

INVESTIGATING THE PRESENCE AND ACTIVITY OF MILLENNIAL'S IN
STELLAWOOD CEMETERY, DURBAN:

Toward the design of a cemetery that reintegrates the living with the dead.

By
Jean-Pierre Joachim Audibert

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ABSTRACT

Cemeteries have for centuries played a significant and influential role in society, most especially within the urban fabric. Today, however many urban cemeteries are becoming isolated and distant to life in cities; their real value lost to the society in which they rest. With the intention of starting a discussion around the future and potential of these lost city spaces, to explore deeper meaning and alternate uses, the research within this dissertation looks to another user of cemeteries, the Youth who seek a new but once accepted function in these incredible city landscapes. A young generation of millennial's eager for change, for reformation, for a new world and structure of life, taking control over the terrain of the cemetery as their playground, their own unique space within the city. The understanding adopted here is that these spaces offer a freedom and unique set of features unlike any other public space. These youth give a life, albeit a forbidden one, to these cemetery landscapes, they add a new purpose and value in these spaces, engaging in Longboarding, Skateboarding, Running, Cycling and Exploring the depths and beauty of a landscape set apart from the normalities of society around them and it this potential for the youth to add new life to these spaces that has yet to be realised.

DECLARATION

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, **Jean-Pierre Joachim Audibert**, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
 - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed

.....

DEDICATION

To the Author and Perfecter in whom my hope rests,

And to Carlea and my family,

Who have been my constant source of joy and blessings throughout this journey.

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My sincerest thanks and gratitude go out to everyone who has been a living and active part of my life throughout this journey that is architecture. Because of your time, guidance and love I have always had the motivation necessary to continue striving towards the best of my ability in whatever God has set before me.

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The future architects will all be skaters, we see, feel, experience things and places
unlike anyone has or ever could _ Mitch Suter

Introduction

CHAPTER 1



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Cemeteries have for centuries played a significant and influential role in society, most especially within the urban fabric. They have a unique character that is something completely distinctive from any other public space in the city. Their value in society is something which is forever changing and shifting with the developments and trends of modern society. Today many urban cemeteries have become very isolated and distant to the life of cities; their real value has been lost to society. No longer are they open public landscapes full of activity and people, but are fast becoming simply 'dead' horizontal landscapes.

In recent years the discussion around the treatment and maintenance of cemeteries and the shortage of burial space became a relevant topic to South Africa and even more specifically to EThekweni Municipality. City officials have realised the need to seek out new solutions for treatment of burial and security in existing cemeteries. In early 2015 it was announced that Durban would officially begin recycling graves and that cemeteries would no longer operate on Sundays to curb major over-expenditures, a move which, according to major local newspapers like The New Age, Berea Mail and Daily News, has sparked great outrage from community organisations and city residents. A seemingly a drastic solution to a serious problem, where perhaps there may be a more probable response found in exploring deeper meanings and alternate uses of cemetery landscapes.

This research looks to another user of cemeteries, the Youth who seek a new but once accepted function in these incredible city landscapes. A young generation of millennial's eager for change, for reformation, for a new world and structure of life, taking control over the terrain of the cemetery as their playground, their own unique space within the city. The understanding adopted here is that these spaces offer a freedom and unique set of features unlike any other public space. This research

aims to specifically interrogate and understand the nature of interactions between youth and the cemetery. To understand the place the cemetery offers these youth and how their presence affects and transforms this vital space. These youth give a life, albeit a forbidden one, to these cemetery landscapes, they add a new purpose and value in these spaces, engaging in Longboarding, Skateboarding, Cycling and Exploring the depths and beauty of a landscape set apart from the normalities of society around them.

1.2 Motivation of study

Stellawood Cemetery, Durban's largest cemetery according to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC. n.d); located in the heart of a large residential community is one such example where this activity of youth at play has become a frequent phenomenon. Focusing this study here within the confines and periphery of Stellawood Cemetery, a landscape flourishing with a large number of millennial youth in search of their own unique space in the city, makes for a rich study and builds an argument for a new typology of cemetery landscape which allows a duality of function and purpose.

This study will engage with these youth to understand their relationship with the cemetery, a relationship which is visibly very different from many elder generations who view the cemetery as strictly for burial and remembrance purposes. This study argues that the cemetery becomes an environment reciprocal to both the living and to the dead. To craft an environment that adds value to these lost landscapes, to create a new perspective on a space long forgotten with an extraordinary potential to connect generations of people, cultures and societies.

1.3 Defining the Problem

1.3.1 Definition of problem

The essence of this research looks at the problem of the current function and purpose of cemeteries in modern society. In early developing cities like Paris, cemeteries were the only natural public spaces that were available to people and they were central to life and thriving with activity. When death and disease was rampant in these cities, society began to question their close connection with death and in time these spaces would be taken out of the public realm away from the center of the city, banished to the peripheries, to the outskirts of society but always close enough to reach when life was lost. As these sites would fill up and its visitors became scarce, they would begin to lose their place in the city; becoming isolated, abandoned, and degraded, treated with far less reverence and admiration as were before.

The responsibility of architects in the design and development of cemeteries has become an understated and rare incidence yet at the heart of architecture in the earliest of prominent and permanent structures is an architectural typology dedicated to death. An architecture whose influence and stature displayed the power of its unfortunate possessor, it celebrated the idea of death, at least for the rich and significant figures in that society, in the most incredible measures.

This research intends to question the current state of cemeteries and engage with a new generation of millennial's who are changing the face of a cemetery by their presence and activities, challenging the current nature of cemeteries and highlighting their potential as multifunctional spaces for life and death in modern society.

1.3.2 Aims

The Purpose of this research is to explore and understand the reasons for and the kinds of interactions and connections millennial youth have with Stellawood Cemetery. To then use this understanding to motivate and inform a design for cemeteries that could promote a new life and purpose for these 'dead' spaces.

1.3.3 Objectives

1. To explore the movement and activities of millennial youth within Stellawood cemetery
2. To understand why the youth would chose to be there as opposed to anywhere else
3. To understand how these youth perceive the cemetery within society
4. To understand what the needs are for these youth in public spaces like the cemetery
5. To inform a new architecture for cemeteries that re-integrates these spaces into public life and spaces

1.4 Setting out the Scope

1.4.1 Delimitation of Research Problem

As earlier stated this study is specifically interested in the kind of interactions and connections millennial youth have with Stellawood Cemetery, where the argument for a multi-functional cemetery space is most compelling. This means that research will be based specifically around youth who use this landscape differently to everyday society. Youth who skate or cycle here, who visit, play and explore this terrain. The research does not engage with visitors or mourners who pay their respects at the cemetery but it will briefly interrogate another side of the argument

from the interview with the caretaker, to cross reference and or strengthen responses received from the youth.

Furthermore the activities which this research investigates are those defined as '*adventurous and expressive play*', where they can be explored in the formation of public spaces. The research does not look into destructive and hedonistic activities which may also occur in cemeteries, as this would not be able to inform the discussion for creating a suitable public environment within these spaces. The design would however need to define characteristics that limit destructive/hedonistic activities but not exclude the characteristics that youth look for in '*adventurous and expressive play*' (Edensor et al, 2012).

Lastly this study aims to underpin a language/ discussion for the role of architecture in cemeteries through a specific case study where there appears to be a strong calling for alternate uses of this landscape. Findings from this research are site specific and will therefore be limited to this particular environment and its context. This means that research will only be conducted within the confines and peripheries of Stellawood Cemetery, where they have direct influence on this particular location. The intent is that this study will through its implementation; evoke discussions on cemeteries and their re-integration into the mainstream fabric of public life and spaces.

