus from the ideal speech situation and the influence of power in communicative planning: a language of trust must be built into communicative planning's public participation approach (Stein & Harper, 2003:137; Laurian, 2009:369). This might seem - as one of the participants (CS3 Participant 3) in a case study aptly put it - "softy-softy", but there seems to be a growing need to consider the 'softer side of being human' within the rigid lines of institutionalised public participation and sterile communicative planning theory, which brings this discussion to the final theme of 21st century participatory planning theory.

3.4.3 Shifting focus: communicating the emotional aspects of physical place

One of the challenges for the 21st century planner is acknowledging the role of emotions within planning, despite a disciplinary background that for many years devalued emotion as irrational³³ and incompatible with the way planning functions (Sandercock, 2004) (Theme 7 of Diagram 4.1). In essence, this means that "emotions have taken over and rational thought has been overcome or suppressed" (Feldman-Barrett & Russel, 1999 *in* Cass & Walker, 2009:62), a state which signifies chaos to the traditional rational planning mind-set.

The increased interest in the emotional or intangible aspects surrounding the physical environment, such as place, place identity, place attachment, and sense of place are also found in other disciplines (Patterson & Williams, 2005). Both qualitative and quantitative research in psychology, sociology, anthropology, humanistic geography, forestry, resource management, architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and town and regional planning contributed to place research. Geography in particular, according to Patsy Healey (2004), contributed considerably to research on what is termed 'relational geography', an approach that challenges Euclidean geography by seeing the physical environment as a social construct, "generated as meanings are given in particular social contexts to particular sites, areas, nodes of intersection, etc." (Healey, 2004:47). The physical environment is therefore not only a tangible, measurable pre-existing object, it is in fact also an intangible and even symbolic construct of the human mind, expressed as place meanings.

Physical places continue to have importance to humans as they provide a physical context that speaks to the needs of individuals as they negotiate their everyday life (Healey, 1998:4). Place qualities provide the foundation for the global and local economic existence of places within their geological, hydrological and climatological context (Healey, 1998:5). Place qualities are not only important on the socio-cultural and demographic level of individuals and groups, but also to companies and institutions that support the community of a place. Healey highlights the social construction of meanings that individuals, groups and

³³ Emotional aspects, as 'irrational' responses, would have no validation in Habermas's ideal speech situation that rests on 'rational' argumentation.

even companies create from places, creating a hotbed of often conflicting perceptions about these places (Healey, 1998:5). Such socially constructed knowledge has the ability to influence planning outcomes on a different level as do purely scientific or technical knowledge in the technical rationality of modern planning - it taps into the emotional and personal motivations of individuals, as it was partially created from their own understanding of the world (Innes, 1998:55).

Spatially based research on such affective-related topics has been stealthily increasing (refer to Diagram 4.1). Signs of its heightened status as researchable topic can be viewed in a growing number of research articles on place-based affective elements in development sciences, such as Truelove (2012), Devine-Wright (2011, 2005), Devine-Wright and Howes (2010), Cass and Walker (2009), Murtagh (2004), and Buchecker, Hunziker & Kienast (2003). Changes in the physical landscape can create a change in place meanings (Davenport & Anderson, 2005:638), either creating support or opposition to such changes (Radmilli, 2011:184; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2011:277; Cass & Walker, 2009:62). Though various reasons can be given for opposition or support for development (for example NIMBYism), social and personal place symbolism is increasingly acknowledged to play a role (Cass & Walker, 2009:62; Devine-Wright, 2005:136).

Fairness and justice is often linked to opposition in development and when such opposition is not acknowledged, feelings of unfairness and injustice towards the planning process can follow (Cass & Walker, 2009:64). Opposition to development is often a psychological mechanism ('place protection') to cope with changes or perceived changes in the physical environment (Devine-Wright, 2009:9). Often oppositional emotions are very likely to be expressed in both formal and informal participation channels (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010:227; Devine-Wright, 2009:9). However, there exists a strand of thought that actively discredits such public opposition to developments on the argument that emotions are irrational and subjective, lacking the rigor of science and can therefore not be taken seriously (Cass & Walker, 2009:64). Often this is linked to high negative arousal responses by objectors, sometimes leading to violence and intimidation, which is considered to be unreasonable and unacceptable (Cass & Walker, 2009:65), even though council members themselves have been accused of making planning decisions based on emotional reasons (Cass & Walker, 2009:66).

In other cases objectors themselves perceive their emotional opposition to development in a more 'rational' way – they 'rationalise' their emotion by metamorphing it to an issue which is usually considered to be more valid (Cass & Walker, 2009:66), like a 'scientifically objective' objection based on technical or environmental grounds. This seems to indicate a perception that although the planning profession accepts that landscapes can be infused with emotional aspects (like place attachment indicates), the planning process "cannot be seen to be determined by emotionally driven judgements"

(Cass & Walker, 2009:67). Though emotions in planning are acknowledged *theoretically*, in *practice* deliberations are seemingly stripped of emotions by cushioning it in rational arguments.

Alternatively, although feelings of place protectiveness can exist in a community, these emotions can be overruled by other emotions – such as fear of being ostracised from the rest of the community – creating a culture of non-participation in planning (Buchecker *et al.*, 2003). Emotions can therefore be a motivation for public participation, as well as for non-participation.

This implies the importance of the interpersonal emotional appeal of proposed developments and public participation practices, a definitive break from purely technical and discursive approaches to urban planning. Narratives or storytelling offers a way to deal with the personal, symbolic and emotional aspects that underlie conflict due to diversity in another way than would most probably have been achieved using technical rationality thinking (Sandercock, 2000a:26). Emotional involvement from participants form a crucial part of the negotiation process of 21st century planning (Sandercock, 2000a:26), as does an empathetic stance from the planner's position (Sandercock, 2000a:28). On this matter I want to point out that in emphasising the emotional appeal of places for urban planners, it is not implied that urban planners are insensitive professionals, but that town planning as a discipline should place more importance on understanding the intangible aspects – like place attachment – that come into play during public participation (Davenport & Anderson, 2005:639). Conversely, town planners can often only act within the given structures and procedures of their institution and in such cases the public too needs to empathise with this context (Albrechts, 2002).

4. Participatory planning theory and the global South

The development of participatory literature described in the above sections are all firmly based in what Harrison refers to as the 'global North' (2014) and Roy (2009a) as the EuroAmerican urban experience. In short, it is the knowledge accumulated regarding the experience of public participation in urban planning in a developed country context.

Since the early years of the 21st Century, however, a handful of scholars emerged in what has been termed the 'southwards turn' in planning theory (Harrison, 2014:69), an intellectual vantage point shift into the global South, focusing on the planning realities of 'less developed' geographies like Africa, South America, and India. Part of the reason for the emergence of this southwards turn in planning theory was the realisation that the planning contexts wherein the normative theories - like communicative planning - were developed, e.g. few extreme occurrences of poverty, relative ease of access to resources, and a healthy civil society, were not always relevant for the global South (Harrison, 2014:68; Roy, 2005:147; Watson, 2002:28). Additionally, urban realities in the global South are often dichotomous in nature with

an old colonial urban core, well-serviced and well-structured, surrounded by newer postcolonial urban areas, often characterised by makeshift shelters, unregulated land occupation, and lack of services (Watson, 2002:40). Town planning in the global South therefore often faces much harsher and contrasting situations than those described by theory in the global North, increasing the gap between normative planning theories and the realities town planners have to face on the ground in the global South³⁴ (Harrison, 2014:68).

One of these gaps that global Northern theories fail to address is that of the subject of informality, which includes the informal process and the product of space creation, as well as socio-economic activities within the 'informal economy' in the urban context, or 'grey spaces' as Roy (2005) refers to them (Roy, 2009a; Roy, 2009b; Yiftachel, 2009). This creates an assumption that any global South planning research should take note of the role that informality plays within an urban setting.

Another assumption from the global South perspective relates to the topic of power. Up until now the southwards turn in planning theory has not yet fully matured, especially within the context of a state driven by "a complex mix of agendas" and wherein "some insurgent practices are socially damaging and undemocratic", insurgent practices like xenophobic-driven violence and vigilante activity (Harrison, 2014:69-70). Because of this, there also seems to be an assumption that any planning research undertaken in the global South *should* focus on the power play that the southern context suggests.

A final aspect that research in the global South assumes is that in some cases the world views between the individuals planned for and those doing the planning - partly because of the dichotomy in such southern societies - are too different to reach a form of consensus or understanding as communicative planning (especially Habermasian theory) would suggest (Watson, 2003). Such cases in the global South where insurgent practices against the state happen due to world view differences are not Foucauldian in the sense that it fosters democracy - rather, it is deemed as destructive and undemocratic due to violent actions on the part of the community, as already described above by Harrison (2014).

In the light of these three assumptions of the southwards turn in planning theory, how does participatory planning literature fare in a southern context? This research's position with regard to the body of literature presented in this chapter is such that it agrees more with the Foucauldian perspective on participatory planning. Considering the global South context wherein this research is situated, the multiplicity present and the dichotomous nature of the South African society, it seems that not much

³⁴ In an interesting paper regarding the 'theory-practice gap' in town planning, Lord (2014) goes as far as to claim that this gap is increasing because of the epistemological basis that has been widely used to generate phenomenologically-based knowledge in town planning. Communicative planning has been identified as one of the theories that actually increase and even create this gap because of its epistemological basis. This research, however, does not support this claim wholly, as it proposes that an approximation of lived realities can be integrated into town planning practice in a sensible manner in a later chapter.

hope exists for reaching consensus. Nor do the often politically-driven development agendas (e.g. 'housing and basic services for all') of local councils (see for instance Harrison (2014) and Watson (2003)) create a feeling of trust between communities and local authorities that the just and democratic choice will be made. Conversely, local authorities and development agents can expect that negotiations via public participation can turn insurgent and violent. This may increase the local authorities' and developers' reluctance to invite members of the public to participate in development matters.

Where this research's position differs from that of the Foucauldian perspective, is that in some cases the politically-driven government development decisions and the violently insurgent reactions of the public create a dangerous socio-political mix in terms of development that falls outside the realm of Foucauldian theorisation (see also Harrison, 2014). In such extreme situations communicative planning from the global North will in all probability fail. The researcher, however, wants to caution the reader that not all planning situations in South Africa are as extreme as described above, as will the three case studies chosen for this research illustrate in later chapters.

The nature of the three case studies chosen does not fall within the extremities described by Harrison (2014) and Watson (2003). In fact, comparing the happenings of the three case studies with both global North and global South planning theories, the case studies show more similarities to the situations described by northern theories than that of southern theories: all happened within a long-established urban area with sufficient bulk infrastructure and services, peopled by individuals with relatively ease of access to resources to interact in the place-making process. As such, this research finds alignment with the existing global North theories on participatory planning a much better fit to research the case studies, than the extremities that form the focus of southern theories.

5. Conclusion

The scope of participatory planning literature is vast and intricate. A simple way to describe the development of public participation in urban planning is to follow its development chronologically and as a social construction reflecting mainstream perceptions and values of a time. Public participation in planning grew from a legislative inception on state level, morphing into social action on grassroots level, deinstitutionalising itself socially, while being increasingly institutionalised at the same time on a professional and governmental level. The age old gulf between what can be done on a legal institutionalised level and what needs to be done or is expected to be done on a community level is ever present due to the fact that societal values change faster than societal systems can adapt. Institutionalised public participation – as a societal system – will most probably always be behind on reflecting current societal needs and values. Analysing institutionalised participation procedures and approaches can therefore be equated with an archaeological excavation of previous-era participation

views, while analysing community level participation – formal or informal – can act as a crystal ball view of future institutional approaches. An interesting example of such is the increasing use of electronic media and web-based technology as a way that municipalities communicate with communities and offer opportunities for participation. This reflects the manner in which the institutionalised participation system – with its inception before the Information Age – has eventually adapted to more current societal changes that characterise society in the Information Age.

Whereas intangible emotional aspects – often voiced in the form of stories – are currently mostly not accepted as valid in institutionalised participation practices in planning, recent research (e.g. Ujang, 2014; Truelove, 2012; Devine-Wright, 2011; Cass & Walker, 2009) seem to indicate that they do play a role in the planning process, often through informal participation or cloaked as technical arguments in the formal participation processes. The expectation is thus that these aspects will eventually be reflected in the formal channels of participation in planning.

The following chapter discusses the research design for this research.

Chapter 5

Research design

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the motivation for and detail regarding the research design.

1. Introduction

Contemporary controversies – in the case of this research, (for example) environmental change brought on by the destruction of prominent built heritage for ill-fitting land uses changes - can provide the spark for research (Tracy, 2010:840). This research is not about quantifying public participation in town planning, it is about experiences of individuals regarding environmental change - induced by town planning actions like rezonings - and the actions they took through public participation or place-protective actions to prevent or minimise the effect of the environmental change on the quality of their lives and environment.

Qualitative research studies the world from the person under study's viewpoint, with the accompanying subjective meanings and experiences forming a critical part of the research (Schmid, 1981). A qualitative approach was deemed appropriate for this research as it emphasised the importance of contextual knowledge (Creswell, 1994:5) and experiences. An inductive approach was applied to explore the participant's place attachment experiences, since this allowed the investigation of the meanings that participants have to make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world in their natural settings, something that is sometimes difficult to capture with a quantitative research design (Neuman, 2011:105; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:3; Merriam, 1998, *in* Creswell, 1994:145).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the motivation for and detail regarding the research design. It discusses the ontological and epistemological stance from which the research was conducted, and provides detail regarding the choice of research design (multiple case studies), data generation methods, the way data analysis was approached, trustworthiness, and ethical issues.

2. Ontological and epistemological stance

In the case of this study, the researcher took a subtle realism stance. Research cannot be objective, for although an objective reality does exist, it can only be perceived subjectively through the lens of human perception and these perceptions vary as much as there are individuals in this world (Neumann, 2011:101). This research therefore reflects one subjective viewpoint of reality, influenced by the researcher's own experience, and as such it is necessary for the reader to understand that the researcher has a specific positionality within this research.

The researcher's positionality was influenced by her training and experience as a South African town planner. She was trained in a school of thought that evaluated development and the physical environment from a socio-economic and spatially 'objective' viewpoint, with this evaluation being expressed largely in a technical language. The researcher's position is also influenced by her experiences as part of a community participating in a town planning process. As part of the public, her role in the participation process changed and – standing on the same 'side' as the general public – she experienced the town planning process very differently than what she did when participating as a town planner. As part of the public, the researcher's attachment to a specific location actually prompted her to participate in the town planning process when a specific location was threatened by a proposed development. Had it not been for this place attachment - threatened by environmental change brought on by a development proposal – the researcher would not have participated.

These experiences from the different sides of the participation fence were the inspiration for this research, as this incongruence between the researcher's experiences of the public participation process as a town planner differed from her experience thereof as part of the community. One of the researcher's aims was to determine whether other members of the public were motivated to participate in the town planning process for similar reasons (if at all), and if so, how their affective experiences of a physical place motivated them to participate.

The researcher's epistemological stance was derived from the constructionist-interpretive approach, meaning that even if an objective reality exists, social reality is shaped by the meanings and beliefs that individuals create through their own experiences and positionalities (Neuman, 2011:102). Institutional and physical structures exist in this social reality, but these structures only have meaning once individuals evaluate them within a certain context (Neuman, 2011:103). Context is therefore important in this research and also supports the case study methodological design.

The researcher's ontological and epistemological stance translated into research that was qualitative and aimed to explore and understand in-depth selective meanings and attachments in a small number of specific cases. Some would argue that these experiences cannot make a valuable contribution to the participation process. However, exploring place attachment within the participation process can bring forth knowledge that might enrich humankind's understanding of just how deep the actions of town planners reach into the human psyche. In doing so, it can lessen time delays and unexpected financial costs both for developers and community members who oppose new urban developments. More importantly, it can smooth the way of the often negatively experienced participation process for

developers, planners, municipal agents, and those members of the public who volunteer their time, resources, and expertise to the physical development of their city.

3. Rationale for the research approach

The rationale for the research design is motivated by the type of research design and the research context.

3.1 Qualitative research design

A qualitative research design was deemed appropriate for this research, because the nature of the research topic:

- required an explorative and interpretive research design – participants’ place attachments and their reasons for participating in the public participation process were not something that could be determined beforehand, but needed to emerge from the field (Institute of Public & International Affairs, 2009),
- could most appropriately be understood by an in-depth situational inquiry (Tracy, 2010:845; Tracy, 1995:209), and
- needed to reflect findings from a real-world situation (Patton, 2001:39)

Qualitative research refers to any type of research that does not use statistical procedure or other quantifying means to produce research findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:17). Qualitative research in general is focused on in-depth understanding of specific cases in order to “produce historically and culturally situated knowledge” (Tracy, 2010:845). The purpose with this research was to “bring clarity to confusion, make visible what is hidden or inappropriately ignored, and generate a sense of insight and deepened understanding” (Tracy, 1995:209) to a specific type of conflict situation: how to find common ground between an urban planner’s interpretation of a planning situation and the experiences and actions of the community towards the planning situation.

The cases selected for this research were selected to provide an in-depth understanding of a real-life phenomenon happening in a very specific place while sparking controversy, as Tracy (2010:840) aptly put it. As such, this research was not intended to be representative of (for example) all rezoning or demolition applications happening in South Africa or internationally; rather, it was intended to provide illumination on a phenomenon that is conceptually and practically compelling (Tracy, 2010:840).

3.2 Research context

The Tlokwe Municipality was identified as a municipality with a high economic development potential (North West Provincial Government, 2005:10). The location of the Tlokwe Local Municipality (hereafter

referred to as the Tlokwe LM) along the N12 Treasure Corridor plays an important role in growth of the municipality (Tlokwe Local Municipality, 2014:30; North West Provincial Government, 2005). The Tlokwe Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2014-2015 (Tlokwe Local Municipality, 2014) and the Potchefstroom Spatial Development Framework (Tlokwe Local Municipality, 2010) both anticipate high potential economic growth in the municipality due to its status as primary regional node in the North West Province. Investment conditions are particularly favourable for residential housing development due to the continued expansion of the North-West University in the city. Considering the number of residential buildings completed per municipality in the North West Province, it can be seen that the number of dwelling houses reported as completed in the municipality has remained above 100 units per year between 2004-2012³⁵ (Figure 5.1), while apartments and town house developments are the highest in the province in the same period (Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

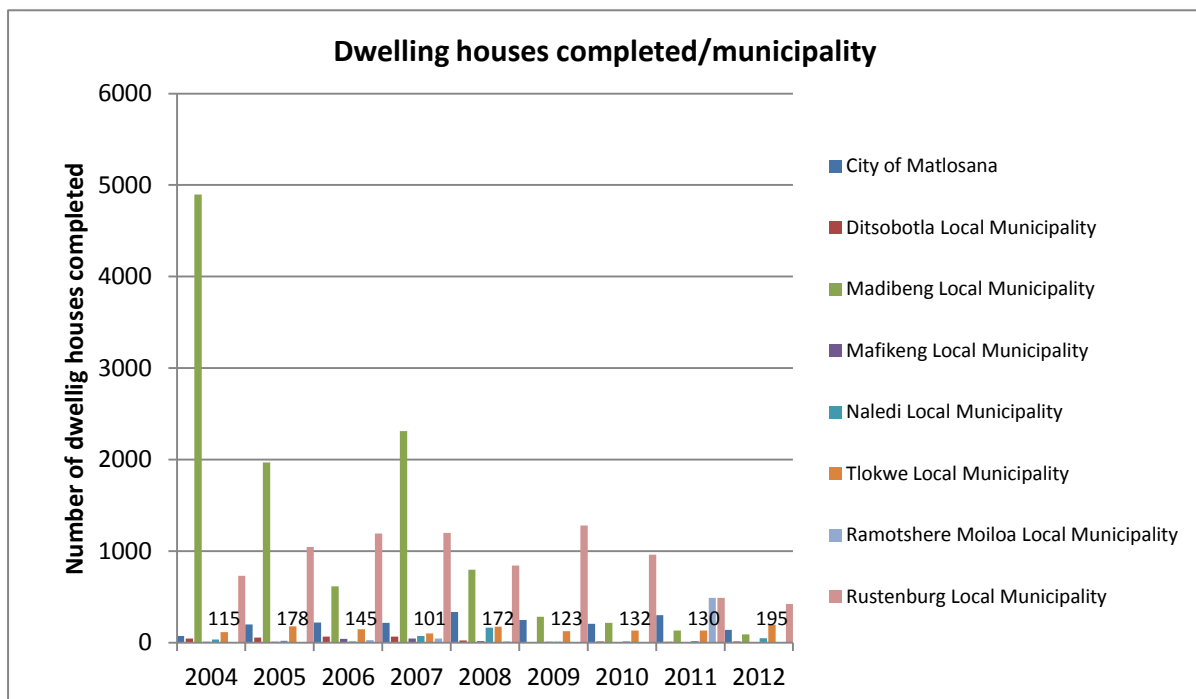


Figure 5.1- Number of dwelling houses reported as completed per municipality in the North West Province (Source: Stats SA, 2004-2012).

Figures 5.1 to 5.3 indicate that the number of dwelling houses completed in the Tlokwe Local Municipality varied between 115 and 195 units completed per year (which is low when compared to municipalities like Madibeng and Rustenburg for the same period). However, the number of townhouses and apartments completed in Tlokwe in the same period was consistently higher – and in certain cases – the highest when compared to the other municipalities in the province.

³⁵Building data sheets were compiled by Stats SA and were available for the period 2004-2012 at the time of writing this research. However, the data sheets available covered the period for all the case studies within this research.

The completion of apartments in Tlokwe between 2004 and 2012³⁶ is notable, indicating the dominance of new apartment-style housing developments over new lower density (one unit per 1 000m²) single dwelling houses.

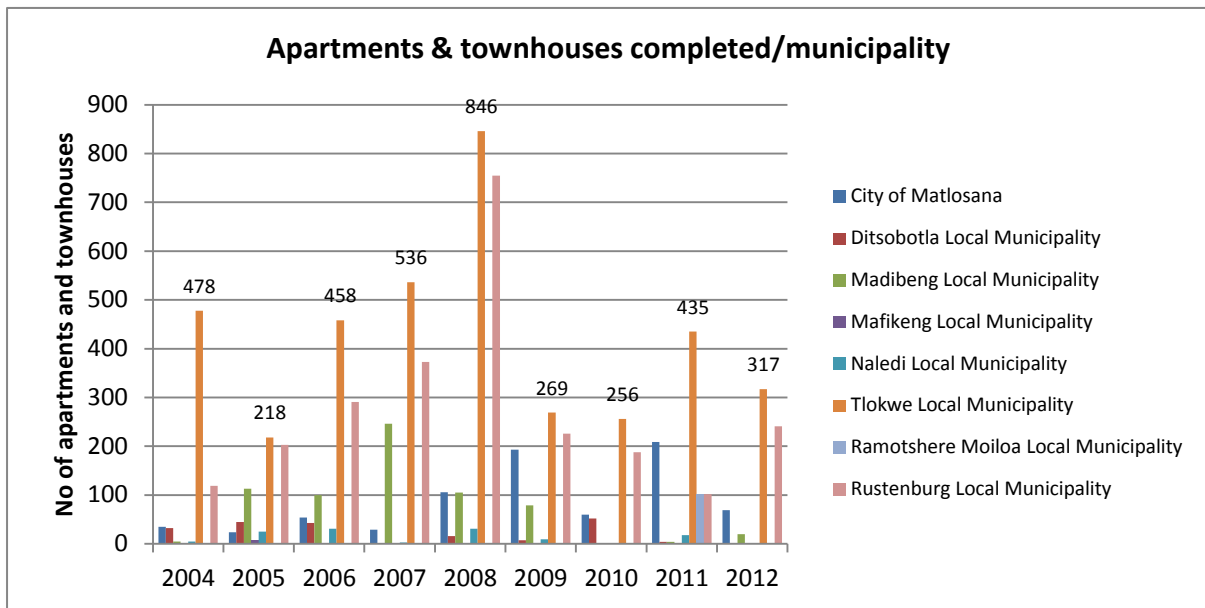


Figure 5.2 - Number of apartments and townhouses reported as completed per municipality (Source: Stats SA, 2004-2012).

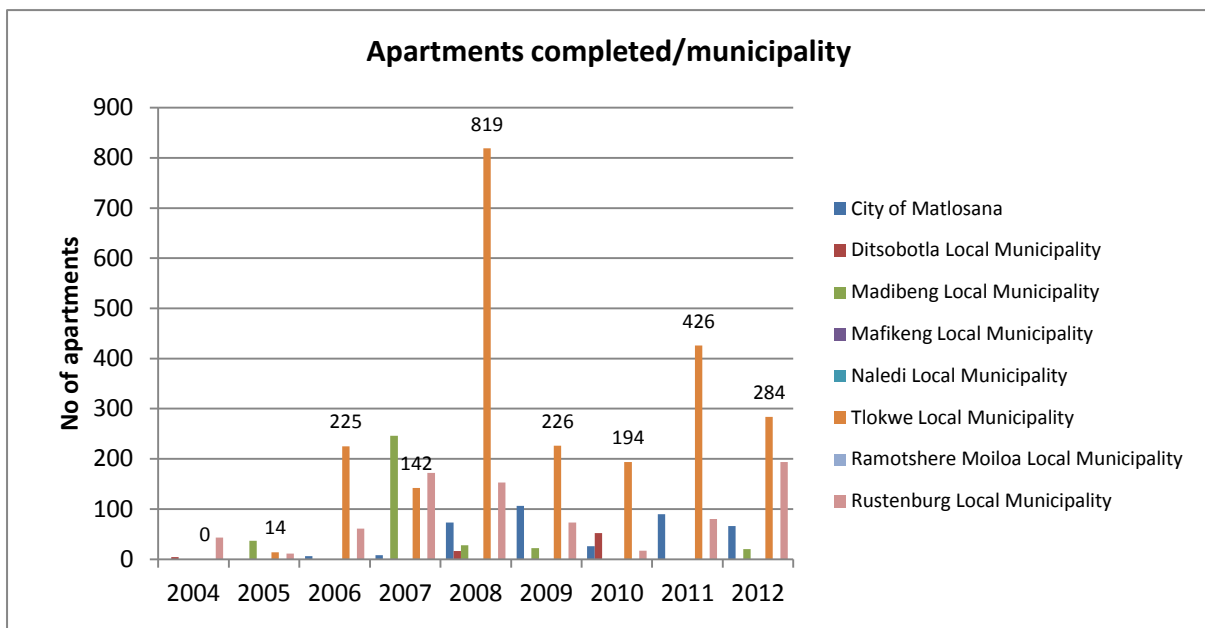


Figure 5.3 - Number of apartments reported as completed per municipality (Source: Stats SA, 2004-2012).

In research on public participation in Tlokwe Local Municipality, interviews with key informants - including members of authoritative bodies regarding development in the study area, such as the Development Tribunal and the Townships Board - confirmed that the Tlokwe Local Municipality has

³⁶ The reader will notice that the number of residential units peaked in 2008, fell noticeably in 2009, but showed signs of recovery thereafter. This pattern was influenced by the international economic recession period of 2008/2009, which impacted visibly on the construction sector.

higher occurrences of negative community reactions towards development than any other local municipality in the North-West Province (Member of the Development Tribunal, 2013; Member of the Townships Board, 2013). Considering the great number of apartments ("Residential 3" zoning), it is understandable why the Tlokwe LM has such an observable response towards such developments, while the provision of single dwelling houses have not kept up to the same extent.

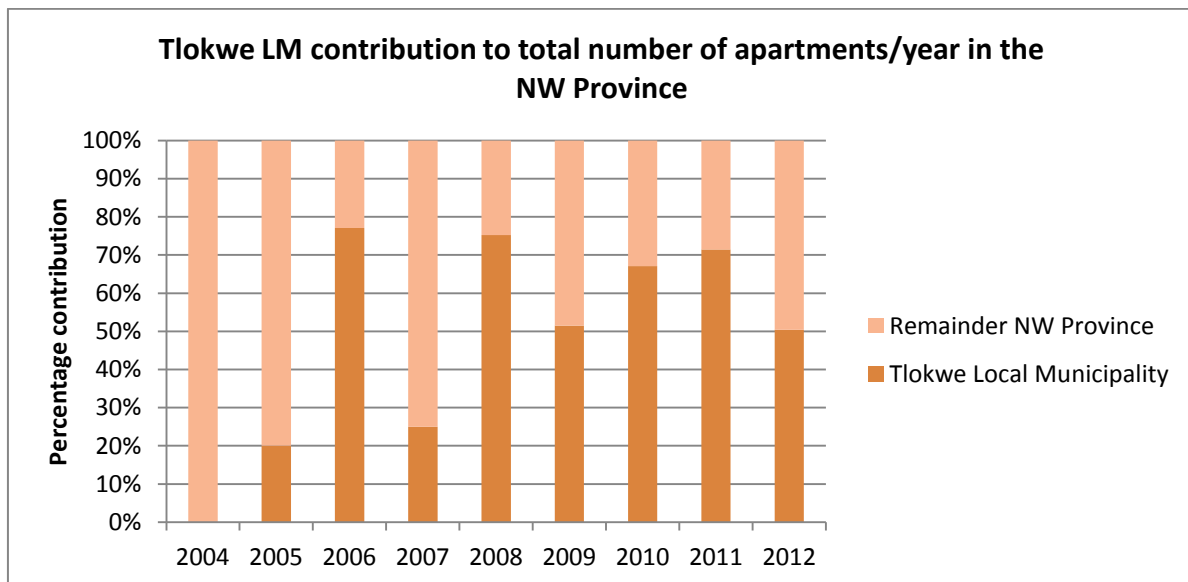


Figure 5.4 - Total contribution of Tlokwe LM to the number of apartments completed in the North West Province (Source: Stats SA, 2004-2012).

The Tlokwe Local Municipality can therefore be considered an appropriate starting point for researching the phenomenon of place attachment within the public's participation in urban planning processes, based on:

- the fact that higher density apartment-style residential developments has been the prevailing form of development in the Tlokwe LM for the period 2004-2012, which is the period wherein the events of all the case studies happened;
- apartment type development garnered the most objections during the rezoning process from any other type of development application; and
- all the case studies are connected to apartment-type development.

4. The multiple case study research approach

A case study approach is ideal for generating data from real-life situations when little is known about a subject (Eisenhardt, 2002:31). Case studies can be utilised to describe or explore contemporary situations or phenomena (Yin, 2003). Both these aspects are relevant for this research that aims to understand certain real-world relationships.

A multiple case study approach allowed the selection of more than one case study to illustrate the same issue (Creswell, 2007:74), which also ensured replication (Yin, 2003). Initial aspects to take notice of are

the issues of reliability and transferability in qualitative case study research (Tracy, 2010; Yin, 2009). The researcher has to clearly convey every step taken during the preparation, data generation, and analysis phases to elucidate reliability and replicability to the reader. Also, the same protocol needs to be used in every case study. It was the researcher's aim throughout Chapters 6 to 8 to be as clear as possible on the steps followed in each of the case studies, which were based on a standard research protocol (Annexure A).

An embedded multiple case study approach was followed, whereby more than one unit of analysis was used for each case study (Yin, 2003:40). A case study approach, according to Eisenhardt (2002:8), "focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings". Characteristic of the case study method is that various data generation methods can be used, as in the case of this research (Eisenhardt, 2002:9).

One pilot study (which doubled as the first case study) and two other case studies are included in this research. As each case study contains two units of analysis, this creates enough data on the topic without becoming too complex or too unconvincingly thin (Eisenhardt, 2002:27). For a visual summary of the research method and design, refer to Figure 5.5.

4.1 Population

The research population was town planning applications. All town planning applications that were filed in Tlokwe Municipality from 1983³⁷ until 2013 (the year the data generation took place) were considered as the research population. However, not all town planning applications elicit emotional responses from community members. It is common for development projects to be approved by the local authority with only minor alterations and no objections³⁸. For this research to make a theoretical contribution it was necessary to identify applications that created an observable public response³⁹. An observable public response is when a project was mentioned in a local newspaper, was a topic of discussion at a ward community meeting, received written objections, or in some cases was informally identified by local municipal planners as a high profile project. A town planning application was chosen for this research when it conformed to at least one of the above.

³⁷Town planning records for the Municipality exist from 1983, as the City's Town Planning Scheme became fully functional at that date.

³⁸The researcher thanks Dries Goosen for providing access to his research pertaining to objections received against development projects in the Tlokwe Municipality for the period 1991-2008.

³⁹The 'public' or 'community' will from this point onwards refer to both a community or neighbourhood as a whole, and specific sections or different factions of the public or community within a town or city. A community or neighbourhood is rarely a unified homogenous entity, but as a discussion on this topic falls outside the boundaries of this research, it is only mentioned in passing.

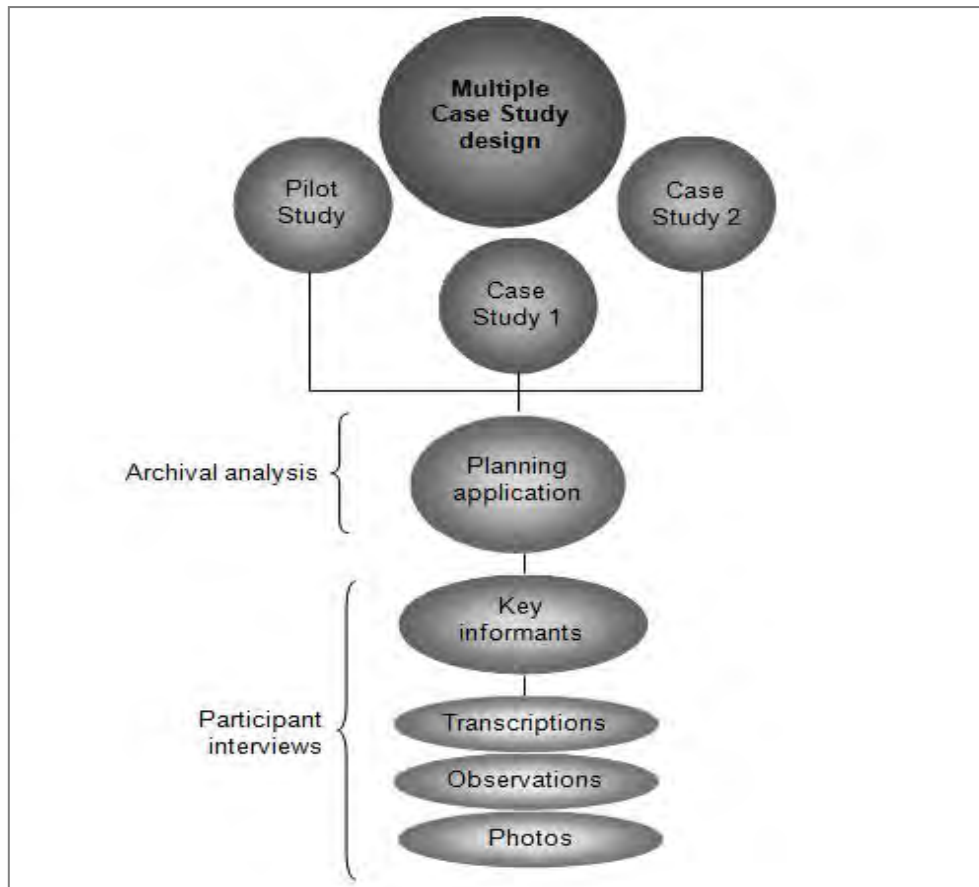


Figure 5.5 – Summary of the research design and methods.

4.2 Units of analysis

In this research, the first unit of analysis for a case study is a town planning application. Depending on the planning legislation involved, a town planning application is considered to be one of the following:

- i. The document created in an instance where “[a]n owner of land who wishes to have a provision of a town-planning scheme relating to his land amended may, in such manner as may be prescribed, apply in writing to the local authority...” (Town Planning and Townships Ordinance 15 of 1986);
- ii. The document created to apply for land development, where “‘land development’ means any procedure aimed at changing the use of land for the purpose of using the land mainly for residential, industrial, business, small-scale farming, community or similar purposes...” (Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995⁴⁰); or
- iii. The document created for land development, where land development is “the erection of buildings or structures on land, or the change of use of land, including the subdivision or consolidation of land or any deviation from the land use or uses permitted in terms of an applicable Land Use Scheme” (Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013).

⁴⁰Though this law was repealed, it is still relevant for the time period in which the events surrounding the pilot and case studies took place.

A town planning application is directly connected to some form of physical development on a specific property or piece of land within municipal boundaries. The term 'development' must not be confused with other definitions as used outside of the town and regional planning discipline, like economic development. Physical development in terms of this research refers to any changes made to a piece of land with regard to the use of the land, property rights, the physical structure of the property, built structures on the property, and infrastructure such as telecommunications, water, sanitation, and electricity provision, and infrastructure that gives access to said property, such as roads. Development is the changes to the physical character of a piece of land that is proposed by a town planning application, and that usually happens after the application was approved by the local municipal authority.

The second unit of analysis is the research participants interviewed for this research. In total, 18 interviews were conducted with 15 individuals - three of the participants were involved in two of the three case studies and were therefore able to give insight in both cases. The research participants are discussed in more detail in a later section of this chapter.

4.3 Sampling frame

For the first unit of analysis, case studies were selected by means of purposive sampling, the selection of cases based on detailed insights the cases can provide (Neuman, 2011:268; Eisenhardt, 2002:13) from the year 1983, the year of the oldest project files in the Tlokwe Municipality's archive. Project files not included in the sampling were those that did not reflect any of the four selection criteria or that were identified as 'off limits'⁴¹ by the local authority.

For the second unit of analysis, participant selection happened in three stages: i) contacting all objectors from a case for an introductory interview, ii) purposively selecting individuals from those who were willing to participate in the research, and iii) making use of snowball sampling for contacting individuals who were key figures in each case study, but who were initially not contactable during the first stage. Participant selection is discussed in more detail in a later section of this chapter.

⁴¹For example: one potential case study for this research was a proposed infill social housing project, but the project was received negatively by the surrounding property owners to such an extent that the project was put on ice indefinitely by the municipality. When enquiries were made at the Town Planning Department regarding this project, the researcher was informed that the objections were filed and not available for public viewing.



Map 5.1 - The greater Potchefstroom and Bult area (Source: Google Earth, 2014)



Map 5.2- The three case studies in relation to the Bult area (Source: Google Earth, 2014)

4.4 The case studies

The case studies selected for this research were chosen for their ability to contribute to literature on public participation and place attachment. This research focused on three case studies: a pilot study, a case study with similarities to the pilot study, and another case study that was dissimilar to the pilot study in character (Maps 5.1 and 5.2). These similar and dissimilar case studies were specifically chosen for replicability reasons in similar or dissimilar contexts. What the three case studies do share, however, is their location within an area in Tlokwe Local Municipality that has become notorious for rapidly occurring higher density apartment-style residential development, gradually replacing the original single family dwellings that characterised the area. Additionally, this rather rapid environmental change (that is, rapid as far as urban development goes) also had an effect on the demographic profile of residents in this area, and the subsequent social character of the area.

4.4.1 Pilot study: the Piet Malan residence

A pilot study - doubling as the first case study - was conducted using a town planning application in which the researcher was originally actively involved in as a member of the community. Being well acquainted with the project, the public participation process, and the professional and community members involved made this case an excellent starting point for proceeding with the rest of the case studies. The researcher was not involved in the formal participation process of any of the other case studies.

The pilot study involved the rezoning and proposed demolition of an old residence adjacent to a university. The residence, informally known as the Piet Malan residence, is considered one of the oldest houses in the Noordbrug area, Potchefstroom (North West Province, South Africa). The original owner, Mr Piet Malan, was an ordinary long-time resident of the city and, according to oral tradition, built the house somewhere between 1880 and 1900. Though the building was researched by a heritage specialist, the precise age of the structure is not yet known, as it was built at a time when it was not required to submit building plans to the local authority for approval.

According to oral tradition, the house withstood the ravages of the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War. The earliest legal documents referring to the property painted a history of one where the land was first leased from an unknown year, then bought by Piet Malan in the 1910s. The original parcel was divided and sold off at various times in the following years before the 1950s.

In 2011 the property on which the Piet Malan residence is located, together with surrounding properties, were earmarked by a private developer for a large-scale apartment style residential development. All buildings on these properties were to be demolished. When the community were informed of the proposed development and subsequent possible demolition of the residence, public outcry ensued. This

was reported in local newspapers, discussed at a ward community meeting, and documented in a large number of written objections received by the local municipality against the proposed development.

4.4.2 Case study 2: the Nelly Edwards house

The first case study was chosen to share some similarities with the pilot study, namely:

- it featured a historical house that was under threat of demolition; and
- there was an overlap in the social group that objected to the rezoning application in the pilot and first case study. As such, some of the participants of the pilot study also participated in this case study as objectors.

The events of the first case study started when a rezoning application was submitted to the city council for a mixed-use development (mostly student accommodation, business, and office uses). The site is located adjacent to a prominent historical public space and is a single residential property of approximately 1 400m². Originally, the site was characterised by a historical residential structure designed by one of South Africa's few female architects of the early twentieth century (Du Toit, 2008). The surrounding area has been under development pressure for redevelopment from low density residential land uses to higher residential densities for almost two decades. This was largely due to the area's location close to an important educational node in the city. Unfortunately, this development pressure destroyed a large number of other historical residential buildings in the area, whose presence defined the character of the area.

Differing views between the community and the developer eventually led to the illegal demolition of the structure, even though the local authority and the then Minister of Arts and Culture forbade the developer to do so. As from February 2014 development on the site was resumed, despite an eleven-year ban on development laid on the site.

4.4.3 Case study 3: P1 Restaurant

The second case study was chosen as counterpoint to the pilot and first case study that both had a strong connection to built heritage. All three case studies were proposed to be rezoned for higher density residential purposes (apartment blocks). In the first two case studies, the proposed rezoning to higher density residential use received objections from community members. In this case study, the original proposal for rezoning to place of entertainment was eventually exchanged for higher density residential use - though the former received a lot of opposition from the community, not one objection was received when the same property was rezoned for higher density residential use.

The site originally housed a double-storey family dwelling that was also used as an art gallery and place of refreshment until the late 2000s. Extensive alterations during its life time decreased its architectural value considerably (Müller, 2012).

When the property was sold to the new owner, the structure was extended with a wooden deck and employed as an entertainment and restaurant on a much bigger scale than previously, attracting large numbers of clients (mostly students due to its proximity to the university) and thus also increasing traffic and noise levels in the surrounds. The land use was illegal at that point in time (De Jager, 2011) and the owner proceeded with a rezoning application in 2010, which was heavily objected to by the local community and not approved by the local authority. A second rezoning application was submitted in 2011, which was approved. The residence has subsequently been demolished and the property – together with a neighbouring property – now houses a multi-storey apartment block for student accommodation.

After identifying relevant case studies, the researcher visited each site before commencing with the in-depth interviews. The purpose of these supportive site visits was to become familiar with the sites and its urban envelope before interviewing the participants. This augmented the data that was provided by the participants by providing a broad overview of the site's physical character (Yin, 2003:93).

4.5 Research participants

After the case studies were selected and the town planning applications associated therewith analysed, a list of potential participants was generated from the list of objections filed in the project file. This list was generated by:

- noting the names and contact details of individuals who submitted written objections in hard copy or electronically (these were then printed out by a municipal planner and filed); and
- noting the names and contact details of individuals who signed a petition that was submitted to the municipality as objection to a specific planning application.

After the case studies were selected, all individuals who were recorded as having participated in the town planning process (and who had valid contact details), were contacted. First contact depended on the type of contact detail provided in the municipal files (either telephonically, via email, or per mail, the latter mostly hand-delivered by the researcher). In some cases individuals did not provide any contact details on the objection itself, yet, as I interviewed some of the other participants, they were able to provide me with contact details of such 'initially not contactable' participants. This 'networking' added an element of snowball sampling to the participant selection. Snowball sampling is the sampling process whereby a non-random sample is obtained by the researcher beginning with one case, and based on the network

connection of that case, identifies other cases, and repeats the process (Neuman, 2011:269). This is an effective sampling method to identify participants who form part of a specific network, such as the informal participation network that sometimes form around controversial town planning applications (see Hillier, 2000). In all of these situations the researcher was able to interview this type of participant.

4.6 Data generation techniques

The data generation techniques employed in this research included archival analysis and in-depth participant interviews coupled with a supportive photographic data generation technique whereby participants had to generate their own digital images as part of the interview. Data generation took place from February 2013 to November 2013.

4.6.1 Archival analysis

An archival analysis research strategy has the ability to gain access to large amounts of records, is non-reactive towards the researcher and is in a fairly standardised form (Berg, 2001:191). The purpose of the archival analysis was mainly to obtain background information on the case studies from their project files, such as the timeline, town planning procedures followed, actors and participation input from the public. From the case study project files participants for the in-depth interviews were also identified.

In South Africa, town planning applications are archived as files compiling all documentation relating to the development proposal, as well as any information and communication between various role players pertinent to the development proposal.

4.6.2 Located semi-structured participant interviews

Interviews are a well-known research method in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003:600). An *in situ* or located research interview, as used in this research, is a joint construct between the researcher and the participant: “[m]embers are active participants whose insights, feelings, and cooperation are essential parts of a discussion process that reveals subjective meanings” (Neuman, 2011:449), “a mutual sharing of experiences” (Neuman, 2011:450).

The data generation method referred to here is based on located data generation methods, such as site narratives or located storytelling, focused on enriching the traditional interview by physically locating the participant on the relevant site, enabling deeper narration of place experiences (Rishbeth, 2014). As delving into subjective meanings and experiences forms an essential part of the research, the located interview was deemed appropriate for this research. The data generating method was based partially on Lynch and Rivkin’s method to gain information on people-place experiences simultaneously as the participant moves through the study area (Lynch & Rivkin, 1959), as well as more recent studies

conducted in exploring people's sense of place in the Vredefort Dome World Heritage Site (e.g. Roos *et al.*, 2011; Puren *et al.*, 2008). This site visit and *in situ* interview and photographs are akin to a non-linear transect walk or a "walk-in-the-woods" (see Chirowodza *et al.*, 2009; Juarez & Brown, 2008; Thomas *et al.*, 2007; Glöckner *et al.*, 2004; Zarafshani, 2002; Mahiri, 1998), a participatory data gathering method used in agricultural studies, forestry, and landscape architecture to gain access to local knowledge as related to a physical location (Shrestha, 2006; Van Maltzahn & Van der Riet, 2006:117).

In all cases actions regarding interview and photographic data generation hinged on a standard case study protocol. The protocol used for both the pilot and case studies was broadly based on Yin's protocol content (Yin, 2009). The content was modified to fit the aims and research questions of this research. The protocol was used as guiding document for proceeding with each case study and all the interviews involved in each case study. Refer to Annexure A for an example of the case study protocol.

From the case study project files participants were identified purposively for interview purposes. A person was considered a possible participant if that individual had formally lodged an objection with regard to the case study. All participants were only contacted after ethical clearance was given by the university to proceed with the research. Every individual who responded positively to possible participation in the research was contacted for an initial interview which served two purposes:

- weeding out potential participants who were noted as objectors in the archives, but who in fact did not have any vested interest in those objections and only participated to provide support against a rezoning application so as to 'swell the number' of objectors against an application; and
- to build trust with potential participants before the actual interview.

Before the actual field interview, the researcher felt it necessary to build trust with the participants, an essential part of the interview to allow more in-depth questioning (Neuman, 2011:450). As such, the initial interview focussed on introducing the researcher, sharing some of the researcher's background on her interest in the research topic without going into detail regarding the current research design. The researcher also probed into the general background of the participant regarding basic demographical aspects (age, place of residence, time of residence, occupation) to get a broad understanding of their socio-cultural context for interpretation of future respondent remarks (Neuman, 2011:451). After the introduction and background discussion, each participant was asked two standard, open-ended descriptive-type questions as a means to filter potential participants and to deepen the researcher's understanding of the participants' involvement with the specific case study: *How did you become involved in this development application?* and *Please tell me more about your history with this place.* The initial interviews were not recorded, but interview notes were taken (Neuman, 2011:450) during the

conversation, which – in some interviews – formed the basis of additional questions the researcher wanted to ask the participants during the located interview.

The purpose of the participant interviews was to explore the participants' definitions of place attachment and to explore how these constructs motivated the participants to engage in the town planning process (if at all). Participants were required to consent to a visit to the specific site that relates to the case study. An on-site open-ended interview, based on standard open-ended research questions posed to the participants, was preceded by a photo session during which the participants walked on site, taking photographs of the site as based on a research question. The meanings of these photographs were explained to the researcher afterwards, during the interview.

The interview questions (refer to Annexure A) were designed around two themes: place attachment and the participants' experiences of the public participation process of the specific case study. As such, the interview can be considered a semi-structured interview. All questions in the interview were open-ended and where clarification was necessary, probe questions were asked (Neuman, 2011:451).

The located site interviews were recorded, transcribed, and integrated with the photographic data.

4.6.3 Supportive photographic data

Participant-created photographs are often used in research to elicit personal narratives (Allen, 2012:443-444) and have the ability to enhance common verbal medium in research by either generating user-based knowledge or prompting participants during interviews (Given, 2008:619). There exists a discussion on whether participant-generated photographs truly sets participants on par with the researcher as co-researcher, or whether it is the researcher who ultimately determines what knowledge appears in the research via the research design (see Allen, 2012:450). This discussion is related to the photo-elicitation technique as a way to empower participants (Allen, 2012:452), even though the technique in itself is not empowering. However, as the aim of this research was to elucidate the phenomenon of 'experience' (as expressed, for example, by Smith, Gidlow & Steel, 2012:368) rather than empower, this method has value in terms of delving into subjective experiences and meanings, as well as connecting physical places with these subjective experiences and meanings. In several cases the photographs became real images over which the participants superimposed their memories, a 'memory jogger', allowing the participants to remember things and experiences they have initially forgotten (Tonge, Moore, Ryan & Beckley, 2013:41).

In this research, photographs were taken during the interviews. The first interview question asked the participants to create their photographic data (*Before we start with the interview, I want to ask you to please take five photos of anything here that is important to you*). The aim of this question was to ease

into more sensitive issues (Neuman, 2011:450) like their personal experiences with the place or public participation process. This question was followed by four descriptive questions, after which the participants were asked to explain each of the images they took. The participants were then asked to explain why the element in the photograph is important, or has meaning to them, which is a well-known response elicitation method (Thomas, 2011:166). This made it possible for the researcher to link subjective place experiences and meanings to a physical location *in the participants' own voice* as based on their recollected interpretations of a specific event and time (Smith *et al.*, 2012:370). This also embeds the photographs in the contexts wherein it was created (Smith *et al.*, 2012:370). Essentially they created their own data (Van Maltzahn & Van der Riet, 2006:118), specifically visual prompts for themselves to remember the happenings and their experiences related to the happenings. The individual interviews after the *in situ* walk offered an opportunity to understand these meanings, the processes that formed these meanings and attachments, as well as how these meanings and attachments influenced the final action of the participant in engaging in a participation process.

In closing the interview, I asked participants a contrast question (Neuman, 2011:454) to reflect back on their participation in the planning process and give insight – from a citizen's perspective – to improve the public participation process.

5. Data analysis and analysis procedure

Before giving a detailed description of the data analysis, it must be noted that due to the nature of the researcher's role the analysis must be viewed as a 'partial truth' (Clifford, 1986 *in* Allen, 2012:446) – it is the researcher's analysis of others' life, world and experiences through her own subjective lens. As such, objectivity is not being claimed in this research. However, a systematic approach to the research was followed, and the analysis was member checked by the participants themselves.

Analysing case studies requires both within-case and across-case analysis to allow hidden data patterns to come to light and to minimise human processing errors (Eisenhardt, 2002:17-19). The three case studies were therefore analysed individually (Chapter 6 to 8), as well as across the three cases (Chapter 9).

5.1 Analysing the archival data

The project files were analysed using thematic analysis in order to serve as a source of background information on the project life time of each case study. For this structured *manifest coding* was employed, a form of coding that is focused on the visible, surface content of a document (Neuman, 2011:364). These codes were preselected to provide a framework to describe the timeline and background of each project in a similar manner.

Each case study is filed under a specific reference number in the municipal archives. All available volumes relating to this number were investigated. This entailed physically working through each volume, reading every document filed, making notes and coding directly onto a digital document while working through the files. The municipality was not willing to provide hard copies of the files and therefore it was not possible to code and make notes directly onto the original documents. Coding and reading of the files had to happen simultaneously. In some cases the researcher was able to make digital copies of documents relating to the public participation process (in the form of graphic files), from which a list of possible research participants and other relevant information could eventually be generated.

Structured coding was used to analyse the project files in all cases. The structured coding sheet included the codes in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1 – Structured coding used in all the cases.

Submission date	Finalisation date	Application type	Relevant legislation
Properties involved (physical address)	Property description	Zoning	Land use
Purpose of application	Role players	Participation process	Relevant dates
Internal commentary	External commentary	Number of objections listed	Final decision (accepted/not accepted)

In certain cases, codes such as the ‘purpose of application’, ‘internal commentary’, ‘external commentary’, and ‘final decision’, are actually complex with specific information or motivations behind the codes. As such, the codes were expanded with field notes.

While reading the files, the researcher constructed a timeline of the project according to the documentation in the files. The files only contain information relating to the town planning process and as such, information regarding (for example) environmental procedures, architectural procedures, heritage impact assessment procedures, and negotiations between the developer and role players are not always included. In the cases where such documents proved to be directly relevant to this research, and the authors of these documents were willing to give access to them, they were included in the analysis.

Digital copies were made of all the objections. From these a list of potential participants was constructed. Each objector received a unique reference number.

5.2 Analysing the located interviews

After being conducted, each located interview was transcribed. Each interview was thematically analysed using open coding, allowing themes to emerge from the context of the participant's experiences. Each case study was analysed separately by the researcher who read and coded, then returned to the interviews, rereading and expanding the coding several times. During such a coding session, dozens of codes emerged, after which the codes were categorised under broader themes.

5.3 Analysing the supportive photographic data

It should be noted that the supportive photographic data was used as a visual prompt for the participants during the located interviews. As such, it was their interpretation of the images that was important for this research, not the image composition. This means that the photographs were not visually analysed; rather, the participant description of the meaning of that photograph was analysed as part of the interview. The descriptions were recorded during the interview, transcribed, and thematically analysed using open coding.

5.4 Across-case analysis

After all the case studies were analysed individually using the above procedure, they were also analysed across-case using the same procedure. From this across-case analysis, six themes emerged that were apparently shared by the three individual case studies (Diagram 5.1). These themes were eventually used to cluster the sub-themes for presentation and discussion in the across-case analysis chapter as a form of theme clustering (Yin, 2012:16; McGuiggan & Lee, 2008:2).

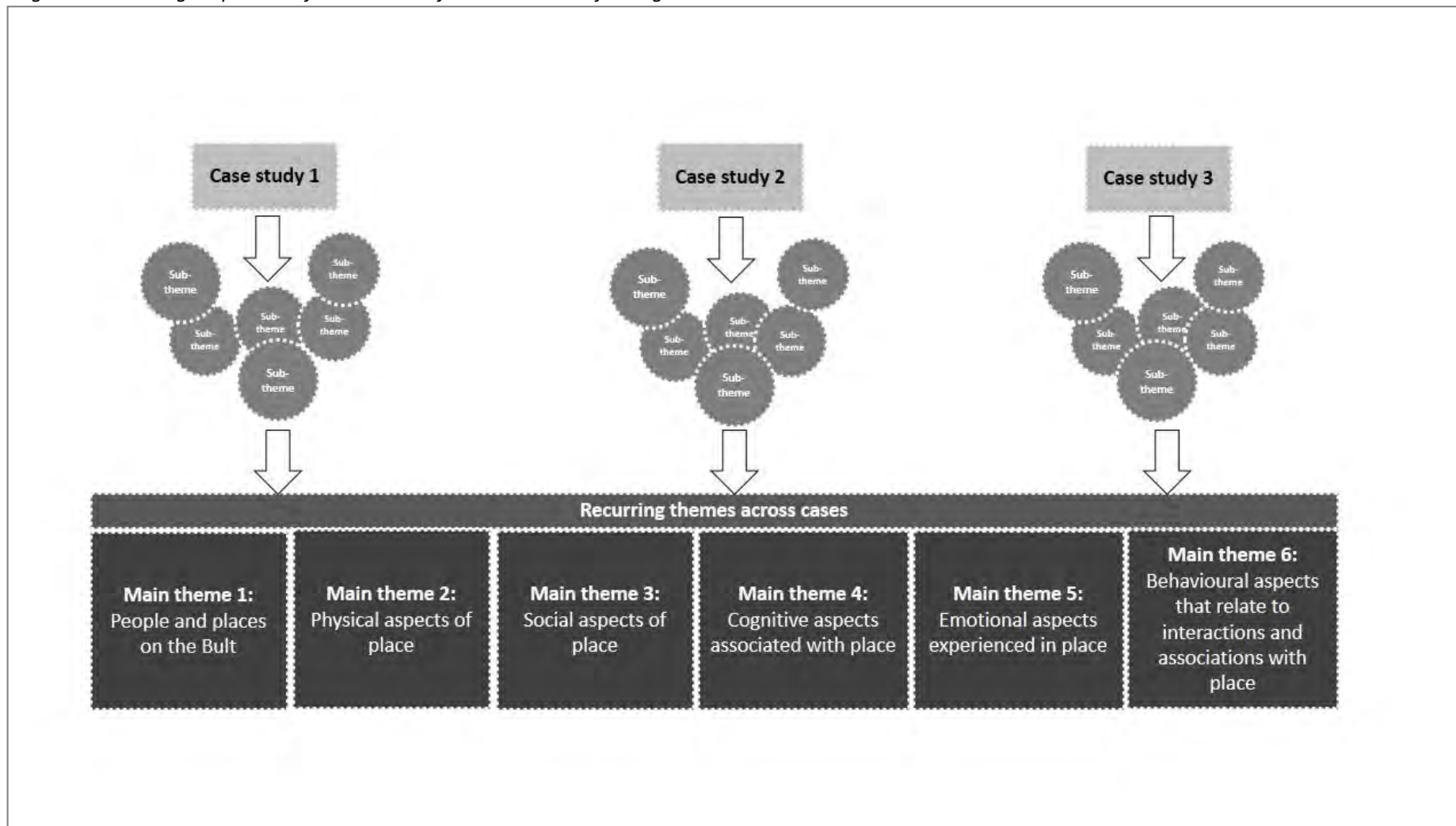
6. Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was gained from the North-West University's Ethics Committee prior to commencing with the pilot study and data gathering. Ethical clearance was received on 11 September 2011 (ethical clearance number NWU-00009-11-A4).

Each participant was given an informed consent form prior to the key informant interviews. The form was explained to each participant and thereafter signed by the participant if he or she consented to participate in the research. Participants were informed that they were free to leave the research at any stage if they so chose. Please refer to Annexure B for a copy of the informed consent form.

Participant confidentiality was ensured by not revealing any names or personal information in this document; this information will also not be revealed in any publications forthcoming. Participants were given a reference number during participant selection, which is also used to identify them in this document.

Diagram 5.1 - Emergent process of sub-themes of individual cases feeding into main themes across cases



7. Trustworthiness

When it comes to the trustworthiness of an exploratory case study research design, Yin (2003:34) identified three tests for increasing trustworthiness: construct validity, external validity, and reliability⁴². Some scholars, like Golafshani (2003:600), however, argue that validity and reliability in qualitative research cannot be separated, but should be supplanted by concepts that encompass both: credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness. Although Golafshani (2003:600) separated the concepts credibility and trustworthiness, Tracy (2010:842) equated the two terms to each other. As such, the trustworthiness of this research will be discussed under the topics of credibility, transferability, and reliability.

7.1 Credibility

Credibility usually refers to the trustworthiness and plausibility of research findings (Tracy, 2010:842). In some cases, credibility also refers to the truth value obtained from lived experiences from participants (Krefting, 1991:215). Qualitative research credibility can – *inter alia* be achieved by research practices such as using thick descriptions and triangulation (Tracy, 2010:841). Thick descriptions are in-depth descriptions of contextually situated meanings (Geertz, 1973). The in-depth interview data of this research aimed to provide thick descriptions of the research context (see Chapters 6 to 8 for these descriptions). Triangulation refers to the use of two or more data sources (or theoretical frameworks, or types of data collected) to converge at the same conclusion - such a conclusion can then be considered credible (Neuman, 2011:164; Yin, 2003:99; Denzin, 1978). Triangulation was achieved in this research by using three types of data: archival data, interview data, and photographic data.

7.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the applicability or fitness of specific qualitative research findings to another situation (Tracy, 2010:845; Krefting, 1991:216; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This transferability functions in two ways: on an emotional level (“when readers feel as though the story of the research overlaps with their own situation and they intuitively transfer the research to their own action” (Tracy, 2010:845)); or on another type of research situation (either through naturalistic generalisation or replicability/consistency) (Tracy, 2010:845; Yin, 2009; Krefting, 1991:215), such as the situations indicated in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

External validity – the ability to generalise from a research sample (generalisability) – is seen as a key mark of quantitative research (Krefting, 1991:215). In qualitative research, however, the aim is not to generalise from a sample, but rather to generate a working hypothesis that can form the basis of further research (Sandelowski, 1986). This suggests that a measure of applicability and replicability should exist within the research (Tracy, 2010: 842-843; Krefting, 1991:216). The generalisability of this research lies in

⁴² Yin (2003:36) does not consider internal validity relevant for exploratory case study research.

the context wherein it was conducted: a similar research design could be replicated in a similar type of urban context. In this research, the consistency or replicability was achieved by using replication logic in the multiple case studies, by consistently applying the same case study protocol in each case (Yin, 2009). The same or a similar research protocol could thus be applied in a similar context (established neighbourhood with historical houses close to an educational node in a medium-sized city, under pressure for higher density residential development associated with the education node).

7.3 Reliability

If the study operations are repeated by another researcher on the same case and the same results are obtained, the study operations are considered to be reliable (Yin, 2003:24). In this research, reliability was achieved by documenting each step of the research and by using a set case study protocol in every case.

The issue of the reliability of the data interpretation was addressed by member reflections of the individual data sets. Member reflections refer to the action of “taking findings back to the field and determining whether the participants recognise them as true or accurate” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002:242). After each interview’s data was analysed, the relevant participant was asked to review the findings of the specific data set to ensure alignment of the research findings and understandings with the participants’ meanings and descriptions (Tracy, 2010:844). Any unaligned interpretations were then corrected under the guidance of the participant.

8. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide the motivation for and detail regarding the research design. It discussed the ontological and epistemological stance from which the research was conducted, and provided detail regarding the choice research design, data generation methods, the way data analysis was approached, trustworthiness, and ethical issues.

The research design ultimately links to the research aim and questions:

- Research aim: to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in the South African town planning process.
- Main research question: What is the relationship between place attachment and community members' participation in the South African town planning process?
- Sub-question 1: How did participants define their attachment to place?
- Sub-question 2: Why did community members take part in the public participation process?

The research topic warranted a qualitative research design, as this allowed for exploring the experiences of individuals from their perspective in a specific context. As place attachment is a subjective experience, a qualitative research design was suitable. Additionally, this enabled the in-depth understanding of particular cases, offering a guideline for understanding similar cases in other urban contexts that have the same characteristics.

The use of multiple case studies - purposely selected - made it possible to explore cases suited to a specific context of incremental urban environmental changes, the effect of these changes on place attachment experiences, and the relationship between aspects and opposition to these changes through public participation. A case study protocol was designed around the research aim and questions. Interview questions were aligned with the topics of place attachment and public participation and were open-ended questions. The same case study protocol was used in all of the cases, allowing replication of the interview procedure.

All contactable objectors from the three case studies were contacted. Those willing to participate were purposefully selected and after an initial interview to build trust between the researcher and the researched, the located interviews and supportive photographic session were conducted, recorded, and transcribed.

Open coding was used to thematically analyse the interview data. The cases were analysed individually, as well as across-cases. Trustworthiness was increased - *inter alia* - by member checking to ensure that the interpretation of interview data was aligned with the experiences of the research participants. The emerging themes from the data are discussed in Chapters 6 to 9.

The next chapter introduces the pilot (first case) study of this research, the research participants, and the themes that emerged from the first case study data.

Chapter 6

The first case study: the Piet Malan residence

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information, a participant profile, the emergent themes from the interview data, and a discussion of these themes for the case study in question.

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a more detailed discussion on the background information of the Piet Malan residence, the participants, and themes that arose from the data. This chapter, therefore, firstly introduces the first case study and its participants; secondly, indicates case-specific aspects regarding the data generation; and finally, presents the data collected.

2. The Piet Malan residence, 57 Steve Biko Avenue

This section discusses the location and history of the Piet Malan residence.

2.1 The location

The pilot study site is located adjacent to the North-West University (NWU) in Potchefstroom, Tlokwe.



Map 6.1 – Pilot/first case study site - before demolition in 2012 (Source: Google Earth, 2012).



Figure 6.1 – Satellite image of the site after demolition early 2014 (Source: Google Earth, 2014).



Figure 6.2 - The site in mid-2014, with more apartment-style buildings visible than in early 2014 (Source: Google Earth, 2014).

The site is located in the street block delineated by Steve Biko Avenue, Jooste, Hoffman, and Meyer streets. Though the palisade fencing along the erf boundary allows for visual permeability to the property from Steve Biko avenue and the parking area that lies on the northern and western borders of the erf (Figures 6.3 and 6.4), it did not seem to be functionally integrated with the surrounding urban tissue at

the start of this research (the street frontage changed observably as this research progressed. Compare the environmental changes in Map 6.1 to Figures 6.1 to 6.2).

Because of this, it stands somewhat isolated from the street and surrounding properties in terms of physical accessibility, but it is visually accessible from all but the southern erf boundary which faces another property. The structure located on site, the Piet Malan Residence, does indeed seem to be in conversation with the streetscape and the adjacent residential properties, as Van der Walt (1987) stated (Figure 6.4).

The land uses of the surrounding urban envelope are mixed, including dwelling houses, student housing (mostly single dwelling units converted into multiple units), parking, business, university purposes, and – in the minority – higher density dwelling units such as student apartments. In general the scale of the surrounding urban tissue was small and the heights not more than three storeys at the start of this research in 2011 (at the highest the tendency is single-storey structures).



Figure 6.3 – Visual permeability of the Malan residence from the parking area on the northern boundary (Source: Own collection, 2013).



Figure 6.4 – Visual permeability of the residence from Steve Biko Avenue on the eastern border (Source: Own collection, 2013).

Steve Biko Avenue and Meyer Street is characterised by high volumes of motorised, pedestrian, and bicycle traffic. The greatest source of noise in the area is the constant vehicular traffic in Steve Biko Avenue and Meyer Street. This occurrence of noise influenced the location where the interviews were held, which started in the campus parking at the back of the residence, or in participants' homes or a nearby coffee shop. Only two of the interviews were held on site due to noise levels.

The site itself is smaller when compared to the surrounding properties (718.4741 m²) and contains a residential structure that was extended over time into its current form. Visually, the residence itself and the old palm tree in the front seem to be the most prominent site features.

The Piet Malan residence's location makes it geographically integrated into the eastern border of the NWU property bordering on Steve Biko Avenue, spanning 718.5 m² of the original "200 square roods" (202342.8 m², more than 20 hectares) it encompassed before previous historical subdivisions, as indicated in the original lease agreement between Pieter Jeremiah (Piet) Malan and the Municipal Council of Potchefstroom in 1914 (Bakker, 2012). Though owned by the NWU between 1982 and 1997 (Botha, 2011) and previously saved from demolition for the provision of parking on campus (Hattingh, 1987), the property is currently held in a trust by private persons.

2.2 The history

The Piet Malan residence was identified as the first house to be built in the area of Potchefstroom known as the Bult at the end of the 19th century (Bakker, 2012:15; Anon, 1956) (Figure 6.5). Bakker (2012:15, 21) claims that Piet Malan could have lived and farmed on this property before the area was proclaimed as a township in 1894, due to the position of the house in relation to the street axis of Steve Biko Avenue. The core of the residence can therefore be older than 1894 (Bakker, 2012:23).

Piet Malan was an ordinary citizen of the town, originally from the Cape, who worked at the miller at Rocher's Watermill at the Noordbrug, and later as a clerk. During the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, he fought various battles at Mafeking, the Modder River, and Paardeberg, while later fighting under General de la Rey (Anon, 1956). As such, the property represents a prime example of a place associated with the 'common people' of Potchefstroom before and during the Anglo Boer War (Bakker, 2012:23).



Figure 6.5 – The Piet Malan residence (Source: Own collection, 2013).

This property represents the only existing example of the early type farm house – or *dorps huis* – that follows the pioneer style architectural typology in the Tlokwe Municipality (Bakker, 2012:23), characterised by a street-facing porch located close to the original street to make socialisation with passersby possible (Van der Walt, 1987). The house, because it was extended in various eras, also represents a good example of Victorian era architecture, with most of these building elements intact and

considered authentic (Bakker, 2012:23). The property is listed as having cultural, historical, architectural, political, and military value (Tlokwe City Council, 2012), the latter two listed because of the house being converted to a block house during the 1899-1902 war, during which it was badly damaged (Anon, 1956). The house contains the oldest AGA stove in South Africa (Bakker, 2012:21). Piet Malan subdivided the original property various times, finally selling the property in 1971 in a private sale (Botha, 2011). Despite the loss of the surrounding historic space (farmland and gardens), Bakker (2012:23) identified the house – together with its original palm tree, still visible in the front yard – as having high historical significance for the history and development of Potchefstroom, a house that should be conserved and meaningfully incorporated into the contemporary urban context.

3. Introducing the participants: participant profile

After the participant sifting process (as discussed in the previous chapter), six participants were interviewed for the first case study. The interview length fluctuated between 50 minutes and 90 minutes, depending on the participants' answer length to the research questions. A short description of the first case study's participants is given below.

3.1 Participant 1

The first participant (aged 65) is a retired professional and life-long resident of Potchefstroom. He spent the whole of his childhood in the Bult-area where the Piet Malan residence is located. His parents were friends with Mr. Piet Malan and as a young child in the 1950s and early 1960s he spent many Sunday afternoons at the Malan residence, playing with the Malan children while the adults conversed on the verandah around tea and coffee.

As an adult, he was employed at the North-West University and though not living on the Bult anymore, he and his family moved to a neighbourhood directly adjacent to the Bult. His cycling route between work and home passed in front of the Malan residence and as such he was able to notice the site notice board informing the public of the rezoning of the Residence. For him, the Piet Malan residence and the Bult area form part of the everyday fabric of his living world.

3.2 Participant 2

Participant 2 (39 years old) is a woman who is intensely interested in matters of history, a direction she also pursues in her career. She is actively involved in the local historical society on a non-governmental basis. Though only a resident of Potchefstroom for a total of 10 years (1993-1997 as a student at the NWU and since 2007 as a working individual), she lives close to the Potchefstroom Dam (adjacent to the Bult), which makes her work-home route pass directly by the Malan residence. As such, her interest in the possible destruction of the Piet Malan residence was piqued when she saw the site notice boards

regarding the rezoning application. In addition, she was informed of the Residence through her association with the local historical society, prompting her to take action and object to the rezoning.

Her initial interest in the Piet Malan residence also stems from personal experience with the site during the 1990s. As a history student, her lecturer took her and her classmates on a cycling tour of the historic buildings of Potchefstroom. The Malan residence was included in the tour. For her, the Malan residence made a big impression, not only from a historical viewpoint, but also through her senses, visually and olfactory, something she remembered and related with passion during the interview.

3.3 Participant 3

Participant 3 is a female honours student (22 years old) and has been a resident (in tandem with her hometown) of Potchefstroom for four years. In 2011 she was approached to sign one of the petitions against the rezoning and demolition of the Malan Residence. Though not necessarily having a longstanding history with the Residence, she objected via the petition as “a moral thing, a value thing”, an act of sympathising with the more permanent Potchefstroom residents in the potential loss of a building of historic value. She considers the “stories” of places and objects important; a sort of common heritage for all town residents. For her, stories are all that are left of the past residents of Potchefstroom – many of which are contained in historical objects which are now threatened by destruction and demolition.

Participant 3’s mother was also a student at the university and though it is not known why her mother has an attachment to the Piet Malan residence, she did share her interest in the Residence with Participant 3 a few years ago when she took her to see the Residence. From this experience, Participant 3 identified the Residence as an object that represents solidarity in the community, an ‘everybody’s heritage’ acting as memory anchor for residents in a fast-changing environment. For her, the Malan residence creates a “sense of belonging and relatedness rooted within the town” and as such, it should be preserved for the future.

3.4 Participant 4

Participant 4 (aged 65) has been a resident of Potchefstroom for 19 years. He holds a professorship at the university and lives on the Bult, where he and his wife bought an old house and restored it because of their shared love of architecture and cultural heritage. As such, he and his wife have been active participants in objecting against a number of demolitions of historic houses in the city for more than five years and generally work as a team when objecting to rezoning proposals. He is also involved in the rezoning of the second case study.

3.5 Participant 5

Participant 5 (aged 87) is a lifelong resident of Potchefstroom and holds a professorship at the university. He is known to be an active objector to rezoning and demolitions in the Bult area, the area in which he was born, raised, and lived most of his adult life (approximately 65 years) before moving to an old age home with his wife. He remembers the time when the mill on the Bult was still functioning and has always been interested in the history of his home town. As such, his interest was piqued when the ward councillor informed him that the Piet Malan Residence might be demolished, because "*Piet Malan was also part of Potch*". He is also a participant in the second case study.

3.6 Participant 6

The final participant, aged 57, is originally from Namibia and has been living in Potchefstroom for seven years. Never intending to move to South Africa, her family was forced to migrate when her son – then a student at the university – had a life-threatening accident and needed care. She is an expert in interior design, with a special interest in antiques and architecture. Her family lives on the Bult. She is known to be active in other rezonings and demolitions of old buildings in the city, and is also a participant in the second case study.

4. Case study-specific detail on data generation

Each case study provided unique challenges regarding data generation based on the participant profile of each case study.

4.1 The located interview

From the 309 objectors indicated in the archival data (36 individual objections and 273 on petitions), six individuals (three male, aged 51, 65, and 87; three female, aged 22, 39, and 57) participated in the research. Of these participants, only one (female, aged 22) objected solely via the three petitions that were employed as a course of informal participation, while another (female, aged 57) created a separate petition, which was not present in the municipal files during the archival analysis, although she mentioned submitting it to the municipality during the objection period. She also submitted a written letter of objection to the municipality.

Various factors contributed to the low number of participants from the large number of objectors. Firstly, the non-permanent character of the younger section of Potchefstroom's population created a situation where most of the younger objectors (mostly university students) had already migrated away in the two years that had lapsed since the rezoning was initiated in 2011. In such cases, potential participants' contact details were either outdated, or these participants were physically located in other cities or towns and were physically not able to participate. Secondly, some of the objectors clearly indicated that

they were not willing or able to participate in the research. In the latter case, though willing to participate, work-related factors like time constraints kept them from participating. Thirdly, not all potential participants reacted to the invitation to participate in the research. Lastly, in certain cases where objectors were willing to participate, the initial interview revealed that the participants objected via the petitions and had done so as a sign of goodwill towards the cause (keeping a historic building from being destroyed) without having personal knowledge of the Piet Malan residence themselves then or now. As such, the ideal participant for this research is an individual familiar with the context (in this case, the Piet Malan residence), who is involved in the field (living in Potchefstroom, permanently or jointly with other hometowns in the case of students), and could spend time with the researcher (Neuman, 2011:454).

4.2 The supportive photographic session

In this case, the challenge related to the physical health of one of the participants (Participant 5). Still recovering from an operation and finding it difficult to walk or stand for a stretch of time, Participant 5 was physically unable to do a located interview and take the photos himself.

It should be noted the photographs generated or chosen during the interview were supportive to the interview data and can therefore not be considered a main form of data (unlike the archival and interview data). This individual was a key person in the happenings surrounding the case study. As such, it was important to interview him, despite the fact that the photographic data generation method had to be slightly adapted for his unique circumstance. Hearing his story (the interview) about his experiences was more important than being too inflexible regarding the supportive data generation.

Subsequently, the photographic method was adapted by loading a large number of photographs of the relevant sites (taken by the researcher during site visits and by former Potchefstroom Heritage Association chairman, Mr. Steven Bosch) onto an iPad, and using them as visual cues through which the participants could scroll and select photos, based on the interview questions. Before commencing with the interview questions regarding the photographic data, the individual was shown how to scroll through the photos and allowed some time to become familiar with the technology. The photographs are automatically numbered when loaded onto the iPad – these numbers were used as reference point during the analysis of the interviews.

5. Findings

The findings from the archival data are discussed first, followed by the findings from the interview and supportive photographic data.

5.1 Archival data

In the case of the archival data, data generation and analysis happened concurrently. The purpose of analysing the archival data was specific: firstly, to gather information regarding the context and timeline of the project's life cycle; also, to identify key informants for the interview stage of the thesis. As very specific information was needed from the town planning applications, the files were thematically analysed using themes identified before the actual data generation began. These themes form the structure of Tables such as Table 6.1.

According to the archival data, the town planning application (a rezoning) was submitted to the municipality on 28 June 2011. The town planning application - including public participation - ran almost 10 months. At the time of writing this thesis, construction on the new apartment building had already started, eliciting further lamentations on social media (YouTube) about the destruction of the area due to this and other speculative building projects in the area (Le Roux, 2014; Anon., 2014).

Table 6.1 – Summary of pilot study project data.

Pilot Study	57 Steve Biko Ave, Potchefstroom
Themes	File data
Date of submission and finalisation	2011-06-28 application submitted. 2012-04-23 date of approval.
Application type and relevant legislation	Application for rezoning, subdivision and consolidation using Section 56, read together with Section 92, of the Town Planning and Townships Ordinance, 15 of 1986.
Properties involved (property description/zoning/land use/address)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Portion of Ptn 1 of Erf 938, Potchefstroom, I.Q./"Educational"/NWU & parking/49 Steve Biko Ave • A Portion of the RE of Erf 2967, Potchefstroom, I.Q./"Special"/Parking/18-24 Hoffman Str • Ptn 1 of Erf 2967, Potchefstroom, I.Q./"Residential 1"/Dwelling /57 Steve Biko Ave • Ptn 5 of Erf 2651, Potchefstroom, I.Q. /"Educational"/Student housing/19 Meyer Str • Ptn 8 of Erf 2651, Potchefstroom, I.Q./"Educational"/Dwelling house/59 Steve Biko Ave
Purpose of application	To rezone, subdivide, and consolidate five properties (total size of 13962.6917m ²) to "Residential 4" to provide a FAR of 2.0, coverage of 55%, building height of seven storeys and 420 dwelling units.
List of role players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li style="width: 50%;">• Developer <li style="width: 50%;">• Ward councillor <li style="width: 50%;">• Town Planner <li style="width: 50%;">• Objectors 1 to 308 <li style="width: 50%;">• Professional team (civil engineer, traffic engineer, architect) <li style="width: 50%;">• Community groups <li style="width: 50%;">• Municipal Manager <li style="width: 50%;">• Municipal Land Committee <li style="width: 50%;">• Heritage specialist
Participation process followed	As prescribed by Town Planning and Townships Ordinance, 15 of 1986: Initial notification (site notices and advertisement in Potchefstroom Herald and the North West Provincial Gazette) and subsequent negotiation.
Objections listed	308 objections listed, of which 35 are individual objections (273 are petition-based objections).
Final decision	Rezoning application was approved on 2012-04-23, subject to certain conditions relating to the historical nature of the property.

A total of 308 objections were listed in the rezoning application, of which 35 were individual objections and 273 were objections made via petitions against the proposed development. Between the three case studies, this was the largest number of noted objections against a rezoning application.

2011-05-19:	Engineering services report compiled
2011-06-03:	Traffic impact assessment conducted
2011-06-16:	Electrical services report compiled
2011-06-24:	First notice of proposed rezoning advertised in Potchefstroom Herald
2011-06-28:	Rezoning application submitted to Tlokwe Local Municipality (LM) First notice of proposed rezoning published in Provincial Gazette
2011-06-29:	File opened at Tlokwe Local Municipality Area manager of Department Water Affairs (Mid-Vaal) given notice of application by Municipal Manager Relevant ward counsellor (Ward 22) informed of proposed rezoning
2011-07-01:	Second notice of proposed rezoning advertised in Potchefstroom Herald
2011-07-05:	Second notice of proposed rezoning published in Provincial Gazette First objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-06:	One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality Town planner starts investigation about possible historical value of the Piet Malan residence
2011-07-07:	Four objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-11:	One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-12:	Two objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-13:	One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-15:	Fourteen objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-17:	One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-21:	Proof of advertising, affidavite, site notices and photographs of site notices delivered to Tlokwe LM by town planner One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-22:	Two objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-24:	One objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-25:	278 objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-26:	Objection period ends Four objections received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-28:	Late objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-07-30:	Late objection received by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-08-12:	Town planner replies to objections by Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-08-28:	Comment period ends
2011-08-30:	Report to Land Committee from Manager: Housing and Planning states that no internal comments have been received yet to date, forwards all objections and replies by Town Planner, and recommends application for review
2011-08-31:	Telkom notes no objections to application
2011-09-15:	Building control officer inspects properties of proposed rezoning
2011-10-12:	Municipal Manager informs objectors, Ward Councillor and Town Planner that the Land Committee will conduct a site inspection and following meeting for deliberation by interested and affected parties on 2011-11-04
2011-11-04:	Site inspection and Land Committee meeting with interested and affected parties
2011-11-09:	Internal comments received: Department Community Services, Tlokwe Local Municipality
2011-11-10:	Tlokwe Local Municipality receives legal advice on handling heritage aspects regarding the rezoning
2011-11-11:	Tlokwe Local Municipality preliminarily approves rezoning, subjected to legal heritage provisions
2012-02-16:	Ward Councillor did not yet comment on rezoning
2012-02-17:	Land Committee holds application in abeyance
2012-03-14:	Ward Councillor gives comments on rezoning
2012-04-23:	Official approval of rezoning, subject to certain provisions
2012-05-07:	Municipal Manager informs North West Provincial Heritage Resource Authority and objectors of Tlokwe LM decision and that an appeal period is available for 28 days from this day
2012-06-04:	Last day for appeals to Tlokwe Local Municipality's decision to approve application

Diagram 6.1 – Project timeline of first case study

5.2. Emerging themes from the interview and supportive photographic data

While reading and analysing the interview data, a large amount of sub-themes emerged from within each case study presented in this research. For this case, the individual sub-themes are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 - Sub-themes that emerged from the first case study.