1.4.2 Definition of Key Terms

Adventurous/Expressive Play

Adventurous and Expressive Play involves behaviour which is often considered a necessary process of skills development for youth becoming adults. Play like in action sports and urban exploration allows for independence, self-expression, playfulness and heightened embodied sensations which may entail risk and danger. (Edensor et al, 2012)

Destructive/Hedonistic Play

Destructive and Hedonistic Play involves deviant or unaccepted behaviour that is often destructive or unlawful, it is play which is deemed illicit or unproductive. This includes varying levels of joyriding, burning, smashing, defacing, drinking, drugs, partying and sex (Edensor et al, 2012).

Millennial's

Millennial's are often also described as the Generation Y and are individuals born between the 1980s and early 2000, which were expected to reach early adulthood in the new millennium. They were born and raised in an electronic filled environment, socially connected and largely positive and confident about the future, dreams and aspirations. They are a generation willing to challenge the existing structure of their world around them and more tolerant of change and difference.

Youth

Youth as constantly referred to in this study is discussing mostly millennial youth who participate in or are accepting of the activity in cemeteries. These youth discussed are often the youth who longboard, skate, cycle, congregate in or explore the terrain of the cemetery.

Promession

Promession is a process similar in character to cremation that involves cryogenic freezing. The body is frozen with liquid nitrogen and broken down through vibrations into a nutrient rich powder. The process is far more sustainable and the remains are able to be fed into the ecosystem as nutrient rich additives for soil. New trends are to place the seed of a tree in the 'promains'.

Rural (Garden) Cemetery

This is a very common cemetery typology designed with a garden like aesthetic. These cemeteries were designed with the landscape, laid out in a park like setting, long before the development of public parks. They intentionally provided the general public with large natural outdoor spaces within the context of growing cities, privileges which were usually only afforded to the wealthy.

1.4.3 Stating the assumptions

This research assumes that the Youth who use the cemetery are looking to create a unique environment that is their own in this landscape. Furthermore it assumes that this research could inform an architectural intervention which allows a duality of function that could become an accepted practice in this context. This research looks at the possible future of cemeteries from the youth's perspective to inform new possibilities which through design will need to address an understanding and respect between the youth and other users. Successful marrying of these two entities, the youth and cemetery visitors, are expected to change the perspective which people have of the cemetery and inform a new discussion which could see these unique landscapes becoming again a living part of cities and their surrounding communities.

1.4.4 Keys Questions

1. Why and how do youth re-appropriate the cemetery?

- a. What are the key interactions and activities youth have and perform within the cemetery?
- b. Why do youth chose the cemetery setting for this activity?
- c. How do youth perceive the cemetery, and what has influenced this perception?
- d. What needs and desires can the cemetery fulfil for youth in these spaces?

2. What Value does this have for the modern cemetery?

- a. How can the youth influence a new landscape and purpose for the cemetery?
- b. What role can architecture in cemeteries play to develop a responsive environment for the living and the dead?

1.4.5 Problem Statement

The research looks at the activity of Millennial's in Stellawood Cemetery in its motivation for a new cemetery landscape that addresses the major issues being experienced in cemeteries across the country and the world. It looks at how this landscape can effectively respond to the youth (the living) and to remembrance (of the dead); to improve and enhance the experiences people have within the cemetery. The study and its subsequent design is intended to initiate a dialogue about the potential these landscapes possess to aid city officials in re-generating the image of the cemetery and its place in the city of Durban.

We are nostalgic for the ruins of modernity because they still seem to hold a promise that has vanished from our own age: the promise of an alternative future _ Huysen

Literature Review

CHAPTER 2



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A *'large burial ground'* - The cemetery as defined by the Oxford dictionary

Simple, short and clear, yet this definition and many like it deny the voice of cemeteries as anything other than landscapes which house the dead. The place of cemeteries in our present generation and the role these landscapes play in society has become a vague almost taboo topic. The thought of a cemetery being anything other than for death is unspoken, almost offensive and unmentionable amongst many people. Architecture, whose more permanent origins were born from the idea of celebrating death, has failed to respond to and influence the landscape of modern cemeteries and these places which were once a public space and a living part of communities have in essence becoming purely 'dead' spaces within their context, forgotten and unattractive places. The issue that this presents is a society unwilling to give up more valuable city landscapes for cemeteries and burial and those spaces that exist have become overpopulated and in desperate need of intervention.

This review begins with a discussion about social space, bringing into question the way in which social spaces in cities have developed over the last few centuries. The aim is to build a framework, by discussing major spatial theorists and authors like Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau, and Georg Simmel, for understanding socially produced spaces which can unlock the potential of existing spaces within cities adapting to the needs of the resident, the user, and the everyday lived experience. From this the discussion begins to bring in the role of the youth in defining their place in society and looks to critically analyse the cemetery as a contested realm which these youth seek out. Michel Foucault's 'Heterotopia' as it applies to the cemetery and a new but increasingly appropriate concept of 'Urban Wildscapes' will be discussed as a viably suitable application for the social production of space which can merge harmoniously the 'living' and the 'dead', seemingly two worlds apart, but as will be argued a necessary step to improve and enhance the relations and experiences all people have within the cemetery.

2.2 The Social Quality of Spaces and Places

_Building an argument for the production of space as a social phenomenon

Space is fundamentally the setting, a geographic or physical location upon which human life plays out, and forms an intimate measure of human social interactions. Much of this dissertation looks at the understanding and argument that space is more than a *'dead, inert thing or object'* but rather as being a living organic element, as a place which Merrifield (2006) defines as having *'a pulse and it palpitates, flows and collides with other spaces.'* A distinction must be noted here between 'spaces' and 'places' as these terms are, often in general discourse used interchangeably, even across various authors and theorists discussed in this research. For the clarity and purpose of this dissertation each has a unique distinct interpretation attached. 'Places', which will be later discussed in this chapter, then can be interpreted as a 'space' which has an individually or collective but personal attached or associated meaning, as McEvoy-Levy (2012) describes it, *'spaces become places through rhetorical acts of attributing symbolic value to a particular terrain.'*

For architects the realm of understanding and designing spaces is a common exercise, where space is attributed far more meaning than a physical location with "four walls and a roof". Merrifield (2006) explains that by understanding the characteristics of how and what produce a space, what it 'internalizes', is critical for architects and other fields of conceptual thinkers and planners to learn how *'to produce something better, to learn how to produce another city, another space, a space for and of socialism.'* Merrifield (2006) portrays eloquently the process and theory of understanding space as being something of a *'journey between the concrete and the abstract, between the local and the global, between self and society, between what's possible and what's impossible.'* Several theorists and authors have attempted to rationalise and understand the connection between man and space but perhaps one of the most highly regarded is that of Henri Lefebvre.

Lefebvre provides an incredibly complex and critical framework for understanding space as a historical and social product, which challenges the nature of spatial production that exists in the modernist archetype and which still influences city planning today. Historically, Lefebvre describes that space is continuously underpinned by what existed before, that they *'have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space'* (Lefebvre, 1991). Furthermore socially, Lefebvre emphasised that space should be considered as *'both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions'* (Lefebvre, 1991). This, as Olivier (2012) describes it, means that space is not merely a *'fixed construct'* but rather that it is process oriented, sometimes tension-filled, and fluctuating phenomena that is constantly subject to the effects of human actions and interactions. Space has the ability to influence and be influenced by those people within and around it. With this understanding of space, Lefebvre presents three related but independent elements necessary for spatial production, specifically within an urban context, namely "representations of space", "spatial practices" and "spaces of representation", or better expressed as the Conceived, Perceived and the Lived respectively.

Lefebvre (1991) supposed that the Conceived-Perceived-Lived elements could harmoniously, given the society in question and the historical context, form a structure for spaces that are effectively produced by and that reproduce social relations. Lefebvre's concerns in his analysis of the Conceived, Perceived and Lived was that all three elements were essential to the production of space, and though, according to Merrifield (2006), their relationship may often be unstable, neither should be considered above the other as each internalizes its own meaning from the other. This Lefebvre articulates as the critical failure of capitalism that lead strongly in the industrialisation and urbanisation of the Modernist period. Zieleniec (2002) discusses intensely the conflict constantly echoed throughout Lefebvre's writings, about spaces having an *'exchange value (growth, development, economic production)'* contrary to *'use value (social and cultural life).'* This meant that the production of spaces became a practice which strongly engaged with "representations of space", the authorities, professionals or wealthy who had the power to enforce a space as a product for a particular type of quantifiable exchange.

Merrifield (2006) describes how the conceived space of capitalism would often generalize the needs of society and apply them to a particular abstract material space. What was left was a machine built for production of capital but which lacked the fundamental elements of social cohesion. Spaces of recreation, of play and even nature became highly organized and regulated. Lefebvre (1991) makes a very strong charge that nature and arguably social public space as well is being '*murdered by 'anti-nature' – by abstraction*' saying that '*along with God, nature is dying. 'Humanity' is killing both of them - and perhaps committing suicide into the bargain.*' When social and public spaces in cities are constructed purely as objects of exchange they separate from themselves a significant potential for social cohesion and belonging. In turn they also begin to undermine the everyday experience of certain minority (lesser authority) groups and individuals, who may seem less valuable to certain city spaces.

2.3 The Lived Experience of Youth in the Everyday

_Unfolding the picture of youth and the everyday

'Spaces of Representations', those directly 'lived' spaces, or the 'spaces of everyday life' are the places where lives unfold, the kind of spaces where "history is made." They are spaces where meaning and memory are accumulated, and when reflected correctly in society, are the actualisations of 'places' in the ordinariness of the city. What these places offer its users are to that society as Shields (2000) outlines it '*the measure of any civilization.*' According to De Certeau (1984) it is memory and meaning, whether collective or individual that '*ties us to a place*' and that which '*gives a neighbourhood its character.*' Yet most conceptualised public spaces, even in today's cities overlook these characteristics in favour of a generalized perspective of the ideal user.

The city is a culturally vibrant '*concentration of human, social and technical functions*' (Martin, 2009). It is a place which is characteristically defined by the conceptual, governed by perceptions and experienced through the lives of the everyday user. Successfully the city should offer all its inhabitants the opportunity to enhance and live out their lives to the fullest. De Certeau presents this mind-set as the fundamental reason for why the conceived should engage with the lived to enhance the city. The mere act of walking is something which as De Certeau (1984) describes has the ability to reconstitute the '*regulated plan of the city*', stating that '*the act of walking is to the urban system what... speech is to language or statements uttered.*' This is the foundation, to be further discussed, upon which the act of 'skating', much like walking can be argued as an act that surpasses or equates most everyday practices. Both these acts experience the city in its raw beauty, in ways never fully interpreted in the conceptual realm.

De Certeau (1984) describes how the city provides a fluctuating spatial order made up of an '*ensemble of possibilities (the places people can move about) and interdictions (the elements which may prevent or restrict movement).*' The walker then may choose to actualise these orders but may also simultaneously re-invent them, create new routes, shortcuts through spaces, or challenge existing arrangements and functions. Through the act of experiencing and/or re-interpreting the city, spaces take on new meanings for the user, and as Sack (2003) describes can for the individual transform '*one kind of reality into a better one, into 'the reality that ought to be.*' McEvoy-Levy (2012) expounds on this describing how the meaning of a place is determined through the everyday experience of '*being within it, participating in its activities, and telling stories about it, which allows for places to shape people's identities and values.*' This by definition is described by many authors as 'place-making', creating places where the individual is given the rights to re-create the meaning of the spaces around them, where personal meaning is ascribed to a space through the everyday lived experience.

Youth, who often possess very little 'place-making authority' to re-interpret spaces, are a crucial asset to cities, as it is their presence in contested spaces which can for city officials, as Borden (2001) explains highlight areas of untapped potentials within the fabric of the city, presenting new perspectives and meanings in spaces, where there may not have been before. McEvoy-Levy (1984) describes how these youth are continually negotiating multiple boundaries as they try to position themselves in their own place and this he believes is what drives them to constantly challenge and re-invent not only themselves but the environment around them. When given the opportunity McEvoy-Levy believes the youth will be the key for helping cities to transform abandoned contested spaces, to create vibrant shared community spaces, and to further highlight potential benefits for more than just the youth themselves.

These youth draw attention succinctly to the insufficiency of existing commercial and cultural public infrastructures to support various everyday needs of 'play' and social integration necessary for the well-being of society, to escape the accumulated stresses of an increasing pace of modern city life. Lefebvre (1991) describes how the conceptual regulated city has overlooked and underestimated the need for these qualities, the need for activity and interaction, for amusements, distractions and relaxation as a part of the everyday experience. He describes this as the 'crisis city' that accompanies the transition of a society to a more materialistic, exchange driven, individualistic society, void of character and meaning. One area, where this discussion now moves towards, is an area in which this contestation between exchange and use value is currently playing out in cities around the world; that is the cemetery.

2.4 The Character of the Modern Cemetery

_Understanding the nature of place: the essence of the cemetery

What are cemeteries today; their meaning, their functions, their purpose, their place?

It is critical for one to understand the cemetery as it's perceived in society today, before one can begin to understand the space that it could become, based on the needs of the youth. The theorist Michel Foucault defined a unique aspect of cemeteries as places that are by simple definition 'other', something unreal, a real world utopia. This he defines in principle as a 'Heterotopia' (Foucault, 1984). The cemetery is arguably one of the strongest most prevalent forms of Heterotopias that exist in society today, they exist with multiple layers of infused meaning that are far more significant than just being a place which housed the dead. This meaning has been crucial for retaining the true essence of a cemetery in a city constantly expanding and changing, yet it seems it also has become the very thing that has turned the cemetery into the forgotten landscape of cities. The scope of Heterotopias as explored by Foucault touches succinctly with spaces which have the ability to change and adapt their function in society but still remember their past, their character, their meaning.

What is unique is that cemeteries have the ability to be intimately connected to a community across various levels; to each individual, their families, their culture, faith and history, but in their very nature and understanding, they mark an absolute break with humanity, disconnectedness between life and death. Worpole (2003) describes them as '*timeless inviolable*' spaces because they contain memories of the past like a museum of people but even more so they possess a truth and encouragement for people today and for future generations describing the value and importance of life, and the certainty of death. Johnson (2012) argues that the cemetery and the customs that are practiced between man and death in any cultures are a way in which we as a human race try to make death, the fear and the loss thinkable, a more

real circumstance which we are then able to deal and come to terms with. The cemetery in its being tries to answer one simple question in the lives of people:

Will I be remembered?

Before the 19th century these spaces were an intimate part of the city and for many it was a park where people would gather, and play out their lives, in the midst of the graves of the past, where people could be remembered in life. They were thriving public spaces like that of the medieval *Cimetière des Saints-Innocents* or better known *les innocents* in Paris. There was an almost intimate connection between the living and the dead that was an understood part of society. Johnson (2012) argues that the ability of a cemetery to act as both a place that connects the living and the dead whilst simultaneously marking the disconnection between them is what would be defined as the ultimate of otherness in space, of Heterotopia. Today these landscapes are very rarely visited by anything more than a memory, people momentarily remembering the dead, the loss, paying their respects to loved ones who have passed. These spaces have become an almost forgotten memory on the fringes of cities, spaces society tells us we should stay away from or be wary of.