Themes	Sub themes
Residents of the place know the inside story to the area, are committed to the place, and seek a specific quality of life.	Resident of the Bult Insider/Outsider relationship Commitment to neighbourhood Everyday life quality
The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture.	Environmental character Lifestyle (way of living) Greenery: urban plants, trees, and shrubs) Architecture of existing buildings in the area
The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor.	Social interaction in place Continuity of the place
The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users.	Historic value of the place Knowledge about the place Sensory experiences in the place
Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative.	Nostalgia Empathy/sympathy towards people/place Feelings of powerlessness Feelings of loss
Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity.	Experiences of public participation Protective actions in terms of environmental change Feeling empowered: continued opposition Feeling disempowered: backing down

5.2.1 Residents of the place know the inside story of the area, are committed to the area, and seek a specific quality of life

The first theme relates to how the participants experienced the Bult as place in general - their views and experiences with other people and places on the Bult. Sub-themes that were eventually clustered under this main theme include resident of the Bult, insider/outsider relationships, commitment to neighbourhood, and everyday life quality.

5.2.1.1 Resident of the Bult and the insider/outsider relationship

A theme⁴³ that emerged quite often was length of residence and the insider/outsider relationship of those with vested interests in the area. Participants felt that it was only the more stable population of the area that cared about the environmental and life quality of the area:

Participant 5: *“And yes, we were all notified. There are a few individuals who do not mind, who are passers-through here in Potch. They stay here, work a few years and then leave. But the people who really care, yes, they do get an opportunity [to participate in public participation].”*

⁴³Direct quotations are given in English. The majority of the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, but as Afrikaans is not widely spoken internationally, the English translations of these transcriptions are given here. It should be noted that the researcher translated the interviews in order to reflect the particular meaning and way of speaking of the individuals - the translations therefore reflect irregular grammar.

Participants contrasted themselves – as local residents – with parties outside of the neighbourhood, especially in the sense that ‘outsiders’ did not care for the environment of the residents and thus carried no responsibility for the perceptions and everyday lives of the residents:

Participant 1: *“As the situation stands it is very sensitive and if they put a five-storey building here, the infrastructure will be further overloaded. But that is not something new. They know it and the citizens are the ones who will suffer. It’s simple...public developers simply took over the town.”*

Participant 4: *“...there isn’t a fair balance between the interests of the established residents and developers who buy properties here with no other interests other than to make as much money as quickly as possible. In that sense I think the different government institutions do not...or...they are busy to forsake the established residents who have a vested interest in the town. And in reality the average resident cannot do much. You can protest against it – eventually you are simply ignored. You can submit objections; in the end you hear that there was a meeting and a decision was made: sorry, the development will commence.”*

5.2.1.2 Commitment to neighbourhood

Feelings of commitment to the neighbourhood were expressed in various ways:

1. sympathy for those who would be influenced by the environmental change in the neighbourhood,
2. individuals seeking out a neighbourhood with a specific character to raise their families,
3. a need to keep the existing neighbourhood safe for their children and future generations, and
4. individuals pointing out the financial and time means needed by community members to prevent or stop seemingly senseless destruction of sound houses for speculative development from ‘outsiders’:

Participant 1: *“So the true value of the properties on the other side of Meyer Street would simply go down the drain... Uh, I wouldn't wish it on the people in the street block on the other side of Meyer Street to have a colossal building built next to them.”*

Participant 3: *“I think the fact that I signed this petition, I might not necessarily be like a strong local or whatever (like a true Potchefstromer), but I think the fact that I have spoken for somebody who wasn’t able or who didn’t know about the petition.”*

Participant 2: *“...a lot of people from and who still work in Pretoria and Johannesburg come here for the sake of their families, because it is a peaceful, countryside atmosphere that one can still experience here.”*

Participant 5: *"...in certain instances one has to conserve the original places of Potchefstroom so that the younger generations can see what types of houses were in Potchefstroom."*

Participant 4: *"...in such a case where things end up in a court, it is usually the party who can muster the most money who is successful. So a person who supports the case of conservation usually does not have any financial motivation to do so and also doesn't have the financial backing to support the case, while the developers who want the development to proceed, will make tens of millions of Rands and as such have a lot of money to drive the court case. And any judicial process of any land, on various levels (national, provincial, municipal) is supposed to support the man on the street...to ensure fairness to the citizens of the country, and not to take procedural fairness away from him and give its support to those who can muster the most money."*

5.2.1.3 Everyday life quality

For some participants, it is the quality of life that one can lead on the Bult that contributes to the value of the place, with the Bult forming the constant backdrop of everyday life experiences, both in the past and present. As such, continuity and respect for the neighbourhood character or neighbourhood elements are very important to sustain the quality of life, as certain places (such as the Piet Malan residence and the Oak Avenue in Steve Biko Avenue act as anchor or reference points to the inhabitants):

Participant 1: *"But it is, like I say, continuity, yes we see how the oak trees grow, age, die, but Tom Street remains Tom Street for me. This is one of the last houses that I can recall that represents Tom Street... So it is continuity, it's the neutral word. In some way one is emotionally attached to this thing. It is one of the anchors as I cycled each day from work, through the Bult to the Heilige Akker. You just have those aspects you see every day. You know which trees will be budding first. You know where...what happens here, what happens there... But this house was here since I could remember and it's still here today...Or, should it be really removed: oh my goodness, here's a thing taken from my environment - continuity is taken away. A hole is created."*

Participant 2: *"...it survived the ravages of time and was conserved. And they show their children where they grew up and how it looked and they show them the university. So yes, it is a personal connection, a part of being human... People in Potchefstroom...there are five generations and more who have lived here. It's great grandfather and great grandmother, you know, that went to the same school, the university, who worked here in the area. Yes, it is a unique phenomenon. And there are individuals who are the direct descendants from the Voortrekkers still staying here."*

Participant 4: *"...I think it's one of the few remaining pieces of architecture that preserves something of the atmosphere and character of the town for more than 100 years. It is sad, though, that it is not in a part of the street where the rest of the houses were conserved so that one could automatically conserve the atmosphere of a certain part of the town."*

5.2.2 The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture

This theme relates to the observable character, structure, and elements of the location in question, as well as how these aspects contribute to the participants' chosen lifestyle. The physical aspects noted by the participants focus on the physical elements and structure of the place, such as environmental character, lifestyle afforded by the physical qualities of place, greenery, and architecture.

5.2.2.1 Environmental character and lifestyle (way of living)

For a lot of the participants, the Bult is a place with a specific character or atmosphere that allowed a certain type of lifestyle (Figure 6.6). The area as a whole is considered to have had – up until a decade or so ago – a semi-rural atmosphere, characterised by low density residential and small scale mixed land use within a scholarly context, abundance of greenery, and unique established architecture. It was these attributes that actually attracted some of the residents initially to this area. And even though environmental change was ever present – from the early 20th century up until about two decades ago – these changes did not seem to happen in such a rapid fashion as during the last decade, nor did they happen in such a manner that screamed contrast to the existing place attributes and neighbourhood character:

Participant 1: *"As a pre-schooler, this was the only house on the street block. It was the only house on that whole piece of land. Uhm, the rest was uh, alfalfa fields... And of course, at the back of the house, there was an orchard. It was standard for the houses here in Potch then..."*

Participant 5: *"Potchefstroom, especially the Bult, was a rural area with lots of houses inhabited by lecturers and students (I have nothing against a student commune). Students could create their own environment and in general the openness of the area was conserved. It was a good place to raise children. Today everything has changed. Too bad. It is not a rural environment anymore."*



Figure 6.6 – Asking the participant what this photo meant to him, he replied: “This shows to some extent the character that existed on the Bult in terms of the type of housing, coupled with the trees and the atmosphere it created.” (Source: Participant 4, 2013).

5.2.2.2 Greenery: urban plants and architecture of existing buildings

Unique place elements included greenery and architecture (**Participant 5**: “*But this is because it is a house with character*”, as they were located within their spatial context (refer to Figures 6.7 and 6.9):

Participant 2: “*The building's look as you see it here is as it was. You can see the original windows, doors. You can see the typical architectural style of that time. The stonework beneath is part of the original building elements... And yes, it is not astoundingly aesthetic architecture, but it is typical of that era.*” (Refer to Figure 6.11 for another participant’s perspective on the surrounding urban tissue as it relates to the building itself.)

Participant 4: “*So the...the atmosphere definitely changed dramatically in terms of how it looked physically. Where there were houses with lots of trees...what typically happens with development, is that all the trees are removed first and the Bult is specifically characterised by its great number of trees. All the properties, because they are so old, most had trees a 100 years and older and these are removed immediately and replaced by cypresses, but you cannot replace the atmosphere that was created through decades by the combination of architecture and a great number of trees. So it is a combination of old*

architecture, lots of trees, a relatively low population density and peacefulness. And now this has changed dramatically and it is still changing."



Figure 6.7 – The old palm tree (Source: Participant 1, 2013)



Figure 6.8 – The veranda with the stone basis and red polished surface (Source: Participant 1, 2013)



Figure 6.9 – Asking to explain the photograph, the participant replied: "When I took this photo, there was something about the soil - the land - that makes me wanna say something. It took me a while before I took the photo because I was trying to put my thoughts together: why is it that the land itself is bugging me? But I think it's basically because this land is older than the house. The fact that this piece of land – although it's really iconic – I think that dates back and it adds to the history of the house." (Source: Participant 3, 2013).

Some of the main complaints of participants were that the proposed development of a big apartment complex will alter the character of the area irreparably, in such a way that the established residents will not be able to continue using or experiencing the place in the manner they were then. As one participant (**Participant 3**) said: "I just don't think that the core elements that make Potch Potch, I don't think that they should be destroyed for new things that are not going to be as appreciated."

Participant 2: "...because it is a peaceful, rural atmosphere that one can still experience. And the character is now being disturbed. The Bult's character is disturbed now. It is sad to see the types of housing schemes being built currently and that these have a twenty, thirty, maybe forty-year lifespan. It is unacceptable."

Participant 4: *“The Bult houses a student community and the atmosphere was basically one in which old houses were occupied by long-term residents or by student communes, creating a specific low density residential character... With the current overpopulation on the Bult, the opposite is brought into being, namely total overpopulation where most properties eventually become apartment blocks that houses not five students, but 50 students. So the traffic volume, the noise level, the [inaudible] of people has a great impact on the living quality of this area.”*

5.2.3. The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor

This theme focuses more on the social relations that can happen within the place *because* of the physical structure of a place and the psychological value of the place for participants.

5.2.3.1 Social interaction in place

Some of the social aspects are directly connected to a physical feature of a site, especially *how* that site was used by residents in their everyday socialisation:

Participant 5: *“Lots of people built a verandah around the house, or on some sides of the house, you know, on the border of the property, built on the street so that the people that walk by could chat with them... see, it's built very close to the street. As people walk by, they chat with the people on the verandah.”*

Participant 6: *“I always wondered how many people sat on...sat on that low wall... I wondered how many conversations happened around that stove. What did they talk about?”* (Refer to Figure 6.9.)

5.2.3.2 Continuity of the place

To some, the Bult, though having changed a lot during the last 10 years, still represents a way of living, a history of what made the area so unique:

Participant 3: *“And I think it's something interesting because it's got so many stories to tell, this house. There's a lot of history in it and I think it's important to the people of Potch because it gives them that sense of community and something that they can almost...that they can relate...some part of their lifestyle could probably relate to the people that lived year and lived in this house.”*

Some places – like the Bult on a meso scale and the Piet Malan residence on a micro scale – seemed so embedded in people's experiences that they feel a need to carry over the importance of such a place (whatever it may represent to them) to the next generation:



Figure 6.10 – The old AGA stove in the Piet Malan residence (Source: Participant 6, 2013).

Participant 2: “And they show their children where they grew up and how it looked and they show them the university. So yes, it is a personal connection, a part of being human...”

Another individual (Participant 3) told me her mother showed her the house once on a trip to Potchefstroom because she felt the need (for whatever reason) to do so: “*well basically I was on campus and they came to us and said to us: “This is what’s happening and whatnot”. And when I heard that this is a very old house – well, obviously I had heard of the house because of my mom.*” Because of this ‘generational carry-over’ of place meaning, she felt compelled to object to the destruction of the Piet Malan residence.

In a similar sense, one participant equated the Piet Malan residence to a site that can not only teach new generations the importance of a place, but also as a place that affords the opportunity to bring families closer together.

Participant 6: “*People of today often think they can, their children play games, computer games and such and that they can make them happy by giving them some money. I think one’s children’s happiest times can be when you take them to a museum and tell them interesting things. You can take them to interesting places like botanical gardens and show them and you can take them to a monument and tell them something. It can be happy times in their lives when visiting such places*”. Should such places be destroyed, this social function of that particular place is lost forever.

5.2.4 The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users

This theme focuses on the associations that participants make with the particular place based on knowledge about the place and their personal sensory experiences that they associate with the place. Cognitive aspects on participants' perceptions of the Bult as place related to the historic value of the area and some of its buildings, their knowledge about the place, and their sensory experiences of the place.

5.2.4.1 Historic value of and knowledge about place

Talking to the participants, it became clear that the majority of them (with exception of one) had basic knowledge of the history of the Piet Malan residence:

Participant 1: *"It is the oldest house here on the Bult, uh and they destroy history and throw it away if they destroy it."*

Participant 2: *"...at the start of the Anglo-Boer War it was used - according to the stories - that Kitchener was stationed here temporarily. And before that the Boers also housed their ammunition here."*

5.2.4.2 Sensory experiences in place

The place also seemed to hold some fascination in terms of meaning and sensory experience:

Participant 2: *"...I also remember the smell. It's...it's almost a mouldy wood smell. And it was dark. It was very...the rooms were dark. The trees and everything in close proximity makes it dark and...but it just felt, yes, like this place had a history."*

From the conversations with the participants, it became clear that their experiences of the place, coupled with their knowledge about the history of the Piet Malan residence, gave enough motivation to fuel their participation against the proposed rezoning and demolition.

5.2.5 Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative

This theme encompasses the various emotional experiences that the participants connected to the place in question. In this case, the emotions expressed by the participants relating to place were both positive and negative, depending on their own experiences with the Piet Malan residence, and their experiences during the public participation process. Emerging sub-themes relating to emotional aspects centred mostly on nostalgia, empathy/sympathy, feelings of powerlessness, and loss.

5.2.5.1 Nostalgia

Those with experience interacting intimately with the residence often expressed their experiences in a nostalgic manner:

Participant 1: *"This is the room where we always played... this place has a personal meaning for me."*

Participant 2: *"My personal experience with this place: I always parked here on the other side. When I was...when I was a student, I visited here with Prof. that Gert van den Berg and he told us - you know - that it is one of the oldest houses in Potch. And I was in a privileged position - it was about around '94 - we also went inside the house."*

Participant 6: *"...when I entered the Piet Malan, the door and the ceiling and the floor, the street number...you know, these are things that immediately touched me."*

5.2.5.2 Empathy/sympathy towards people and/or place

For another, an honours student, having basically no personal interaction with the Piet Malan residence, it was her natural tendency towards empathy that *created* a place bond (Figure 6.14) - **Participant 3:** *"So, in that sense I think I could relate, because I put myself in that position and if it was me that was living in this town – although I've only been living here for four years – my bond with the town and my sense of community within it is not necessarily as strong as someone's who has been living here their whole lives. So in that sense, if I had to put myself in that position and I have to look at my hometown, for instance, and something like that had to I think that I would also be annoyed, because nobody made...where's the democracy in that? Nobody ever asked us what we wanted... And I always like to think: "what if it was me, how would I have felt?" or something like that... the petition, I participated in the sense that I agree that there shouldn't be any developments on this piece of land or on this house, clearly because of the fact that I can relate to the people."*

5.2.5.3 Feelings of powerlessness

A sub-theme that emerged strongly was the general feelings of loss and powerlessness to prevent the loss of a place which the participants felt connected to. During one of the located interviews - the construction of the apartment building had already commenced at that stage – the researcher and a participant interacted with site foremen at the Piet Malan residence. The house and about two meters of garden on the sides were all that was left standing of the original environmental envelope (Figures 6.11 to 6.15); the rest of the surroundings were carved out to a depth of seven meters, creating the effect that the residence was an island in a red ocean. While the participant was taking photographs within earshot, the researcher talked with the foremen about the future of the Piet Malan residence:



Figure 6.11 – The northern edge of the veranda. Asking why she took this photo, she replied: “So I basically just took a photo of the stoep as a picture of how many families have shared memories and made memories and been through heartaches and happy times and deaths and everything” (Source: Participant 3, 2013).

Research notes: "At this stage the developers already started demolishing surrounding houses and dug a huge hole for the basement level parking around the Piet Malan residence. We introduce ourselves to the foremen and they tell us something about the restoration of the old house, but they don't know why, because "they are going to demolish it, I don't know why they go to so much trouble." "Werner, are they going to demolish this house?" "I think so, but much laaaaater," one replied. Both Participant 6 and the researcher stood poker-faced, but it is obvious that both were upset about what the foreman said. The participant and the researcher enter the house."⁴⁴ (Figure 6.12).

During the interview after the site visit, the participant related her experience of hearing the conversation between the foremen and the researcher:

⁴⁴ Taken from the researcher's field notes regarding the site visit.



Figure 6.12 – Talking to the foreman (Source: Participant 6, 2013).



Figure 6.13 – Northern edge of the Piet Malan property, showing the depth of soil removed for the basement parking of the new apartment complex (Source: Participant 6, 2013).

Participant 6: "...I almost want to say that what the man said this afternoon upset me... I felt sad and disappointed. For me...I was angry...When we stood there this afternoon, I felt immediately extremely sad and angry. They placate us and I tell you now - somebody in town who has a marble business told me "I am glad that the Big Hole is there but that the Piet Malan residence still stands". Then they added: "it takes only one match. It will not stand long. It only takes one match and then the Piet Malan residence is gone."

Talking about her concern over the property, she related:

Participant 6: *My roots aren't even in Potch. My roots shouldn't feel any loyalty towards Potch, I lost too much here.*

Researcher: *Then why do you feel anything for Potch?*

Participant 6: *I feel something for conservation.*



Figure 6.14 – The excavations around the Piet Malan residence (Source: Participant 4, 2013).



Figure 6.15 – The Piet Malan residence from the excavation site (Source: Participant 4, 2013).

A couple of participants felt powerless to prevent environmental change brought on by insensitive development in the area:

Participant 6: *"Because if a person doesn't have the money to buy that property, I will almost guarantee you - and I don't want to say the words - you cannot save it. If the property doesn't become yours, you cannot save it."*

Participant 4: *"Look, at that stage my experience of the process was extensively influenced by my experiences of previous processes of a similar kind, and in general I would say, it was relatively negative in the sense that the channels for objections exist, but the whole process severely favours the developer and not the individuals who fights for conservation. For example, one would object and then decisions are taken behind our back and one is informed at the very last moment that the decision has been made and about to be implemented.... In that sense I think the different government institutions do not...or...they are busy to forsake the established residents who have a vested interest in the town. And in reality the average resident cannot do much. You can protest against it – eventually you are simply ignored. You can submit objections; in the end you hear that there was a meeting and a decision was made: sorry, the development will commence... The concerns of people like me in terms of conservation of architecture and historical character and so forth, does not receive any attention at all... Rather, you get resistance."*

5.2.5.4 Feelings of loss

Feelings of loss were often expressed by the participants (in all case studies). They expressed the feeling of loss quite eloquently:

Participant 1: *"So I just told myself: yes, there goes another one of my childhood places."*

Participant 4: *"But hey...this was coupled to the notice that the development would continue anyhow and that it cannot be stopped. So it is a reality that we had to come to terms with at that stage."*

Participant 4: *"When you destroy a place, it is destroyed forever, because you cannot rebuild historical character. If it's gone, it's gone. You can plant another tree, but you cannot rebuild an old building...because a building is not old suddenly, it is old because it has been standing there for a very long time. It represents an era long gone by and that which is being removed, or that which is being conserved to some extent... that which made Potch different, has disappeared to a great extent."*

Participant 5: *"It was a great place to raise kids. Today everything has changed. Such a shame."*

5.2.6 Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity

This theme focuses on the actions that participants took or that were elicited by the environmental changes brought on by existing or possible new land uses as envisioned by the rezoning application. Sub-themes clustered under the main theme 'behavioural aspects' were those relating to public participation, protective actions towards place, empowerment, and disempowerment.

5.2.6.1 Experiences of public participation

In Chapter 4 of this research a distinction is made between formal and informal participation channels when a town planning application is opposed by members of the community, where formal channels are those provided by policies and legislation, and informal channels are actions taken by individuals outside the formal channels, like protesting and forming human chains (Participant 6) to prevent the destruction of places. The literature on place protective actions (refer to Chapter 3) seems to encompass both participation in formal and informal participation actions. Given the manner in which the participants for this study were selected, it is obvious that all of them participated through the formal participation channel provided by the Transvaal Ordinance. In some cases, though, they also chose to increase their place protective power by also participating *informally*. How deeply involved the participant was in place protective actions, depended on their individual contexts. One was recovering from an operation and could thus only participate 'passively' -**Participant 1**: *"...I wasn't one of the - how can I say this - leaders that uh held meetings and did whatever... I was relatively passive."*

Most of the participants knew the procedure for the formal participation channels:

Participant 4: *"See, we received guidelines from the councillor regarding the submission of valid objections, which process one has to follow before which dates, to whom the objections must be addressed to, what must be mentioned in the objections so that your objection is channelled in a manner to receive official status. And so we joined this coordinated action, together with other residents who also had an interest in the conservation of the historical character and architecture of the area. Then we continued on our own, drafted our own [objections] and made sure that they were delivered by hand so that they did not get lost in the system and that the government cannot deny ever receiving them."*

5.2.6.2 Protective actions in terms of environmental change/rezoning application

Protective action through informal participation channels were mostly done by a community meeting at the local primary school, and drawing up or signing one of the three petitions regarding the town

planning application. One participant went as far as to contact SABC2 news, who aired an article surrounding the proposed destruction of the Piet Malan residence:

Participant 2: *"...then the notice boards appeared, proclaiming that a big development will happen here, a seven-storey development and that they will apply for a demolition permit. And then...it was also during the holiday period in the month of July. And then we made our objections. I decided to write a petition for the municipality, followed the process... During the rezoning process we followed the steps as needed. You have to officially object in writing. Potchefstroom Heritage Society also circulated a petition, which was also added to the official objection of the Potch Heritage Society, written in the interest of the community... then Johan Wolvaardt of Potch Heritage started negotiating with the developers. He also appeared in the local media. He was on the national television station, SABC 2...Yes, the 7 o'clock news. Yes. We were the ones who made big waves, saying: no, it cannot happen. It just simply cannot happen."*

Participant 5: *"...there was a meeting at the Mooirivier Primary School, a protest meeting. Petitions were sent around so that people could sign them. But people also made individual objections, saying this is a house that cannot be demolished, it is a heritage of Potchefstroom that must be conserved... I signed a petition and I also wrote a letter to the university, addressed to the financial administrator, saying that they must not continue with this high building."*

Participant 6: *"It was specifically because I felt that we achieved nothing here⁴⁵, but every voice counts in favour of the Piet Malan residence. Immediately after that evening of the [community meeting at Mooirivier Primary School]...I went from one department to another department, explaining the situation and asking: are they interested to vote for conservation? On specific pieces of paper we wrote our objections... The following morning I picked up all those pieces of objection papers and I think I had almost more than 400 votes [for conservation of the residence] from the students."*

5.2.6.3 Feeling empowered (continued opposition) or disempowered (backing down)

Whichever way, through informal or formal public participation, the participants felt either empowered or disempowered to prevent environmental change:

Participant 1: *"So, we weren't just ignored. We were always kept up to date... Uh, I must congratulate the municipality - in both cases they always consulted us. One doesn't feel that it is just an Act when you submit a written objection and that's it. Negotiations often happened between the relevant parties, objectors, the municipality and the developer."*

Participant 2: *“That is all you can do and you can compile petitions and you can...try to mobilise the community.”*

Participant 4: *“And then at the end it is only a few extraordinary cases where there was enough mobilisation of public support that an exception was made, like in the case of the Piet Malan residence. But it is the absolute exception.”*

This – and other participation experiences of the participants – made a couple of participants reflect on their ability to halt environmental change. For one (Participant 6) it felt like a losing battle when the municipality told her to win against another rezoning proposal, she needed to have a lawyer at the ready. Knowing that she did not have the resources to fight the environmental change on her own, she said: *“You know what, I just let it go”*. For another, a life-long resident of the Bult area with much more social ties in the area (Participant 1), it was another situation: *“And uh, I and the whole neighbourhood objected to that rezoning process. The developer had already tried to rezone it three times. Every time he failed, because there were too many of us that objected each time.”*

6. Discussion

As this research focuses on the experiences of the participants on the topics of place attachment and public participation, it is appropriate to highlight these experiences in this section. These experiences will be discussed succinctly in terms of the main themes already indicated.

6.1 Theme 1: Residents of the place know the inside story of the area, are committed to the area, and seek a specific quality of life

In terms of this theme it is obvious that the participants identified themselves directly (through being medium to long-term residents) or indirectly (by placing themselves in the longer term residents' shoes) with the Bult as a place. As such, the Bult as place is not just 'a place' for the participants; it is 'the place where I live', a more personalised concept when compared to just 'a place'.

This relationship seems to link with the concept of place identity, which has been identified as part of place attachment literature. Place attachment can form an integral part of an individual's psychological make-up as part of his or her place identity, and disruption of identity can be expected to elicit a protective response from the individual (see for example Stedman, 2002; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminof, 1983).

Following Knez (2014), this 'insiders who care' and 'outsiders who don't care' conflict can be attributed to the way in which the different parties perceive and experience the same place. For the 'outsiders', this

particular place is possibly evaluated from a general view, for example: "the Bult is an area where there is a great demand for student housing". For these individuals, this symbol or meaning of the Bult is a general fact. For the 'insiders', who already possibly internalised the Bult as part of their identity, the place is evaluated from a personalised view, for example: "the Bult is an area that provides a small-town space for raising my children and has a unique character that appeals to my love of historic architecture". As such, conflict can be expected when the environmental changes - based on the general fact - do not align with the personal fact of residents, or do not take account of these personalised facts.

An indication of the participants' relationship to the Bult area as place is the manner in which they experience feelings of commitment to the place and its current and future residents. Place commitment is expressed through:

1. sympathy for those who would be influenced by the environmental change in the neighbourhood,
2. individuals seeking out a neighbourhood with a specific character to raise their families,
3. a need to keep the existing neighbourhood safe for their children and future generations, and
4. individuals pointing out the financial and time means needed by community members to prevent or stop seemingly senseless destruction of sound houses for speculative development from 'outsiders' (for Pacione (2005:147) speculative development can cause displacement in communities).

6.2 Theme 2: The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture

In some cases the physical and social aspects overlap in the participants' description, indicating the difficulty in understanding the social side of place attachment removed from the physical arena wherein it happens. For a lot of the participants, the Bult is a place with a specific character that allows a certain type of rural/small-town lifestyle, characterised by an abundance of urban greenery and unique historic architecture.

This seems to link to literature on the restorative powers of favourite places. Favourite places most frequently identified were the home, followed by natural environments (places with greenery, water and scenic quality (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:231). Unpleasant places were frequently places with large volumes of traffic, crowds, and noise (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:226). The psychological benefits provided by favourite places included restorative qualities like relaxation and providing a sense of calm, emotional mind clearing, aesthetic experiences, feelings of control, freedom of expression, and escape from social pressure (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:221).

Ryan's findings (2005:37) strongly indicate that place attachment to urban natural areas are influenced by the physical landscape characteristics, individuals' environmental experiences in these places, as well as their knowledge about the place. These places thus cannot be substituted with a similar type of landscape or location - this place was specifically chosen by the participants to provide them with a specific lifestyle. The environmental changes posed by the rezoning application were a direct threat to the urban envelope that houses the participants' homes - it proposed to change a place perceived to be rural with lots of greenery (and thus some scenic quality) into a more urban character. This spelled a loss of the benefits that the place provided to its inhabitants.

6.3 Theme 3: The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor

The concept of continuity appeared quite often during interviews and all of the participants felt it necessary to conserve continuity of the Piet Malan residence as part of the Bult area and the Tlokwe Local Municipality.

From the literature it is known that a place can become a point of symbolic reference to a person's life, a physical phenomenon acting as a continuous symbolic anchor through the person's life to which he connects memories and meanings. These symbolic anchors provide a sense of continuity in an individual's life (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:207, 217; Rubinstein & Parmalee, 1992 *in* Pretty *et al.*, 2003:276). Controlling continuity seems important for psychological well-being, as loss of control or forced change in the physical environment can actually create feelings of loss and grief for individuals (or communities) subjected to such change, like in cases of forced removal (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:208).

6.4 Theme 4: The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users

The cognitive experiences of the participants were enhanced by the knowledge of the Piet Malan residence, heightening the sensory experiences of the place for more than half of the participants. According to Scannell and Gifford (2010:2), the individual's attachment to a place is often formed through personal experiences with and knowledge of a particular place. For the majority of the participants their experiences with the place and the knowledge of its history were enough to fuel place protective actions (like objecting to the rezoning and demolition).

6.5 Theme 5: Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative

The emotions expressed by the participants relating to place were both positive and negative, depending on their own experiences with the Piet Malan residence, and their experiences during the public participation process. The emotions most powerfully expressed by the participants were feelings of loss and powerlessness to prevent the loss of a place which the participants felt connected to, an aspect that was also mentioned by Stedman and Ingalls (2014).

6.6 Theme 6: Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity

All of the participants felt it necessary to take some form of action to prevent environmental change. As with the other case studies, both formal public participation and informal place protective actions were followed by the participants (see for example Hillier, 2000). In this case, most of the participants chose to follow the formal public participation channels in the rezoning process by submitting written objections or signing a petition that was submitted as written sign of objection. Most probably, these forms of public participation were the only ways to participate known by the participants and known to be accepted by the local authority.

Place protective actions outside the formal participation channels were done to mobilise the community and these included community meetings and distribution of information regarding the rezoning and its consequences on media like the television news (SABC 2) and social media like Facebook. Comparing the objectors' actions to those described by the southward turn in planning theory, it can be seen that these reactions are a far cry from the destructive and undemocratic reactions highlighted by some theorists from the global South (e.g. Harrison, 2014). Rather, the reactions seem to follow the pattern described by theorists like Hillier (2000).

The key to this theme is that the participants felt it necessary to *act*. However, in acting and experiencing the public participation process from various individualised viewpoints, divergent views on the experience of participating in a public participation town planning process emerged, both closely related to the concept of power. Feelings of empowerment and disempowerment to prevent environmental change emerged, indicating that issues of power are very much part of human-place relationships (Stokowski, 2002; Pred, 1984) and public participation in town planning (McGuirk, 2001).

7. Conclusion

This chapter provided a more detailed discussion on the background information of the Piet Malan residence, the participants, and themes that arose from the data. The aims of this chapter were to

introduce the first case study and its participants; to indicate case-specific aspects regarding the data generation; and finally, to present the data collected.

From the interviews it seems that:

1. Residents of the place know the inside story to the area, are committed to the area, and seek a specific quality of life.
2. The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture.
3. The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor.
4. The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users.
5. Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative.
6. Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity.

The following chapter will introduce the second case study, the Nelly Edwards house, its data generation context, its participants, and also presents its data with regards to the themes identified from the case study analysis.

Chapter 7

The second case study: the Nelly Edwards house

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information, a participant profile, the emergent themes from the interview data, and a discussion of these themes for the case study in question.

1. Introduction

The second case study is a site located on the Bult, Potchefstroom, three blocks away from the pilot study site. The researcher initially heard about this case while attending a community meeting regarding the future of the Piet Malan residence in 2011 at Mooirivier Primary School. This meeting was mentioned quite a few times in the pilot study interviews that were conducted, a pivotal moment for a few of the participants in their determination to oppose environmental change. During this meeting, a woman expressed her frustration at the illegal demolishing of the old residence on another site, 24 Esselen Street, by the developer. She and a number of students had formed a human chain to prevent the developer from bulldozing the building, but instead were almost arrested by the local police, who were actually summoned by other community members to stop the *developer*.

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to provide background information, a participant profile, the emergent themes from the interview data, and a discussion of the themes that arose from the data.

2. Case study 2: The Nelly Edwards house, 24 Esselen Street

This section describes the site's location and history.

2.1 The location

Like the Piet Malan residence, the house (known respectively as the Nelly Edwards house or the Combrinck residence) located at 24 Esselen Street – now demolished – was older than 60 years and could thus be considered a built heritage according to the National Heritage Resources Act (South Africa, 1999). The site is located directly across the Cachet Square (Figure 7.1), one of the oldest planned public open spaces in Potchefstroom and the Bult area, as indicated on the Curlewis and Parsons Survey map of 1891 (later to form the basis of the General Plan for Potchefstroom, S.G. No: 10651/1894). The site is located on the eastern corner of Hoffman and Esselen Streets (Figure 7.2), directly across from Cachet Square (the original site of the annual Aardklop Art Festival).



Figure 7.1 – The location of Cachet Square relative to 24 Esselen Street (Source: Google Earth, 2014).



Figure 7.2 – View from the site. In the background Cachet Square and the site of the demolished Nelly Edwards house (Source: Own collection, 2013)



Figure 7.3 – High traffic volumes in both Hoffman and Esselen Streets during university semester time (Source: Own collection, 2013).

A site visit was conducted in early autumn, during the university semester, at mid-morning. As such, the traffic flow was almost never ceasing (Figure 7.3). The vehicular traffic volume for Hoffman Street for this specific visit was 9 vehicles/minute (approximately 546 vehicles per hour) for Hoffman Street, and 10 vehicles/minute (approximately 618 vehicles per hour) for Esselen Street. Concurrent pedestrian traffic was approximately 60 pedestrians per hour (for both streets) and 24-30 bicycles per hour. The crossing between Hoffman and Esselen Streets therefore carry a high volume of traffic during semester time, as this crossing gives direct access to both the main gate of the NWU campus, but also the two southern gates. Noise levels were high and almost constant.

The site was vacant and overgrown at the time of the site visit, with the exception of an enormous site notice advertising another development of the developer (Figure 7.4). The barren property is a lost space

when compared to the urban envelope surrounding it, characterised by large trees, broad side walks, human scale streetlamps, neatly kept gardens, and the ancient trees on the Cachet Square (Figure 7.5). However, by November 2014 the site was developed into an apartment style residential development.



Figure 7.4 – Advertisement on site (Source: Own collection, 2013)



Figure 7.5 – Large established trees and gardens are characteristic of the neighbourhood (Source: Own collection, 2013)

The land uses of the surrounding urban envelope are mixed, including dwelling houses, student housing (mostly single dwelling units converted into multiple units), business, university purposes and – in the minority – multiple-storey apartment-style student accommodation. In general, the scale of the surrounding urban tissue is small and the heights do not exceed three storeys.

2.2 The history

The original property was a *burgererf*⁴⁵ - which was later subdivided into smaller plots, as was the trend over time in the area (Du Toit, 2008). The erf was watered via the extensive channel system of the Bult area (the water rights of the area was stopped by the local authority during the early 1970s). The remains of the channel can still be seen on site beneath the soil.

The main source of historic information on this property is a report written by H.E du. Toit (2008) on behalf of a part of the established Bult community, most whom had been residents and property owners in the Bult area for several years. This report was meant to elucidate the historical value of the residence and the historic streetscape of Esselen and Hoffman Streets, and indirectly formed part of the objections submitted to the local authority against the then-proposed rezoning and demolition.

⁴⁵ A 'burgererf' was the name given for large urban properties with access to water via channels. Today the 'burgererf' can be equated to a small smallholding, enabling the inhabitants to produce enough food to live self-sufficiently.

Although the Bult area was first surveyed in 1891, occupation happened before that when the then Government of the Transvaal Republic (ZAR) granted farmers impoverished by the 1879 Rinderpest burger-erven at this site (Du Toit, 2008). The original character was one of a rural small town, with large erven, water furrows, orchards and fields, as well as small-scale animal husbandry (Du Toit, 2008). This character remained in the area throughout the Anglo Boer War and the First World War, as it sustained very little war damage to the built environment (with exception of the Piet Malan residence, three street blocks away, that sustained some damage during the Anglo Boer War).

Since the 1920s, Potchefstroom gained prestige as an educational centre and as the Bult area lay adjacent to the new educational node (what is now known as the North-West University). It absorbed a wide variety of citizens, noticeably those who worked or studied at the then college and university. The burgererven were gradually subdivided into smaller plots, creating a patchwork of the traditional farm houses and newer houses (Du Toit, 2008). Many of the newer residences were professionally designed according to contemporary architectural styles from the European continent, with the house at 24 Esselen Street (circa 1930) – often referred to as the Nelly Edwards house⁴⁶ or the Combrinck house⁴⁷ – being one of the latter.

Nelly Edwards (1897-1963) was the first practicing female architect in Johannesburg (Barlin & Chaskelson, 2007:16), with a list of projects that included single family dwellings, apartment buildings, schools, churches, hostels and laboratories for schools and the government (Du Toit, 2008). Her architectural style, though influenced by modernism, showed respect for historic architecture, the human scale of urban spaces, and sense of place (Du Toit, 2008). Outstanding features of the Combrinck house was the fenestration – the form of the windows, and the stained glass and glazed doors in Art Deco design (Du Toit, 2008). The glazed doors were apparently a hallmark of Ms. Edwards and an example still exists in the Strydom house (Du Toit, 2008). Please refer to Figures 7.6 and 7.7.

⁴⁶ There were in fact three houses designed by Nelly Edwards, all three situated on the Bult. Of the three, only one remains today as it stands on the property of the NWU in Hoffman Street, across from the Cachet Park shopping centre. Today this house is also known as the Strydom residence. The third residence stood across the Strydom house on the eastern side of Hoffman and Borchard Streets, but was demolished when the Cachet Park shopping centre was erected (Du Toit, 2008). The three residences – before demotion – spatially formed a triangle along Esselen and Borchard Streets.

⁴⁷ Though this house housed many families and students, some of the participants referred to this house as the Combrinck house, named after a Mr. A. Combrinck who was a lecturer at the college in the mid-20th century.



Figure 7.6 – The Combrinck/Nelly Edwards house, front and side (Source: Bosch, 2010).



Figure 7.7 – Combrinck/Nelly Edwards house, fenestration and stained glass detail (inset) (Source: Bosch, 2010).

Eventually, in 2007, the property was bought by a developer who has since gained some notoriety in the city. Three of the six participants stated that the site was badly maintained during this time. When the site notice board for the proposed demolition and rezoning of the property was displayed, the objectors immediately went into action to prevent the demolition of the Edwards house. They were successful in obtaining a court order against the developer and the demolition, but by the time it reached him he had already illegally demolished the house beyond repair.

The fine for this illegal action from the provincial authorities was the cessation of all development actions on the property for 11 years (from 2008). However, by January 2014 there were signs that development was, once again, taking place despite the 11-year ban placed on development (Figure 7.8).

3. Participant profile

A short description of the participants are given below, unless they were also involved in the pilot study. Six participants were interviewed, four male (aged 47, 65, 79, and 87) and two female (aged 57 and 79).

3.1 Participant 1

Please refer to Participant 4 of the pilot study (Chapter 6, section 3.4).



Figure 7.8 – Signs of a new development on the long empty site of 24 Esselen Street, despite an 11-year ban on development on the site (Source: Own collection, 2014).



Figure 7.9 – The barren site. All traces of the ancient trees originally on site were removed (Source: Own collection, 2013).

Figure 7.10 – Student housing close to the site in Hoffman Street (Source: Participant 1, 2013).

3.2 Participant 2

Please refer to Participant 5 of the pilot study (Chapter 6, section 3.5).

3.3 Participant 3

Participant 3 (aged 47) is a director and professor at the university. Though not having continuous contact with Potchefstroom through his life, in total he has lived 20 years in the city at the time of the interview. He is a specialist in his field in infrastructure and was originally contacted by Participant 4, who also lives in Hoffman Street, to use this knowledge to strengthen their case against the demolition and rezoning of the Edwards house. He stated that he was willing to 'protest' (his description of what he and other objectors were doing at that time) from a 'professional' stance and not from a 'sentimental' stance as some of the older residents were doing. As such he did not feel compelled to take any photographs of the site, nor use the iPad to select photographs for the interview.