Regardless though of the cultural and social norms of various generations, the cemetery even today acts a place which is outside of the fashion of the advancing city around it. It has a mystery and intrigue about its ability to demand a sense of place and treatment that is very different to the activities that occur within the city. They are worlds apart both '*exceptional and separated from everyday regularities*' (Johnson, 2012). This characteristic is what made these places the thriving public space of the early developing cities. Entrance into the cemetery demanded subtly but boldly a set of relations for interaction within, that allowed them to be an escape from the chaos of activity around the city. So they became a haven to the community, '*a resting place to the elderly, a playground for children, a meeting spot for lovers and a place to conduct business as well as dance, gamble and socialise*' (Johnson, 2012). The danger we face today is that cities are no longer recognising the cemetery space in society, creating a city that is void of memory, one which attempts to deny the presence of death or evade it.

2.5 The Presence of Youth in the Cemetery

_Presenting a place youth have in the Cemetery setting

The Cemetery as Francis et al (2005) describes it is a liminal space, a '*betwixed-and-between*' site where '*geography and chronology are reshaped*' and where '*history is made spatial.*' They are sites which according to Francis et al (2005) transform and captivate people, sites which inspire connections between life and death, acting as a bridge between '*the home of the living and the metaphorical home of the dead.*' To the youth there is an even greater potential in these sites to engage senses and experiences which very few public spaces cities could offer. Through the presence of the youth in these spaces the cemetery starts to develop a character and purpose beyond the conceived and perceived burial space, they transform the cemetery space, adding new layers of meaning, developing deeper connections between the living and the dead.

In Kinshasa an extreme transformation of the cemetery space by the presence of the youth has altered a cemetery into a 'home', a refuge in the midst of chaos. De Boeck (2008) talks about a city of conflict, where the youth have been forgotten and have turned to the cemetery as a place of solitude and a home. He discusses his experiences with a society where the cemetery has become a much contested ground where '*death and youth are no longer mutually exclusive, and Kinshasa's children and youngsters have developed an intimate relationship with death itself*' (De Boeck, 2008). Death has become a daily occurrence and the cemetery has turned into a public space for the young generation, the only accepting place in which their presence is unchallenged. As the elder generations have failed to support these youth they have taken over the cemeteries in Kinshasa and turned them into their own den of vibrant happenings, places of commerce to find any possible means to survive and even for some a place for political contestation, where bodies are exhumed and mutilated to express the severity of the situation for these youth.

The cemetery here has become the extreme of a public space that, to some may seem detestable but to these youths it is where they have found their home, their livelihoods in a society which has abandoned them, a striking resemblance De Boeck relates to the dead buried in these cemeteries. Whether for the most carnal of uses or for the purest of functions, cemeteries should be this public sanctuary for people, much like it is for these youth, however still it needs to retain its character as a place of remembrance. Francis et al (2005) portrays the cemetery and the graves of past as potentially having a greater power to influence the youth than any other institution or authority, describing how the graves of the past can bring people together to find purpose and strength in the life they have, to permit '*acculturation to a collective past*' and to '*keep kin and kinship alive*' even beyond the grave.

The presence of the youth in the cemetery offers a unique opportunity for many modern 'municipal' cemeteries to return to the 'romantic' image of a shared public space as Francis et al (2005) describes in Victorian England, where they were underpinned by popular theories of how natural benefits of cemeteries offered for education, for physical and for moral well-being, the lungs which enabled the city to breathe. Francis et al (2005) continues to describe how 'life', which these youth present to the cemetery, has an extraordinary potential to naturalise the fear and course of death, to offer contentment and comfort in the idea of '*living for someone else*'. In turn the wilderness of the cemetery according to Francis et al (2005) offers for the individual both '*an opportunity for personal engagement with nature and the possibility of a transcendental experience.*'

2.6 A Glorious, Gruesome Public Space

_ Exploring the relationship and significance of millennial youth in the cemetery

The image and characteristics of the cemetery as a landscape in which the youth find their place in society, to live out, to play to explore or express themselves is something which ties this research into a new area of discussion in 'Urban Wildscapes'. This concept looks at places of ruin or abandonment, '*any area, space, or building where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them*' (Sheridan, 2007). Places which have evolved out of circumstances rather than been designed or planned, having embodied a 'wild' untamed character not only in their aesthetic but also their use. For the youth these unregulated spaces offer a freedom for a wide scope of activities that wouldn't normally be accepted in all areas of society, they give the youth a '*potential for a range of playful somatic engagements with space and materiality*' (Edensor et al, 2012).

Leary (2014) in his article discussing Henri Lefebvre and Natural space describes in a very poetic manner the semi-wild, semi-rural tranquillity of large city Wildscapes. The character of these spaces can as Leary (2014) describes transform disused derelict spaces into sanctuaries, where even '*massive trucks can appear like children's toys in a velvet green sea.*' When the youth move into these derelict abandoned spaces, much like the cemetery, they bring to them a new life and character, one which Leary (2014) eloquently terms as a '*glorious gruesome public space.*'

Edensor et al (2012) talks about the characteristics of these 'ruin' spaces which attract the youth to certain activities within them, not merely to defy the social order of cities but to express themselves or to act upon their desire to find a place in society, something which is a growing trait of millennials eager to change the world they see themselves in. Edensor et al (2012) further looks at the ideas of surfaces and landscape typology as entities which have 'valorised' these landscapes, making

play within them an adventure, an excitement and level of risk which more structured ordered public spaces do not offer, or perhaps which render certain activities impractical or unfeasible. In society the cemetery is becoming in places the exact definition of an Urban Wildscape having been abandoned by society as a functional public space.

Play in society amongst youth is something which is often considered the '*antitheses of production, order and responsibility*' (Huizinga, 1950), these youth are at a stage where they are expected to 'grow up' to abandon what their whole early beginnings, the stories they're told, the books they read, the adventures they dream of and just become like everyone else, a responsible adult. Those that challenge this are often considered problematic, they are denied their voice, and stripped of their drive for adventure and creativity. Ultimately their ability to affect the world in a positive manner is lost in a damaged imperfect yet unchallengeable system. Edensor et al (2012) considers the idea of play as something which in youth has the potential to create a liminal hybrid 'in-between' world in spaces that normal society cannot. The idea being that these youth really work these abandoned spaces by challenging the existing structures and allowing for an active diverse function in spaces like the cemetery that would give these spaces a purpose unlike any they have ever had before, to give them a renewed purpose in the city.

Skateboarding is one particular area of play pertinent to the study of millennial's in the cemetery. Skateboarding for Borden (2001) is a '*continual search for the unknown,*' an urban practice which constantly '*critiques contemporary cities for their meanings and modes of operation.*' Borden (2001) describes how the presence of skateboarders, in city spaces like the cemetery, strikes at the heart of what everyone defines as the city, in that they threaten accepted definitions and functions of city space. Skaters through their everyday practice confront head on the '*social, spatial and temporal logic of capitalist space*' and provide through this a glimpse of a future city without boundaries, a city teeming with life, character and meaning.

Skaters through the everyday lived experience challenge spaces void or emptied of meaning, providing an eruption of meaning in spaces where society was unwilling to or incapable of such. Borden (2001) describes the aim of skaters as not merely *'trying to receive the city but (also) to return it to itself, to change through movement and physical energy the nature of the experience of the urban realm.'* They have unique vision for everyday spaces and objects, which often can be in complete contrast to the existing functions. To explain this simply Borden (2001) describes how a highly functional object of safety like a hand-rail is to the skater an object of certain attainment, an object of risk, performance and thrill.

The city and arguably even the cemetery offer to skaters a fresh open canvas of spaces and elements waiting to be re-discovered. Borden (2001) talks of a spatial and often temporal rhythm adopted by skaters which is that of a *'passage or journey from one element to another, the run across the city spaces interspersed with moments and momentary settlings on specific sites.'* Borden (2001) explains the act of skateboarding as not a mere act of impulse; *'the ignorance of unthinking and unknowingness'* but rather that it is an activity which provides a 'newness', of meaning and of space, born out of *'knowledge, representation and lived experience enacted together.'* Essentially skating is a process of circumnavigating and re-thinking the conceived and the perceived knowledge of space with themselves, the skaters as the reference from which this lived experience is defined. This is the potential which tags alongside the youth as they venture into and amongst many contested realms like that of the cemetery, seeking not only to define their own space but to further re-invent and offer for the city complex and extraordinary meanings in spaces.

2.7 The Potential of the Cemetery: An Architectural Journey

_Highlighting the potential for the cemetery in cities

Cemeteries, especially the conventional burial cemeteries occupy large horizontal landscapes in cities around the world and have a big influence on the community in which they are located. They are one of the only land uses that once deemed a cemetery will almost always remain a cemetery. As these landscapes become overpopulated and burial spaces run out, one is faced with a serious situation, a need to discover new solutions to the preferred methods of burial in large cemeteries to avoid taking up vast additional valuable parts of cities for burial (methods like that of Cremation, Promession or even Vertical burial). Furthermore without active presence in these landscapes and maintenance funds for the daily running of these spaces they begin to fall away from society, becoming an isolated, neglected, negative impact on neighbouring areas. If one could look at the cemetery as a multifunctional landscape with the ability to meet other needs of people in cities, the possibilities for a new architecture of cemeteries begins to surface. An architecture inspired by the youth and skateboarders, whose presence here challenges the perceptions of society for function and meaning.

Steyn (2013) and many others argue that the place the world of conceptual thinkers find themselves in today is in questioning how to adapt the role of the cemetery in the city in ways which are still respectful of the traditions and beliefs of other cultures and religions, but that they create a place which is multifunctional, a place which is responsive to both the living and the dead, a place that connects these worlds again. After all it could be said that *'preparation (expectation and understanding) for death is part of the preparation for living'* (Steyn, 2013). This means the cemetery needs to be a sanctuary for people that may offer the proper grieving processes necessary but which also offers a public space like no other in the city, a space which can generate a future society that understands the limitations of death and responds accordingly, living lasting lives which are beyond the temporality of an individual life.

For this reason one cannot take the cemetery out of the context of the city as it would remove a level of mankind's history and connectedness with death, a connection which arguably transcends time and understanding. Miller and Rivera (2006) discuss how the ability of the past is best when it can instruct and counsel us, teach us about where we are, where we have come from and what is significant about each place we interact with. For early civilizations it was architectural wonders that showed best these characteristics of the past and of death. Architecture had a role in making death a thinkable outcome of any man's life in fact it brought glory to the thought of death for some privileged few. Even mid-century cemeteries were laid out to mimic the city, paths were even given names and to the graves specific numbers and locations, in an attempt to characterise these places with a daily human experience that allowed an individual to feel more comfortable in these locations, a practice still influencing the design of cemeteries today.

The youth in modern municipal cemeteries have begun to take over these spaces and highlight their need and potential within society, giving architecture once again a responsibility to start looking for ways to reinvent the idea of 'death architecture', of cemeteries, dedicating itself to finding a response that can bring these forgotten landscapes back into the living breathing organisms of the city. Miller and Rivera (2006) talk about a successful cemetery as being a place that can invite the public to share in the memory and experiences of people who have lived and died leaving only their legacy behind them, talking of exemplary cemeteries being places which allow considerate interactions between the living and the dead within a serene environment in tune with nature. They describe the monumental characteristics of death architecture being the key behind making the places more relatable to man; describing how they resemble the architecture of the modern city with its towering skyscrapers that set them apart in the landscape around them. Furthermore being spaces '*from which the living draws inspiration*', that can offer to the living a way to manage correctly their grief process and to rise above these circumstances (Miller & Rivera, 2006).

Simmel (1997) describes a set of principles and characteristics of space which can be arguably interpreted to inform architects for design within cemeteries, and forms of adaptations to these landscapes which can work with the youth. In Simmel's sociology of space, he accurately underpins elements of spatial design which characterise and structure meaning and place as it's experienced by the individual within an everyday space. Simmel (1997) talks of space's need to accommodate the continuous practice of socialization, something which many of these youth, these skateboarders, long-borders, cyclists, joggers and urban explorers are actively seeking within the cemetery. A process by which these youth seek characteristics necessary for social development, acquiring personal identity, learning norms, values, behaviour, and social skills appropriate one's own social position.

Simmel (1997) talks of five fundamental qualities of spaces which can produce this milieu of social cohesion and development. Qualities of Exclusivity (an individual uniqueness which each space possesses), of Framed Boundaries (which enclose psychologically a social group and generates spaces for and of coherence), of fixing of space (elements or contents which can individualize a particular space), of distance and proximity (between people which serves as a catalyst or obstacle of social interaction), and finally of fluidity (changes in space, or a movement across spaces). An architecture which can successfully adapt these qualities in the cemetery can formulate an environment where the dead and the living are equally designed for and mutually respective and influential of each other. Transforming for generations an architectural wonder of death and life and igniting an incredible potential in the cemetery, a potential which the youth so effectively draw attention to.

2.8 Conclusion

Literature on cemeteries portrays an incredible quality of these spaces, both in presence and stature, as places which are tied to the past and which touches both the present and the future. In a society where exchange is placed above use value, the cemetery like many other now 'ruin' spaces are slowly becoming void of character and meaning, a space over-populated by death and underutilized by the living. This realm offers a space for the youth of a generation who dream of new possibilities in a world with endless potential. The youth's presence and activities in contested spaces like the cemetery challenge existing public infrastructure and motivate a need for these spaces to once again become a part of the living breathing life of the city. To become social places of and for activity and interaction, amusements, distractions and relaxation, spaces where no valuable resource is lay to waste. The timing is most crucial as cities engage with the issues of cemetery landscapes lacking in space and purpose, and are re-evaluating how cemeteries function. The youth of the cemetery promote a solution to this problem which is not temporary and which can engage endless future generations.

There is a responsibility, an opportunity for architects of the present generation to shape the cemetery landscape, the very nature of death, burial and remembrance, to envision a landscape in which not only the youth but all society can find their place, to live out, to play, to explore or express themselves. To offer an environment where passed generations are not forgotten and where future generations can live on. An environment that permits a natural connection between people and place, between life and death, where death can be a thinkable outcome of any man's life and where the cemetery can offer solace to those lives lost and an encouragement to lives still worth living. A successful cemetery should offer the society that surrounds it an eruption of meaning, of mystery, enlightenment and fulfilment. A space that affords any user who would venture there a transcendental experience that connects them to a higher meaning and purpose.

When I'm on my board I feel free, it's where I find my happiness,
so I feel like I own it by riding it _ G Ngubane

Theories and Concepts

CHAPTER 3



CHAPTER 3: THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

3.1 Introduction

The theories and concepts which have been adopted in this dissertation have been chosen with the intention to make an argument for the cemetery as an active public space and further to develop a framework for which to analyse case and precedent studies and inform the subsequent architectural design. The literature review touched on each of the theories and concepts explaining their relevance to this argument in an effort to explain how the cemetery landscape has developed and become a contested public space in society. The following chapter looks to develop from theory to concept in an effort to explain why the cemetery has become an environment which the youth have found their place. The analysis of the theories and concepts which follow are structured mostly in four general parts to accurately discuss their relevance. The first part is a simple definition, followed by a short background on the development and contributors. After this a breakdown of key principles which define or strengthen these theories and concepts and then a final analysis stage to briefly describe how these theories can be interpreted within the focus of this dissertation.