3.4 Participants 4 and 5

Participants 4 and 5 (both 79 years old at the time of the interview) are a long-married couple who used to live two houses away from the Edwards house. They were active protesters in the fight to save the Edwards house (Participant 5's words), but eventually the rapidly changing environment on the Bult forced them to relocate to another neighbourhood in the city. Participant 4 has been living in Potchefstroom for 60 years and Participant 5 is a life-long resident of the city. Before moving to their current home in 2010, they lived on the Bult for more than 30 years.

3.5 Participant 6

Please refer to Participant 6 of the pilot study (Chapter 6 section 3.6).

4. Case study specific detail on data generation

The following aspects were unique for the second case study in terms of the data generation phase:

4.1 The located interviews

From the eight individually written objectors indicated in the archival data, six individuals were willing to participate in the research. During one interview a participant indicated that she had drafted a petition (and had it signed by approximately 400 individuals) against the demolition and rezoning of the Nelly Edwards house. However, this petition was not included in the files that the researcher was permitted to access – in fact, there was no indication that this petition was included as part of the formal public participation process at the local authority – and as such none of these individuals could be contacted.

Some of the participants were not as easy to access, – as was the case with the first case study – however, once a key person in the group of objectors was interviewed, it became much easier to contact other individuals who also objected but did (for example) not provide any contact detail on their original

written objection. One objector, when contacted for a possible interview, stated that due to victimisation from the developer during the rezoning process of the Edwards house, she was not willing to participate in the research. During the interviews with the other participants, other accounts of victimisation associated with the Nelly Edwards house were mentioned.

All participants signed an informed consent form before the actual interview. The data were transcribed and integrated with the photographic data in the transcription.

4.2 Supportive photographs

This case study necessitated innovation in terms of the participant interviews, for two reasons. Firstly, only two participants were willing and/or physically able to go to the site to take photographs for the interviews. Both these participants expressed the wish to conduct the rest of the interview elsewhere, as they did not wish to stand on the sidewalk next to a vacant lot. Three other participants felt the site was not worth visiting as it stood then and brushed off the idea of going to the site. One participant did not want to work with the photographs at all. The site – a proverbial scar on the face of a neighbourhood these individuals were or still are part of – seemed something best deemed avoided. Also, two of the participants were physically unable to visit the site due to ill health and a weak physical condition. As such, the researcher did not want to push them into a site visit. In three of the five interviews the modified version of the case study protocol had to be relied upon: conducting the interview in a place where the individual felt physically safe and using the photographs on the iPad as visual prompt during the two questions regarding the photos. This modification brings the interview geographically out of context and in these cases the visual aids are not truly participant-generated. However, it was more important to gain insight into the participants' experiences than be inflexible regarding the case study protocol. The case study protocol regarding the interview questions and their order was kept throughout each interview, despite the other modifications.

One interesting aspect of having a bare site with very few physical reference points confused some participants when selecting photographs from the iPad. The photographs on the iPad include images of the Nelly Edwards house before demolition, the site after demolition with an old misspelt advertisement board from the developer, photographs taken by the researcher during the site visit, as well as photos taken by other participants during the interviews. All the different batches of photos of the same site indicate the sequential environmental change that the site underwent over time, but as the physical markers on the site (e.g. trees, fencing, or the house itself) differed between the batches, some participants needed more time to orientate themselves mentally on the site during the interviews. Those participants who took their own photographs orientated themselves much easier when discussing the images and one even described how she superimposed her memory of the site over the current bare

piece of earth *before* she took the photos. When describing the meaning of the photographs, she was in fact fixing rich *memories* of physical site elements onto photos that showed very few of these site elements on the time the interview was conducted.

5. Findings

The findings of the archival analysis are given below, followed by the findings of the located interview and supportive photographs.

5.1 Archival analysis

Analysis of the application records at the local municipality was useful to give information about the project history, as well as to identify the participants for interview purposes (Yin, 2003:86). The same archival analysis procedure was followed as described in Chapter 5 (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 – Archival data, 24 Esselen Street.

Case Study 1	24 Esselen Street, Potchefstroom
<i>Themes</i>	<i>File data</i>
Date of submission and finalisation	Finalisation: 2009-07-28
Application type and relevant legislation	Rezoning Section 56 of the Transvaal Ordinance
Properties involved (property description/zoning/land use/address)	Remaining Portion of Erf 917 Potchefstroom IQ (24 Esselen Street); Residential 1
Purpose of application	Rezoning from 'Residential 1' to 'Residential 4' with an annexure / to 'Business 2'
List of role players	Lawyers Developer Private and municipal town planners Local municipality Two ward councillors South African & Provincial Heritage Associations
Participation process followed	Site notices Advertisements in local newspaper and Provincial Gazette Objection process from public Appeal and resulting townships board hearing
Objectors listed	None from internal municipal departments. Eight written objectives from the community.
Final decision	Demolition of structure was illegal. Developer prohibited to develop site for another 11 years. Rezoning to 'Residential 4' approved.

Eight written objections were received by the local municipality. Despite the provincial heritage authority and the local municipality trying to prohibit the developer to continue with the demolition of the Nelly Edwards House, he succeeded. The timeline for the project developed as follows (Diagram 7.1):

2007-03-12	Property sold to Robow Investments
2007-05-11	First advertisement in Potch Herald
2007-05-15	Submission of rezoning application to local municipality (LM)
2007-05-16	First day of 28 day objection period
2007-05-18	Second advertisement in Potchefstroom Herald
2007-05-28	First objection from public received
2007-06-01	Site notice boards submitted to LM
2007-06-05	Second objection received by LM
2007-06-11	Third objection received by LM
2007-06-12	Final day of 28 day objection period
2007-06-21	Town planner replies to Municipal Manager regarding the objection submitted on 2007-06-05
2007-07-17	Developer applied for demolition permit from South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA)
2007-07-18	Developer accuses municipal town planner of wilfully obstructing the processing of application.
2007-07-31	SAHRA North West Province gives developer permission to demolish the structures on site. Permit proves illegal because it was not supported by PRHA
2007-10-??	Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (PHRA) writes letter to condone SAHRA's decision regarding the demolition of the structures on site, rendering the demolition permit illegal
2007-10-30	Developer once again accuses municipal officials (in a letter addressed to the Executive Mayor) of wilfully obstructing the processing of the application and that they conspire against the developer in order to favour another developer and Bult resident's developments in the Bult area.
2008-01-10	Interested and affected parties notified of Land committee site inspection and hearing to be held on 2008-01-28
2008-01-28	Land committee site inspection and land committee hearing held
2008-03-07	Developer applies for demolition permit, <i>after</i> the <i>in loco</i> site inspection and land committee hearing (procedurally this should have been done before or early in the rezoning process.
2008-03-15	Illegal demolition of buildings on site (8:00. Council's decision was to be delivered to developer at 10:00 same day).
2008-04-10	High Court gave verdict about illegal demolition after city council's lawyers took developer to court – favours city council
2008-05-15	Council Resolution taken with regards to the Council approving the demolition permit (will only be given on receipt of the MEC's decision) and that the rezoning will not be finalised, depending on the electricity company's decision
2008-09-15	Demolition permit not yet approved by LM
2008-08-26	Building rubble still not removed from site by developer.
2008-09-16	Developer signs resolution with LM after Townships Tribunal and rezoning is approved
2008-11-04	Written disapproval from ward councillor against the approval of the rezoning by the LM
2008-11-17	Two objectors wrote appeals against the Townships Tribunal's decision regarding the rezoning application. This was refuted by the Department of Developmental Local Government and Housing in a letter dated 2008-12-05
2008-11-18	Another appeal written by the same two objectors
2008-12-02	Yet another appeal written by the same two objectors
2008-12-05	State department's reply to letters from objectors
2009-01-09	LM decision regarding building plans and terrain development plans of the development
2009-01-21	Writes to State Department that the Dept. Developmental Local Government & Housing approved the Map 3s and annexures as contained in the signed Settlement Agreement between the LM and the developer
2009-01-26	Private town planner submits amended map 3s to local municipality for 'Residential 4' zoning
2009-02-03	LM publishes notice in Provincial Gazette that rezoning application was approved. Developer writes to LM that he has not yet received his demolition permit New zoning certificate for property: 'Residential 4'
2009-05-22	Senior management decision taken
2009-07-28	Final decision by council

Diagram 7.1 - Timeline for the second case study.

5.2 Emerging themes from located interview and photographic data

Once again, the interview and photographic data are discussed in an integrated manner. The themes that emerged are indicated in Table 7.2:

Table 7.2 - Emerging themes from the second case study

Themes	Sub-themes
Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people	Personal investment in the place Resident of the Bult Continuity is necessary Everyday life quality Social interconnectedness with other residents
Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture	Environmental character of the place Urban greenery Architecture of the houses in the place Unexpected visual change Infrastructural problems of the place
Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common	Sense of community among residents Social respect for other residents Respect for the place Showing disrespect: developer Protective actions taken by participants
The place has historic value	Historic value of the place
Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place	Feelings of loss Feelings of powerlessness Fear of personal safety Feeling disempowered: backing down
The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict	Territorial marking by the developer Illegal actions taken by the developer Protective actions taken by participants Public participation experiences by participants

5.2.1 Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people

Sub-themes that emerged under the first theme were centered on feelings of personal investment, being a resident of the Bult, needing continuity and a good everyday quality of life, as well as feeling socially connected to other residents down the street.

5.2.1.1 On personal investment and being a resident of the Bult

In the conversations with the participants from this case study, it was obvious that the majority of the participants lived on the Bult for 10 years and more, all had vested interest in the area as land owners, and all had chosen the Bult as residence because of its location close to the university (work reasons), schools (family reasons), having been born in the area, and/or the atmosphere in the area as a settled

neighbourhood with a mix of old and new family dwellings, low density student accommodation, and old growth vegetation:

Participant 1: *"In the past I worked at the University of Tshwane and in my student days Hatfield [a neighbourhood renowned for its connection to the mentioned university] was still a student community with an atmosphere similar to what the Bult once was. So I...I really liked it when I moved here."*

Participant 5: *"...I have lived in Potch for 74 years - this is what I can remember as a child and as a school and university student, that it was a house built by Combrinck... all those years we lived in Potchefstroom, in that area. And now we changed because our needs changed when we started a family... So we...we literally lived 60 years in that neighbourhood... For more than 30 years we lived in that house."*

5.2.1.2 Continuity is necessary

As with the pilot study, continuity in the character or characteristic elements in the area seems important - **Participant 2:** *"See, for me the criteria is that we must keep a little bit of Potch, of the Bult as it once was".* For the one participant who has been residing on the Bult for less than a decade, it is the *idea* of continuity of place elements connected to the Edwards house that holds some fascination: **Participant 6:** *"...in certain places you see heel marks⁴⁸ - look, I know one of the rooms' floor was removed and replaced, but on one place you could still see panels where heel marks were pressed into the floor and the polish built up."*

5.2.1.3 Everyday life quality

However, as the municipality's Bult densification policy from the 1980s continued to manifest itself increasingly through higher density student accommodation, continuity incrementally broke down as the environmental character and resident demography changed:

Participant 4: *Often, late in the evenings, especially Saturday evenings or Friday evenings, traffic accidents happened on that street corner...*

Participant 5: *...and wild parties were held in Esselen Street...*

Participant 4: *...and streetlights were run down and so forth, you know? It wasn't nice to live there anymore.*

Continuing the conversation, Participant 5 gave a clear statement of how she experienced the changing neighbourhood context: *"We were greatly upset when we were practically forced to sell [their home],*

⁴⁸ She was referring to the marks that women's shoes heels made in the wooden floor, comparing it to markings visible years after they were made.

because the development was smothering us. We couldn't breathe there anymore. The traffic, the noise, the total development was not acceptable to us anymore."

5.2.1.4 Social interconnectedness with other residents

The environmental change became so noticeable that residents felt they had to protect the place, if not for their own connection to the Bult and the lifestyle it offered, then for the sake of their neighbours and the social interconnectedness that existed between the residents of the neighbourhood. **Participant 3:** *"I live in Hoffman Street... [Participant 4] phoned me, asking me - he would get all the forms, I only have to sign... But then I heard which house was involved and all, and I said I will gladly support him. So, that was how I got involved. But then I first did my research - typically like an engineer would, so I did not work on sentimental value."*

5.2.2 Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture

As with the Piet Malan residence, the possible - and eventual actual - loss of an old residence, together with highly visible changes in environmental characteristics (like loss of vegetation, increasing traffic volumes, and pressure on infrastructure), played a major role in the participants' opposition to the rezoning of 24 Esselen Street.

5.2.2.1 Environmental character: urban greenery and architecture of the houses in the place

In general, architectural and vegetational aspects were prominent in the conversations with the participants as they related to the case study (Figures 7.11-7.13). These two aspects in this particular case not only symbolise elements of one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Potchefstroom, they also symbolise a very *visible* physical character of the Bult. It seems that the meaning of 24 Esselen Street, coupled with its visibility and the unexpected demolition (scarring of the physical place elements), made quite an emotional impact on the majority of the participants.

Participant 1: *"...it was a uniquely designed house that differed from other buildings that were built more according to the semi-Victorian style. It had this Art Deco type of style, with a specific type of stained glass windows that were relatively unique in terms of architecture...And now we have to put up with an empty site for 10 years, one that attracts homeless people and is ugly, because it isn't maintained...homeless people started overnighing and littering there... where we now look out on an empty property against the backdrop of Cachet Square, there once stood a house with historical value, with beautiful architecture that was unique in town...it's twin house was unfortunately demolished years ago by the university to build the Senrio Building... And now we are put up with the empty property. It had a beautiful and large pecan nut tree. There stood a beautifully large - what is it called? - White Stinkwood tree. Poplar trees -*

everything was removed. So, once where a place with a rich character stood and contributed to the atmosphere of the Bult, a bare stretch of dirt lies. And the bit of history that was there once, is now gone."



Figure 7.11 – "... where we now look out on an empty property against the backdrop of Cachet Square, there once stood a house with historical value, with beautiful architecture that was unique in town" (Source: Participant 1, 2013).



Figure 7.12 – 24 Esselen St had an established garden destroyed during the demolition process. "That house [shown in this photograph] had a similar atmosphere... The garden was perhaps less well-watered, but this is just to illustrate the contrast between the type of environment existed compared to what we now have to cope with" (Source: Participant 1, 2013).

5.2.2.2 Unexpected visual change

Opinions about the visible character of the Edwards house differed. However, all participants agreed that it had historical value, something which was threatened by the bigger changes that were happening in the greater surrounds. Compare **Participant 2** (actually still using present tense to describe the demolished house): *"It's a beautiful house. It's still built according to the old architectural style... This is a house with character"* to **Participant 3**: *"I think it was a bit neglected and it would have been great if one could've restored the property and house a bit. But it wasn't a spectacularly beautiful home and I'm sorry if I offend the architect, but it wasn't a particularly beautiful home."*

The change in the area's character was well described by Participant 1:

Participant 1: *"So our experience was that there was a house from a previous era across the street and to some extent it contributed to the atmosphere of this part of the street, which is something one wants to conserve. At that stage the existing apartment blocks lower down in Hoffman Street weren't built yet, there were only old houses... But when the first house fell, it was only a question of two or three years before ten other houses in the street were also demolished and then nothing could stop it... So the street really changed dramatically these past five, six years. Six years ago there were still old houses; today more than half of them are gone, if not more..."*



Figure 7.13 – The Edwards house, before and after, seen from relatively positions from Esselen Street (above) and Hoffman Street (below) (Source: Bosch, 2010 (left) and own collection, 2012 (right)).

Having lived so many years together on the Bult, Participants 4 and 5 shared the same opinion to such an extent they could finish each other's sentences. In some cases, both were having *two different conversations* around the same topic with me, *at the same time*. However, what was obvious was the unexpectedness of the changes in the area:

Participant 5: *...but our ward councillor...called and said it was not approved due to the width of the street and the other old houses in the area and that never again will such applications in Hoffman Street be approved.*

Participant 4: *And when we opened our eyes, they were off-loading bricks.*

Participant 5: *Yes. That's a fact...*

Participant 4: *Somewhere something happened and the last time [inaudible].*

Participant 5: *...when one application was approved, it turned the situation into a free-for-all. The gates opened...*

Participant 4: *The problem is that once that was happening, we knew that all was lost...*

Participant 4 continued later, saying: *"You see, this is the problem: it started so slowly that it took a while to notice we had to push all other fights aside and fight for what matters, like old houses, the narrow street, etc."*

In contrast, one participant (who felt his participation was not sentimental, but rationally driven) felt that despite the very visible environmental changes, it could have been worse - **Participant 3**: *"See, there are really great places developed for the students. From my perspective it's still a better situation than the one we lived in in Pretoria, where houses were demolished and replaced by 5-6-7-8-10 storey buildings. Here we still have a relatively - how can I put it? - classical development rather than skyscrapers."*

5.2.2.3 Infrastructural problems of the place

Participant 3's reason for objecting was dually based: i) he was objecting in support of the more 'sentimentally-driven' residents, because ii) he had professional knowledge about the infrastructure status quo on the Bult at that time: *"...I took a look at the infrastructure of the city and I remember that some of the transformers were having some trouble. We only had one transformer in a working state and two on bystand, but not one of those two on bystand were in a working state at that stage. At that stage our [electrical] capacity - I think we lay between 95% and 100% on that specific transformer's capacity - and we did not want to burden it further. So any further development on the Bult at that stage would seriously burden that transformer."*

His reason for objecting was not 'sentimental' (as he referred to Participants 4 and 5's reaction towards the rezoning application), but he felt the need to protect the *area* from further development *at that stage* (before the infrastructure situation was stabilised) to maintain a certain quality of life that was afforded by the Bult and in which he participated as resident.

Signs that the Bult and its direct surroundings were changing, were felt through failing infrastructure (like electricity) and visible some time before the Edwards house fell (even the Edwards house showed signs of some neglect, allegedly neglected on purpose by the developer before demolition). In some cases, some of the participants started thinking about how to counter or adapt to the environmental changes. It was, however, the unexpectedness of the loss of the Edwards house that motivated the drastic steps needed to protect the house.

Participant 6: *"What I can remember is that that evening at 21:00 the roof.... I had the habit to walk to the Bult at night to buy bread, to buy bread and milk. At 21:00 that evening they started removing the roof. The supporting structure was still in an excellent state. You could basically see that the roof never*

had a leak. The wood was in perfect condition... We didn't know that he was going to demolish the house that day...what really upset me, was that when we arrived there, he already started using the bulldozer."

Participant 5: *"...it was early morning. Everything, everything was over that same dame, or so much was destroyed that nothing could be saved."*

In the case of 24 Esselen Street, environmental change came unexpectedly. Through the onsite notice, boards proclaiming the intended demolition and rezoning of the property, residents were aware that something was afoot. What they did not realise, was that an outsider – the developer – decided to hasten the environmental change by ignoring the discontent from the community. In effect, it seems he disregarded baseline respect and social relations that characterised social life within the area.

5.2.3 Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common

The sub-themes that were categorised under this theme were the social interactions participants experienced in this particular place, as well as feelings of respect (or in the case of the developer, disrespect) and the communal protective actions the developer's disrespect for the community and place elicited.

5.2.3.1 Sense of community among residents

From the various conversations it was obvious that most of the participants knew some personal details about the others and have been in contact with one another *before* the happenings at 24 Esselen Street. Some sense of neighbourliness/community existed for some time beforehand due to their geographical location near each other and/or through professional ties in the city - **Participant 5:** *"Everybody was a professional and part of the educational institutions in the area. One is attached to this."* As such, some form of social regard existed in the way they interacted with each other:

5.2.3.2 Social respect for other residents and place, and disrespect by the developer

Another thing that stood out in the conversations with the participants of this particular case study is respect. Each individual seemed to hold some type of respect, if not both of the following: respect for the history of the place and/or respect for the social relations with other residents in proximity:

Participant 5: *Why does one buy and build and live there more than 30 years? It's because of the people in the area, the attachment one experiences in the sense that your child can walk to the primary school, can cycle to the high school, can go to the university. For many*

years I used to teach at the educational college. It was the place - one is attached to the place. You're attached to the people.

Participant 4: *It's the people, you know.*

Participant 5: *It was peaceful before. The Cachet Square, which was also the site of the Aardklop National Festival, was a peaceful park. We walked the dogs there. The children played there. It was a fantastic environment, because we lived near the park. Now you cannot do these things anymore.*

Participant 4: *See, we all had a shared history and everybody lived in the same place... It was a pleasant community.*

Participant 5: *Yes.*

Participant 4: *We all knew each other... And the other thing was that the people were law abiding. We all respected the laws and had no trouble here.*

This stands in sharp contrast with the way the developer approached the area and its residents:

Participant 4: *And another thing, that man⁴⁹ only wants to make money with that house [inaudible] student commune, but I wouldn't have done that at the cost of others.*

Participant 5: *We always respected the others.*

Participant 3: *"He was given the order not to do it (as we understood it) and he simply continued."*

The developer created tension not only through his illegal demolition of the Edwards residence; also in the manner he contributed to the degradation of the area before and after the demolition (Figure 7.14):

Participant 1: *"And now we have to put up with an empty site for 10 years, one that attracts homeless people and is ugly, because it isn't maintained"; and in the manner he threatened harm to anyone who tried to stop him from the demolition and rezoning.*



Figure 7.14 – *"This is the contrast between **now** and **previously**: death... It is the trees that were removed from the sidewalk" (Source: Participant 6, 2013).*

Participant 3: "...I think in that sense it was sad that the house was demolished. The worst part is that it...the manner in which this was done: it wasn't done in a very considerate manner... I'm not criticising the person, but rather his actions. The things he did...I mean, you can find the proof of this these in the way he handled the situation surrounding 24 Esselen Street."

5.2.3.3 Protective actions taken by participants

Interestingly enough, it seems that the disrespect with which the developer handled the residents⁴⁹ was the catalyst for both *individual* and *group* protective actions -**Participant 3:** "... the residents - it was [Participant 4 and 5] who contacted me and asked for help with this protest (this is what I call a protest; it wasn't an objection, it was a protest) - they were up in arms over this specific house... I think the older residents specifically found the development problematic. But it's something that's happening more often; they cannot stop it. And they [Participant 4 and 5] have since then moved away and do not live there anymore."

The objectors group – supported by the Potchefstroom Local Municipality – was successful in eventually legally fining the developer, even though he had already destroyed the Edwards house. **Participant 2:** "But the objectors told their side of the story to the municipality and we just couldn't accept that someone could demolish such a place illegally. He should've waited until the process had run its course, which the land committee members heard the case and made their decision, but he took the law into his own hands."

Despite the strong collective opposition (of which the human chain of Participant 6 was but one element), it was through threats to residents' physical safety and his own illegal action (demolition of the Edwards house) that he eventually brought about the environmental change he had envisioned for the site. The local newspaper snapped a shot of him before the partially demolished house, a photograph (Figure 7.15) which was mentioned several times by the participants. **Participant 3:** "He posed so proudly for the Herald on one of the bulldozers, yes. Very proud of himself... But [the developer] is known for getting his way. He doesn't care about rules. I mean, the photo of bulldozer gives a clear indication that he doesn't follow the rules."

⁴⁹ One resident (Participant 3) stated that this type of behaviour seems common with several developers within the city: "My experience with developers in Potchefstroom is that they are relatively...unfortunately they are very vindictive and very - you know - don't really care for being a good neighbour (though they say they do, my experience is that they don't keep their word)... To the left of my house stands a student apartment block and they - what is the word? - are unscrupulous... they just don't care about the impact they have on the people around them. For them it's all about their budget, they want to finish before December, they want students in the apartments and that's it. Our experience of [the developer] is unfortunately the same."



Figure 7.15 – The developer in front of the Edwards house, directly after starting the illegal demolition (Source: Potchefstroom Herald, 2008).

One individual (Participant 6), after almost being arrested for forming a human chain (with her students) to stop the demolition of the Edwards house, recalled that moment the developer stood on the bulldozer for the local newspaper (Figure 7.16):

Participant 6: ...I would have gone and stood in front of that bulldozer, I would've done it, but that sign told me...

Researcher: ...the thumbs up sign?...

Participant 6: ...yes.

Researcher: What did it tell you?

Participant 6: "I am determined. You can come and stand in front of this bulldozer: I'll demolish you too."

5.2.4 The place has historic value

In terms of this theme, only one sub-theme emerged from this particular case study, namely the historic value of the Nelly Edwards house.



Figure 7.16– “This is a photo I took standing on the sidewalk where we stood [during the forming of the human chain]... We stood on this side and that was the area where the police vehicles came from...That is where I got the flashback of the bulldozer and the thumb...” (Source: Participant 6, 2013).

In this case study, the participants’ place experiences of the greater Bult area at some point merged with the Edwards house. The Edwards house – as a historic residential building and long-time visible landmark across the Cachet Square – symbolised the rich history of the area as part of the urban development of Potchefstroom. It was clear that the participants had specific knowledge about this historic value:

Participant 1: “...it was a uniquely designed house that differed from other buildings that were built more according to the semi-Victorian style. It had this Art Deco type of style, with a specific type of stained glass windows that were relatively unique in terms of architecture.”

Participant 2: “It’s a landmark in Potchefstroom, a monument in a certain sense.”

Participant 3: “So my personal experience of 24 Esselen Street? Ag you know, I think it would have been a good thing to conserve the house for its historical value. I think it would’ve been nice... Then I went on my own accord - what is it called? - to protest against this thing. And that was exactly what we did; we didn’t attend meetings, we protested. Anyway, when we... uhm, yes...I did it on my own accord as private

person, but with the knowledge of what the infrastructure can actually support in this part of the neighbourhood."

5.2.5 Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place

Under this theme the participants experienced strong feelings of loss and powerlessness. These feelings were deepened by fear of personal safety due to victimisation from the developer, resulting in some participants backing down from their actions to save the Nelly Edwards house from destruction.

5.2.5.1 Feelings of loss and powerlessness

As stated above, two themes that emerged strongly were those of feelings of loss and powerlessness to prevent the changes happening in the neighbourhood and the residence itself. About the greater urban envelope, they stated: **Participant 1**: *"But when the first house fell, it was only a question of two or three years before ten other houses in the street were also demolished and then nothing could stop it...";* and **Participant 5**: *"...it was a great disappointed... We were greatly upset when we were practically forced to sell [their home], because the development was smothering us. We couldn't breathe there anymore... It's just that one is so attached...was so attached to that place that was just snatched away due to development... One didn't have any say over the matter."*

About the Edwards residence, **Participant 2** stated: *"See, the Esselen Street case was a big disappointment. The demolition was truly a great disappointment."* Asking **Participant 1** how he experienced the public participation process, he replied: *"...ultimately extremely negative, because no matter what you do, how much money and time you spend on the matter. You only win the case on paper. Then the other party comes along and he breaks the rules and the government does nothing. The municipality could have arrested him on site - they did absolutely nothing."*

5.2.5.2 Fear of personal safety and feeling disempowered (backing down)

These experiences of loss and powerlessness were further entrenched when the developer started physically threatening some of the objectors:

Participant 1: *"...there are quite a few individuals who continued objecting and eventually their dogs were poisoned... That was but one of the things that happened to the leader figures of those residents who wanted to stop the development in its tracks. So there's...eventually they were victimised. Considering all...okay, what is the most important to me: a few old houses or my children's safety? So I said rather "hands off" at that stage. My wife decided to stop objecting, she cannot...our children are here and we are not always at home to watch over their safety. The dogs are here to guard them, but what would happen if someone were to poison the dogs? What do we do next?... Some of the developers also*

physically threatened some of the residents when they confronted the developer and some were even assaulted. Some residents were assaulted by the developer of Esselen Street during the rezoning process, so they became too scared to pursue the matter and the municipality just looked the other way and said: that's just how it is."

This fear for their personal safety and the feelings of loss and powerlessness continued when the developer started demolishing the house with a bulldozer, despite a court order to cease all demolishing activities -**Participant 6:** *"...what really upset me was that when we arrived there, he already started using the bulldozer... I think the reigning feeling was that of being stunned. I was stunned because...we stood on that side of the street...there on the sidewalk. The police came and parked there while in the property the destruction happened. And we were the ones seen as criminals... But I also had the responsibility; I would have gone and stood in front of that bulldozer, I really would have, but when he gave that sign [she gives the thumbs up sign the developer gave on the bulldozer photo] it told me ... I am determined. You can come and stand in front of the bulldozer, but I'll run you over... I was responsible for my students. I also had a responsibility towards my own family."*

For Participants 1 and 6, their personal safety and the safety of their families eventually overshadowed the value of the place meaning of 24 Esselen Street to such an extent that they ceased their protective actions to save the Edwards house.

5.2.6 The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict

Under this theme sub-themes relating to the developer's territorial marking, his illegal actions, and the residents' subsequent public participation and protective actions were categorised.

5.2.6.1 Territorial marking and illegal actions taken by the developer

In this section the extreme protective actions that were taken in this case study are highlighted. Not only did existing residents participate in protective actions; the developer, as the owner of 24 Esselen Street, also resorted to protective actions. The Edwards house was by law his property and if he followed the legislative rules for redevelopment such as he had planned, he was within his legal rights to apply for environmental change via a rezoning application and application to demolish an existing structure. Legally he had the right to protect his property rights – through the *legal* channels – against those who opposed his wish to change his property rights. One of the ways in which he apparently 'marks his territory', is by painting any property he intends to redevelop yellow, thereby signalling his intent to bring about environmental change (see Figure 7.14 above) -**Participant 5:***"[the developer's] trademark is to paint all his properties yellow-yellow-yellow... So this is actually...it devaluates the house."* His intent to

redevelop is also shown by placing large signage on site (Figure 7.17), as some form of territorial marking. Various signs were placed on the site through the years.



Figure 7.17 – Various site signage between 2008 and 2014 (Source: Bosch, 2010 (above left) and own collection, 2012 and 2014).

Participant 6 remarked on this signage (Figure 7.18):

Participant 6: *That is my Achilles heel...a thorn in the flesh of Paul⁵⁰ which I will surely carry with me.*

Researcher: *The signage?*

Participant 6: *It's this sign specifically, because exactly the same sign was recently put up at the recluse's house. All those signs are a torn in my side.*

Researcher: *Can you clarify: why is it a thorn in your side?*

Participant 6: *Because it's a wound that just does not heal.*

Researcher: *The fact that the house was demolished?*

Participant 6: *The fact that the house was demolished, yes. It will never be the same again as one drives past. The afternoon, the morning I went to work the house was still there. The afternoon when I returned home, all the corrugated iron sheets were removed. The following morning the bulldozer was there. The afternoon I returned, the house was*

⁵⁰ The participant was making a Biblical reference to the thorn in Paul's flesh (2 Corinthians 12:7), in which he wrote: "I was given a thorn in my flesh, a messenger of Satan, to torment me" (New International Version).

demolished. It is - I don't know. Maybe I'm a bit sensitive about the issue. Other people drive past and think it's a good thing for Potch.



Figure 7.18 – ‘The thorn in my side’ (Source: Participant 6, 2013).

During the rezoning process, the developer had the opportunity to defend his rezoning decision through the formal participation channels. He *did* submit the rezoning application via a town planner and eventually *did* apply for permission to demolish the Edwards house at the provincial heritage authority.

However, before the participation process could be completed (e.g., get to the municipal land committee meeting where the objectors’ complaints could be heard in its entirety), he decided to take place protective action himself *outside* the law. He did so through victimisation and by continuing the illegal demolition of the Edwards house, which in turn spurred the objectors to continue with their place protective actions outside the formal participation channel, by obtaining a court order to cease demolition activities until the historical value of the property could be ascertained. As **Participant 6** said: *“It's not because I wanted to buy the house [and failed] that I objected; I objected because I hate it when old buildings are demolished.”*

5.2.6.2 Protective actions taken and public participation experiences by participants

Other participants went on to describe the various protective actions:

Participant 1: *"We sent the report, together with our objections, to the SAHRA⁵¹ offices in Mafikeng. We were, unfortunately, at a stage too late for a specific deadline and then an initial demolition permit was issued, which was later retracted due to our objections. The developer in question then pretended that he was not informed about the retraction of the demolition permit. He then gave notice that he wanted to continue with the demolition. There was an urgent...we then contacted the municipality and the MEC and a court order was issued to specifically stop him from demolishing. He then proceeded to continue illegally and without any further notice, late one evening, he started removing the house's roof."*

When it became clear that the developer started operating outside the legal development system, some of the participants resorted to informal participation channels to air their protest against the demolition and rezoning. It was, however, too little, too late:

Participant 1: *"Then my wife called and said that there are people on the property and it seems as if they wanted to start with the demolition. And in the evening they started removing the roof. We then contacted a lawyer. The following morning he contacted the municipality personally and told them about the illegal demolition. He sent a request to the police or the head of the traffic department to stop the demolition. And another neighbour then started a protest with some students to protest against the demolition. The traffic department arrived. They acted against the protesters and said that the protest was illegal. They did nothing to stop the illegal demolition that was happening at that time."*

Participant 6 reported an interesting case of informal public participation: *"You know, I think what happened next is that we decided to protest against the demolition, but we didn't know that it was going to happen so quickly. We basically decided to stage a friendly protest for the case of conserving Art Deco architecture and we contacted the media to take photographs the morning around 8:00. We usually start at 7:30 in the mornings and we thought that that would be enough time. We wanted to highlight our protest. Somebody must have contacted him [the developer] and told him that we wanted to form a human shield around the building and I think he then decided that he had to move quickly... We didn't know that he was going to demolish the house that day."*

Simultaneously, other participants tried to obtain a court order against the developer, or some form of police protection for the property:

⁵¹ South African Heritage Resources Agency.

Participant 4: *We immediately fought for the conservation of that house.*

Participant 5: *At that stage - while the bulldozer was doing its work - [Participant 4] was at the police station trying to stop, stop, stop [the demolition]!*

Participant 4: *We could do nothing to stop it.*

Participant 5: *But then it was over! It was over.*

Participant 4: *Anyway, [another objector] also helped us [inaudible]. Come to think of it, that case was actually a good example of the town's residents working together with municipality.*

However, none of their place protective actions could stop the bulldozer. **Participant 6:** *"We stood on the other side of the pavement and suddenly the bulldozer was there. When we started moving to the other side of the pavement, the police came and stopped us and said that they will arrest us. We couldn't enter the site, because it was his [the developer's] property. They wanted to arrest us... He then climbed on the bulldozer. I think there was another man on the bulldozer too and then they started [the demolition]...I think it was at that stage that [one of her students] started crying."*

6. Discussion

6.1 Theme 1: Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people

As with the pilot study, the reader needs to keep in mind the 'academicness' of the term place attachment. References to singular aspects of participants' place attachment are abundant in the data. Rarely did the researcher find direct references to place attachment, until Participants 4 and 5 handed her a file with case-related documents they collected over the years. It contained a letter written by Participant 5 at the time the rezoning application of 24 Esselen Street was in dispute, in which she stated that the urban planner *"accused me of being emotional and further accused me of not being able to adapt."*

Asking her during the interview what she meant she replied that her reaction was *"...not a question of sentiment. It was a more an emotionally sentimental issue, because it was the area where educational professionals of various institutions lived, lived peacefully. The children could cycle to school, they could walk to school. It was a planned place for teachers and professors - not in a snobistic manner (not in the slightest!), but the atmosphere...it wasn't...I never tried to talk down on someone. It's just that one is so attached...was so attached to that place that was just snatched away due to development."*

For her, her bond to the Bult was not only a nostalgic memory of a way of life, but also the environmental and social interactions afforded by the Bult before the rapid environmental change of the last decade. These 'nostalgic emotions' related to the area seemed to have been strengthened by the gradual realisation that physical proximity to the place cannot be maintained, which were further cemented when they eventually left the area that was home for more than 30 years.

6.2 Theme 2: Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture

For the participants, it was mostly not only the possible loss of a way of life that motivated place protective action; the loss of a prominent historical building also fuelled their determination to protect whatever could be salvaged of the place, even if it was only to get the developer fined for the unjust demolition of the Edwards house. This holds true in literature that indicated that place attachment can elicit place protective actions (Stedman, 2002; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminof, 1983).

6.3 Theme 3: Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common

As with the first case study, a latent topic of insider/outsider relationships emerged from the sub-themes of sense of community and respect. The residents and objectors are in essence classified as 'insiders', while the developer - the antagonist in this case - stood in the role of the 'outsider' who was about to (and eventually did) bring about yet another environmental change in a series of changes already experienced and anticipated by the residents. There was thus a definite personalisation or identification of place in this case (see for example Knez, 2014).

6.4 Theme 4: The place has historic value

What was obvious in this case was that the objectors had quite some knowledge regarding the history of the Nelly Edwards house and public participation procedures - some of whom had participated previously in such processes - enabling them to quite effectively kick start place protective actions (informal or formal). This is supported by the findings of Ryan (2005:37), who suggested that knowledge about a place can increase human-place bonds and thus the willingness to keep it from change or harm.

The Edwards house symbolises the rich history of the area. I used the present tense here, as the place meaning of the Edwards house and its site continue to carry some importance for the participants. The destruction of the *physical structure* does not mean the place *meaning* is destroyed too, as the meaning is a cognitive concept. However, the place meaning may eventually lose its value *weight* as the socio-environmental context changes, or as new attachments are formed, as other place meanings become

more prominent in an individual's life, or as individuals come to terms with the loss of a significant-meaning place -**Participant 2**: "Ag you see, when it's demolished, it's demolished."

6.5 Theme 5: Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place

If seen from the Instrumental Tradition of place attachment, the Edwards house and its prominent site on the corner of Hoffman and Esselen Streets, across one of the oldest public squares in town, was actually only one of several heritage-worthy houses on the Bult. From the *Instrumental Tradition* the attachment and meanings attached to it, could have been transferred to another old residential building on the Bult, like the President Pretorius homestead, which is even older than the Edwards house.

Yet in context, this was not the case for the majority of the participants: the Edwards house was irreplaceable. As such, the potential loss – and the eventual loss – of the place signalled the greater environmental changes happening on the Bult in terms of the land use and demographic changes. Old place meanings were threatened as the lifestyle afforded by the place changed, creating strong feelings of loss among the participants, as well as powerlessness to prevent the changes from happening. With exception to one participant (Participant 2), the feeling of powerlessness was enhanced by what they perceived to be:

- Too many loopholes in the development legislation and policies relevant to the Bult for developers to abuse, especially since the developers have more resources to appoint lawyers (with legal knowledge not commonly known to ordinary individuals) to work within these loopholes;
- A participatory system which means little due to incompetent execution by the local authority; and
- Actions of the developer which threatened the personal safety of objectors and their families.

6.6 Theme 6: The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict

The Edwards house fell, signalling yet another environmental change on the Bult. Asking the participants their experiences surrounding the rezoning and demolition of 24 Esselen Street, three diverging viewpoints on the public participation proceedings were noticeable:

- i. The formal public participation process works in the case of achieving just place protective action, even if the objection is negated - **Participant 2**: "*So the process is well-structured, legally structured well. The problem lies at the execution... I am positive about the matter. It is the correct procedure... They [the municipality] handle it well. They...from a legal point of view cannot object to the process. You may not always agree with their decisions, but they do their work*";

- ii. The formal public participation process can work to achieve just place protective action, but ineffective management thereof means it is only partially effective - **Participant 3:** *"...the process afterwards [after the illegal demolition started] asking the municipality for help was effective, because the developer was prevented from future development on the site. But how did that help [to prevent the demolition of the Edwards house]? I mean, it's like giving someone a penalty in a rugby match...He's off the field and the game has changed, but things can never return as it was before. That's just how it is.";* and

- iii. Complex legislation creates loopholes for developers to abuse, rendering the formal public participation process useless for achieving place protective action - **Participant 1:** *"...due to the complexities created by the various legislation the regulations between the various levels of the government become so complex; there's too many loopholes a developer can abuse. It's practically impossible – from my personal experience – for residents to fight for conservation against a lawyer and developer who know the loopholes and have enough money and time to keep up the court case in their favour if the various levels of government do not actively make the case for conservation. Once again – on one side of the fence – the local government's incompetence, disinterest [in the case of conservation], and lack of coordination between the various levels of government make it virtually impossible for the residents to keep up the case [for conservation]; the developers abuse the loopholes that the residents are not aware of and which have specific legal and procedural implications. Eventually you end up in a situation where a smart lawyer convinces the municipality that the developer did not know [that he was acting illegally] or that he had the right to protect his interests (or whatever). If you do not have a smart lawyer of your own that you have to pay to look after your own case, the developers gets away with murder and the municipality that was supposed to stop them are just not interested to do so... So the...So I was disillusioned by the manner in which the municipality handled the whole process. In reality the process means nothing."*

7. Conclusion

The aims of this chapter were to introduce the second case study and its participants; secondly, to indicate case-specific aspects regarding the data generation; and finally, to present the data collected.

From the interviews it seems that:

1. Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people.

2. Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture.
3. Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common.
4. The place has historic value.
5. Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place.
6. The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict.

Though this research stated its view to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation outside of the boundaries of power relations between role players early on in the thesis, this particular case study clearly implies that power relations is not an aspect that can be factored out in terms of research in the global South, even though the urban context shows more similarities to urban settings in the global North.

The following chapter will introduce the third and final case study, the P1 Restaurant. The third case study is the final one in this case analysis.