3.2 Theories

3.2.1 The Social Production of Space

*The Social Production of Space is simply the argument that space is or should be defined as being 'both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions.' Its origin is from Henri Lefebvre who talks of space as being historically and socially produced, as heterogeneous in form and actively being defined by three 'interwoven' but distinct areas, Namely, 'representations of space'_ the conceived
'spatial practices'_ the perceived
And 'spaces of representations'_ the lived*

The Social Production of Space is the outcome of extensive research and a long spanning development of socio-spatial theory. Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space* unfolds this theory through the amalgamation of several theories of space, until which had left the discussion of Socio-Spatial relations with many un-answered questions. Henri Lefebvre was recognised as a French Marxist thinker who, when first published his analyses in his book in 1974, received very little acknowledgment for his findings (Merrifield, 2006). It was only after the writings of David Harvey on Lefebvre's Social Production of space and his pushing for an English translation of the then *La production de l'espace* that Lefebvre's urban and spatial ideas began to impact the social geographical schools of thought (Merrifield, 2006). The Social Production of Space became by the 1990s a respected theory and global topic of discussion amongst key authors such as David Harvey, Edward Soja, Fredric Jameson, Mark Gottdiener, Derek Gregory and others (Merrifield, 2006).

Henri Lefebvre (1991) developed a conceptual framework for analysing and re-approaching different fields of space, from natural to abstract spaces, from to social to differential spaces, as a three-part theme to which he argues are essential to the production of space. This 'spatial triad'; namely representations of space, spatial practices and spaces of representation, are the foundation upon which the argument of this dissertation centres.

Firstly **Representations of Space** are 'conceptualised' space. This area is where and within which architects constantly labour; they are abstract ideas of space as defined by professionals, scientists, planners, urbanists, architects and similar authorities. Conceived space represents, according to Lefebvre (1991) usually 'ideology, power and knowledge' and are often the most dominant form of spatial production in society creating order and function. See conceived space figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1: The Conceived; How space is thought of (Source: Author, 2015)

The second area of spatial production is **Spatial Practices**. This is the production of 'perceived' space, what people believe a space to be as defined by its context. These practices are shaped by people's understandings of firstly their own social reality, but also by that of society around them and of the context which surrounds them. These perceptions condition how or when one might use a particular space or the reasons for which they might come across or interact with it. See perceived space figure 3.2.

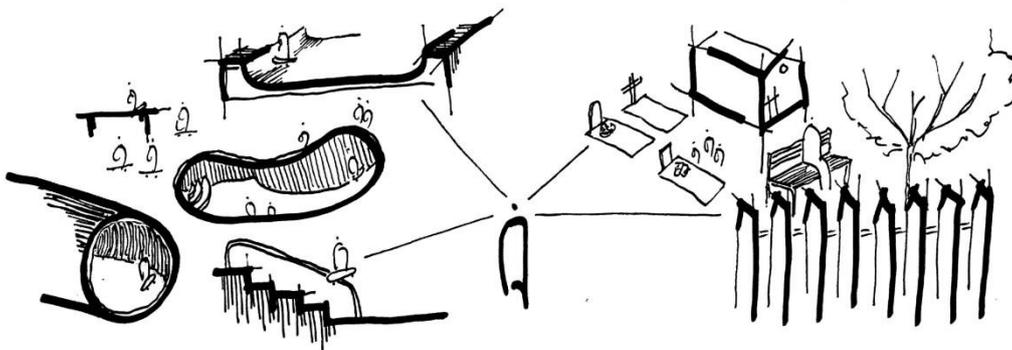


Figure 3.2: The Perceived; How space is seen (Source: Author, 2015)

Lastly **Spaces of Representation** are the 'lived' spaces; these are the everyday spaces. To the individual user these spaces have personal meaning or association, and may not always be defined by the regular order or rules. Merrifield (2006) talks of these as 'alive' spaces, those which are felt rather than thought, experienced and manipulated by their use or presence within them. See lived space figure 3.3.



Figure 3.3: The Lived; How space is felt (source: author, 2015)

Interpretation_

The nature of this dissertation required that the research first provided adequate reason for the argument of the cemetery as a public recreational space. The production of space was adopted for its understanding of social space as a foundation to build this argument on. The social triad of Conceived-Perceived-Lived elements are according to Lefebvre (1974) interdependent where each acquires a level of meaning from the other and should harmoniously work and be considered together in order to underpin a successful social and community space. See Figure 4. Evaluating this triad within the modern municipal cemetery typology three particular viewpoints about the nature of the cemetery emerge.

The conceived view = Cemetery as purely burial and remembrance space.
(Defined by function, order and exchange)

The Perceived view = Cemetery with highly regulated functions. (This has led to the isolation and degradation of over populated cemeteries)

The Lived view = Cemetery as a key public space (Free, Idealised, Poetic playful spaces)

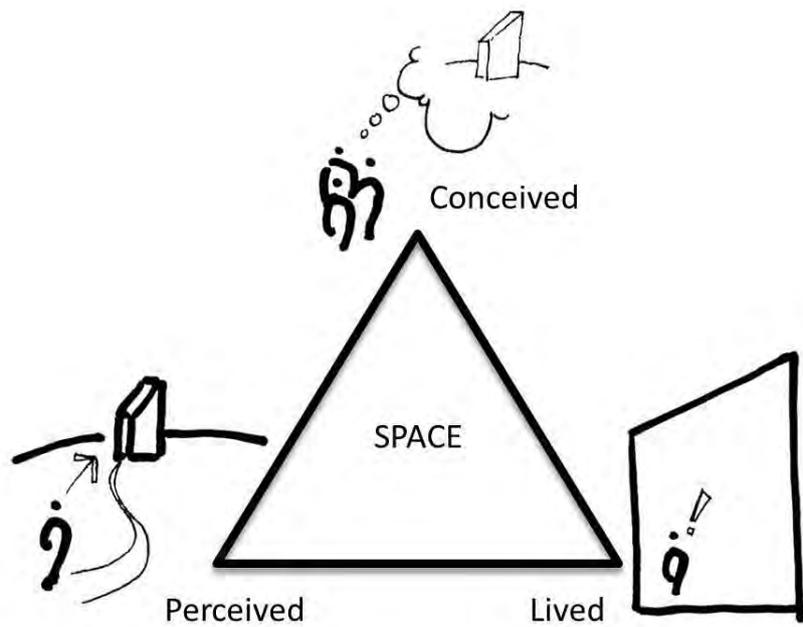


Figure 3.4: Interdependent Spatial Triad (Source: author, 2015)

The literature discussed in this dissertation identifies the value and importance which the presence of the lived user, these millennial youth can give to the meaning of the cemetery landscape in cities. Therefore the product of this dissertation should encourage authorities look to adapt through the role of the Conceived, architects especially, how representations of space can incorporate the view of the Lived everyday user and not neglect the needs for remembrance, or that of the perceived user. It should then be able to use this information to recreate the image of the cemetery, to formulate a new typology of cemetery design that revitalises this key historical and social space within the city, a space not only represented and dominated by the dead but also by the living.

3.2.2 The Practice of Everyday Life

The Practice of everyday life is a social theory based around the idea that everyday practices, social relations and actions within a space can have a potential to operate outside of the normal limits placed on society in a regulated city or space, and can effectively challenge the planned nature of these spaces. 'What is planned in space is not necessarily how space comes to be used' (Zieleniec, 2002).

The Practice of Everyday Life is a theoretical approach proposed by Michael De Certeau which analyses the role of the everyday, the 'user' in interpreting and re-appropriating the rituals and representations of cultural and social spaces. The 'Everyday' as a theory has been carried by several influential authors like Erving Goffman, Harold Garfinkel, Henri Lefebvre, Martin Heidegger and Walter Benjamin to name a few. However the stand point from which De Certeau describes the Everyday as a poetic problematic, 'as a site of resistance, revolution and transformation' (Highmore, 2002), is of importance to construct the argument of this dissertation.

The Everyday which De Certeau describes offers a unique angle from which individuals that would normally remain invisible and unrepresented have to wage a level of what he calls '*guerrilla warfare*' against the authorities which govern the present (Highmore, 2002). De Certeau describes how authorities implement a series of '**strategies**' whilst the everyday user employs a series of '**tactics**' within the given strategy as a counter to an unsound system (Highmore, 2002). These strategies often assume ownership of a 'place' (delimited as its own, as a physical entity with manageable relationships), whilst tactics act within the momentary opportunities, '*poaching within the cracks*' to offer resistance and transformation where it's unexpected, to escape the system without ever leaving it, to find freedom (De Certeau, 1984).

De Certeau describes how the everyday user employs his own creativity to define the manner in which he experiences and interacts with a space, where the walker and more arguably the skater plays the role of an actor in the city, confronted by a series of **interdictions** and **possibilities**, to which he defines his own unique path within and as an act of ‘resistance’ transforms them. An object of function and safety such as a handrail is to the skater an object of attainment, achievement, danger and risk.

In Lefebvre’s right to the city he argues strongly for the rights of urban city dwellers, these everyday users to ‘own’ spaces within the city not through capital or exchange value but through their everyday use of spaces (Zieleniec, 2002). See Figure 5. To allow spaces to develop their own set of meanings, symbols and values through the interpretation of its users. In an effective city this right, carefully managed, is something which extends to all users, regardless of gender, race, religion and even more relevant to this study, age. Age becomes important in place-making and the rights to the city when one considers the youth, a transitory period of individuals in-between child-hood and adulthood who are actively in search of spaces of their own within the city, where generally they possess very little ‘place-making authority’ to re-interpret these spaces. Despite this the youth continue to challenge existing structures finding their place in many ‘contested’ settings, inhabiting and re-imagining them. This, according to De Certeau’s characterisation, is in its practice an act social resistance to these authorities which govern spaces by power, and in doing so offer little response to the needs of these youth.

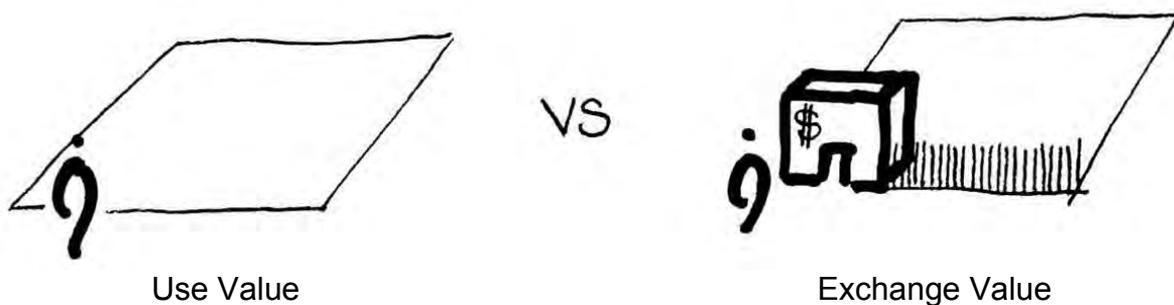


Figure 3.5: The right to ‘own’ (Source: author, 2015)

Interpretation_

Theoretically the Social Production of Space set up the rhetoric for the modern municipal cemetery as a space that developed its current meaning through the modernist age, developing as a space of exchange, of a purely burial and remembrance function. It became a space which as vast literature supports, was considered and planned purely through the field of conceptual thinkers. The Practice of Everyday Life considers the dynamic of the Lived, this Everyday user as an entity which acts outside of the structures placed on the cemetery and which through creativity and tactics sets up a new level of meaning in the cemetery landscape. De Certeau (1984) describes how it is through the everyday that a space accumulates memory and meaning and that through these the individual is tied, connected, drawn to a specific space, a neighbourhood, a community.

What this means for the cemetery is that through the everyday presence of a user this space can develop its own unique character and community. The basis of this dissertation is to look at how in cities the youth are at 'work' re-imagining spaces which are often void of function, character and meaning. In contested spaces like the cemetery this dynamic targets the heart of city planners and authorities engaging this discussion for the needs of these youth and the potential all spaces in the city possess. The youth have begun making use of 'opportunities' in the cemetery, where diminishing activity, surveillance and other factors have left this landscape and the strategies which once dominated it with a certain level of 'openness'. These youth through their tactical re-appropriating of this space have begun to influence the very nature of the cemetery, exploring an almost recreational attractiveness the cemetery holds. This dissertation builds off this tactic as the fundamental reason for why the function of cemeteries should be reconsidered within society. These youth have in their presence highlighted and exposed a void in society and in doing so have also proposed a reasonable solution to some major problems facing the planning and future of cemeteries.

3.3 Concepts

3.3.1 Heterotopia

Heterotopias are defined as real spaces which have 'other' characteristics of often utopian perfected realities. *'Real places, which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted'* (Foucault, 1984).

The concept of 'Heterotopia' was first introduced by Michel Foucault in a lecture titled 'Of Other Spaces' (Foucault, 1984). This concept in its broad sense observed a mystic quality of certain spaces which Foucault saw as a 'utopia' lived in a real space. These spaces were always complimented by fluctuating layers of meaning (see figure 6) that fundamentally connected them to all other sites whilst simultaneously marking a break and disconnection to them; they were for this reason described as 'other' spaces (Foucault, 1984). Foucault (1984) defined six essential principles which characterized a heterotopia, and though not all forms of Heterotopias displayed all these characteristics the stronger forms were those which presented more of them.

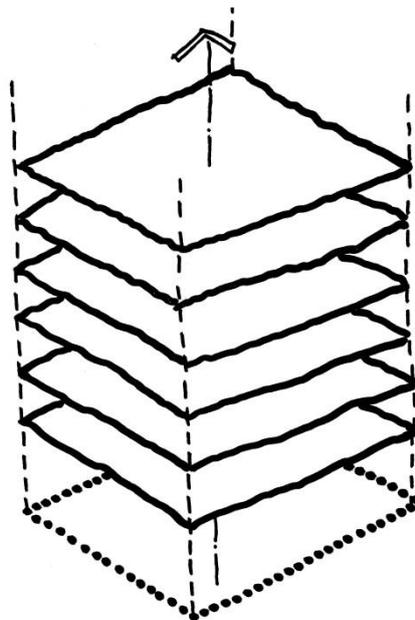


Figure 3.6: Layers of Meaning in a Single Space (Source: author, 2015)

The first principle; Heterotopias exist within all cultures and all societies, and can take on quite varied forms.

The second principle; Society over time can change the function of a heterotopia through cultural and other advances.

The third principle; Heterotopias can juxtapose several different places and functions within one single space, places which normally are incompatible.

The fourth principle; Heterotopias are linked to slices in time (otherwise known as 'heterochronies')

The fifth principle; Heterotopias presume a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable.

The sixth principle; Heterotopias have a function in relation to all the space that remains.