Chapter 8

The third case study: P1 Restaurant

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information, a participant profile, the emergent themes from the interview data, and a discussion of these themes for the case study in question.

1. Introduction

This case study is a site also located on the Bult (124 Steve Biko Avenue), Potchefstroom, in close proximity of the other case studies. What makes this case study different from the Piet Malan and Nelly Edwards residences is that the original dwelling structure, though older than 60 years by the time of demolition, was not considered as a historically exceptional building. Objections against the rezoning application were therefore based on considerations other than the historic value of the structure.

The aims of this chapter are therefore firstly, to introduce the final case study and its participants; secondly, to indicate case-specific aspects regarding the data generation; and finally, to present the data collected and the themes that emerged from this data.

2. P1 Restaurant: 124 Steve Biko Avenue, Potchefstroom

In this section the property is discussed in terms of its location and history.

2.1 The location

The site is located on the eastern side of Steve Biko Avenue. Land use in the surrounding urban envelope is mixed, including single residential dwellings, higher density residential units, student housing, guest houses, businesses and offices, open spaces, educational facilities and parking.

The site visit was conducted in early October 2013, during the university semester, outside of the morning peak traffic period. The traffic volume was high; approximately 90 cars passed the site in a time frame of 10 minutes. Pedestrians and cyclists were also present.

2.2 The history

124 Steve Biko Avenue is located in what was previously known as Tom Street, the longest oak avenue in the Southern Hemisphere, which was declared a national heritage site in 1977 (Müller, 2012). Steve Biko Avenue runs past Cachet Square, Cachet Park shopping centre, the Piet Malan residence, and forms the eastern border of the NWU (Figure 8.1).



Figure 8.1 – Location of case study (124 Steve Biko Avenue) (Source: Google Earth, 2014).

The site housed a double-storey family dwelling that was also used as an art gallery and place of refreshment until the late 2000s. Extensive alterations during its lifetime decreased its architectural value considerably (Müller, 2012).

When the property was sold to the new owner, the structure was extended with a wooden deck and employed as an entertainment site and restaurant on a much bigger scale than before (Figure 8.2), attracting large numbers of clients (mostly students due to its proximity to the university) and thus also increasing traffic and noise levels in the direct surrounds. The land use was illegal at that point in time (De Jager, 2011b) and the owner proceeded with a rezoning application (Amendment Scheme 1670) in 2010, which was heavily objected to by the local community and not approved by the local authority. A second rezoning application was submitted in 2011, which received no objections from the community and was subsequently approved. The residence has subsequently been demolished and the property – together with a neighbouring property – now houses a multi-storey apartment block for student accommodation.

3. Participant profile

None of the participants in this case study were involved in the pilot study or the first case study. Unlike the pilot and first case study, none of the participants cross-referenced themselves or one another across the cases, which may mean that the individuals who objected to P1 – though all residents of the Bult – are part of another ‘community’ in the neighbourhood than those involved in the first two studies.



Figure 8.2 – The front of the P1 Restaurant at 124 Steve Biko Avenue, now demolished (Source: De Jager, 2011).

This case study is different from the first two in the sense that five of the six participants (plus one other objector who was not part of this study, but who was mentioned by Participant 3) were going through stressful personal life experiences that they explicitly named as part of their experiences of the happenings surrounding P1. Two were under strain from work-related factors, three were strained by having to study for important exams, while the sixth non-participating individual was grieving the loss of her young husband. Their motivation to object to the proposed rezoning could therefore have been fuelled by the existing stress, something that was not mentioned by the participants in the other case studies.

It could also mean that the impact of this environmental change was much more severe than the other case studies, in the sense that its reach was literally *in* the homes of most of these individuals, impacting their ability to continue with normal, everyday life. With the other case studies, the environmental change stayed *outside* their properties and thus did not have such a severe impact on their prime base of safety and retreat. The restorative qualities of the home as favourite place was thus left intact with the first two case studies, but rendered useless in this case study.

3.1 Participant 1

Participant 1 (33 years old) is a lecturer at the university and has been a resident in town since 2000. She moved to Steve Biko Avenue in 2010, shortly before the ructions surrounding P1 Restaurant started. During that time she also started working at her current employer and considered furthering her education at the same time. However, the noise levels and traffic problems made it impossible to continue with her studies, due to the drastic influence of the noise on her quality of life. She feels that the illegal land use, as well as the happenings during the rezoning process effectively “complicated my day-to-day functioning and effectivity in my working environment”⁵².

She became involved when her neighbour and key figure in the public opposition to the rezoning (Participant 3), contacted her to help with the objecting. She also felt she needed to get involved, as the noise and traffic problems affected her daily life.

3.2 Participant 2

Participant 2 is a 53 year old chemist who lived in Potchefstroom for 15 years, before moving to the coast shortly after the interview was conducted. As a divorcee with three daughters (the youngest still living at home at that stage), the stress resulting from the noise levels and social misbehaviour at P1, her direct neighbour, seriously impacted on her quality of life and that of her daughter, who needed to study for school exams. The constant noise made it impossible to sleep and study. Even after P1 Restaurant closed, the rezoning was denied, and a new rezoning was approved to build the current Carmen Apartment block, the feeling of fear and stress did not disappear: the construction of the apartment block a few meters from her property let her feel as if her life and that of her daughter was under physical threat.

She came in contact with Participant 3 as he rallied the surrounding residents to object against P1, and though at least one of the resident meetings (to discuss how to proceed with objecting against P1’s rezoning) happened in her house, she was a more passive supporter of Participant 3’s place protective actions through the formal public participation process.

3.3 Participant 3

Participant 4 (42 years old) is undoubtedly the keystone in in the communal place protective actions surrounding P1 Restaurant. Other participants regularly referred to his leading role in the whole process. He was the individual who ‘rallied the troops’ by contacting residents in the neighbourhood, convening meetings to give progress reports on the public participation process, place protective actions, communications between himself, the municipality, and the lawyers he appointed to help in their place protective actions. He was also the main financier of the action: *"In the end I had to pay more than*

⁵² Direct quotation from the participant from member checking corrections.

R50 000 [approximately €3 448 at an exchange rate of R14.50/€1] in legal costs. Two other objectors contributed some money, but I think that was only about R1 500 [approximately €103] and that was what it cost me to eventually win the case."

As **Participant 2** said: "Without him we really would not have been able to close down that place". **Participant 1** stated: "He was the active person, he financed the process".

As an individual whose work is mainly creative, who cares for his elderly parents, and who is a lifelong resident of that particular street block in Steve Biko avenue, he was fighting to keep the living quality of his environment to a decent standard for his parents and for his ability to keep doing his creative work: "In some of my letters to the municipality I wrote that I couldn't do any creative work for almost six months."

3.4 Participants 4 and 5

Participants 4 and 5 are father and daughter, both full-time students at the university. Participant 4 (the father, aged 52) is furthering his career by completing his degree part time, while his daughter, Participant 5 (aged 19) is studying full time. At the time P1 Restaurant was operating, Participant 4 was already a working student, while Participant 4 was still in high school and studying for exams.

Participant 4 moved with his family to Potchefstroom so he could study at the university, two years before P1 opened. Though not a land owner, he chose their current place of residence due to its central location for his own and his children's' study needs, and for its close proximity to his wife's workplace and the supermarkets. They chose the area because it supported their current lifestyle.

3.5 Participant 6

Participant 6 is 74 years old, and has been living in Potchefstroom for the past 49 years. The Bult was his main place of residence for 27 years. Initially, he and his wife lived in a house one block north from where they live now, also in Steve Biko Avenue. They moved to the current smaller residence when their children left home.

Like Participants 4 and 5, Participant 6 lives on the panhandle of a subdivided *burgererf*, away from direct street frontage, yet, like Participants 4 and 5, the noise levels and the safety and social impact of the environmental change brought on by P1 still reached him, impacting negatively on his quality of life - "It was not only here where we live, deep into the block, that the ruckus was heard; there were individuals who lived much closer to the street who were affected much worse by the happenings there."

4. Case study specific detail on data generation

The data generation for this case study followed the same procedure as described earlier in this research. This particular archival analysis proved to be somewhat hampered by the fact that not all of the files regarding this property could be traced in the municipal archives. However, those files available were detailed enough to provide a basic timeline and broad background information. Additional documentation kept as proof of his participation during the P1 rezoning was provided by the key figure in this case study.

4.1 The located interviews

Six participants were willing to participate in the study, three female (aged 19, 33, and 53 years old) and three male (aged 42, 52, and 74 years old). As with the pilot study, it was somewhat difficult to contact participants, as a number of individuals listed as objectors were students living in the neighbourhood and have since migrated elsewhere. There were also objectors who did not state any contact detail on the written objections, which made it impossible to contact them for the research. Of the six participants willing to participate, two rent in the area and four are land owners. One of the participants has since moved away from Potchefstroom, shortly after the interview was conducted.

With the exception of one (Participant 2) interview, all interviews were conducted in the participants' homes, all of which are situated directly across the then P1 Restaurant. Participant 2's interview was conducted in a nearby coffee shop in Steve Biko Avenue. The standard case study protocol was adhered to in all of the interviews. All participants signed an informed consent form before the actual interview. The data were transcribed and integrated with the photographic data in the transcription. Participant 2 indicated that she had no wish to participate in the member checking phase of this research and would be too busy to with her new business. As such, she was not contacted for member checking as per her wishes.

4.2 Supportive photographs

All of the participants were in good health and able to visit the site at the beginning of the interviews. Participant 2 for some reason did not want to take the photographs herself, even though the researcher handed the camera to her. She just handed it back to the researcher and pointed with her finger, while instructing the researcher what to photograph. She only wanted two photographs taken.

Participant 3 was only willing to take photographs of the site if he could find his own photos (taken in 2010 when P1 still operated and the rezoning process was running) and compare it with the new photos for interview purposes. He saw no purpose in taking photographs of a site on which the object under discussion (P1) did not exist anymore. He went to great pains to find and sort the 2010 photographs of P1

and discuss it with the researcher *before* going to the site to take photos for the interview. As these photographs formed an integral part of the interview, they are also included in this chapter.

Table 8.1 – Archival data, 124 Steve Biko Avenue.

Case Study 2	124 Steve Biko Ave, Potchefstroom
Themes	File data
Date of submission and finalisation	Two applications submitted to Tlokwe Council: 1. First amendment scheme submitted 14 September 2010. Application not approved in writing on 7 February 2011. 2. Second amendment scheme submitted in 30 August 2011.
Application type and relevant legislation	1. Application 1: Rezoning (Transvaal Ordinance article 56(10)) 2. Application 2: rezoning & consolidation
Properties involved (property description/zoning/land use/address)	1. RE of Erf 820, Potchefstroom IQ / 'Special' with an annexure for Residential Uses, Dwelling House Offices, Place of Instruction, Show Room and Retail Area of not more than 60m ² / Restaurant ('F1 Restaurant' - illegal at the time of the application), Place of Refreshment and Place of Entertainment and Cemcrete Offices/ 124 Steve Biko Avenue / 1428m ² 2. RE of Erf 820 & Ptn 1 of Erf 820, Potchefstroom IQ / 'Special' with an annexure for Residential Uses, Dwelling House Offices, Place of Instruction, Show Room and Retail Area of not more than 60m ² & 'business 4' with an Annexure 1129/ 124 & 126 Steve Biko Avenue / 1428m ²
Purpose of application	1. To rezone to 'Business 4' with Annexure 1204 for Educational uses, Place of Refreshment and Place of Entertainment. 2. To rezone to 'Residential 4' to provide 42 dwelling units to accommodate students and young professionals.
List of role players	Owner Ward councillor Municipal Manager Private town planners (different planners for each amendment scheme) Municipal Attorney Client/owner attorney Objectors Heritage specialist South African Heritage Resources Agency
Participation process followed	Site notice Local newspaper notice
Objections listed	1. 32 objections received 2. No objections received.
Final decision	1. Application 1 – not approved. 2. Application 2 – approved

An interesting development that happened as Participant 1 discussed her photographs was that she recalled the emotions she felt during the rezoning process while taking the photos. Taking the photos allowed memories and associated emotions to surface. The feelings were negative, having such a strong push factor that she had difficulty physically nearing 124 Steve Biko Ave., even though P1 has long since been demolished and replaced by an apartment block. It seems that not only place meanings can remain

after the physical structure was removed, but also *felt place experiences*, emotions attached to place, even though the site physically looks very different from how it looked during P1's time.

5. Findings

The archival analysis findings are discussed first, followed by the findings of the located interview and supportive photographic data.

5.1 Archival analysis

Analysis of the application records at the local municipality was useful to give information about the project history, as well as to identify the participants for interview purposes (Yin, 2003:86). The same archival analysis procedure was followed as described in Chapter 6 (Table 8.1, previous page).

The timeline for the project developed as follows (Diagram 8.1):

2005-10-11	Executive Mayor decision approves a previous rezoning of the property from 'Residential 1' to the zoning stated in first rezoning application
2010-09-10	First advertisement in local newspaper
2010-09-14	First advertisement in government gazette
2010-09-17	Second advertisement in local newspaper
2010-09-21	Second advertisement in Government Gazette
2010-10-07	Site notices submitted to local municipality
2010-10-14	28-day objection period begins
2011-01-13	Objectors are informed of in loco inspection and hearing on 2011-01-28
2011-01-28	Inspection in loco 8:20am, hearing at 9:00am
2011-02-04	Recommendation from Land Committee given to municipal manager
2011-02-07	Application not approved by municipal manager Applicant withdraws application for first amendment scheme in writing to the Tlokwe Municipality
2011-02-09	Objectors receive in writing a copy of the letter of non-approval by the municipal manager
2011-03-29	Municipal Attorney drafts letter to owner (P1 Restaurant) due to complaints received that continued illegal operation of the restaurant must be stopped.
2011-04-11	Applicant attorney confirms discontinuation of illegal activities such as live music on the premises, but still the continuation of activities considered legal under the existing zoning rights.
2011-11-25	Land Committee gives green light for second amendment scheme
2012-02-03	Heritage impact assessment submitted to SAHRA for gaining a demolition permit
2012-02-24	Executive Mayor approves application for second amendment scheme

Diagram 8.1 - Project timeline for third case study.

Two rezoning applications were submitted to the Tlokwe Local Municipality. The first application aimed to legitimise the illegal land use activities (P1) that were happening at that stage. It was this application that received 32 objections from the community and was subsequently not approved by the local authority. The second rezoning application for higher density apartment-style accommodation received no objections from the community and was eventually approved by the city council.

5.2 Emerging themes from the located interview and photographic data

In this case, Participant 3 as the leader figure in the joint objection against P1, has the ability to clearly express himself and the situation surrounding P1. Before commencing as usual with the themes emerging from the in-depth interviews, a few sections from a summarising objection document that Participant 3 wrote to the local municipality on the 11th of October 2010 will be presented; this document is undersigned by the other objectors. The researcher read this document *after* analysing the interviews and was struck by the consistency of the type of objections the participants expressed during the interviews, and the objections summarised by the document three years earlier. The participants express their experiences the best (see Annexure C).

Several themes and sub-themes emerged from this case study (Table 8.2):

Table 8.2 - Emerging sub-themes from the third case study

Themes	Sub-themes
The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place	Participants have environmental choice Lifestyle choice of participants Everyday life quality Home as emotional support Home as containment Personal investment into place
The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place is unique to this place	Architectural aspects of place Sensory experience in the place Interactions happening in the place Traffic and safety issues Adaption to environmental changes
Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place	Feeling of community among participants Communal protective actions of participants Social interactions in place: passive and active Disruptive social interactions experienced by participants Negative social effects experienced by participants
The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character	A vibrant and enabling place Uncertainty and conflict in place
Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place	Unexpected intrusion in place Experiences of stress Feelings of power: the hero Feelings of powerlessness: the place Fear of personal safety
Organised communal actions saved the place	Public participation experiences of participants Protective actions taken by participants Good organisation of the participants

5.2.1 The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place

The particular sub-themes that arose from the case study data and were categorised under the first theme refer to participants' environmental choices that hinged on their lifestyles and everyday life quality. Another salient sub-theme from this particular case was the emotional support that their homes provided them. Experiences of containment were related on two levels: firstly, the effects of the environmental change were uncontained; secondly, in an attempt to counter the negative effects of the environmental change, some participants acted to increase the containment provided by their home environment. Finally, feelings of having personally invested in the place was also categorised under this theme.

5.2.1.1 Environmental choice, choice of lifestyle, and everyday quality of life of participants

Environmental choice, lifestyle, and quality of life were the main focus of felt experience for the majority of participants of this case study. The particular environmental change brought on by illegal operation of the P1 Restaurant (noise, litter, traffic problems, etc.) was of such quality that it went against the grain of the participants' lifestyle of choice, which was afforded by the qualities of this particular area of the Bult. As such, participants felt that their choice and quality of life was taken away from them by the illegal land use, and that this would continue negatively impacting on their lifestyle of choice, should the rezoning application be successful:

Participant 2: *"They were so close to our bedroom that some nights we had to sleep with cushions over our heads - cushions. Eventually we couldn't cope with it anymore. I said: "my child, let us put cushions over our heads to deafen the music". I love music, all types of music, but not that type of music that time of night at 23:00, 00:00. I constantly called the police, all the time. All the time. Yes, for disturbing the peace, and then they came to investigate. They came out to investigate the peace disturbance, but then - and every night one had to call the police for a case of disturbing the peace - I don't go outside [onto the sidewalk where the police was parked after the phone call], I don't know when the police car will arrive, I'm too scared. I'm a woman on my own with only my child. Afterwards I hear the police arriving, because then the noise decreases. But I always had to call them around 23:00. The walls around my property were high. I would never go out into the street in Steve Biko Avenue to see if a police car arrived."*

Participant 3: *"One of the things that were not pleasant was - let me call it social interaction. The ideal situation is that you want to sit on your verandah and socialise and invite friends over, and then you have this...sometimes the noise levels were so high...that standing in the kitchen, we could not hear the other talking. We had to yell at each other in the kitchen, because their music [P1's music] was really, really,*

really loud. Our home has 1-2-3 rows of rooms before you reach the main house, and even with all the doors and stuff closed, we had to yell at each other to be heard in our own home."

Researcher: *I am quite interested to know how P1...did P1 influence your quality of life in some way?*

Participant 6: *We did feel that way, that is why we signed the petition. I concentrated more on traffic - but the noise, that was another aspect. In the beginning they had massive speakers and they made this dooph-dooph-dooph-dooph noise. Our problem...during office hours it's not a big problem, but the moment it's outside of office hours or later when family time is over and bedtime arrives, then you have a problem.*

5.2.1.2 Home as source of emotional support and containment

Related to the above-mentioned sub-themes, the sub-themes of 'home as emotional support' and 'containment' also featured strongly in the conversations with the participants. This included not only the participants trying to contain their way of life by protective actions, but also the environmental changes resulting from the operation of P1 (like sound pollution, illegal parking, and social misconduct like public defecation and urination) that were *uncontained* to the boundaries of 124 Steve Biko Avenue (Figure 8.3), leaking into the home as place of emotional support (as a place to cope with work stress and loss, for example).



Figure 8.3 - Clients of P1 parking in the public/private transition zone between the street (public space) and private property (private space), an environmental change created by P1 and uncontained to the boundaries of 124 Steve Biko Avenue (Source: Participant 3, 2010).

This breach of the 'coping place' coincided with various *other* stressors present in the residents' lives (exams, studies, death in the family, and work-related stress factors), meaning that the places of recuperation for these individuals were unavailable to cope with these stressors. This, in turn, created a strong motivation to oppose the proposed restaurant:

The experiences of Participants 1 and 3 were related to work stressors:

Participant 1: *"[Participant 3] said he lost six months. Now I - I haven't even tried counting the months I lost; I just tried to survive... I had basically started living here when P1 was opened. So it wasn't long afterwards. I think the other inhabitants have more stories; they had much more to lose. My neighbours, especially... [Participant 3] really conferred with all the neighbours. Luckily, I didn't get that job, so I could just continue with my job. At that stage I had just started on my own work...started thinking about doing my [Ph]D, as I told you yesterday evening. So I was just barely surviving with all my classes and my colleagues, so this was a second or secondary problem. Although I remember that there were few nights that I could sleep. Eventually, that was the greatest stressor, you know? I didn't really realise it...I was very glad that things turned out as it did, otherwise I don't know what I would have done. My parents bought this house three years before then. What do you do when your investment falls apart? If there's too much noise. I almost could not continue with my life at that stage."*

For other residents in the area, the personal stressors were related to the loss of a loved one:

Participant 3: *"For example, in that time the people living across from here lost their son and...the son was married only a short time and they lived with her parents-in-law. In that time she couldn't - I mean, her husband of 7 or 6 months - is dead and they couldn't, she couldn't cope, because of the people [of P1] acting like they did. The people at the back lost their father-in-law or mother-in-law and it was the same situation: those things that you want to do in your home as a family, even to grieve for those you've lost, you cannot do it because the people of P1 are busy driving you crazy. The siting of businesses within a residential area has more underlying than just is it a good idea, or does it look good on a map? It literally hinges on things like grieving for your loved ones that passed away and you cannot grieve, because...your environment doesn't allow you to do so."*

For Participants 3, 4, and 5 additional personal stressors were presented by having to study and write exams during the worst time of environmental 'chaos', as well as being unable to normally converse with their family in their home:

- Researcher:** *And would you say...if you didn't have to study, would you still have found it disruptive?*
- Participant 5:** *The other problem was that we also couldn't sit here on our verandah enjoying some family time, because there was just too much noise. You couldn't hear each other talking...*
- Researcher:** *...Would you say that - like you said - it [the noise] influenced your family time?*
- Participant 4:** *I would say definitely, yes. One is irritated, always irritated with the other members of the family...*
- Participant 5:** *...yes...*
- Participant 4:** *...your whole family life is under pressure, because everyone is irritated with each other.*
- Participant 5:** *And don't forget the exams, you also have exam stress.*

However, when a subsequent rezoning for high density student accommodation was submitted to the local municipality, not one of the residents opposed it, as it was a land use that did not scar the place character of the neighbourhood. Asking **Participant 5** whether he experienced a change in quality of life the moment P1 closed down, he replied: "*Absolutely, everything returned to normal*". As such, it was not the *environmental change* per se which the residents opposed; rather it was the *consequences* brought on by the environmental change that were opposed by the *nature* of the change, as this changed the quality of life they expected from their chosen living environment.

The effect of the potential environmental changes symbolised by P1 still lingers. In reaction to the changed environment - though much more happily received than the initial proposed environmental changes - Participant 1 found herself increasing containment of her home:

- Participant 1:** *Yes, in some way, because you know it's still a two-storey building. There is still noise, so you try to keep the sound out.*
- Researcher:** *Are you referring to the blinds that you close...?*
- Participant 1:** *... and the windows. In the winter also the curtains, because then it's cold too. Therefore everything that can be closed...*
- Researcher:** *If I understand you correctly, in some way you acted out of sympathy for your neighbours and for your own future career development...*
- Participant 1:** *...and my own privacy...*
- Researcher:** *...and for your own privacy you also participated?*
- Participant 1:** *Yes, you understood correctly. It was for those three reasons.*

When asked to elaborate on the meaning of Figure 8.5, **Participant 1** said: "*I took a photo now [Figure 8.4] - you will see - of my blinds. Even with a two-storey building built there [on the site of the previous P1], because of the building activities, I am a total recluse. At this stage I am 33 [years old], but I act like an old lady because of everything that happened. It's just a reaction, you know.*"



Figure 8.4 - The closed blinds; an attempt to contain the restorative effects of home in the face of outside environmental changes (Source: Participant 1, 2013).

5.2.1.3 Personal investment in place

What is obvious from the participants is that all felt they had some form of vested interest in the area, whether it was their place of birth, or they bought or rented their property for the specific lifestyle that this specific area in Steve Biko Avenue offers them:

Participant 5: *"Everything is so close. It's not too close that the noise bothers us, but it's close enough that one can quickly walk to the Spar [the local supermarket] or to reach other places without having to waste money to drive⁵³...It's convenient."*

Participant 1: *"...I remember the meetings; [Participant 3] was a good leader... He really motivated us, because they - I think his parents have been living here for years, and he himself grew up in this street - so he did it for his parents. I immediately joined the fight just for that reason..."*

Participant 3: *"Listen, that borrowed space idea⁵⁴ is a great idea. [He speaks softer]. It is a possibility here. And you know what's bad? It was just that possibility - one which we chose with our type of garden - that was turned around against us during the time P1 was here. This open quality is also what brought the worst experiences. To put it very crudely: if there was a wall around my property and the people [clients of P1] urinated against the wall, then it wouldn't have smelled so bad in my garden. At certain times the managers of P1 sat across the street and stared at me in an attempt to intimidate me. So when I entered or exited my property, they stood and stared. From that angle you can see straight into my home. Thus this openness that is the ideal now, giving this place its everyday rhythm, that gives it the possibility to observe your environment, is exactly that was turned against us while P1 was up and running... The lifestyle we chose - to live openly engaging with our environment [as opposed to enclosed behind walls as is becoming common in South Africa] - was the factor that made living with the illegal business worse. Had there been a wall, I could have said everything is happening on the other side of the wall. But it's the most precious aspect [the openly engaging space] which made the biggest impact."*

5.2.2 The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place is unique to this place

The sub-themes that emerged from the data of this particular cases study and were categorised under this theme were architectural aspects, sensory experiences, the manner in which individuals interacted with the place, traffic and safety, and adaption.

⁵³As with most medium or small cities and towns in South Africa, very little or reliable public transport systems - with the exception of the minibus/taxi system - exist in Potchefstroom. Tram systems are non-existent in South Africa, while reliable bus services only run in the metropolitan areas like Johannesburg and Durban. The only existing metro/underground system, the Gautrain, runs through selective neighbourhoods in Johannesburg and Pretoria, approximately 200 km from Potchefstroom. The minibus/taxi system is the only public transport system truly up and running in Potchefstroom, but the system is stigmatised for being unsafe. As such, most South African cities - especially the newer areas - are built to accommodate high private vehicle usage (which then becomes the preferred mode of transport) and are not always pedestrian or cyclist friendly. The Bult is the exception, being a neighbourhood built during the late 1890s and having a particularly high degree of pedestrian and cyclist-friendly options to reach a variety of land uses within the area. However, the last two decades have seen an observable increase in vehicular activity in the area, making the area less pedestrian and cyclist friendly.

⁵⁴ Here the participant referred to a concept used earlier on in the conversation: 'borrowed scenery', which entails using scenery or space beyond one's own property to enhance the ambience of one's property.

124 Steve Biko Avenue was initially a double-storey house with business rights for an art gallery and a tea garden. Its original look and function did not intrude on the residential character of that particular section of the street block (the northern and mid-section is mainly residential, student and family accommodation, while the southern end is commercial in nature):

- **Participant 4:** *"It was a relatively quiet area. One went one's own way. There wasn't anything that grated the nerves. Except when P1 started doing business."*
- **Participant 3:** *"The fact that this is a residential environment with a human rhythm. In this case the traffic pick up around 7:30 in the mornings, but by that time most people are awake and doing their thing. And when the traffic calms down around 19:30, that's perfect, because that's when one wants one's residential area to be more peaceful."*
- **Participant 6:** *"It's not that the neighbourhood was a particularly holy or quiet or peaceful neighbourhood. It was acceptable - students lived here and at certain times they made some noise, but nothing that couldn't be managed..."*

As such, when P1 restaurant started operating, it:

- generated much more vehicular traffic than the previous land use on 124 Steve Biko Ave.,
- increased noise levels in both day and night time,
- created unsafe conditions for all types of road users in that particular street block, and
- attracted unsavoury social elements and happenings (as perceived by the participants) into an area previously experienced as a peaceful family-oriented environment.

5.2.2.1 Architectural aspects of place

The first signs of environmental change happened when new signage and furniture appeared on the property:

Participant 3: *"The owners first started the business under the Cemcrete name. However, when the first tables appeared outside, we realised it might not be [concrete] garden gnomes [that they're selling]. We started complaining. They ignored us and kept on making changes within the house. They added an additional deck and only then applied for a rezoning, after the business was up and running."*

Participant 1: *"Do you know what was interesting? The whole time they proclaimed that they were also a concrete business. One didn't know if they were a concrete business by day and a pub by night, or if the concrete business was just to disguise the pub" (Figure 8.5).*

5.2.2.2 Sensory experience in place, interactions happening in place, and traffic and safety issues

The new land use not only brought sensory overload with regard to noise, it also created problems in the manner in which residents could interact with the physical attributes of the place and its immediate surroundings:



Figure 8.5 - Site notice board at P1 Restaurant/Cemcrete, up and running illegally before the rezoning application. In the back, behind the red table the house of Participant 2 is clearly visible (Source: Participant 3, 2010).

Participant 1: *"We worried about the place. The inhabitants also didn't like that the place attracted so many cars. In general the cars are...usually the street is busy in the evenings, but the people started parking...I remember there were no parking spaces indicated. That was one of the problems - that there were no parking areas. There was too little space and then they [clients of P1] parked on our sidewalks. In the evenings we couldn't leave our properties, and in the afternoons there were so many cars that it was difficult to get a clear line of sight to enter the road. You know Tom Street [Steve Biko Ave] - by nature it's already quite busy. People feel very irritated by the time they get to this part of the street because of the traffic light at the bottom of the street...it was a very congested area."*

Participant 3, having lived his whole life in the same street block, compares the changes in this particular section of Steve Biko Avenue at the time when there were only houses, then P1, and after the closure of P1 when the current Carmen Apartment block was built:

Participant 3: *"Things are very different now compared to how it was [during the time of P1]: now you see this big apartment block. Visually it's quite different to how the place looked like when there were only houses, but in terms of the ambience not much has changed, because the rhythm and noise levels are the same [because before and now it is mostly a residential area]. It's actually quite strange that so many people live across the road [in the Carmen Apartments], because they didn't really increase the traffic. Now it's very different from the time P1 stood on that property, but I really don't experience any negative impact on my life because of the high density residential development. Of course, this was much different when there was a pub on the property where at 2:00 or 3:30 in the mornings people still yelled at each other and burnt rubber with their cars. The type of rhythm P1 brought with it was not one that suited a residential environment."*

5.2.2.3 Adaption to environmental changes

For all of the participants, adapting to the effects of the environmental change brought on by the operation of P1 - and the potential continuation of these effects should the rezoning application be approved - was almost inconceivable. After P1 stopped operating and the Carmen Apartment building was being built, the majority of participants were able to adapt to the new environmental element. However, Participant 2, in particular experienced extreme difficulty in coming to terms with P1 and the subsequent Carmen Apartment building, as it was her direct neighbour:

Participant 3: *Another problem is that - and here you can see [Participant 2]'s house (the one that was demolished to make way for the Carmen Apartments), and the position of the living rooms and bedrooms. So when these people decided to add a deck, you looked directly onto the garden and the living rooms of this house. They did not even try to build a wall [to ensure Participant 2's privacy].*

Researcher: *...to preserve her privacy...*

Participant 3: *Here [Photo 8.6] you can see where the cars [parking at the back of the P1 property, adjacent to Participant 2's house] raced back and forth, so you can imagine how this must have sounded to the people inside that house.*

Researcher: *To and from the parking area?*

Participant 3: *There was a parking bay for approximately 10 or 12 cars at the back of the property. This generated a race to and from the parking and the street. We held a couple of our meetings in [Participant 2]'s house. It really wasn't ideal living circumstances.*

Participant 2's negative experiences with environmental change did not end when P1 was closed down. In fact, the physical changes brought on when the new Carmen Apartments were built, was just as disrupting:

Participant 2: *Then they started with [Carmen]. And I said: "I cannot take it anymore."*

Researcher: *Then they dug the hole [they dug seven meters deep to accommodate the underground parking for Carmen apartments].*

Participant 2: *When you look at the two Carmens - we can take a photo of it - just see how close they stand together. How can I survive in such circumstances? My house would have been there next to that Carmen... My walls, my windows would've bordered on a student [complex]... What privacy would I have had in my own garden, in my pool, in my home, when students were looking down on my property?*

Researcher: *If I may ask: did you move away because of P1?*

Participant 2: *Yes [silence]. We didn't know it was going to be a pub - it was 'crete cement.*

Eventually, Participant 2 sold her property and moved away to another part of town. Ironically, her property, 126 Steve Biko Avenue, was bought and developed as another part of Carmen Apartments. The other participants showed more resilience in adapting to the physical changes brought on by Carmen Apartments and continued their lives as usual. As Participant 3 mentioned:

Participant 3: *We all know how things go. It's like being a finch, nesting in the reeds, but knowing that at one stage or another a wild fire will destroy the reeds. Most probably it's going to happen - it's just a matter of when is somebody going to decide to do something to make the neighbourhood unliveable for the rest of us.*

Researcher: *So environmental change is a given?*

Participant 3: *It will happen.*

Researcher: *It's just a case of when...*

Participant 3: *... and how drastic it will be. We are - with exception of P1 - actually strangely lucky that things turned out as it did, considering the really big apartment block built here. We were a bit scared when we heard that Carmen will have 84 or 87 units. It could've been a horrible development. I really hope that it's built solidly and isn't going to fall down, because if that happens, I will probably have to get new windows. We were really lucky, with exception to the singular long and unhappy happenings [of P1]. [Change] is part of the area, but it can be expected from an environment that allows for interaction, etc.*

You cannot live in a stable neighbourhood and expect the same possibilities as here. Suburbia doesn't do these things for you, okay... It's an uncertain environment.

5.2.3 Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place

This theme corrals the sub-themes of sense of community, communal protective actions, social interactions in place (passive and active), disruptive social interactions, and negative social effects.

5.2.3.1 Feeling of community among and communal protective actions of participants

For the residents around 124 Steve Biko Avenue, some form of social connectedness, though a bit shallow before the bomb P1 was dropped, did exist:

Participant 2: *"[The original owner of 124 Steve Biko Ave] and I got along quite well. We didn't sit and drink coffee for hours, though. We always greeted each other and helped the other where necessary."*

This social connectedness probably existed due to the spatial proximity between residents (by being direct neighbours) before the happenings of P1. It was openly admitted that the ructions caused by P1 to the neighbourhood strengthened the social cohesion between the residents, if only temporarily, to form a fighting force to oppose the rezoning of P1:

Participant 5: *And suddenly we knew our neighbours, because once there was a problem, everybody moaned about it. That's how we met each other and learnt more about each other.*

Participant 4: *That's the good that came from this thing [P1]... Now we chat with our neighbours where we only used to greet...sometimes we sit like finches on a fence while we chat.*

Participant 3: *One good aspect of this whole thing was increased communication amongst neighbours. We visited each other and chatted about things that influenced us all.*

Researcher: *Would you say that the unhappy happenings strengthened the social network?*

Participant 3: *Yeeeeees...for some time. I don't think we all became best buddies. We're not such close friends that we cross each other's thresholds regularly. But you had to find out who lives four doors down to get their signatures [for the petition]. It wasn't a bad experience to be able to go to people and ask for their signatures, with them also saying: "wait, I'll give this form to my other neighbour". Suddenly it felt like being in a small town (for some time, though). But I think that there must be a much better way to increase social interaction, musn't there? And hopefully also cheaper ways. This was quite costly and stressful."*

5.2.3.2 Social interactions in place: passive and active

The feeling of social connectedness is not only focused on existing residents in the area. For Participant 3, the individuals who use this part of Steve Biko Avenue - pedestrians, cyclists, and motorists - *en route* elsewhere define part of the charm and character of the place for him. It is a space for observing social interaction, without having to be part of it; for interaction with the neighbourhood elements (such as scenery and greenery) without actually *owning* it - borrowed scenery, in fact (Figure 8.12). It is this 'possibility' (his word) that contributes to his connection with the study area:

Participant 3: *"I like interaction [with the street space], but it isn't like I stand at the garden gate like auntie Stien⁵⁷ and chat to everybody who passes and ask them what they have in their grocery bags, you know? But I like to watch people... So I don't know if this defines me, but it is part of the environment one lives in, what the environment offers. It offers certain things... Say you stand in Molen Street, you would stand in front of your window for a loooooong time before something happens outside in the street, compared to here in Steve Biko where there is always something happening... I wouldn't say that this defines me, but it is something that your environment...a possibility. So there is the possibility to be present...The idea centres on a pause: the possibility of being an observer of the environment, in that sense. It provides the opportunity to observe the environment and to become aware of the people that move through the area. I think that is very important and that is why I don't want to put up a high wall. Even with the pub up and running, the high wall could have been a possibility. But that would have removed some [place] qualities."*



Figure 8.6 - Rubbish generated by P1 that was rarely removed, degrading the environmental quality with bad smells and visual pollution (Source: Participant 3, 2010).



Figure 8.7 - The study area *after* P1. "Our beautiful oak trees. Clean sidewalk. Looking towards this direction it's beautiful: there is space, everything is neat. But when P1 was operating, it wasn't this clean" (Source: Participant 4, 2013).

This type of interaction is a dovetailing of the physical and social place elements and usually happens from his verandah at the front of his home, which faces the street (Figure 8.8). His property is fenced by a wire fence to allow visual permeability, which is slightly tempered by lush greenery. This space, which

interacts with the streetscape and his neighbour's garden peripherally, is the place where he entertains his friends and - at other times - observes his surroundings in solitude. He becomes part of the place without actively participating therein. However, this type of interaction with the environment was inhibited by the effects of P1:

Participant 3: *"The fact is that for a long time I couldn't use my own verandah. I couldn't invite friends over, because you simply couldn't hear the other one talking. As a family we couldn't communicate with each other while eating lunch or dinner in the kitchen. You know, these types of decisions [like allowing P1 to operate in a residential environment] influence the way people interact with each other - hostility towards people on this property or not being able to do the things that you have the right to do in your own home"* (Figure 8.8).



Figure 8.8 - Residential architecture in conversation with the public space of the street. *"...this is the - how can I put it? - ideal of how we...how people want to live"* (Source: Participant 3, 2010).

5.2.3.3 Disruptive social interactions and negative social effects experienced by participants

The participants felt that the sanctity of everyday life was breached by the noise and negative social consequences of the managers and clients of P1:

- **Participant 1:** *"The whole set-up was a bit dodgy. I remember [Participant 3] told me that even school children got involved with the place [under-aged drinking]. We didn't like the idea of that - the inhabitants weren't happy with the fact that school children drank there... you see, they didn't have a liquor license and there was nobody who stopped the children from buying alcohol there."*
- **Participant 2:** *"... we aren't used to that type of language... We couldn't accept that students at that young age already drink so much alcohol and waste their lives. Under the influence they have clouded thinking... So for me it was bad to see all these things."*

Some of the participants came in conflict with the employees and owners of P1:

- **Participant 1:** *"... it didn't help to silence them; they just became aggressive. We had to call the police a few times to calm them down, but the owners were never really there. The times we*

talked to the owners the managers were bad mannered and the younger employees had these attitudes of 'we win'" and

- **Participant 3:** *"It was a fight".*



Figure 8.9 - "So this is the contrast we are used to - our dream - and then the nightmare they gave us from the other side of the street" (Source: Participant 3, 2010).



Figure 8.10 - The same view from Participant's 3 property. "...this is definitely a more attractive view... an attractive object to look at" (Source: Participant 3, 2013).

Additionally, the place of home was soiled by clients' actions in the area - **Participant 5:** *"The worst time was during the Aardklop when people used our driveway as a bathroom... it was worse during Aardklop, because there are more people. But they used to do the same during other times too."*

The quality of life therefore not only decreased by the physical changes brought on by P1, but also in the changes in social behaviour in the living space of the participants.

5.2.4 The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character

The participants' perceptions about this specific area of the Bult are rich and contrasting - sub-themes that emerged from the data related to a place that is vibrant and enabling, while simultaneously filled with uncertainty and conflict.

5.2.4.1 A vibrant and enabling place

On the one side of the coin, the place is *vibrant* and *enabling* in the sense that it allows the residents to live a certain lifestyle which cannot be easily experienced elsewhere in town.



Figure 8.11 - "These oak trees in front of our home was a source of beauty to us. I really loved these trees, they are so beautiful to me... After my chemotherapy finished, I looked at the green leaves sprouting [from the trees]...and I cried. It was so beautiful. Every green leaf, every green plant, every child, everything is so beautiful" (Source: Participant 2, 2013).



Figure 8.12 - Borrowed scenery. "This photo gives the idea of how one can expect this type of street to look like. One can sit in the bushy, secret garden, but once you're out the gate, you are in the midst of a relatively big high density residential development" (Source: Participant 3, 2013).

This environment enabled them to:

- be within walking distance of facilities such as schools, which made it an ideal area to raise a family: **Participant 2:** "I moved from Rissik Street with my three daughters, because I was divorced. So I wanted to be closer to Mooirivier Primary School for my three daughters...",
- be closer to their work place and shops, all within walking distance, which created a convenient way of living not usually associated with the car-oriented South African cities and towns: **Participant 4:** "... basically this is just a place to live until we've finished our studies, this is not my property. I rent to be able to study [at the university], but while we're here, it's pleasant to live here", and
- have access to the benefits of and passive interaction with the vibrant public space (the streetscape, activities, and greenery of Steve Biko Avenue) without leaving the safety zone of home (Figures 8.13 and 8.14).

This place enables a lifestyle which Participant 3 - having lived abroad for some time - associates with Western Europe, which stands in contrast with the situation in South Africa where the middle and higher income groups increasingly *withdraw* from public space as a matter of safety by living in high security estates or walled residential properties:

Participant 3: "My lifestyle here is special because it isn't typically South African, because I live on the street. And that's not something you find here in our country. [Participant 1]'s house is the same. We are relatively close to the street and we are open to the street. It's a choice one makes. I mean, I guess I could also have erected a high eight meter wall to isolate my property from the street, but I didn't, because I like

sitting here on the outside and to feel - how can I put it?- in contact with the place. This is my ideal, the idea of sitting in a miniature forest, but you can still...you know, the traffic noise isn't too bad this time of the day... As the neighbourhood is at the moment, it's a nice neighbourhood and a great environment, or 'place' as you say (the sense of place), because it has character, it has life..."



Figure 8.13 - Environmental possibilities lessened for pedestrian and cyclist road users by the functioning of P1 in a space not designed for such a land use (Source, Participant 3, 2010).



Figure 8.14 - "This shows the diverse housing opportunities and the possibility to have a cycling/walking type of lifestyle" (Source: Participant 3, 2013).

5.2.4.2 Uncertainty and conflict in place

On the flip side of the coin, the area is associated with uncertainty - **Participant 3:** *"This neighbourhood is a bit unpredictable, but luckily the bad unpredictable things do not happen that often... The character is very much...there's a rhythm, but there's also an unpredictable element added in the mix. It's lively; at certain times of the day quite a lot of pedestrians pass... That's the character. It's urban - part of a town. It's not 5th Avenue in New York, but it's not a peaceful street in a peaceful neighbourhood and it never will be."*

The area is also associated with conflict, seemingly always present, but exasperated by P1 and the subsequent rezoning process which attempted to make the land use legal:

Participant 4: *My question is: if you move into a house (either buying or renting) then it is your responsibility to see what's going on in that neighbourhood and whether it is suitable to live there before you move in or sign a contract. If you found that it is quiet, close to the university, perfect for studying for two-three years - who gave those people the right to start such a type of business here? Those who make the decisions: who gave them the right to change the whole area? ... And now somebody else - who doesn't even live in the neighbourhood - comes along and decides they are going to change things. Who gave them the right to do so? What type of power do those inhabitants of that place have to stop the whole thing?*

Participant 5: *They could just as well have opened the pub in Oewersig [an upmarket family oriented neighbourhood in Potchefstroom]. Because it's people who live here - families.*

Participant 4: *... I came to live here because it was suitable for our needs... You see, the people who make the decisions regarding rezonings, they don't live in the area. They don't live here! They don't have a clue why the inhabitants made their decisions to live in that place. They just make decisions based on whatever is written in the documents... And that's not necessarily the truth that's written there... The owners of that place... in the mornings the woman came here. They don't live here.*

Participant 5: *So it wasn't disturbing for them, for their families. They could return to a peaceful place where they live and have their home and family time.*

Participant 4: *When they are tired of the noise...*

Participant 5: *...of the noise...*

Participant 4: *... then they get in their car and drive away. Where can we go? That's the whole point.*

Participant 1: *It was quite interesting - as I stood there [on the pavement taking photographs of 124 Steve Biko Avenue] I remembered. I didn't want to go too close to take photos, because I remembered the conflict.*

Researcher: *While you were taking the photos?*

Participant 1: *While I was taking the photos. I think I repressed those memories. There was a lot of conflict, constant conflict with the municipality and to fight for the opportunity of having a quiet evening. I didn't quite realise how that affected me until now... I think I forgot how much privacy I lost due to that situation.*

With the conflict came the realisation that losing their place - either by the lifestyle it enables or by the memories and experiences that would have been soiled by the new environmental changes - would be more far reaching than one would have thought *before* the happenings surrounding P1:

Participant 3: *"It's a whole life. This is the house that we built with our own hands, where we live. As my mother said: "this is the house where they...she raised all her children here. All her memories are here. All her experiences are here". And those things weren't considered to be important at all. Those are not the type of things that are considered when neighbourhoods are changed. That's the one aspect where the [rezoning] process can be improved, but that's surely the one aspect that is not going to change."*

5.2.5 Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place

Sub-themes that related to this theme were feelings of unexpected intrusion, stress, and power (with regards to the 'hero' of the story), powerlessness (with regards to the specific place), and fear of personal safety.

5.2.5.1 Unexpected intrusion in place and experiences of stress

For the majority of the participants, the environmental changes brought on by P1 was rather sudden and done in a 'shady' manner, which only increased the trauma surrounding the whole period P1 was operating illegally during the rezoning process:

Participant 1: *"...it would've been nice if they'd [the owners of P1] acknowledged us in the matter. You know, we were never acknowledged. We just heard - suddenly they put up the signs with the business name, as you would say. They never said that they were going to open that type of place. We had to read about it in the newspapers."*

Participant 3: *"And if you're in a situation where things go the way things went here, it influences...every possible area of your life is influenced by something like that that just appears on your doorstep. I let the whole situation sound traumatic, because it was traumatic. It was a real, serious, and big trauma that the people of this neighbourhood had to live through."*

This trauma that the residents had to cope with as their chosen living environment changed in place meaning from 'home' to 'place of stress and little rest', can best be described by the participants themselves:

Participant 2 *"The parking situation was horrifying. They [clients of P1] parked me in. They parked from the top of the street block to down here at my property. I called the police when that happened. I told them: "come and remove this car." I stood in the street and screamed."*

Participant 3: *"I think it's because people didn't have the type of experience we had. You know, literally experience not being able to sleep for a year; not being able to talk to your family. That is how bad it was. Financially, you are driven far. You know, for us that experienced something like that, - as the English would say - the stakes are high, but for the town planner sitting in an office drawing pictures, they don't understand what it's like for us... You have to love the place you live [in such a situation], otherwise you really would lose your mind. If something went wrong - there's no option, like the people of P1 said to us a few times: "well, then you'd just have to move away". Well, that's not always an option, you know. There are reasons why that is not an option. It's not possible to teach these [lived-in experiences] in to town*

planners in their abstract terms. They have to be told about the situation by people who have to live in such situation. They have to feel how it felt for my mother, 75 years old, when drunken people yelled at her as she walked to the supermarket."

5.2.5.2 Feelings of power (the hero) and of powerlessness (the place)

The only way out, it seemed, was through - **Participant 5:** *"Yes...it was stressful, but one had to do it to get some quiet around here".* For the objectors, this negative place experience drove a hero to the front line, a proverbial knight in shining armour who felt passionate enough about the cause to act as leader, drawing together the various objectors and providing a united objecting front:

Participant 6: *"We felt there was one person who could coordinate this matter...and he [Participant 3] stepped to the front as the natural leader, because he felt so strong about his parents' home and the conditions of his own home. His apartment fronts the street, in the midst of that noise... He was very passionate about this whole situation. We ourselves were of course also shaken and told ourselves we had to do something about the situation. But he just stepped to the front and said "I did this and this and this", and we told him "keep up the work, we'll support you were necessary". Then he scheduled a meeting where we were all present and decided on a plan of action."*

Despite their win in the case of P1, in some way the participants (including the 'knight of P1', Participant 3) felt powerless in the face of preventing unsuitable environmental changes. This powerlessness was partly generated by the 'uncertain'/fluctuating nature of this part of Steve Biko Avenue, and partly in the urban planning system itself through which individuals have to navigate to protect their place interests:

Participant 4: *"But what can one as owner do? You can submit a complaint, but so what? I think they [the municipality] should make their town plans publicly available. I mean, what happens to a home owner, who has lived here for years, when somebody - who doesn't live here - suddenly decides things must change? On what criteria is that decision made? Who gives them [the municipality] the right to do so?"*

Participant 3: *"...it's a very uncertain place to live in, because one doesn't...you know, it's obviously not a stable environment. From 1978 and onwards, much has changed here... It feels like we're living on borrowed time here, because you're never certain what type of building will be built next. It's also a town planning issue. For all I know, that beautiful little house next to us might be demolished to make place for a cement factory, I wouldn't know. P1 was an illegal pub and nobody would've been able to tell me that running an illegal pub in the middle of Potch with that level of [noise was going to happen]. It is one of the less agreeable aspects of living here, that uncertainty. One is known in town planning matters if it happens directly adjacent to you, but not if it takes place one door down your neighbour's place."*

5.2.5.3 Fear of personal safety

Standing their ground in protecting their quality of life and homes resulted in incidences of victimisation against the residents:

Participant 3: *"It was so bad sometimes that drunken people cursed my mother and said to her: "You're standing with one foot in the grave, don't bother us". They weren't content to just make noise on their side of the street - they also had to become verbally abusive. The manager of P1 made a habit of it to stand in front of my gate to yell obscenities at me and threaten me" (Figures 8.15 and 8.16).*



Figure 8.15 - *"...this person walking towards the camera while I was taking the photos was a family member or such, on his way to threaten me" (Source: Participant 3, 2010).*

(This photo should be viewed in conjunction with Figure 8.16 to the right.)



Figure 8.16 - *"...the times he screamed at me were when I was writing down registration numbers of the illegally parked cars. Then they came over in a band of four-five people. This is the same man, walking back after he came to my gate and threatened me..." (Source: Participant 3, 2010).*

Participant 3: *"You know, any person - and it's going to sound softy-softy - you need people who consider other people's living conditions with compassion and empathy. You know, in two of the families involved, somebody died. We are people who...my parents are old... Any person running such a participation process needs to understand that it isn't just what is drawn on a map with something measuring 25m², or a transition zone... It was very obvious that the people running the pub had absolutely no sense of empathy or respect for any of us. As I told you: we were literally swearing at. My parents were literally insulted. We were threatened... It is obvious that the whole process was solely focused on money, on making profit, to profit from people. "*

5.2.6 Organised communal actions saved the place

Sub-themes that emerged from the data that relates to this theme include the participants' participation in the rezoning process as objectors, their protective actions, and the way they organised themselves to protect their living space of choice.

5.2.6.1 Public participation experiences of participants

It was the growing awareness of what can be lost when the environmental changes brought on by P1 were allowed to happen, that motivated the residents to engage in *place protective actions*. However, in this particular case study, active *public participation* in the rezoning process was left mainly to two of the participants, namely Participants 1 and 3. Although all of the participants signed a petition against the rezoning of P1 and/or wrote a written objection to the local authority (as per the regulations of the Transvaal Ordinance for public participation), Participant 3 was the main objector, representing the other objectors, and supported by Participant 1.

Public participation actions mainly focused on written objections informed by newspaper and site notices regarding the proposed rezoning. Asking Participant 3 about his role in this participation process, he replied:

Participant 3: *Funny that **you** called it a participation process, because in fact there wasn't a lot of participation. We were basically not acknowledged by anybody in this process... When we started complaining, I had to directly...it was obvious that we would get no help from the municipality, so I turned to a lawyer to get some legal advice, to try to understand the planning laws, and tried to obtain the documentation [relevant to this case]...*

Researcher: *So, based on your role in the 'participation process'...what was your experience throughout the process?*

Participant 3: *It was a horrible experience from beginning to end. Horrible - not a nice experience. It was difficult to have a job and having to spend a great part of your time to this matter [of P1], because we knew if we just let it go, the rezoning would be approved, or P1 would just continue as it was. It was obvious that we needed to fight for this cause. But it was horrible to be the driver of this matter. I'm not really that type of person that knew anything about laws. Sometimes the lawyer just shook his head at me, because I really didn't understand what he was saying... He used HUGE words and had to explain them to me. He tried explaining those legal processes to me on a Sunday morning or quickly on a Thursday afternoon just before I have to set up an exam [for his students. The whole process was horrible. It was bad to see someone like [Participant 2] almost have an emotional breakdown because of the situation; [Participant 2] had the worst of this whole situation. The whole process was confusing and stressful, confusing, with additional pressure on one's time and energy. It was a long process. It wasn't as if the problems were solved quickly and what was obvious was that there exists so many loopholes that people can use to run an illegal business, that you can...it can continue almost indefinitely. It was a complex, difficult process.*

5.2.6.2 Protective actions taken by participants

Not only did the participants unify to participate in the formal objection process as prescribed by legislation, they also engaged in protective actions in support of their formal public participation:

- in the form of financial means to hire lawyers to fight for their own cause - **Participant 2:** "*[Participant 3] had paid for almost everything*";
- by using emotional blackmail - **Participant 1:** "*...[Participant 3]'s mother called [Participant 2] and said: 'You have to come with me and pressure the neighbours or the manager, because we have to say how we feel.' One evening [Participant 3] had his mother at P1 and the manager verbally abused her. We didn't think it would happen, but the police officer just stood there and handled the P1 situation. He was used to the angry residents. I will never forget that evening I spied on that situation...*"
- by trying to evoke sympathy/empathy from the other party - **Participant 2:** "*I called her continuously - that woman [owner of P1] - I called her continuously. I told her: 'you know what? I see you have two children, but you don't bring them to a pub. But my children living beside your pub have to see everything happening at the pub...' I told her.*"
- by taking in a defensive stance towards the application - **Participant 2:** "*...so we fought it... We fought it in steps... You absolutely have to fight, because the municipality gets a lot of money from these rezonings and apartment blocks. They don't mind. They allow it. They're getting paid... It isn't the municipal workers who live here. It's us and who approves such things?*" and
- by negotiation- **Participant 6:** "*We even tried to get a better location for them [P1] where they could operate and still have clients. We couldn't find a more suitable place [inaudible]*".

5.2.6.3 Good organisation of the participants

Part of the success of the objectors in this case seemed to be the prominent leader figure (Participant 3) with the financial and time means to drive the objectors' position in participation process to the end, through both formal and informal channels. Regarding Participant 3's way of tackling the public participation process, **Participant 6** said: "*He was organised, not scatter-brained in his approach. I think his documentation also proves that it was done quite scientifically*".

6. Discussion

6.1 Theme 1: The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place

For this particular case study, the participants' bonds to the study area seemed more focused on the everyday life aspects: the potential to live in an environment of their choice, one that supports a

particular lifestyle and quality of life, as opposed to the previous case studies in which the place attachment extended also towards the historic value of the other study areas.

As mentioned previously, the effects of the P1 restaurant also extended much deeper into the 'recuperation zone' that the home, as a favourite place, represents. The restorative effects of home (such as relaxation, calming down, emotional mind-clearing, feelings of control, and escape), provided by privacy from the public world and the space to interact with other family members, was rendered void by the environmental changes brought on by the initially illegal P1, and the escalating effects (noise pollution, degrading environmental quality, and increased safety issues) during the rezoning process (Korpela & Hartig, 1996:221-231).

6.2 Theme 2: The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place is unique to this place

This case differs from the first two cases in which the historical value of the property in question, as well as the Bult area in general, played a prominent role. In this case, the loss of a particular lifestyle and the restorative benefits of home were salient issues.

Comparing some of the reasons given by the objectors against the rezoning application (e.g. noise, littering, and negative social elements), it is easy to write these objections off as NIMBYism (Hiner & Galt, 2011:104; Lam, Lee, Fung & Woo, 2007; Hubbard, 2006:93). These all seem like relatively simple reasons given for community members opposing urban development that do not always reflect the true reasons why people object to certain developments (Cass & Walker, 2009:63; Devine-Wright, 2005:136). In fact, such reasons can - in some cases - 'cloak' or 'rationalise' the real motivations driving opposition to development (Cass & Walker, 2009:66) so as to legitimise objections in urban planning processes that "cannot be seen to be determined by emotionally driven judgements" (Cass & Walker, 2009:67). Seen from the perspective of place attachment literature, the motivations behind NIMBYism can be further explained by the interplay of people and the attachments they formed to certain places (Devine-Wright, 2005:136).

For the participants, objecting to the rezoning of P1 was more than just trying to keep development from their doorstep - it was an act to protect against the environmental changes that degraded the restorative qualities of their homes, as well as to keep negative social elements at bay in what is still a mainly residential area. It was, as **Participant 1** said: "*It was a definitive turning point for families here*". The motivations behind objecting to the first rezoning were therefore deeper than classic NIMBYism would presume.

6.3 Theme 3: Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place

A topic that was salient in this case was the interaction between participants and their environment, as well as between participants themselves. The participants derived both active and passive uses from the Bult as place, by varying between observers of their environment (passive) to actively engaging with their environment and its inhabitants (like chatting with neighbours over the fence or sharing a glass of wine).

This seems to point to feelings of connectedness to the users and residents of this particular area of the Bult, as they provide a certain character (or 'rhythm' as Participant 3 said) for the area. Brown and Perkins (1992:299) indicated that when place attachment is threatened by environmental change, a community with a stronger sense of community seemed to fare better in opposing these changes than communities with a weak sense of community.

Like the second case study, this case study shows the power of social networks in public participation (Booher & Innes, 2002; Hillier, 2000). The power of the network lies in diversity, the bringing together of various personal experiences, interests, values, knowledge and resources to create new collectively and socially constructed conditions and solutions (Booher & Innes, 2002:227). Individuals who participate in networks usually do so in self-interest and for personal motivations that are furthered or shared by the network (Booher & Innes, 2002:227). In the case of the rezoning of P1 Restaurant, the motivations of those who opposed the rezoning functioned definitely on a personal and shared level, and this quality - together with the human and financial resources of the participants - proved a winning recipe for success.

6.4 Theme 4: The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character

The cognitive aspects of place attachment often relates to the meanings and memories that individuals assign to a place. In this case, 'place' in the broader sense (away from the singular location of 124 Steve Biko Ave. which precipitated the above experiences) was confined to the single street block wherein all of the participants lived, as the character of Steve Biko Avenue - and Molen and Rissik Streets that run parallel to it - is too varied to form a 'neighbourhood' that include more than one street block. As lifelong resident, **Participant 3** described the situation on the ground: "*I don't think that the neighbourhood as a whole has a specific character; rather, the character changes from street to street. If, for instance, you go one street down to Molen Street, you will find it has a very different character and rhythm*⁵⁵..." As such, the 'neighbourhood' in this case refers more to the direct urban envelope surrounding 124 Steve Biko Avenue, which is smaller than, for example, municipal ward boundaries, or the area commonly referred to as the Bult.

⁵⁵ This can explain why the participants of this particular case study seemed to have no connection with the individuals in the other case studies, even though all live on the Bult.

6.5 Theme 5: Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place

Emotional stress was a salient theme in this case, especially since the majority of the participants were involved in other stressful personal situations (death of a loved one, examination, and work-related stress) and the environmental changes brought on by P1 exasperated the situation. The emotional aspect of this case links strongly to the home as a restorative place, already discussed under the first main theme of this section.

6.6 Theme 6: Organised communal actions saved the place

For the participants, the environmental changes created by the P1 Restaurant (and the anticipated changes should the rezoning be successful) symbolised an intrusion into the private sanctuary of the home and an inability to utilise their everyday living environment in a supportive manner. In an attempt to bring the situation back to the status quo (as before P1 was opened), the participants attempted place protective behaviour in various forms. In this case such behaviour was successful in opposing the initial rezoning given that they had the financial and intellectual means to form an organised opposition. This concurs with Brown and Perkins' (1992:299) and Hillier's (2000:39) findings in that a greater sense of community and good organisation has a greater chance of conserving place bonds in the face of these bonds being threatened for whatever reason, whereas resource-poor and less organised communities stand less of chance.

7. Conclusion

The aims of this chapter were to introduce the third and final case study and its participants; secondly, to indicate case-specific aspects regarding the data generation; and finally, to present the data collected.

From the interviews it seems that:

1. The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place.
2. The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place are unique to this place.
3. Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place.
4. The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character.
5. Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place.
6. Organised communal actions saved the place.

In conclusion, the reader is presented with a letter written by the elderly mother of Participant 3, translated from the original Afrikaans to English for the municipal manager at that stage. This letter is part of the documentation provided by Participant 3 (Figure 8.17).

LETTER TRANSLATED BY

Dear Mr.

Objection against proposed rezoning of erf 820 (Steve Bikolaan 124)

With this letter I would like to bring to your attention those things that I as a person will lose if this proposed rezoning is effected. I am the mother of six children who has been living at this address with my husband since 18 December 1978. When we moved here I was 42. I am now almost 74. Even if the people who are currently running the business were to make various noble commitments, not even they can guarantee that the rezoning of this erf to a place of entertainment and place of refreshment will not lead once again to the hell which we had to endure these last two months.

Certain activities that fill my life are important to me as a person. These activities will become impossible. Conversations with my family, for example, will be difficult. My husband's hearing

is not good and loud music and the drone of voices makes it hard for us to communicate. It will be difficult to me to communicate with my son who is currently also living here with us. Precious conversations on the phone with my children and grandchildren who are far away will bring less joy if we have to compete with constant background noise. If the zoning of the erf were to allow for activities that produce more sound than normal residential developments, it will be hard for me to listen to radio programs (a source of knowledge and wonder, and a way of relaxing), and I will not be able to pursue my love of listening to classical music.

In this house I have educated my children, and in this house I have looked after my parents to their deaths. I have a deep desire to live here until the day I depart from this earth. As a family we had rebuilt this house into a family home with our own hands, lots of hard work and sacrifices. This house has a history that is dear to me: from unbaked clay (possible from the nineteenth or early twentieth century) to modern bricks. I know: I know each wall.

I am privileged, no blessed, to be living in the house where my children grew up and to which they can bring my grandchildren to spend time, to laugh and to cry. This is my home. My memories are here... my joys, my grief.

Since this pub and restaurant opened, I feel unsafe to walk in the street: people who are inebriated are unpredictable. I have already experience that some of the visitors to this pub and restaurant have no respect for me as elderly woman when I was humiliated and threatened on 15 September. If I have to cross the street in order to move past vehicles that are parked on the sidewalks, I do not feel safe. An old person is not agile enough anymore to cope with unforeseen circumstances in the street when her visibility is limited by vehicles and people. My physical mobility is limited, and currently I am forced to walk on more difficult terrain by vehicles that are parked on the sidewalk and that move in and out of the yard.

Every person has the right to live where you want to live and nobody has the right to force you out of your legal house. My perception is that an agreement to the rezoning will have the effect that I will be driven from my house. Which reliable guarantees can those who are currently operating the business give to me that they can put enough measures in place that will guarantee that this will not happen? The rejection of the application for rezoning is the only step that will give me that guarantee, and that guarantee is in your power.

As an extended family of six children, six children-in-law and thirteen grandchildren our existing spiritual and emotional anchors in our house and our neighbourhood should certainly weigh heavier than other peoples motivation to make money on a property that they do not own in a neighbourhood in which they do not live! My roots are here and they cannot be pulled out without unmeasurable damage. Those people who are proposing the rezoning and those who are operating the business can without doubt not make equal claims.

I thank you for you understanding.

Figure 8.17 - Letter of objection from one of the residents, Participant 3's mother, to the municipal manager (Source: Participant 3, 2010).

Returning to the literature on participatory planning, elements of informality and insurgent activity described by global South planning literature are clearly present, not in the acts of the objectors or the local authority, but in those of the offenders, the owners and manager of the P1 Restaurant. The owners proceeded in informal space formation by illegally changing the land use of the site and the structure thereon, while victimising those who opposed these changes. This goes against the global North theoretical perception that interactions between interested and affected parties can advance democracy through respectful interaction, while acknowledging differences in opinions (Healey, 1992:154-155 *in* Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998:128)

Clearly, there was a power struggle between those wanting to change the land use and the objectors. In retrospect, an additional study into the role of power in the happenings of this case study could have provided more information on the role of place attachment in public participation. Once again, this case study points to the difficulty in researching participatory planning without considering power relations.

The following chapter presents the across-case analysis of all the case studies.

Chapter 9

Across-case analysis

Purpose of this chapter:

The purpose of this chapter is to present the main themes that emerged across the three case studies and to discuss these main themes in the light of the theoretical framework of this research.

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the across-case analysis of all the case studies. The main themes identified across the cases are presented and discussed in terms of existing literature reviewed earlier on in this document.

The main themes that emerged across the cases reveal that the participants' experiences of the Bult as a place are multifaceted, involving the physical character of the place, the people that inhabit this place, the activities that happen in the place, and the meanings and emotions that are connected to the area. These are the themes that come across in all the cases and seem to indicate the presence of place attachment in the participants' decision to get involved in the town planning processes when environmental change became a possibility.

2. The case studies in overview

Before presenting the cross-case analysis, a brief summary of the characteristics of each case study will be presented, in order to show differences and similarities that might have made a contribution to the analysis of each case (Table 9.1).

In all cases environmental change was brought on by a rezoning application and demolition application. In the cases where built heritage value played a role in some of the objections, demolition was a major issue. In these cases, the building of high density residential units also proved objection-worthy, but in the case of P1, the high density residential development that followed the demolition of P1 received no objections from the community.

The degradation of neighbourhood conditions were points of objections in all case studies, but were the most prominent in case study 3, followed to a lesser degree by the events in case study 2.

Table 9.1 - Comparative case study characteristics.

Aspect	Pilot Study	Case Study 2	Case Study 3
Cause of environmental change	Environmental change brought on by rezoning application for high density residential development and demolition of existing structure on site.	Environmental change brought on by rezoning application for high density residential development and demolition of existing structure on site.	Environmental change brought on by rezoning application for place of entertainment and demolition of existing structure on site.
Demolition	Demolition of oldest structure prevented, but high density residential development continued.	Demolition of old structure was ordered to halt, but illegally continued.	Old structure was demolished and high density residential development erected without objection.
Built heritage value	Built heritage value associated with site.	Built heritage value associated with site.	Though older than 60 years, no built heritage value associated with site.
Objections	Objections against rezoning application and demolition mainly due to heritage value of site.	Objections against rezoning application and demolition mainly due to heritage value of site and degradation of neighbourhood character and living conditions.	Objections mainly against degradation of neighbourhood character and living conditions.
Development density	High density residential development received objections.	High density residential development received objections.	High density residential development received no objections.
Place of residence of objectors	Objectors live scattered through the city and not necessarily in close proximity to the site.	Objectors live in close proximity to the site.	Objectors live in close proximity to the site.
Objectors	Various organised community groups, of which one was related to participants in case study 2, indicating some overlap between the Bult's sub-groups.	Two community groups, one related to the pilot study.	One community group, unrelated to any of the other case studies.

Objectors in the pilot study were located throughout Potchefstroom, while the objectors in the other cases were located in close proximity to the study sites. This seems to suggest that the more general the place meaning or value that is associated with a site (such as the 'the third oldest house in Potchefstroom' for example in the case of the Piet Malan residence), the wider the field of objection is likely to be⁵⁶. In the first

⁵⁶A factor that could also have contributed to the wide spatial scattering of objectors in the case of the Piet Malan residence was the influence of printed and electronic media, as this case was widely publicised in three local newspapers and over social media (Facebook). However, the influence of social media on the distribution of objectors is a topic for future research.

case study, the Nelly Edwards house had a historic place meaning, but to a lesser extent than the Piet Malan residence. In addition, there was a stronger focus on degradation of living conditions in the street, which made the focus of the issue more localised than in the case of the Piet Malan residence. Hence, the most vociferous objectors lived in closer proximity to the site in question. The same goes for the final case study, where the degradation of living conditions formed a major backdrop to place protective actions. However, this research was not designed to research this aspect in detail and as such these are points to ponder in future research.

Finally, the more general a place meaning or value is, as in the case of the pilot study, it seems the more objections can be expected than in the cases where a place value is much more localised. However, it can possibly also be expected that the carry-through of objectors against a planning application in such a case could be much lower, as it is not an environmental change that is so 'close to home' (as in the other two cases). A reflection of this perhaps is the number of initial objections received by the municipality, compared to the number of objectors involved until the final decision is made regarding a planning application. This too is a topic for future research.

3. Cross-case analysis: the emerging main themes

This analysis starts with a comparison of the themes and sub-themes that emerged in the singular case study analyses to indicate similarities and differences between the case studies (Table 9.2).

From Table 9.2 it can be seen that in some cases similar sub-themes emerged from the case studies - for example, "everyday quality of life" under the main theme of "People and places on the Bult" - while some divergence in sub-themes also emerged (e.g. the cognitive aspects associated with Steve Biko Avenue in case study 3 when compared to the pilot study area, which is also located in Steve Biko Avenue). In some cases the same sub-theme emerged under another section - e.g. "fear of personal safety", which appears under the "Emotional aspects experienced in place" main theme in case study 2, and under "Behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place" in case study 3. This seems to indicate that similar place experiences can be interpreted differently by different individuals, depending on the context. This appears in line with the Symbolic and Integrated Traditions where place attachment is a more fluid, holistic concept that has led to conceptual difficulty, making place research "messy" (Trentelman, 2009:196).

Table 9.2 - Main themes, themes, and sub-themes that emerged from the various case studies (continued on overleaf).

Chapter Section	Across-Case Main Theme	Pilot study: Themes & sub-themes	Case study 2: Themes & sub-themes	Case study 3: Themes & sub-themes
3.1	People and places on the Bult	<p><i>Residents of the place know the inside story of the area, are committed to the place, and seek a specific quality of life:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resident of the Bult • Insider/Outsider relationship • Commitment to neighbourhood • Everyday life quality 	<p><i>Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal investment in the place • Resident of the Bult • Continuity is necessary • Everyday life quality • Social interconnectedness with other residents 	<p><i>The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants have environmental choice • Lifestyle choice of participants • Everyday life quality • Home as emotional support • Home as containment • Personal investment into place
3.2	Physical aspects of place	<p><i>The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental character • Lifestyle (way of living) • Greenery: urban plants, trees, and shrubs) • Architecture of existing buildings in the area 	<p><i>Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental character of the place • Urban greenery • Architecture of the houses in the place • Unexpected visual change • Infrastructural problems of the place 	<p><i>The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place are unique to this place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural aspects of place • Sensory experience in the place • Interactions happening in the place • Traffic and safety issues • Adaption to environmental changes
3.3	Social aspects of place	<p><i>The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social interaction in place • Continuity of the place 	<p><i>Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of community among residents • Social respect for other residents • Respect for the place • Showing disrespect: developer • Protective actions taken by participants 	<p><i>Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling of community among participants • Communal protective actions of participants • Social interactions in place: passive and active • Disruptive social interactions experienced by participants • Negative social effects experienced by participants

Table 9.2 - Main themes, themes, and sub-themes that emerged from the various case studies (continued).

Chapter Section	Across-Case Main Theme	Pilot study: Themes & sub-themes	Case study 2: Themes & sub-themes	Case study 3: Themes & sub-themes
3.4	Cognitive aspects associated with place	<p><i>The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic value of the place • Knowledge about the place • Sensory experiences in place 	<p><i>The place has historic value:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic value of the place 	<p><i>The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A vibrant and enabling place • Uncertainty and conflict in place
3.5	Emotional aspects experienced in place	<p><i>Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nostalgia • Empathy/sympathy towards people and/or place • Feelings of powerlessness • Feelings of loss 	<p><i>Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feelings of loss • Feelings of powerlessness • Fear for personal safety • Feeling disempowered: backing down 	<p><i>Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unexpected intrusion in place • Experiences of stress • Feelings of power: the hero • Feelings of powerlessness: the place • Fear for personal safety
3.6	Behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place	<p><i>Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences of public participation • Protective actions in terms of environmental change/rezoning application • Feeling empowered: continued opposition • Feeling disempowered: backing down 	<p><i>The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territorial marking by the developer • Illegal actions taken by the developer • Protective actions taken by participants • Public participation experiences by participants 	<p><i>Organised communal actions saved the place:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public participation experiences of participants • Protective actions taken by participants • Good organisation of the participants

3.1 Main theme 1: People and places on the Bult

- Residents of the place know the inside story of the area, are committed to the place, and seek a specific quality of life
- Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people
- The participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place

The first main theme relates to how the participants experienced the Bult as place in general - their views and experiences with other people and places on the Bult, their willingness to invest in both physical and social aspects of place to maintain the quality of life that is associated with this place.

A definite emerging theme under the "people" aspect of this main theme, is resident identity, the state of being an insider, while developers, urban planners, and members of the local municipality involved in the rezoning process, are outsiders. As such, the outsider agents cannot or have difficulty to comprehend the everyday quality of life that the specific place offers to its residents. In this research, some participants (as insiders) experienced feelings of powerlessness against outsiders (developers, urban planners, and municipal agents) who they perceived had more power due to greater knowledge about the rezoning process and greater financial resources to drive the rezoning process. In the second case study, some participants expressed indignation that outsiders had more power to form place (cause environmental change) than the insiders themselves:

CS3 Participant 4: *"But what can one as owner do? You can submit a complaint, but so what? I think they [the municipality] should make their town plans publicly available. I mean, what happens to a home owner, who has lived here for years, when somebody - who doesn't live here - suddenly decides things must change? On what criteria is that decision made? Who gives them [the municipality] the right to do so?"*

The effect of the environmental change on the everyday life quality gets more pronounced as one moves from the pilot study, to the first, and then the last case study:

- In the pilot study, the restorative effect of home is not a topic of discussion at all, as it seems that the place meaning of the Piet Malan residence is more *abstract* than *personal*.

- In the case of 24 Esselen Street, the environmental change resulted in neighbourhood changes in direct contact with, but *outside* the boundaries of home, still not directly influencing the restorative effects of home. The place meaning associated with the Nelly Edwards house was - like the Piet Malan residence - abstract in concept ('house with historic value'), but the destruction of the house in this case also symbolised the rapidly changing neighbourhood character, which would have an impact on the living quality of residents, and is thus a more *personal* concept.
- In the case of 124 Steve Biko Avenue, the environmental change was such that it permeated the boundaries of home, rendering the restorative powers of home as a favourite place void. The environmental change was therefore not abstract at all - it was very much personal.

Having the status of outsiders, developers, planners, and municipal employees seem to fail to understand the far-reaching effect that environmental changes can have on existing residents, on the lifestyle that the place affords its residents, the manner in which residents interact with members of their own family and other individuals that share their place, and the necessity to maintain some form of continuity for a sense of well-being. They also fail to understand that connection to a specific place implies more than just financial investment: investment can also mean spending time to improve one's place quality, taking the time to choose an environment that can enable one to live in a certain way, and taking care to form some social network with those who share the space.

Moving on to the following main theme, relatively similar themes emerged from the case studies, which can probably be contributed to the fact that all three case studies are located within the same part of Potchefstroom.

3.2 Main theme 2: Physical aspects of place

- The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture
- Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with urban greenery and a specific residential architecture
- The architecture, sensory experience, and activities happening in this place are unique to this place

The physical aspects of place as main theme relate to the observable character, structure, and elements of the location in question, as well as how these aspects contribute to the participants' chosen lifestyle.

The participants' place experiences are closely connected to the environmental character of the Bult: mature trees and shrubbery (especially the Oak Avenue in Steve Biko Avenue, which is a declared national heritage) in gardens and lining the sidewalks; and a specific type of architecture: old, simply-built single dwelling houses on relatively large properties, with the old furrows still visible in places. These are what constitute the character of the area, what has - in some cases at least - been a pull-factor in participants deciding to settle in the area.



Figure 9.1 - The new apartment building built around the Piet Malan residence on a much larger scale than any other structure in this section of Steve Biko Avenue, July 2014 (Source: Own collection, 2014).

Environmental change in terms of the physical aspects of place threatened the environmental character in the following manner (Figure 9.1 and 9.2):

- the removal of greenery and the substitution by human-made materials like concrete;
- the demolition of existing, sound structures characteristic of the Bult and replacing these with structures too large to fit into the existing spatial scale that characterises the area, that are not of

good building quality, ignores the sense of place, and changes the demographical composition of the area surrounding the place in question; and

- the overloading of existing infrastructure like roads, sewerage, water, and electrical systems through the mass densification in the Bult for the past decade and a half.



Figure 9.2 - Piet Malan residence (front left) and the new apartment building. Though the historical oak avenue in Steve Biko Avenue stays, all other remaining traces of urban greenery was removed (Source: Own collection, 2014).

In some cases these changes have been gradual, allowing for some form of adaptation to the changes, or the incremental bracing against the changes. In other cases the sheer suddenness of the environmental change proved a traumatic event for residents. The more sudden the change, the more traumatic the experiences of some of the participants.

3.3 Main theme 3: Social aspects of place

The social aspect focuses more on the social relations that can happen within the place *because* of the physical structure of a place.

- The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor
- Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common
- Both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place

Part of the attraction of the Bult as place relates to the social aspects associated with it:

- the type of resident associated with the area (family-oriented, peaceful social interactions), which creates some sense of cohesion between individuals falling within the same demographic characteristics;
- thus some sense of community or neighbourliness exists;
- there has always been a student element in the demographic character, but not to such an extent that it bulldozed out family-oriented residential development (up until a decade or two ago); and
- different types of social interactions are possible: active involvement in the environment (through architecture that created spaces for social interaction) or passive involvement (through 'people-watching' of passers-by in the street, for example).

However, environmental change through proposed rezonings or illegal land use change impacted negatively in the sense that social relations became negative: interactions with family members in their own home became strained; occurrences of conflict with other individuals interacting with the place; and the nature of the environmental change attracted unwanted social behaviour, like homeless individuals, littering, public defecation, urination, and vomiting which impacted on the environmental quality of the public spaces surrounding private homes.

These social changes thus impacted on the way in which residents - who chose a specific type of lifestyle associated with specific environmental parameters - could interact with the place and with the other individuals also interacting with the same place, thus altering the meaning of the place (e.g., from 'a peaceful neighbourhood' to 'a stressful place full of noise').

This leads this analysis to the cognitive aspects associated with place, as environmental change (bringing a change in place meaning) implied that the conceptual boundaries of participants' connectedness to the relevant sites shifted, which precipitated place protective actions and/or participation in a town planning process.

3.4 Main theme 4: Cognitive aspects associated with place

- The place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users
- The place has historic value
- The place is vibrant, but fluctuating in character

This main theme focuses on the associations that participants have of the particular place based on knowledge about the place and their personal sensory experiences that they associate with the place.

Place attachments are perhaps most easily defined by the meanings associated with those places. In two of the case studies, the historic value of the structures on the sites were enough to foster some form of attachment to those places, as they represented a part of what it means to be a Potchefstroomer (e.g. living in a historic city with the urban structure to prove it).

Another place meaning associated with the Bult in general, is that the area provides a specific sensory experience for the users thereof - it is a space with which one can interact for various purposes, e.g. (figure 9.3):

- physical exercise (walking, cycling);
- passive socialisation through observation ('people watching');
- active socialisation with neighbours and other residents passing by;
- calming and restorative effect through greenery (trees, shrubs, and gardens); and
- aesthetic experiences (from unique architecture and greenery).

Additional cognitions of the Bult in general relate to the environmental character of the area:

- the Bult is a walkable and cyclable environment that opened up and still presents opportunities to socially interact with other individuals interacting with the space in the course of their day (as opposed to being isolated within an artificial space created by vehicular travel usually associated with a suburban way of living);
- children can walk to school or to the university;
- adults can walk to do shopping in the commercial node on the Bult; while
- they can - in some cases - walk or cycle to work.



Figure 9.3 - A place perfect for walking, cycling, people watching, enjoying urban greenery and historical residential architecture (Source: CS3 Participant 3, 2013).

3.5 Main theme 5: Emotional aspects experienced in place

- Emotions associated with environmental changes in the place are mostly negative
- Negative feelings are experienced because of environmental changes in the place
- Both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place

This main theme encompasses the various emotional experiences that the participants connected to the place in question.

Emotions were a definite part of the experiences of both the environmental changes that happened and the public participation process. There were various distinctions between how these emotions were experienced and how they contributed to the participants' place and participation experiences (Table 9.3):

Table 9.3 - Participant affective experiences connected to place, environmental change, and public participation.

Emotion connected to the past	Emotions connected to the present
<p>Nostalgia: The place is connected to childhood memories and remembrances of raising a family there.</p>	<p>Empathy/sympathy: Climbing into someone else's shoes in the case study context and using that association to understand the experience, identify with the experience, and decide on an action in the case study context.</p>
<p>Powerfulness: The individual has used the participation process to his/her advantage (to prevent or mitigate environmental change) in the past and feels in control to manage similar situations, should they happen in the future.</p>	<p>Powerlessness: Unable to prevent or slow down environmental change due to a shortage in money, time, and legal/technical knowledge to back resisting actions to the end. Possible corruption in authorities creates the perception that following the correct participation channels will not work effectively.</p>
<p>Fear for personal safety: Safety issues increasing due to environmental character that may change, e.g. increased traffic volumes does not make street pedestrian friendly.</p>	<p>Fear for personal safety: Safety issues regarding person and person's family due to threatening actions of developer towards objectors.</p>
<p>Loss: Imagining living in a future time when the environmental change has manifested fully and how that will influence the meaning of living in that place. Imagining living in a future time and the quality of life that the place can offer after the environmental change, compared to how it was before the change.</p>	<p>Surprise: Unexpectedness of environmental change and the level of environmental change.</p> <p>Disruption: Connected to managing environmental change's impact on everyday personal life</p>
<p>Stress: Imagining levels of stress in coping with environmental change every day in the future should it be manifested fully.</p>	<p>Stress: Coping with stress due to environmental change "on top of everything else" life in general throws at the individual. Coping with stress to participate in and understand the public participation process that can prevent or tone down the environmental change.</p>

The only notable emotion experienced in connection to the past was nostalgia as participants recalled living on the Bult as a child or raising their family there. In terms of the future, emotions were both positive and negative. Knowledge and experience about public participation created positive feelings of being able to stave off or prevent unwanted environmental changes in the future. Negative emotions included fear of personal safety due to environmental changes, a loss of environmental and life quality, and increased stress levels that the participants perceive as associated with environmental changes.

The emotions associated with the present were also both positive and negative. Positive emotions focused on reaching out in sympathy and empathy for those involved as a basis for deciding on a course of action in terms of the environmental change and public participation options (to participate or not to participate). The negative emotions connected to the present hinged on the surprise factor of the environmental changes - in general, participants felt unprepared for the consequences of the environmental changes and the toll it would take on their personal lives to cope with staving off the changes or stopping it in its track through the participation process. Fear of personal safety in the present presented a greater threat than did the possibility of fear of personal safety in the future, due to the immediateness of the issue. Power struggles in the present were much more uncertain than in the case of the past or a possible future - as such the feeling of powerlessness to prevent environmental changes through the public participation process was much greater than issues of power in terms of a possible future.

The effects of these affective experiences on the place protective actions and public participation actions are discussed below.

3.6 Main theme 6: Behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place

- Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity
- The different role players in this place are willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict
- Organised communal actions saved the place

This main theme focuses on the actions that participations took or were elicited by the environmental changes brought on by existing or possible new land uses as envisioned by the rezoning application.

Behavioural aspects observed in the three cases relating to place were:

- Formal public participation action of the objectors as place protective action; and
- Informal actions of the objectors as place protective action.

Formal public participation included communicating with ward councillors and municipal employees; actively observing the environment for or inadvertently finding out about the rezonings through other residents, newspaper and site notices; writing objections to the municipality; drafting and signing petitions as a form of

objection against a rezoning/environmental change; and attending municipal meetings as part of the proceedings of the public participation process.

Informal actions included inter-resident communication through existing or social media networks; community meetings convened by ward councillors or members of the community; protest actions like forming a human chain around the property; manipulative resident actions to play on the feelings of the developer/owner of the property in question to halt the environmental change; bargaining with the developer/owner; garnering outsider-support to protect the place by importing professionals like lawyers to fight the case with the objectors; and loaning or pooling personal financial and time resources to enable place protective action.

The emotional experiences identified in the previous section contributed to place protective behaviours in the manner indicated in Table 9.4. In terms of emotions associated with the past, nostalgia did not seem to influence place protective actions. However, nostalgia - coupled with a sense of continuity - seem to provide some form of comfort for those experiencing it.

In terms of the future, knowledge and experience of the public participation process gave participants confidence to face the environmental changes through incremental land use changes that may yet come. In the same manner, the fear of personal safety and feelings of loss and stress drove public opposition to the rezoning applications.

Finally, in terms of emotions connected to the present, sympathetic or empathetic behaviour seemed to drive place protective behaviour, such as objecting to a rezoning application. Depending on the level of fear for safety and feelings of powerlessness, these emotions mostly curbed participants' wishes to object to environmental change. The more their opposition to a rezoning application meant immediate danger to their person or those whom they loved (victimisation), and the more powerless they felt in terms of their influence in the town planning process, the less likely they were to continue opposition. However, the more sudden and continuous the disruption caused by the environmental change, and the more drastic these changes and consequential stress were on the individuals without immediate danger to their person, the more driven the participants felt to oppose the rezoning application.

Table 9.4 - Affective experiences and their contribution to the behavioural aspects of place attachment.

Emotion connected to the past	Emotions connected to the present
<p>Nostalgia: Nostalgia <u>did not</u> really seem to <u>influence</u> place protective actions. However, in the case of the Piet Malan residence the continued existence of the residence did seem to provide some form of comfort to those participants who felt nostalgic towards it.</p>	<p>Empathy/sympathy: Some individuals participated on behalf of those who they perceived as not being able to do so, e.g.: individuals who did not know a property was under threat of destruction (Piet Malan residence), or individuals who were too frail to take a strong objective stance against environmental change (P1). Sympathy/empathy thus <u>drove participation</u>.</p>
<p>Powerfulness: Some participants revealed their continued participation in objecting towards other rezonings and developments that seem out of context (Piet Malan residence and Nelly Edwards house). Knowledge and experience of public participation seemed to <u>increase</u> the occurrence of public participation.</p>	<p>Powerlessness: In the case of the Piet Malan residence and Nelly Edwards house, some participants expressed their demotivation to keep fighting what they perceived to be a losing battle against incremental environmental change, driven by factors outside their control. Such demotivation therefore <u>curbed</u> their wish for future public participation in land use planning.</p>
<p>Fear of personal safety: Safety issues were often cited in objections in the formal public participation process as a reason to prevent the environmental change that can be brought on by a rezoning. Safety issues can therefore <u>fuel</u> public participation.</p>	<p>Fear of personal safety: In the case of the Nelly Edwards house, fear of personal safety <u>demotivated</u> two participants from further objecting a rezoning. In the case of P1, fear of personal safety was used as <u>motivation</u> in the formal public participation process to stop the environmental change.</p>
<p>Loss: Loss of place meaning and quality of life was cited in all the case studies as an important reason for objecting to a rezoning. The concept of loss can thus <u>increase</u> the chances of opposition against a rezoning.</p>	<p>Surprise: In the cases of the Nelly Edwards house and P1, the unexpectedness of the environmental change rapidly <u>encouraged</u> individuals to oppose the rezonings as a way to curb environmental change and loss of quality of life.</p> <p>Disruption: The greater the influence of the environmental change was on the restorative value of individuals' homes, the <u>stronger</u> and <u>more continuous</u> the opposition against the rezoning was.</p>
<p>Stress: Imagining continued future stress proved to <u>fuel</u> place protective actions, as in the case of the Nelly Edwards house and P1.</p>	<p>Stress: The more stress participants experienced during the rezoning process or due to the environmental change, the <u>more pronounced</u> the chance and frequency of objection was (compare, for example, the experiences of participants in the pilot study with those of P1, who experienced far more personal stress than those objectors in the pilot study).</p>

The following section discusses the findings of the cross-case analysis within the existing literature discussed earlier in this research.

4. Discussion

From the stories of the participants, the following becomes clear:

1. The participants entered a place of choice based on their own needs and perceived the status quo, which acted as the baseline against which the happenings of the rezonings were compared.
2. The environmental change signalled a change in the baseline (the character of a place), implying a change in place meaning, thus symbolising a possible loss to the participants.
3. Possible loss meant some form of action (or inaction) needed to be taken, which fuelled place protective actions or public participation (or both).

This chronology points to place attachment as both a state and a continuously adapting process, depending on the context: the baseline place perception is the cognitive aspect of place attachment, the change in the baseline connects to the affective experiences elicited in participants, while the place protective actions or public participation connects with the behavioural aspects of place attachment. This seems in line with the various definitions of place attachment, defined as both a i) a product or end-state: a multilevel positive affective person-place bond that evolved from specific place conditions and characteristics of individuals (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983:223), “the functional and emotional ties that connect people to places” (Payton, Fulton & Anderson, 2005:511); and ii) a process that “reflect[s] the behavioural, cognitive, and emotional embeddedness individuals’ experience in their socio-physical environments” (Brown & Perkins, 1992:279). Place attachment is thus a continuous dynamic process and an end-state/product (albeit a flexible and adaptive state).

As earlier in this chapter the across-case analysis is discussed under the main themes.

4.1 Main theme 1: People and places on the Bult

In SI, actors are very important, as they are the ones who interact. In this research, the actors were:

- residents who objected to the rezoning applications;
- the developer who instigated the proposed land use change;
- the urban planner who managed the town planning application;
- municipal employees who work with town planning applications; and
- other professionals used as 'tools' in the public participation process, e.g. lawyers.

Each of these actors fulfilled a specific role in the happenings of the case studies, each with a unique background that preceded the happenings of the case studies, and as such their perspectives on the situation were unique (Charon, 2010:44). From the interviews it seemed that a section of the participants across the case studies viewed themselves as 'insiders', while the other actors (the non-residents) were viewed as 'outsiders':

PS Participant 4: *"...there isn't a fair balance between the interests of the established residents and developers who buy properties here with no other interests other than to make as much money as quickly as possible".*

Place-related identity aspects have been linked in literature with place attachment and opposition to environmental changes (Devine-Wright, 2009). In all three case studies some form of identification with the Bult as place of residence is observable. This is especially visible in the way participants related their experiences of insiders with regard to developers, the urban planners, and the local authority as outsiders. For them, the outsider agents cannot or have difficulty comprehending the everyday quality of life that the specific place offers to its residents as they do not possess the lived experiences of the Bult as place that the participants have.

Place attachment therefore inherently implies insider/outsider relationships in the boundaries of a specific space (Brown & Perkins, 1992:280). It can thus be expected that conflict can arise when the goals for a specific place for the 'insiders' differ from that of the 'outsiders' who have the ability to change the status quo through ownership and/or legally supported environmental change - **CS3 Participant 4:** *"You see, the people who make the decisions about the rezonings do not live here. They do not live here! So they don't have the vaguest idea why the residents decided to live here."*

This insider/outsider relationship is also associated with power relations (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014), with the more powerful group having the greater say over the place meanings that are associated with a place and that are manifested physically. In this research, some participants (as insiders) experienced feelings of powerlessness against outsiders (developers, urban planners, and municipal agents) who they perceived had more power due to greater knowledge about the rezoning process and greater financial resources to drive the rezoning process.

In terms of participatory literature, the three case studies seem to indicate that more extensive research regarding place attachment in a participatory process is needed, research that includes all sectors of

interested and affected parties and not just residents. Additionally, despite not making the role of power a priority focus in this research, the three case studies indicated that the study of place attachment in urban planning cannot be fully understood without recognising power relations between role players.

4.2 Main theme 2: Physical aspects of place

Environmental change to the physical features of a landscape - induced by development - is a very credible reason for individuals to oppose a development project (Lombard & Ferreira, 2014:397), as attachment to a place partially rests on the physical features and opportunities afforded by the features of a place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:5). Alteration, removal, or destruction of physical characteristics/symbols in the environment towards which individuals felt some attachment undermine individual identity and therefore hampers community action (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). The rezoning applications therefore symbolised an intruding or alien factor into a place with a specific character, something to be opposed (Devine-Wright, 2009:434).

Environmental change threatened the environmental character of the various case study places. In some cases these changes have been gradual, allowing for some form of adaptation to the changes, or the incremental bracing against the changes. For some of the participants (Participants 3, 4, and 5 from the second case study and Participant 3 from the third case study) the environmental and socio-demographic changes happening - or on the verge of happening - in the area was a given; it was just a matter of time (**CS3 Participant 3: "It will happen"**). These individuals seem to have what Devine-Wright (2009:435) referred to as anticipatory detachment, imagining a future where they would have to move elsewhere when the current place cannot support their chosen lifestyle or fulfil a restorative purpose anymore. For such individuals, disruption to their place attachment is anticipated and they have time to take mitigating steps or adapt to the idea of severing physical ties with place to re-establish place bonds elsewhere (Brown & Perkins, 1992:288).

In other cases the sheer suddenness of the environmental change proved traumatic for residents. The more sudden the change, the more traumatic the experiences of some of the participants. This seems to have created a situation where involuntary disruptions to place bonds occurred (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Brown & Perkins, 1992:290), having a powerful negative effect on participants because of the unexpected and rapid occurrence.

The physical structure of the place therefore contributed to the place's attractiveness to establish a home there. This - together with the social aspects of place, defined by interactions with other individuals in the place - represents the status quo situation in the case studies, the place meanings associated with a place.

This is what Brown and Perkins (1992) referred to as the predisruption phase in the influence of environmental change on place attachment.

It is in keeping this status quo situation stable that individuals commit themselves - they invest time, money and energy into the place (Hummon, 1990) - because it provides the opportunities to live their chosen lifestyle. Disrupting the status quo can therefore easily trigger feelings of loss based on the investment individuals made in a place (Fullilove, 1996; Fried, 1963).

4.3 Main theme 3: Social aspects of place

Comparing the case studies with the literature on place attachment and public participation in this research one can see that the social aspects of place played a definite role in the reasons why participants participated in the rezoning process, as well as how they participated. Various types of social interactions can also be identified, like interaction of the individual within the individual self, between insider individuals, and between insider and outsider agents.

In terms of *why* participants participated in the public participation process, it should be noted that a specific place can become a point of symbolic reference to a person's life, a physical phenomenon acting as a continuous symbolic anchor through the person's life to which he connects memories and meanings. These symbolic anchors provide a sense of continuity in an individual's life (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:207, 217; Rubinstein & Parmalee, 1992 *in* Pretty *et al.*, 2003:276), a form of psychological assurance and point of reference to compare one's earlier life with one's current state of life. Controlling continuity seems important for psychological well-being, as loss of control or forced change in the physical environment can actually create feelings of loss and grief for individuals (or communities) subjected to such change (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:208).

Communal practices also have the power to bind groups to specific places - a whole area or structure on an individual site can provide the focal point for communal place attachment. Place meanings associated with such attachments are often emotionally-laden and socio-culturally-based, and therefore often political in nature, connected to types and levels of power that groups have (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014). In this research, the Bult and selected sites on the Bult were the focal points of place bonds, with communal place meanings that hinged on the historic value of the Bult area and individual structures on the Bult, as well as the association of a specific way of life and quality of life with the Bult area. These social changes brought on by the land use changes and rezoning applications thus impacted on the way in which residents - who chose a specific type of lifestyle associated with specific environmental parameters - could interact with the place and

with other individuals also interacting with the same place, thus altering the meaning of the place (for example, from 'a peaceful neighbourhood' to 'a stressful place full of noise').

In terms of *how* they participated (public participation), all three cases showed signs of drawing on collective resources to stave off the environmental changes. Community members networked amongst each other to gather and spread information regarding the rezoning application and its objection procedure, to gain support from large numbers of individuals individually or through social media, to pool financial and knowledge resources, and to gather strength in numbers for informal protest action. Clearly, some form of social network functioned in all the cases, bringing together various personal experiences, interests, values, knowledge and resources to create new collectively and socially constructed conditions and solutions (Booher & Innes, 2002:227). Individuals who participate in networks usually do so in self-interest and for personal motivations that are furthered or shared by the network (Booher & Innes, 2002:227) - for the majority of participants safeguarding their particular quality of life and way of life offered by the Bult in general seemed to be an important (and shared) motivation.

Interaction between actors gains momentum when the context during the disruptive stage has been defined, the appropriate goal and tools identified, and the choice of action for actors decided on to some extent. Keep in mind that the interaction is constantly dynamic as individuals interact with their context, tools, and other individuals within the context. In the case studies, various types of interaction came to light, namely internal interaction within the individual self, interaction between the individual and place, interaction between 'insiders', interaction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', individually driven action, and collectively driven action.

4.3.1 Internal interaction

Internal interaction refers to the interaction an individual had with his or her own thoughts regarding the place, both before and during the environmental change. As this research was conducted retrospectively, it was not possible to record what the participants *actually* thought during those time periods of the events of the case studies; rather, it was their retrospective collections of those experiences that were captured (those that were of course voiced consciously). The best way to study place attachment seems to be retrospectively (Brown & Perkins, 1992:283).

As such, in the voice of one of the participants speaking retrospectively, this internal interaction actually contributed to a participant's choice of action - public participation through petition - as she internally related herself to inhabitants of the Tlokwe Local Municipality:

PS Participant 3: *"I don't really necessarily have a personal – like a...personal story about the house or whatnot – but I do think that I can relate to what the people of Potchefstroom feel clearly because of the fact that this house is old especially with developments I look at...it's a very complex phenomenon/aspect of life. And it just comes back to the fact that you're taking something that people hold value to and that's why I feel that the government or the people who's implementing these changes should look back to what is it that the people want."*

4.3.2 Insider-place interaction

Another type of interaction observed from the case studies was between the participants and their chosen environment, indicating the importance of the physical setting to support the everyday lives of individuals (Manzo, 2003, 2005):

- **CS3 Participant 3:** *"I like interaction [with the street space], but it isn't like I stand at the garden gate like auntie Stien⁵⁷ and chat to everybody who passes and ask them what they have in their grocery bags, you know? But I like to watch people."*
- **CS2 Participant 6:** *"I had the habit to stroll down to the Bult to buy some bread; I bought bread and milk."*

4.3.3 Insider-insider interaction

Disruptions to place attachment on a communal level have been known to either jumpstart or disable community action (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). The weaker the community identities in the predisruption phase, the more disjointed or weaker community action in reaction to environmental changes seem (Brown & Perkins, 1992:299). A greater sense of community identity predisruption can increase the possibility of informal public participation action (Hillier, 2000).

For all but two of the participants (Participant 3 and 6 of the pilot study), the participants identified themselves as residents of the Bult (both land owners and tenants) as they chose to become residents of the area for its amenities and character. Length of residence, ownership, and plans to stay in a particular place is usually associated with stronger place attachment (Hay, 1998:245-246; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981 in Scannell & Gifford, 2010:4; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Tuan, 1974:147), most probably due to considerable personal investment in such a place. However, Brown *et al.*'s (2004:361) findings indicate that home ownership is not

necessarily a precondition for creating attachments to places. In this research, some sense of community identity - connected to the Bult area - existed in all of the case studies *before* the predisruption stage.

The sense of community, however, was more salient in the cases of the Nelly Edwards house and P1, as the objectors were spatially located much closer to each other and acknowledged knowing the other participants *before* the disruption stage. In fact, some participants became objectors because another resident requested it:

CS2 Participant 3: *"I live in Hoffman Street... [CS2 Participant 4] phoned me, asking me - he would get all the forms, I only have to sign... But then I heard which house was involved and all, and I said I will gladly support him. So, that was how I got involved."*

This indicates a social network (loose or close-knit) existing between some of the participants, and definite social interaction between them to spread information regarding the proposed rezoning, to gain further support from the surrounding residents, and to pool social resources to form a stronger case against the proposed environmental change:

Researcher: *Would you say that the unhappy happenings strengthened the social network?"*

Participant 3: *Yeaaaaa...for some time. I don't think we all became best buddies. We're not such close friends that we hollow out each other's thresholds. But you had to find out who lives four doors down to get their signatures [for the petition]. It wasn't a bad experience to be able to go to people and ask for their signatures, with them also saying: 'wait, I'll give this form to my other neighbour'. Suddenly it felt like being in a small town (for some time, though)".*

Such pooling of resources indicated a level of interaction between residents on which they shared the same (or a closely related) goal with regard to the place they shared. Thus one can assume that symbolic communication and role-taking for the participant objectors were successful (Charon, 2010:136). There were also indications of shared reference groups among participants within the same case study, especially in terms of shared values regarding built heritage and quality of life - **PS Participant 6:** *"I feel something for conservation"* and **CS3 Participant 4:** *"Our beautiful oak trees. Clean sidewalk. Looking towards this direction it's beautiful: there is space, everything is neat. But when P1 was operating, it wasn't this clean."*

However, sense of community was not the only social interaction contributing to (what I can only term as) *relative success* in stopping the full impact of environmental change. Another factor was the level of organisation between objectors in each case study - the more organised the participant objectors were in their place protective actions, the more they were able to mitigate or prevent full scale environmental change through the rezoning process. The higher the level of organisation, the greater the social interaction between actors (Charon, 2010:154-161; Blumer, 1969:16).

4.3.4 Insider-outsider interaction

It should be noted that the first signs of insider-outsider interaction were usually the site and newspaper notices that a rezoning application has been submitted to the local authority - should a land use change proceed legally, of course. This was the situation of the pilot study and the Nelly Edwards house. The environmental change in some cases motivated insider-outsider interaction - **PS Participant 1:** *"...in the time I cycled one to four times a day past this place, I saw the rezoning notice board in front of the house and uh, directly afterwards I sent a letter to the municipality that they cannot demolish the place... So I sent a letter - of course this was confirmed by the municipality - and yes they are bound by law to answer me as the process runs. I told you that other people and I wrote a petition that the place should not be demolished and uh I often afterwards they told me they received my letter..."*

For the P1 Restaurant, an illegal land use, such interaction originated when the owners/manager of P1 first placed the speakers of their sound system on the sidewalk and blasted music top volume into the street. Residents then proceeded to either bargain with the owners/manager of P1 for reduced sound pollution, or contact the police and municipality with a case of noise disturbance. Eventually, an application for rezoning was submitted to the local authority while the restaurant continued to operate illegally.

The notice of rezoning (Piet Malan residence and Nelly Edwards house) and environmental change (P1 Restaurant) concurs with the disruption stage of Brown and Perkin's (1992) framework of place attachment disruption, and the manipulation stage of Mead (Charon, 2010:121). The main body of place protective action - whether it is through informal or formal public participation actions - happened in this period, characterised by sometimes intense and frequent interaction between insider and outsider actors. The interactions in this research could be classified as individual (individual written objections; making phone calls to ward councillors, municipal employees or the transgressing owner) or collective in nature (compiling and signing a petition; neighbourhood meetings; outsourcing professionals; and forming human chains around the property in question).

Comparing the choice of actions taken by the objectors it can be seen that the actions - though showing elements of informality (which has been discussed in both northern and southern planning literature - do not come close to the destructive insurgent actions described in some of the global South literature (Harrison, 2014; Watson, 2003). In fact, the chosen routes of informal and formal participation seem to demurely follow the global Northern descriptions of 'insurgent' opposition to development proposals. These case studies therefore represent an alternative image to the seemingly chaotic, poor, and under-developed urban conditions that have formed a prominent focus in the southwards turn in planning theory.

4.4 Main theme 4: Cognitive aspects associated with place

The cognitive aspects associated with place links strongly with the concept of place meaning - the symbolic meanings that places have for individuals or groups. One place can have a multitude of meanings for various individuals and groups; these meanings can also differ over time as the context changes groups (Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004:213; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1).

The place attachments experienced by the participants were unique to themselves and deeply associated with the character or sense of place that the Bult has - the Bult as it stands is therefore a place that cannot easily be replaced. This makes it easier to conceptualise why conflicts arose when this character and place meanings were threatened by existing or expected environmental changes. It is through environmental change that place attachment feelings often surface (Ryan, 2005:4), and the implications of losing a place and its place meanings to change becomes prominent. People are more willing to fight for places central to their identities and satisfaction, than places that are not (Stedman, 2002:567).

What is interesting about the three case studies is that the reasons the participants gave for choosing to move to or continue living in the Bult as place reflect aspects of the Integrated Tradition of place attachment literature:

- some participants chose to live in the area because it was conveniently located and provided a specific lifestyle - this indicates a form of *place dependence* associated with the Instrumental Tradition, whereby a place provides instrumental/utility value and can therefore be replaced when this value cannot be derived from the place anymore due to irrevocable environmental changes; and
- some participants chose to live and continue to live on the Bult as it is the vessel that concentrates a lifetime of memories, that provides restorative opportunities, and symbolises something historical and unique - this indicates *place attachment* as associated with the Symbolic Tradition, where a place is unique and valued for a reason other than instrumental value. The destruction or change of

such a place therefore alters the place meaning irrevocably - once this change or destruction is permanent, the place and the value that the place provided for the individual can never or rarely be replaced.

It also seems that an individual's interest in his or her own past, as well as the history of the place of residence, plays an important role in the forming of place attachment (Lewicka, 2005:392). It was clear from the interviews with the participants of the pilot and second case study, that the majority of them had an interest in the historical aspects of the Bult and Potchefstroom in general. Knowledge about a place tends to increase the level of attachment to that place (Ujang, 2014:73; Beckley, 2003:116).

4.5 Main theme 5: Emotional aspects experienced in place

Place meanings and place attachment have a definite association with emotions: place attachment – defined as an affective connection to a specific place (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:339) – and place meanings - emotional interpretations of places (Williams & Patterson, 1999:142) - are psychological concepts that are mostly socially constructed and can therefore be considered as intangible (Williams & Patterson, 1999). Place meanings and place attachments play an important role in the wellness of individuals and communities (Harrison, 2011:89; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Korpela, Hartig, Kaiser & Fuhrer, 2001). Development that causes disruption or destruction of place attachment can in some cases be so traumatic that communities can disintegrate (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:1; Davenport & Anderson, 2005). As **Participant 3 (CS 3)** said: *"I let the whole situation sound traumatic, because it was traumatic. It was a real, serious, and big trauma that the people of this neighbourhood had to live through"*.

Feelings of homesickness, as described by the postdisruption stage, were not frequent, but when it was referred to, it was acute - **CS2 Participant 5**: *"It's just that one is so attached...was so attached to that place that was just snatched away due to development... One didn't have any say over the matter"* and **CS3 Participant 3**: *"It's a whole life. This is the house that we built with our own hands, where we live. As my mother said: 'this is the house where they...she raised all her children here. All her memories are here. All her experiences are here'. And those things weren't considered to be important at all. Those are not the type of things that are considered when neighbourhoods are changed"*. Also - **CS3 Participant 2**: *"These oak trees in front of our home were a source of beauty to us. I really loved these trees, they are so beautiful to me... After my chemotherapy finished, I looked at the green leaves sprouting [from the trees]...and I cried. It was so beautiful. Every green leaf, every green plant, every child, everything is so beautiful."*

The effect of potential or actual threat or destruction of place bonds have been well documented, which sometimes result in feelings of loss, sadness, grief, and longing (e.g. Stedman & Ingalls, 2014; Fullilove, 1996; Fried, 1963). In all of the cases, participants expressed feelings of loss and sadness for a place that was either destroyed, or changed in a manner they did not anticipate when they first moved to the area. Some of the participants were more accepting of the environmental changes and seemed to adapt to the new status quo. Others, however, physically removed themselves from the place, feeling that they could better adapt to the changed environment by cutting their ties to the place and starting over elsewhere.

An interesting aspect that appeared in all three cases was the participation of individuals acting on behalf of those who were too old or frail to do so. As stated previously, sympathy and empathy drove public participation, even when the individual did not have a personal reason (like being unable to sleep due to noise levels or fearing for personal safety) to object to the environmental change. This concurs with literature illustrating that meanings can be shared or individual, or learnt from other individuals or elders (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:2; Kaltborn, 1997:177; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1-2), even though an individual did not necessarily have a personal experience with the place (Pretty *et al.*, 2003:273).

Different types of emotional experiences thus elicited various behavioural responses from participants which - depending on the context - either encouraged or discouraged participants to continue with a formal or informal form of public protest against the development. It would therefore be advantageous from a town planning perspective to formally acknowledge the underlying emotional motivations that propelled the individuals to object to the proposed development project in order to prevent time and financial delays.

4.6 Main theme 6: Behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place

Schofield and Szymanski wrote that “local perspectives⁵⁷ do matter” in development “and are often grounded in a strong emotional connection to the place that is threatened” by development (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011:2). As illegal land use changes and town planning actions changed or threatened to change the physical structure of the area, and thus also place meanings, it is clear that the way the Bult is currently perceived by the participants, as well as how it was perceived after the physical change, played an important role in their participation in the rezoning applications' public participation processes (Radmilli, 2011:184). A definite change in the status quo was therefore perceived by the objectors, offering two options in terms of

⁵⁷Schofield and Szymanski (2011:4) warn that when developers consider local place views, they should keep in mind that a community is not a homogenous entity and that different – even opposing – place meanings and attachments of a place can exist simultaneously. Such differences can dictate what communities expect of development – some will welcome development, while other communities, or different sectors of a community, will oppose development, as shown by Vedru (2011).

action: do nothing or take action to prevent or mitigate the environmental change that altered the status quo.

4.6.1 The changing status quo

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the status quo was never static, but the dynamic result of years of actions taken by the individuals involved. For the sake of discussion, however, the status quo of the case studies is seen as a static beginning (albeit a small point in time), as this is the point where the research starts.

This research therefore assumes the status quo is the context shortly before the rezoning applications were submitted to the local municipality - the predisruption phase of Brown and Perkins (1992). In the interviews, the status quo was usually described by participants as the character or atmosphere of the place *before* actual or potential environmental change stepped in:

- **CS2 Participant 5:** *"It was peaceful before. The Cachet Square, which was also the site of the Aardklop National Arts Festival, was a peaceful park. We walked the dogs there. The children played there. It was a fantastic environment, because we lived near the park. Now you cannot do these things anymore."* and
- **CS2 Participant 4:** *"See, we all had a shared history and everybody lived in the same place... It was a pleasant community."*

The period when each participant perceived the possibility of an environmental change moved the perception of the context into Mead's impulse stage (Mead, 1934).

4.6.2 Mead's impulse stage

In Chapter 2 Mead's (1934) four stages of an act have already been identified as important in describing the happenings of the case studies from a theoretical perspective. The first stage of the act, impulse, started when the participants were notified, or found out via other community members, that a rezoning application was submitted. Such a rezoning application represents potential environmental change, that - depending on the perception of the individual or group - could initiate a state of disequilibrium or discomfort in the interested and affected parties' lives (please refer to Figure 10.1) (Charon, 2010:120). It did so by - depending on its nature - representing a possible disruption to place meanings and attachments in the place, necessarily leading to the need to renegotiate place meanings (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996:206). For the majority of the

participants across the three case studies, this change was experienced somewhat negatively, especially if the change lay closer to home and was unexpected in nature. As one participant stated: **CS3 Participant 3:** *"I let the whole situation sound traumatic, because it was traumatic. It was a real, serious, and big trauma that the people of this neighbourhood had to live through."*

Hiner and Galt's research (2011:114) supports the view that land use changes 'closer to home' has the power to elicit more place protective actions when compared to environmental changes a little less 'closer to home'. As such, changing (or creating the potential to change) the status quo of a place has social implications for residents as well. And in changing the social status quo, the dynamics of interaction changes between the role players.

At this stage, according to Mead's (1934) description, the individual knows an action must be taken, but what type of action is not yet known, as the situation must first be defined according to the individual's perspective and past experiences and meanings (Charon, 2010:120).

4.6.3 Defining the context: past experiences and place meanings

Mead's second stage, perception is preceded by the individual defining the context in terms of the impulse: what is the context now that a change has occurred (Charon, 2010:120)? In terms of the place attachment literature and the case studies, definition of this environmental change depends on the place meanings and past experiences held by an individual (Charon, 2010:29) and the manner in which the change will influence place attachment or place value for the individual.

In some cases the past place experiences were memories of interacting with the place, an important cognition of place attachment and self-knowing consciousness (Knez, 2014:174; Ujang, 2014:73; Scannell & Gifford, 2010:3): **PS Participant 1:** *"But it is, like I say, continuity, yes we see how the oak trees grow, age, die, but Tom Street remains Tom Street for me. This is one of the last houses that I can recall that represents Tom Street... So it is continuity, it's the neutral word. In some way one is emotionally attached to this thing. It is one of the anchors as I cycled each day from work, through the Bult to the Heilige Akker. You just have those aspects you see every day. You know which trees will be budding first. You know where...what happens here, what happens there... But this house was here since I could remember and it's still here today..."*

In other cases, a definition of the situation was provided to the participants or read by the participants (Kaltenborn, 1997:177; Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1-2) - in other words, definition happened according to the

perspectives that the participants adopted from interaction with other individuals. - **PS Participant 5:** "*What I know, I read in the media.*"

Defining the new place situation therefore inherently implies some sort of interaction already happened between the participants and other individuals, and within the participants' own minds.

4.6.4 Perception: defining the current context and deciding on the goal

Perception refers to the second stage in Mead's quartet on action (1934) and includes defining the current context and deciding on a goal. Definition of a situation happens through interaction:

- with the individuals' own thoughts;
- with other individuals 'in the same boat' (other objectors);
- with other 'outsider' individuals involved in the environmental change (the developer, the urban planner, the municipal employees who provide information surrounding the proposed land use change); and
- by applying learnt perspectives to the situation (Charon, 2010:120).

In the three case studies, definition of the disruption (the disruption phase of Brown and Perkins (1992)) was necessarily seen as negative, as a threat to place attachments and predicting a possible affective loss (Ryan, 2005:4-5). The 'closer to home' the disruption was experienced the stronger and more persistent were the experiences of this disruption (Beckley, 2003:112; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). This is visible in the level of persistence to protect a place from change, with the final case study illustrating the most extreme scenario, and the pilot study the least threatening scenario. The higher the place attachment when it is threatened by environmental change, the more willing individuals are to engage in place protective actions (Stedman, 2002:567). The disrupted contexts were also defined in terms of emotions: feelings of loss and powerlessness to prevent loss were especially salient (as described in the works of Fullilove, 1996 and Fried, 1963).

After definition, the individuals influenced by the environmental change had to decide what goal is to be achieved in the current situation of disequilibrium: will action be taken, how will it be taken, and with what will it be taken? In the case of this research, all the participants (as objectors) decided to take action to return the current situation to the original status quo, or as close as possible to the predisruption status quo situation (Charon, 2010:120). This meant choosing place protective action (as opposed to inaction, for example) as the direction of action to return the place situation to equilibrium.

4.6.5 Manipulation

Manipulation is Mead's third stage where individuals "use their environment, act on it, handle it, reassess what it is, and move objects in the environment according to their use" (Charon, 2010:121). In choosing place protective action (whether it was through formal public participation channels or informal channels), the objector-participants had to have some inkling of the tools available to them to return to the status quo.

Various 'tools' - or social objects, if one were to use the strict SI term - were available for the objectors (see the two quotes below as two examples):

- legislative tools, like written objections and petitions;
- social tools, such as using individuals with specialised knowledge to manipulate the situation to the advantage of the objectors (e.g. lawyers and heritage specialists), or pooling financial or time resources among objectors themselves to launch place protective actions;
- bodily tools, such as forming human chains around a place to protect it;
- media tools, like local newspapers and social media networks to communicate and spread information to other individuals with regards to the changed context and the action options available to objectors (see quote from PS Participant 2 below); and
- emotional tools, in which a form of 'emotional reasoning' or 'sympathy-generating' actions were used to manipulate the situation (see quote from CS2 Participant 1 below).

PS Participant 2: *"...then Johan Wolvaardt of Potch Heritage started negotiating with the developers. He also appeared in the local media. He was on the national television station, SABC 2...Yes, the 7 o'clock news. Yes. We were the ones who made big waves, saying: no, it cannot happen. It just simply cannot happen."*

CS3 Participant 1: *"I remember how the manager verbally abused that old lady. He almost hit her. It was really bad. I couldn't believe that a young man would do such a thing to an old lady of 72 years. Oh well, it was a manipulation trick we used to say: 'how could you make this old lady suffer?'"*

Using these tools, however, implied that participant objectors had some level of knowledge of the existence and how to use these tools (basic or more advanced knowledge), as well as interacting with other individuals during the course of the use of these tools.

4.6.6 Period of conflict, bargaining, and adaptation

The public participation process of the rezoning process therefore played an integral part in the bargaining process between objectors and other actors in negotiating the proposed and actualised environmental change brought on by the rezoning applications: **CS3 Participant 6:** *"We even tried to get a better location for them [P1] where they could operate and still have clients. We couldn't find a more suitable place [inaudible]."*

In theory, this period of conflict and bargaining aligned with the principles of communicative planning, wherein urban planning is:

- an interactive process;
- a process where diversity and conflicting viewpoints are a given;
- a process where communication is a must;
- a process where the content of discussions are contextually driven; and
- a process where the multitude of interactive discourses from various actors enable the spread of new knowledge, values, and understandings of the other actors (Healey, 1992:154-155, in Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1998:128).

The bargaining process was also the opportunity for objectors to voice their place attachments and place meanings in terms of the disruption presented by the rezoning process - and in some cases, they did. The bargaining/negotiating stage in this research brought forth four choices of negotiating action among the actors:

1. stating 'emotionally driven judgements'⁵⁸ (e.g. Cass & Walker, 2009:67) as attempt to legitimise their objection - **CS2 Participant 5:** *"It's just that one is so attached...was so attached to that place that was just snatched away due to development.";*
2. using technically-driven arguments for legitimising their objection - **CS2 Participant 3:** *"But then I first did my research - typically like an engineer would, so I did not work on sentimental value";*
3. strengthening emotionally driven judgements with technically-driven arguments to legitimise the objection; or
4. forcing objectors into inaction through victimisation (Cass & Walker, 2009:65) during the participation process - **CS2 Participant 1:** *"Considering all...okay, what is the most important to me: a few old houses or my children's safety? So I said rather 'hands off' at that stage. My wife decided to stop objecting, she cannot..."*

⁵⁸Place attachment can be considered an emotionally driven judgement (see Cass & Walker, 2009 and Devine-Wright, 2005).

The disruptive stage of environmental change was also accompanied by adaptation by the different actors through interaction with each other and the possibility of (or actual) environmental change. According to literature, individuals with a positive attitude towards environmental changes seem more able to adapt to the changes than those with a negative attitude (Brown & Perkins, 1992:288). Both positive and negative adaptation was visible in all the case studies.

An example of positive adaptation is: **PS Participant 4:** *"The petition stated that...should the development continue, that the whole atmosphere of the Bult would change and could not be repaired... we kept an eye on the media - we kept a watch on the local media to stay on top of the status of the process. From time to time we contacted the municipal employee and eventually we the objectors were informed that the Piet Malan residence will not be demolished, which made us very happy. But hey...this was coupled to the notice that the development would continue anyhow and that it cannot be stopped. So it is a reality that we had to come to terms with at that stage."*

In the case of P1, one participant (CS3 Participant 2) moved away because of the stresses associated with the environmental changes brought about by P1, followed by the construction of the Carmen Apartments in its place. Another example of negative adaptation is:

CS3 Participant 3: *"...the residents - it was [Participant 4 and 5] who contacted me and asked for help with this protest (this is what I call a protest; it wasn't an objection, it was a protest) - they were up in arms over this specific house... I think the older residents specifically found the development problematic. But it's something that's happening more often; they cannot stop it. And they [Participant 4 and 5] have since then moved away and do not live there anymore."*

Another unique adaptation comes from Participant 1 in the P1 case study, who adapted to the decreased levels of privacy and increased levels of noise by counteractive measures like more frequently closing the blinds in her windows facing the street (Figure 9.4), or keeping the television on for long periods of time to cover 'outside noise' with 'noise of her choice'.



Figure 9.4 - The closed blinds to face off outside environmental changes (Source: CS3 Participant 1, 2013).

The final point of discussion with regard to the behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place is the 'end' or 'closing line' of the participants' stories regarding their experiences - in other words, reaching the new status quo or equilibrium in terms of the environmental changes.

4.6.7 New status quo/equilibrium: consummation

Reaching a new status quo situation can be equated to the postdisruption stage of Brown and Perkins (1992:289) and the consummation stage of Mead (Charon, 2010:122). The consummation stage is where the goal (return to the original status quo) is achieved and equilibrium is restored to the situation - in other words, the environmental/land use change was stopped in its track. It should be noted that once again, instating a new status quo does not mean a static situation, rather a point in a line of continuous action between the actors and their environment. As such, the consummation stage also implies the starting position for potentially other lines of action to flow from this context. When equilibrium is not restored according to Mead (1934), an act is not considered to be consummated.

Mead's description of the consummation stage as aftermath to a place disruption on its own, however, seems to be rather simplified when compared to the three case studies. In this sense, Brown and Perkin's (1992) postdisruption stage adds additional depth to accommodate description of the 'tail-end' of the case studies. During the postdisruption stage feelings of homesickness (emotions centering on loss of place and

people associated with that place) often highlight the intense feelings of attachment and the subsequent loss of these, together with the realisation of a change in personal identity (Brown & Perkins, 1992:289).

Comparing both the consummation and postdisruption stage descriptions to the case studies, the following were observed:

- In none of the case studies could it be stated that full equilibrium or return to the original status quo was achieved. In the case of the Piet Malan residence, the residence itself was preserved, but the urban fabric directly surrounding it was deconstructed to make way for the new apartment building that altered the landscape considerably. As such, environmental change continues to happen and equilibrium was only partially achieved by the preservation of the old residence.
- In the case of the Nelly Edwards house, the house was destroyed and the property left barren for a few years, without the developer reconstructing the house as ordered by the provincial heritage authority. Early 2014 construction of a new apartment development was continued. Equilibrium was therefore not achieved.
- In the final case study, the objectors managed to close the restaurant down, but this 'return to equilibrium' was soon followed by the demolition of the structure to make way for a new block of apartments. As such, consummation was only partially achieved in the latter case, though the new status quo was generally received positively (as no one objected the rezoning for the Carmen apartment block).

5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the across-case analysis. The main themes identified across the cases were presented and discussed in terms of existing literature reviewed earlier on in this document.

The main themes that emerged from across the cases reveal that the participants' experiences of the Bult as a place are multifaceted, involving the physical character of the place, the people that inhabit this place, the activities that happen in place, and the meanings and emotions that are connected to the area. These are the themes that come across in all the cases and seem to indicate the presence of place attachment in the participants' decision to get involved in the town planning processes when environmental change became a possibility.

The main themes identified across the cases were:

- **People and places on the Bult:** Residents of the place know the inside story of the area, are committed to place, and seek a specific quality of life. Living here means some form of investment into maintaining the quality of the place and the social interconnectedness that comes with the place and its people. Participants chose to live in this place for its enabling and supportive qualities and are willing to invest in the place.
- **Physical aspects of place:** The place has a specific character associated with a certain lifestyle, and has unique urban greenery and architecture. Despite some infrastructural problems, the Bult has an attractive character associated with this greenery, architecture, and specific sensory experiences and activities that happen in this place.
- **Social aspects of place:** The place has a certain social character that acts as psychological anchor. Being part of the community in this place means respecting other residents and protecting the place that they have in common. When environmental change happened, both positive and negative social interactions were experienced in this place because of the environmental changes.
- **Cognitive aspects associated with place:** This place has historic value that is known amongst its residents and elicits specific sensory experiences amongst place users. The place is also vibrant, but fluctuating in character.
- **Emotional aspects experienced in place:** Though both positive and negative feelings were experienced in this place, emotions associated with environmental changes in this place were mostly negative in nature.
- **Behavioural aspects that relate to interactions and associations with place:** Participants felt driven to protect the place through various means, despite feelings of negativity. The different role players were willing to claim their rights regarding the place, despite conflict. The more organised the communal place protective actions, the greater the chance of successfully staving off or minimalising the effects of environmental change.

It was also noted that issues of power, currently outside the scope of this research, could have added value to the research. Also, the case studies presented in this research do not fall within the urban extremes that usually form the focus of global South planning theory, even though this research is grounded in the global South. As such, the case studies present a different picture to those usually painted by the southern turn in planning theory.

The following chapter concludes this research, while providing some points for future discussion and the way forward for research on place attachment within town planning.

Chapter 10

Conclusion and the way forward

Purpose of this chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the research questions and to indicate future research opportunities with regard to the research topic.

1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to indicating how the research aim was addressed, answering the research questions and indicating future research opportunities with regard to the research topic. Specifically, it introduces a novel framework for place attachment (the Life Cycle Framework) in the context of incremental environmental change due to town planning actions as a point of discussion for future research on this topic. It also indicates this research's contribution to knowledge in terms of the research topic.

2. Return to the research aim and questions

In the opening chapter it was stated that the influence of place attachment and place meanings on the public's decision to participate in the town planning process needs to be explored (Manzo & Perkins, 2006:348). It is not clearly understood whether place attachment and place meanings influence (if at all) public participation in South African town planning processes.

From this problem statement the aim of the research, one main research question, and two sub-questions were identified.

2.1 Addressing the aim of the research

The research aimed to explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in the South African town planning process. The aim was addressed by a research design that researched place attachment in specific case studies within the context of public participation in a South African town planning process from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

2.2 Research questions

The main research question of this research is: *What is the relationship between place attachment and community members' participation in the South African town planning process?* This is supported by the descriptive sub-questions:

i) How did participants define their attachment to place?

ii) Why did community members take part in the public participation process?

These three questions are answered below.

What is the relationship between place attachment and community members' participation in the South African town planning process?

The answer to this question lies in the behavioural aspect of place attachment as theoretical concept. Though individuals could *feel* their place attachments were threatened by environmental change brought on by an actual or proposed land use change, they actually had to *act* to participate in the town planning process. As such, the behavioural aspect gives the best description of how place attachment influenced community members' participation in the town planning process.

The following affective place experiences - elicited by the threat of changed place meanings - influenced public participation in the following ways:

- **Nostalgia** did not really seem to influence place protective actions. However, in the case of the Piet Malan residence the continued existence of the residence did seem to provide some form of comfort to those participants who felt nostalgic towards it. As such, nostalgic connections to place had little impact on public participation.
- Some individuals participated on behalf of those who they perceived as not being able to do so, for example: individuals who did not know a property was under threat of destruction (Piet Malan residence), or individuals who were too frail to take a strong objective stance against environmental change (P1 Restaurant). **Sympathy/empathy** thus drove participation.
- Some participants revealed their continued participation in objecting towards other rezonings and developments that seem out of context (Piet Malan residence and Nelly Edwards house). **Knowledge** and **experience** of public participation seemed to increase the occurrence of public participation.
- In the case of the Piet Malan residence and Nelly Edwards house, some participants expressed their demotivation to keep fighting what they perceived to be a losing battle against incremental environmental change, driven by factors outside their control. Feelings of being **powerless** therefore curbed their wish for future public participation in land use planning.
- **Safety issues** were often cited in objections in the formal public participation process as a reason to prevent the environmental change that can be brought on by a rezoning. Safety issues can therefore fuel public participation.
- **Fear of personal safety** can both demotivate and motivate participation in a town planning process.

- **Loss of place meaning** and **quality of life** were cited in all the case studies as an important reason for objecting to a rezoning. The concept of loss can thus increase the chances of opposition against a rezoning.
- The greater the influence of the environmental change was on the **restorative value** of individuals' homes, the stronger and more continuous the opposition against the rezoning.
- Imagining continued **future environmental stress** proved to fuel place protective actions, as in the case of the Nelly Edwards house and P1.
- The more **current stress** participants experienced during the rezoning process or due to the environmental change, the more pronounced the chance and frequency of objection was (compare, for example, the experiences of participants in the pilot study with those of P1, who experienced far more personal stress than those objectors in the pilot study).

How did participants define their attachment to place?

A salient topic on the participants' relationship with their relevant place was that the vast majority of the participants *chose* to live in the Bult area for one or more of the following reasons:

- the area provides a convenient way of living;
- it provides a vibrant and dynamic way of living;
- it provides the feeling of rural, small-town living in an urban context;
- the area has a historic character - visible in the architecture and greenery - that makes it unique; and
- it is the place where a lifetime of memories lies.

It appeared then that the specific social and physical qualities of the Bult area in general - as well as the activities that are possible because of this socio-physical character - provide the characteristics to which the participants feel attracted. The ability to be able to freely choose to interact with these characteristics also played an important underlying role in the ability to feel bonded to the area. These characteristics support a chosen way of living and if these characteristics are changed irrevocably, some individuals may migrate away from the area, as in the case of Participants 4 and 5 of the Nelly Edwards case study, and Participant 2 of the P1 Restaurant case study.

The place constructs to which participants thus felt attached were the i) physical, visible features (architecture and greenery) of the area, ii) the social opportunities (enabled by the physical character of the area) available to support a specific type of lifestyle and types of activities, and iii) the historic place meaning that goes with the place. The salient place constructs in terms of place attachment in the case studies were thus physical, social, and cognitive in nature.

Why did community members take part in the public participation process?

In retrospect, this question was already partially answered by the answer provided for the main research question.

In some cases, individuals participated because they were asked to participate by other residents in the area. Individuals who signed a petition as objection against a rezoning process can also be seen to fall under this category. These individuals' participation was therefore not necessarily triggered because they already had a rooted place attachment or meaning that was threatened by the rezoning. They did not seem to have an existing internal place construct providing some sense of psychological support that was specifically related to one of the study areas. However, these individuals participated because they consented on request of others - social interaction happened that changed the original perspectives of these individuals to such an extent that they were willing to participate. They adopted the reference group's perspective, changing their line of action to prevent or limit the effect of the environmental change.

Participants who did not participate because they were asked by others (in other words, 'on own steam'), did so because the environmental change presented a direct threat to an existing, internal place construct that provided a sense of psychological support for the individuals. The reasons provided were:

- the place in question was seen to have important historical value;
- they participated because other affected parties were not able to do so due to lack of knowledge of the environmental change, or because those affected were physically too frail or old to do so (this is an example of role taking in the symbolic interactionist perspective);
- the environmental change made the place physically unsafe to navigate, threatening the personal safety of the participants and their families;
- the possibility of degrading environmental and living quality meant that a chosen lifestyle was under threat, a major reason for participating and place protective action. This points to an environment that would not be able to support individuals should the change happen, meaning the loss of physical and psychological support for those individuals;
- they did not want to lose a place that represented a lifetime of experiences and memories; and
- the more the environmental change infringed upon the restorative value of home, the more probable it was that individuals would engage in place protective actions and continue to participate to the end of the public participation process.

3. Contribution to knowledge

The implication of this research is that it contributes to understanding place-place relationships and the impact these have on human well-being, especially in terms of incremental urban development and

environmental change (see, for example, Knez, 2014; Windsor & McVey, 2005; Fullilove, 1996). As such, it links to literature on place attachment, physical development through land use change (as it connects to NIMBYism - see Devine-Wright, 2005, 2009), and even to displacement and forced relocation literature (especially due to large scale development projects like dams or political reasons), which has noted impacts on the psychological well-being of individuals and communities (e.g. Windsor & McVey, 2005 and Roos *et al.*, 2014). Literature on displacement and forced relocation rarely focus on the effect of incremental urban change as a driving factor for displacement or relocation. As such, this research suggests that the feelings of loss, grief, sadness, and homesickness that are usually associated with displacement and relocation are as much a reality in smaller scale incremental urban development as in large scale development projects.

The research indicates that (in terms of the three case studies) place attachment was a motivating factor⁵⁹ in participants' decisions to participate in a town planning process. It was also a motivation to engage in other types of place protective behaviour that happened outside of the guidelines for formal public participation.

Also, this research provides examples of urban contexts from the global South that do not necessarily reflect the typical urban conditions that occupy the focus of scholars from the global South tradition. Though the marginalised and often chaotic and undemocratic urban conditions that are the focus of these scholars add undeniable value to participatory planning research, it should be kept in mind that these are not the only conditions that form part of cities in the global South.

Finally, this research forms the basis of the novel concept of the life cycle, presented in the next section. This relationship aims to provide town planners with a description of how place attachment can influence public participation, as well as a suggestion of what planners can do when place attachment emerges during an urban intervention to make place attachment part of the institutionalised participation process.

4. The relationship between place attachment and public participation in a town planning process: the life cycle relationship

The findings of this research suggest a particular relationship between place attachment and public participation in the town planning processes in the three case studies. This relationship is cyclical and adaptive. This relationship is condensed in a place attachment-public participation relationship which can be called the life cycle relationship (hereafter referred to as the LCR). An illustration of this relationship is given in Figure 10.1.

⁵⁹ It should, however, be noted that place attachment is but one reason why individuals can oppose land use changes.

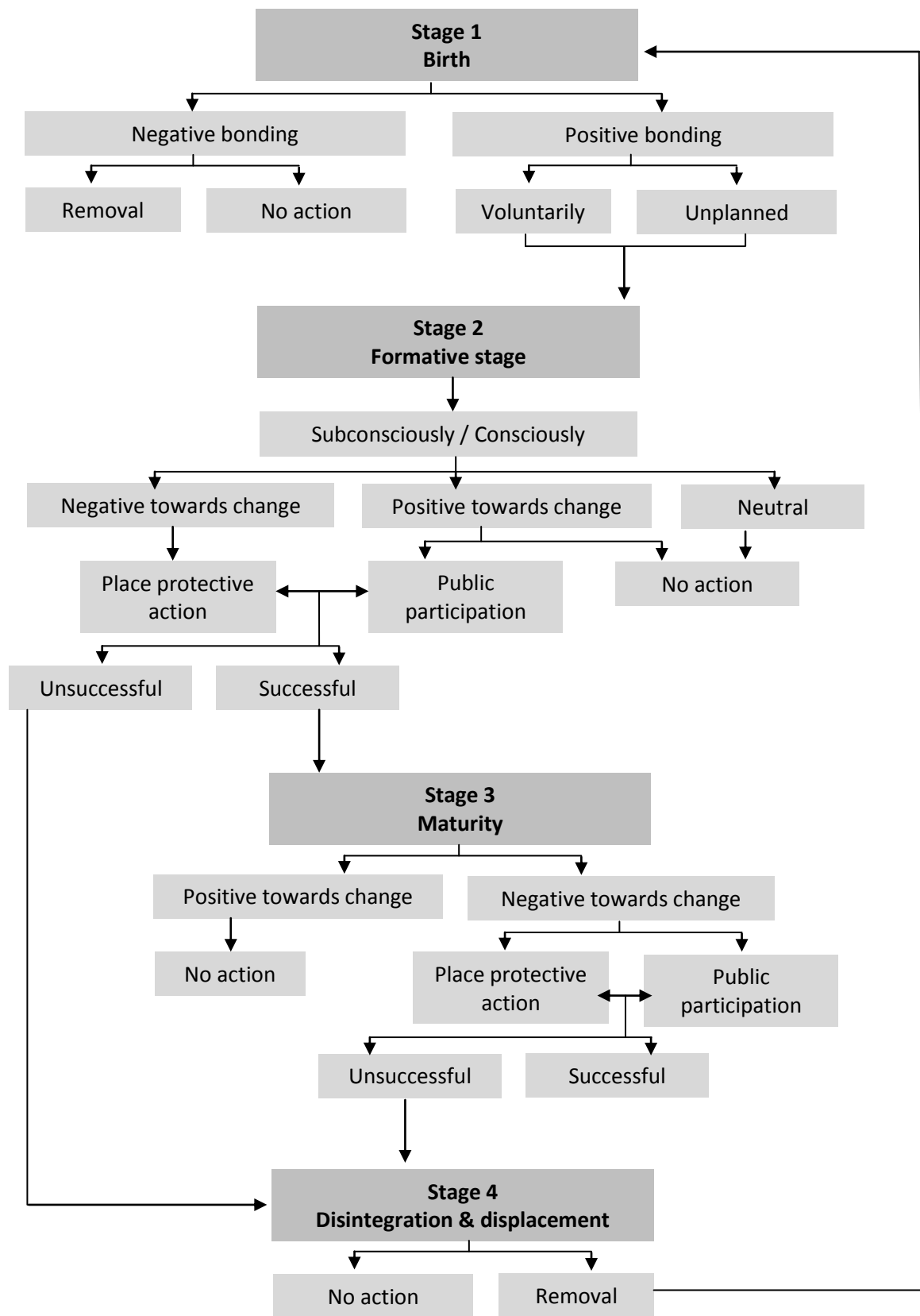


Figure 10.1 - LCR of place attachment

In this section a place attachment-public participation relationship is proposed to describe the inception, formation, maturation, and changes to place attachments in the course of a place attachment's existence and its probable effect on place protective behaviour such as public participation.

Theoretical frameworks of place attachments either focus on the unidirectional changes that a person's place attachment undergoes when that attachment is threatened (e.g. Brown & Perkins, 1992) and assumes that i) a threat to a place attachment usually means the end of that attachment, and ii) that the physical loss of a place involved in a place attachment means that on a psychological level that attachment also ceases to exist. Other theoretical frameworks - like that of Scannell and Gifford, 2010 - were meant to consolidate a large amount of literature in a relative unitary understanding of place attachment's broad definition.

4.1 Aim of the LCR

The proposed relationship is partially grounded in existing literature and partially inspired by the interviews with the research participants. This relationship differentiates itself from existing place attachment frameworks by i) not being a *framework* that aims to summarise and unify place attachment research, but indicating a *relationship* and ii) by assuming that individuals are more adaptable in their reactions to environmental change and the subsequent potential of losing a place attachment than was previously assumed.

The aim of the relationship is to broadly explain how place attachment in the various stages influenced participants' spatial actions when faced by environmental change. This relationship provides a basic guide to understand the implications of environmental change within the communities where in the case studies happened and how it linked with public participation and place protective actions.

It should be kept in mind that this research was aimed at reaching *depth* with regard to place attachment in the context of public participation within *three very specific case studies*. As such, the LCR makes no claim to *generalise* the experiences or choice of action in *other situations* where public participation was partially driven by place attachment experiences, though it could be used to generate new research in such similar cases. This is the domain of future research.

4.2 Cycles of the LCR

The LCR uses terminology usually associated with the phases of human development in psychology. However, it should not be confused with these psychological phases - rather, the terminology was chosen because they describe in understandable terms what happens to place attachments in various instances. Beyond basic description, they have no further connection to the developmental cycles of humans.

4.2.1 Birth

Attachment to places happens negatively or positively. If negative, an individual will remove himself/herself from this place if the opportunity presents itself (Figure 10.1). If positive, it happens voluntarily or unplanned. If voluntary, a place is chosen for its social and physical characteristics (this includes place attachment because an individual likes a specific type of place, e.g. a small town instead of a metropolis, and place dependence). If unplanned, it was because the person was introduced into this place due to external factors, like migration (moving with parents to new city, or employer offers a better position in another town).

4.2.2 Formative stage

Continued interaction with both the physical and social aspects of a place forms the background to everyday life and special occasions, and eventually attachments form subconsciously (in the case of everyday life) or consciously (places that are visited for special occasions or reasons). Environmental change at this stage can disrupt early place attachments, strengthen them, or be perceived as neutral by individuals or groups, depending on the type of environmental change and its relation to the individuals and groups.

Disruptions to early place attachments are not likely to be perceived as emotionally jarring as would disruptions during the maturity stage, and such attachments might revert back to the birth stage in the form of negative attachment. In other cases – depending on the individual or group – these disruptions can motivate people to participate in place protective actions in response to the environmental change. Place protective actions can happen in both informal and formal ways, the latter probably happening through designated public participation channels. These are most likely to be individuals or groups with a vested interest in the area. Should the place protective actions succeed, place attachments will probably be propelled towards the maturity stage. Should the place protective actions be unsuccessful, the attachments can return to the first stage in the form of negative attachment, and in some cases, even removal of the individual from that place, in which case the place attachments move on to the ‘disintegration and displacement’ stage. Or, they can be readapted, where after the readapted attachments move on to the second stage.

Environmental change that strengthens existing place attachments can garner support from the relevant individuals and groups. In this case place attachments move into the maturity stage. In terms of public participation, depending on the goal and functioning manner of public participation opportunities, such environmental changes may not attract any form of public participation, unless it is to counter other individuals or companies that oppose this change *in support of the change*.

If environmental changes are perceived as neutral towards existing place attachments, they move onto the maturity stage and will most probably not result in any public participation.

4.2.3 Maturity

Place attachments have been established and active over a long period of time. Should environmental change become a reality, the attachments can be destroyed, threatened, or strengthened, depending on the type and level of environmental change, and the individual's perception of the change. In cases where place attachments are strengthened, the stage of maturity continues.

When strong place attachments are threatened by environmental change, it can be expected that place protective action will be most determined, both in informal and formal public participation channels. These are probably long-time residents in a specific place with years of vested interest in the location. Public opposition – should the means (time, energy, money) be available – will probably be voiced towards any environmental change that threatens pre-existing place attachments. In cases where the attachments are threatened, but adapted to, the individual first moves partially into the stage of 'disintegration and displacement', while the adapted place attachment eventually continues to mature in the 'maturity' stage. In cases where place protective action was unsuccessful, place attachments are destroyed, the place attachments move into the 'disintegration and displacement' stage.

4.2.4 Disintegration and displacement

The disintegration and displacement stage is characterised by individuals remembering previous attachments to places that are now only 'alive' in their memory, because social or environmental changes have changed a place to such an extent that the individual has physically removed himself/herself from that place (should their personal circumstances allow it) because the feeling of personal loss is too great. Thus physical association with a place of previous spatial interaction has disintegrated, though mental association can continue. This stage also acts as the starting block for the formation of new place attachments to *other* places, moving the individual back into the 'birth' stage to continue the life cycle of the new place attachment.

This brings the discussion on the various stages of the LCR to the final section on the underlying assumptions of the LCR.

4.3 Underlying assumptions of the LCR

From the above it should be noted that the LCR has certain underlying assumptions:

- a. place attachment is a higher order basic human need;

- b. every individual has negative and positive place attachments that feature on both an individual and a communal level;
- c. place attachment is both a process and a product;
- d. place attachment is a dynamic process and product;
- e. place attachment is formed through an interplay of physical and social factors – it is thus not a pure social construct;
- f. place attachment is contextually grounded to various extents;
- g. the context in which place attachment is grounded, has physical, social (including political), activity (including economical and non-economical), and individual (personality, experiences, place meanings) elements; and
- h. the physical element of context is the precondition of the ‘birth’ stage of the model, though not the sole determinant of whether attachment occurs or not. The physical element is the receptacle wherein the social activities and individual experiences happen, completing the holistic context as seeding ground for place attachment. Symbolically, place is the ground in which the seeds of attachment are planted; social activities and individual experiences are the water that sprout the seeds.

4.4 Institutionalising place attachment in town planning practice

Theoretical knowledge about place attachment and the role it plays in public participation is insightful, but not necessarily helpful in real-world urban planning practice (Fung, Gastil & Leine, 2005). Though the institutionalisation of place attachment in the town planning process needs further research (see for example Lewanski (2013)), it is tentatively suggested that should town planners come across occurrences of place attachment, the situation should be handled as in the case of any specialist study needed for a development proposal (e.g. heritage study, traffic impact study, etc.).

The Integrated Tradition in place attachment offers a wide range of tools to research place attachment. As such, a market research company can be contracted to do a place attachment study to determine the quality and occurrence of place attachment in a community, especially those described in the second and third stage of the life cycle relationship, as these will in all probability generate the most community opposition. This place attachment market study - like any market study that usually precedes large-impact development proposals - should be considered as a specialist study that indicates the suitability of the proposed land use changes in terms of the existing urban context. Considering the insights provided by the participants of the final case study (they are not against development, but rather against a particular type of land use) a place attachment market study can save developers, town planners, the public, and the local authority time and money in knowing what will (or will not) be contested by the public.

5. The way forward

The way forward with regard to public participation in South African land use planning can best be stated in the words of the participants themselves, as their words present one section of the social situation 'on the ground'. Some participants were satisfied with the public participation process as it was. Others indicated some room for improvement, especially in terms of:

i) greater and more proactive interaction between the public, the local authority, and other government bodies that form part of the town planning processes:

PS Participant 2: *"Yes, I think the municipality - especially the town planning personnel - should have more knowledge about the relevant legislation. They should work more closely with the South African Heritage Resources Agency so that they know the process... They should provide a databasis for old houses so that the Potchefstroom Heritage Association or people who are knowledgeable about the subject could provide more information about the historical value of such houses or which houses do not have historical value... I think the municipality should also have a Greening Policy that states for every surface built, a certain percentage greenery should be provided for grass and trees."*

PS Participant 3: *"Well, I stay with my previous proposals that the municipality should already have had a proactive plan for the accurate assessment of the true demand for development and to compare this with an area to see how conservation and development can be balanced. Would they have done this, they would know immediately which houses and places with historical character should be conserved while still having ample space for development for student housing. Now this happens uncurbed and unmanaged. Whatever is built at this stage, is a surplus per property when compared to the true demand and in that process some properties with no [historical] merit are left undeveloped... It might have been different had they allowed a medium density development that fit in with the architectural styles of the houses in the area. In Europe the cities are built quite densely, but all the building styles fit in with each other, so you get a... it's relatively densely built, but the building styles complement each other, because they come from the same era. And when you develop something new, it has to fit in with that environment. Had they done the same for Potchefstroom, the town would have been a beautiful place. Unfortunately, due to a total lack of action and coordination and foresight, everyone builds with his own building style, most of it superbly ugly."*

ii) better communication between the various role players of the rezoning process:

CS3 Participant 1: *"What we did find amiss in the procedures, was that nobody communicated with us... it would've helped to have been able to negotiate, to say what we wanted, you know, and we gave a few conditions of our own, but they ignored them... it would've been nice if they'd [the owners of P1] acknowledged us in the matter. You know, we were never acknowledged. We just heard - suddenly they put up the signs with the business name, as you would say. They never said that they were going to open that type of place. We had to read about it in the newspapers."*

iii) and consideration of the existing residents of an area and their needs that carry as much weight as the potential income that the local authority can gain in terms of investment from 'outsiders' (the developers):

CS3 Participant 3: *"My only suggestion would be (and it is a dream in the sky!) that people, when it's about the place where other people live and their quality of live, consider this and work with empathy to say: 'maybe it's not a good idea to build this here, or to demolish this, or to start a business here, because there are people who've been living here for a long time'".*

CS3 Participant 4: *"Everything is about the developer and his money. They [the municipality] don't consider the land owners of that area when it comes to development. They decide this area will change and they simply continue whether the land owners are happy with this decision or not."*

6. Suggestions for further research

This research is concluded by indicating some avenues for future research.

Firstly, the connection between the restorative qualities of home and the impact that land use changes can have on it needs to receive further attention. The case study characteristics seem to indicate that the more the restorative qualities of an individual's home is threatened by a development, the more probable it is that the individual will oppose the development application.

Additionally, it needs to be established whether 'disturbances closer to home' actually motivates individuals to oppose developments in a more sustained manner than - for example - a proposed development on the site of a historic building which has meaning for the individual, but does not impact the quality of life of said individual. Places with general, but more high profile meanings and associations seem to garner more opposition, but whether that opposition is sustained to the end of the participation process as in the cases where the place has a more local meaning, needs to be questioned.

Thirdly, the life cycle relationship of place attachment needs further refining through future research by comparing it with more cases of environmental change brought on by land use planning - it can therefore be used to generate new research on the influence of place attachment in land use planning.

Also, the role of power and power struggles within the context of place attachment and participatory urban planning needs to be researched in more detail.

Fifthly, place attachment runs the fine line between what can (or must) be preserved or conserved in an urban setting, and what can be developed to further socio-economic development. Researching this balancing act between the advantages of preservation and conservation and the advantages of development or redevelopment within a global South context needs to receive some attention. The implementation of the life cycle relationship in a market study could prove helpful in such a study.

Finally, a future research option should focus on the influence of displacements of individuals caused by forced removals during apartheid (see, for example, Roos *et al.*, 2014) and land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa on the place attachment of those individuals involved.

7. Conclusion

This chapter presented the concluding section of this research. The purpose of this chapter was to address the research aim and answer the research questions. It also indicated the implications of this research, presented the LCR of place attachment as a point of discussion for future research, provided a suggestion on how the LCR can be institutionalised in the town planning process, discussed the way forward, and provided suggestions for further research.

Places are irrevocably intertwined with our everyday lives as they serve various purposes, from survival to enjoyment to recuperation. Some places represent sacred aspects of our lived experiences. They also capture our memories and serve to revive these memories when we return to these places. As such, when physical or social changes happen to such places, 'things are just not the same'. Possibly a sense of loss slips into our experiences of such places; perhaps this is followed by a feeling of protectiveness towards them, a feeling that 'we have to do something to stop this madness'.

What can we do? For those knowledgeable about the town planning process, the public participation process is the main way to voice discontent and objection. From a town planning perspective such objections can signal a greater importance of a place for individuals and communities, the existence of intangible place bonds that contribute to the quality of life for these individuals. Such objections are not necessarily something that need to be *solved* - they can be the manifestation of the intangible values that

are attached to these places, something that need to be *acknowledged* and *respected* as aspects that provide well-being to those involved. These reactions should not be considered in a negative light by developers, town planners, and municipal authorities, as they can provide insight on what types of land use changes can implemented successfully in a place.

Considering this, town planning actions can have as much influence on the human as a psychological being than on creating an ordered and sensible physical environment for this being to survive.

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Annexure A

Case Study Protocol

Pilot/case study protocol		
A	Introduction and purpose	To explore the relationship between place attachment and public participation in the South African town planning process
A1	Preparations (pre-site visit)	a. Obtain permission from local authority for access to relevant application file.
		b. Peruse application file for project history and initial key informants.
		c. Complete general site analysis.
		d. Complete introductory letter for participants.
		e. Initial contact with purposively sampled participants via letter/telephone & confirm follow-up meeting.
		f. Follow-up meeting: introduction, research topic and aim, site visit agenda, and explanation of informed consent. Snowball sampling of further participants.
		g. Obtain informed consent & confirm site visit (date, time, place, transport) with participant.
		h. Repeat steps A1e to A1g with snowball sampled participants.
B	Data generation procedures	
B1	Preparation & logistics (site visit)	a. Confirm address and access to site.
		b. Confirm meeting date, time, and place with participant.
		c. Arrange transport detail (on participant's request).
		d. Collect & check working order of research equipment.
C	Outline of case study report	
C1	Site description	Refer to site analysis (A1c) & application file
C2	Role players	Refer to application file.
C3	Project description & chronology	Refer to application file.
C4	Site experiences: before & after the final call	Refer to interview data.
C5	The ideal participation experience	Refer to interview data.

D	Case study questions	
D1	Introduction: How did participants define their attachment to place?	<p>Before we start with the interview, I want to ask you to please take five photos of anything here that is important to you.*</p> <p>a. <i>Voordat ons begin met die onderhoud, wil ek jou vra om asseblief vyf foto's te neem van enige iets hier wat vir jou belangrik is.*</i></p> <p>Word opgevolg met vraag D4a.</p>
D2	How did participants define their attachment to place?	<p>a. Please tell me more about this place. <i>Vertel my asseblief van hierdie plek.</i></p>
		<p>b. Please tell me about your personal experience with this place. <i>Vertel my asseblief van jou persoonlike ervaring van hierdie plek.</i></p>
D3	Why did community members take part in the public participation process?	<p>a. Please tell me about your involvement in the (name the participation process, eg. rezoning) participation process. <i>Vertel my asseblief van jou betrokkenheid by hierdie deelnameproses [noem deelnameproses, bv. hersoening].</i></p>
		<p>b. Based on your involvement with this participation process, tell me more about your experience thereof. <i>Op grond van jou betrokkenheid by hierdie deelnameproses, vertel my van jou belewenis daarvan.</i></p>
D4	<p>“After dinner conversation”: How did participants define their attachment to place?</p>	<p>a. At the beginning of the interview you took five photos of this place. Please explain what each image means to you. [show each photo seperately] <i>Aan die begin van die onderhoud het jy vyf foto's geneem van hierdie plek. Verduidelik asseblief wat elke beeld vir jou beteken. [toon elke foto afsonderlik]</i></p>
	<p>Why did community members take part in the public participation process?</p>	<p>b. Based on your experience of the participation process, do you have any proposals for such a process in the future? [if yes, ask to elaborate] <i>Op grond van jou belewenis van die deelnameproses, het jy enige voorstelle vir so 'n proses in die toekoms?[indien ja, vra om uit te brei]</i></p>
E	Follow-up activities	<p>a. Write & send thank you letter to participant</p>
		<p>b. Draft report (C4 & C5) and send to relevant participant for checking and clarifying any unclear statements.</p>

Annexure B

Informed Consent Form

25 April 2013

Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom
South Africa 2520

Tel: (018) 299-1111
Web: <http://www.nwu.ac.za>

**SUBJECT GROUP URBAN AND REGIONAL
PLANNING**

Tel: 076 820 7755
e-mail: 12260347@nwu.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT

**‘PHILOSOPHY OF PLANNING, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRACY: THE CASE OF TLOKWE
MUNICIPALITY’**

The Subject Group Urban and Regional Planning of the North-West University requested my participation in the research project: ‘Philosophy of planning, public participation and democracy: the case of Tlokwe Municipality’. My participation will involve the sharing of information about my experiences of the place as noted in the following paragraph and of participating in a town planning process.

I understand that it is expected of me to visit the following site: _____ for an on-site individual interview. I am also aware that my participation means that I will take photographs on the mentioned site for research purposes, and that the interview will be recorded. The duration of my participation will be for approximately one to two hours.

I understand that there are no foreseeable risks or discomforts if I agree to participate in the study. I will not hold the researcher or the North-West University responsible for any damages to my person or belongings that may happen during the site visit. I understand that if I voluntarily make use of the researcher’s travel arrangements to and from the site visit, I will not hold the researcher or the North-West University responsible for any damages to my person or belongings that may happen to or from the site. I understand that the possible benefits of my participation in the research are to share experiences about the site that I regard as important, as well as discuss my previous experiences of the participation process. I understand that the results of the study may be published but that my name or identity will not be revealed. I also understand that the results of the study may be used for secondary studies connected to this project, but that my name or identity will not be revealed. The North-West University will maintain confidentiality of all records, material and voice recorders.

I have been informed that I will not be compensated for my participation. I have been informed that any questions I have concerning this research study or my participation in it before or after my consent, will be answered by the researcher of this study. I understand that I may withdraw my consent and discontinue participation at any time

without penalty or loss of benefit to myself. In signing this consent form, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies.

I herewith give the researcher of this study permission to (*please tick*):

- use the photographs taken by myself during the interview for research purposes;
- use the photographs taken by myself during the interview for publications associated with this research project. I realise that the researcher cannot guarantee that the photographs may be used on another website other than the journal site due to wide-spread use of easy access on the internet; and
- use the photographs taken by myself during the interview for teaching purposes.

I, the undersigned _____ (full names) have read the above information and by signing this form indicate that I will participate in the research voluntarily.

Participant's signature

Date

Signature of researcher

Date

Annexure C

**Objection letter summarising the
main objections against P1
(CS3 Participant 3)**

**OBJECTION AGAINST APPLICATION FOR THE AMENDMENT OF
THE POTCHEFSTROOM TOWN PLANNING SCHEME, 1980:
THE REMAINING PORTION OF ERF 820
SITUATED AT 124 STEVE BIKO AVENUE (AMENDMENT SCHEME)**

1] The undersigned – concerned residents in the neighbourhood who are living adjacent to the property or in the immediate vicinity thereof and who are at present negatively affected by the illegal land use on the remainder of erf 820 – hereby objects strongly and in no uncertain terms against the rezoning (proposed by _____ Planners) of the remaining portion of erf 820 situated at Steve Biko Avenue 124, Potchefstroom. We oppose the rezoning to “Business 4”. We specifically oppose a rezoning that will allow for a Place of Refreshment and Place of Entertainment. We state clearly that the town planning scheme should not be amended in any way, and that the current zoning of the remainder of erf 820 (amendment scheme 1100 as announced in the provincial gazette on 20 December 2005) is the only one acceptable to us.

2] The erf has been used illegally as a pub and restaurant for about three months now. This has been causing several problems which have been eroding our constitutional rights in spite of the warning to discontinue the illegal land use issued to the owner of the property by the Tlokwe City Council on 3 August 2010 and in spite of threats of legal action that were issued on 21 September by means of letters written by a lawyer under the instruction of _____ who was supported by several of the residents in the neighbourhood. If the proposed amendment were to be effected, this erosion of our rights will continue and even escalate. This is not acceptable to us and we believe that our rights must be respected, protected, promoted and fulfilled by local government.

3] a) The proposed amendment will be to the (financial) benefit only of those who are currently pursuing the illegal land use, or others who would be exercising the rights that would be granted by the proposed amendment should those presently occupying the premise decide to discontinue their activities. The activities do not contribute to the neighbourhood, and neither will the proposed rezoning. The document proposing the amendment fails to show how this proposed amendment is necessary and desirable. It is clear from our objections that it is neither necessary nor desirable to those living in the neighbourhood.

b) The proposed amendment is not in the public interest, and the applicant has failed to provide any convincing reason why it could be in the public interest. The negative impact of the illegal activities has convinced us that the amendment is clearly not in the public interest. Our petition is therefore not based upon mere sentiment or imagination but upon our first hand experiences of exactly that which is requested by the applicant.

4] If this rezoning were approved it would impact negatively and to a great extent on our rights, privileges and use concerning our residential properties, specifically concerning

- noise pollution and disturbance of peace;
- our own safety and the safety of the public, as well as social order;
- our rights to privacy;
- existing interests of property owners; and
- the value of our properties.

5] Problems

It has become clear over the past three months that a place of refreshment/entertainment does not contribute to the harmonious development of our neighbourhood and that it undermines the health, safety, good order, amenity, convenience and general welfare of our neighbourhood. The problems we have experience and which forms the grounds of our opposition against the amendment can be described as follows.

Received on 11/10/10 at 21:30 by _____

11.10.10 11.10.10 !

Objection letter summarising the main objections against P1 (Source: Participant 3, 2010)⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Note that I have removed any information that could indicate the identity of individuals or companies in mentioned in the letter.

5.1 Noise pollution and disturbance of peace

a) We have on several occasions called out the police concerning unacceptable noise levels. We can refer specifically to the following dates, although the police was also called out on other dates: Saturday 21 August, Wednesday 1 September, Friday 3 September, Monday 6 September, Wednesday 15 September, Sunday 26 September, Friday 8 October and Saturday 9 October.

b) For parts of the past almost three months we have been robbed of sleep and of the silence necessary for important family activities such as communal meals and conversations.

c) Some of the residents are studying (school children as well as university students), and the noise levels (music as well as the noise created by visitors to the pub and their vehicles) are making studying impossible. Furthermore, some of the residents are professional people whose productivity and even safety at work have been influenced negatively by high levels of fatigue caused by lack of sleep as a result of the activities of the *P1 Restaurant and Pub*.

d) Lastly, we bring under your attention the sad fact that those residents who are retired, elderly members of our community and who have the desire for peace in their own homes during their last years are robbed of this precious, indeed priceless, opportunity.

e) The person running the business has on occasion apologised to residents in writing for the disturbance caused. Thus it is clear that this is indeed a problem, even acknowledged by those causing the disturbance.

5.2 Our safety, public safety and the social order

a) Cars are parked on the sidewalks and in the street with the result that pedestrians are forced to walk in this street which is the busiest main route in our neighbourhood. This endangers our own safety and that of others in the neighbourhood and robs us of the joy of being pedestrians in our own neighbourhood.

b) Cars that are parked on the side-walks also obscure the view that drivers need to have of vehicles entering and exiting properties. We have notified the Traffic Department of this problem on several occasions and specifically on Monday 6 September. During the evening of 4 September 2010 a visitor who likely wanted to park on the sidewalk struck two people on a motorcycle right in front of Steve Biko 123 (opposite the road from erf 820). Registration number of the car During the morning of 9 October at about 03:30 the resident of Steve Biko 126 heard a loud noise sounding like a car crashing into a wall. We have taken photos on several occasions showing the sidewalks obstructed and the view of the entry/exit point on the premises blocked by cars and signs.

c) Open fires are made on the property. We have brought this problem under the attention of the Fire Department on Monday 6 September and again on Wednesday 8 September.

d) The clients of the pubs are inconsiderate and behave in ways that are not tolerable in a residential neighbourhood. They are noisy, and create unnecessary noise with their cars and motorcycles, even after midnight. The conduct of some are indeed a threat: on Wednesday 15 September two inebriated people thought nothing of insulting and threatening two of the residents in the neighbourhood, one a single mother and the other an elderly and frail lady of almost 75 years old. The manager of the business was present and made not even the slightest attempt to bring this unruly behaviour under control.

e) Those running the business can do little to ensure that good social order is kept when liquor is sold. Those visiting the pub clearly have interests and values that differ from the interests and values of us who are living in the neighbourhood. Thus the responsibility to keep social order (and even limit crime) will become an unfair burden upon the residents and the police, especially late at night, if this application is successful. It is to be noted that the people who run the business and who apply for the amendment are not residents of this neighbourhood.

5.3 Our rights to privacy

a) It is not possible anymore to use outside areas of our gardens, since clients of the pub park on the sidewalks right in front of some of our houses. Visitors to the pub have an unobstructed view into

some of the properties, notably Steven Biko 126, 121 and 123. This unobstructed view was even expanded by illegal structures erected during the last month on the property.

b) It has happened that somebody presumably working for the pub spent hours peering into our houses. This is clearly not only an intrusion into our privacy, but a security risk as well.

5.4 Existing interests of property owners

a) The current owners of the properties invested in their properties long before this proposed amendment (some even three decades before) because of the central location and the residential character of the neighbourhood.

b) Some of the properties are rented. It is clear that the rental values of properties that are close to a noisy pub are diminished. Some of those renting properties have already indicated that they consider moving to another neighbourhood.

c) Many of those living in the neighbourhood have extended families with children and grandchildren. Since the bar has opened, it has become more and more difficult to have family members visit or stay over. If a rezoning is approved, these important family activities will become almost impossible, and this will weaken family ties. It is clear that the established interests of families in a residential area should weigh more heavily than the interests of those applying for any amendment to the town planning scheme.

5.5 The value of our properties

It is our opinion that the presence of a noisy pub in a residential neighbourhood and the ensuing threats to public safety diminishes the residential value of our properties, some of which are also rental properties. It is clear that few people will agree to buy a property while these problems exist.

6] Influence on the neighbourhood

This proposed rezoning will open the gates by creating a motivation for further rezoning of this kind. This will lead to a change in the nature of an established and beloved neighbourhood that will render it alien to the core character of the neighbourhood which is also occupied by a primary school and where several school children and students live who need some peace and quiet in order to pursue their studies. That this can indeed happen, is testified by the fact that Planners use the presence of similar developments in the region as a motivation for this amendment. This claim is furthermore supported by the fact that the residential property Kamdeboo, which houses many students, also filed an objection to this rezoning on 4 October 2010. It is thus clear that the proposed rezoning goes against the residential character of all the properties in the vicinity.

7] While we certainly are not opposed to economic development of this neighbourhood, we object to any rezoning that will create potential for businesses to operate in ways that impact negatively upon our constitutional rights and privileges. The South African Constitution was approved in order to improve the quality of life of all citizens and to free the potential of each person. It is clear to us that this proposed amendment will do neither. This proposed amendment to the town planning scheme is inconsistent with the Constitution and thus invalid. We request that the obligations imposed by the Constitution be fulfilled by denying this application for amendment of the Potchefstroom Town Planning Scheme.

8] The paragraphs above contain our initial grounds of objection and do not constitute an exhaustive list. We reserve the right to amend and augment this document when necessary after consultation with experts. We fully reserve all our rights, also with regard to any wasted cost that might have to be incurred should the applicant persist.