With the understanding that stronger forms of Heterotopia displayed more of these principles or characteristics, Johnson (2012) moves to argue that cemeteries are at their core the 'ultimate 'other' space in the crowded, manufactured city' the most salient example of a heterotopia in cities today. Johnson (2012) describes how cemeteries being full of graves '*possess simultaneously, a presence and an absence*' and that ultimately the '*cemetery is a place of emplacing the placeless.*' The cemetery in its deep layers of meaning, in one single site can be intimately connected to the city, its people and culture. At the very same time however the cemetery evokes a quality of difference, disconnection and separateness from its context. They are 'other' worlds both 'exceptional and separated from everyday regularities' (Johnson, 2012). Where cities are designed as functional, dense, active, technologically advanced places, the cemetery utters a world of simplified sanctification, of refuge and timelessness, a protected space within a chaotic dense city, a character that made these spaces a once highly attractive, sought after public space in early cities.

Interpretation_

Fundamentally the cemetery is a space to bury and remember those who lived before, however the cemetery connects with people at a level far more intimate than just this. It's the true essence of a heterotopia and its influence over its neighbourhood is rooted deep in the lives of a community. The function and meaning of the cemetery in many cultures and cities is changing drastically as De Boeck (2008) points out in Kinshasa, and this space is developing a character which not only 'emplaces the placeless' of the dead, but that which also 'emplaces the placeless' for the living, for some it's activities (leisure or recreation), or a business, a way of life, of survival and yet others it's literally a home. In this the cemetery takes on an entirely new level of meaning.

The cemetery has and continues to remain a site in the city with a character very different to its surroundings. As time passes and society and culture advance and change so too does the meaning of the cemetery within its context begin to alter, taking on new meanings and new characteristics, which might in any other space be incompatible. This change is something which has continued the existence of the heterotopia of cemeteries in cities which recognise and allow this change to influence their city's burial landscapes. These spaces though they shift with time and mark an absolute break with time, so they also mark an accumulation of time, like that of a museum which represents and records the history of the life of an individual. Like the cemeteries in Kinshasa which De Boeck speaks of, they are sites with a potential even when they have become left over, unkempt spaces which cities have neglected, and can become a home, a sanctuary, a place to those much like youths whose needs might also have been neglected or misinterpreted in cities. The value of looking at the cemetery from the lenses of a heterotopia lies in seeing how these layers of meaning that Foucault describes, firstly highlights the existing qualities which cemeteries naturally possess as well as those characteristics which they have the potential to possess and which could add value to the cemetery. To look at ways where each layer of meaning, could if correctly interpreted and handled be used to build up the cemetery landscape within the city.

3.3.3 Wildscapes

Wildscapes are defined as *'any area, space or building where the city's normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use, and occupy them'* (Sheridan, 2012). They are Informal or marginal spaces in cities like industrial ruins, wastelands, unkempt parks, alleyways, culverts, edgelands, cemeteries and ramshackle spaces on the urban fringe (Edensor et al, 2012).

Wildscapes in their purest form have almost always existed, however the focus of this concept explores the most recent developments of Urban Wildscapes where they in cities have developed out of marginalised underutilized spaces in built up cities and urban fringes, those which are a product of most significantly the modernist period. Anna Jorgensen, Richard Keenan, Chris Baines, Tim Edensor and other influential authors and professionals have documented in rich detail the qualities, characteristics, potential and values these public spaces have in cities. The term 'Urban Wildscape' is the development of this continuous research into the 'wild' nature of urban spaces and was only really amassed as a singular idea and concept in the last decade. Since then it has been receiving increasing popularity and repute, actively informing the design and planning of urban public space. The quality of Wildscapes for the interest of this dissertation looks at the characteristics of these 'ruin' spaces which offer certain bodies, such as a generation of youth, and those activities which are normally excluded from gentrified urban space, where their presence or activities might be challenging, prohibited or frowned upon.

Jorgensen (2012) reveals a set of key qualities identifiable in Urban Wildscapes, which as she explains, can inform urban planning and design of public spaces and Wildscapes; qualities of multiplicity, ambiguity and polyvalence, commonality, dynamism, mutability and process. These six characteristics are relatable and build off each other and the affordances allowed by each.

Multiplicity looks at the multifunctional use of a singular space with the ability to allow simultaneously various interactions and spatial practices. This character is unique in that it allows any given activity to operate in a single space amidst a diverse mix of activities and meanings. Unlike adaptable/flexible spaces where small changes in spatial orientation might determine another activity in that space, or mixed-use design where various functions are zoned and positioned in a single building, multiplicity looks at these as continuously active layers.

Ambiguity and Polyvalence, as understood by the term, looks at how Wildscapes in contrary to regular public spaces affords a variety of often diverse contradictory activities and meaning. Where in a space '*insecurity, disorder, decay, waste, confusion*' and fear can often simultaneously border '*freedom, possibility, discovery, adventure and enchantment*' (Jorgenson, 2012).

Communality is a characteristic which makes Wildscapes very different to ordinary highly regulated public spaces as they allow a user a level of personal entitlement to appropriate a space as they deem necessary, provided they remain open to appropriation by other users. Developments and activities brought about through this constant re-appropriation allow for recognition and evolution of new more locally expressive and interesting improvements to existing public space.

Dynamism looks at the continuously changing nature of public Wildscapes in the context of larger social and environmental cycles and processes. What this means for a space is that it is subject constantly to the social, cultural and environmental context from which its users emanate and thus the very nature of this space is not permanent but continuously evolving.

Mutability is the simplest characteristic of a Wildscape and that being mutable, it is constantly liable and exposed to sudden, unplanned or unexpected change. A tree, a building or other small changes and developments could alter where or how these activities in Wildscapes functions.

Process finally looks at Wildscapes as public spaces where meaning and 'local identity' are not imposed upon but are rather the *'result of a set of interactions and processes over a period of time'*, (Jorgensen, 2012)

Interpretation_

The cemetery is one such example, identified by many authors as a key Urban Wildscape, a space that for many youth has amassed a unique character, one which has emplaced many of the activities and interactions normally not practicable in regular ordered urban spaces. These sites become for youth, spaces with an air of 'freedom' and 'risk' from which they can find their place, to explore and express themselves. Seen as a Wildscape the cemetery offers a blank open canvas, full of spaces and elements waiting to be re-discovered, and from which meanings that wouldn't normally be possible are developed with a fresh appeal and character.

As Jorgensen (2012, pg. 221) writes *'Places need not be either regulated or wild, but may be shades of both, and it is the tension between these states that gives rise to creative possibilities in urban public space.'* The tension between the presence of the youth in the cemetery and the existing functions and purposes of cemetery spaces offer for city and urban planners a creative avenue for re-defining and purposing a valuable resource in cities. The youth through their presence in cemeteries highlight a lack or relative abandonment and informality of these urban spaces, and offer through 'play' a level of work, of unstructured regulation and improvements to these cemeteries, recognising a beauty and value many of these spaces hold in the city.

3.4 Conclusion

The understanding from the theories discussed are that spaces and places should be considered as a dynamic actively changing social phenomenon built on the lived experience of its user, a product of use values rather than of exchange and the critical element for which connections are made between people and place, between the individual and the neighbourhood, the community, and in turn the city. The cemetery is a unique valuable part of any city, an often large horizontal landscape filled with meaning and history that should not be forgotten or left without meaning and purpose, even when these spaces become overpopulated. The outcomes of the theories discussed takes the unique angle of the lived everyday user, giving them the authority, the power and the potential to change, shape and purpose the city and its public spaces. Given this authority, city users can work together to guide the field of conceptual thinkers into developing keys city spaces with the added advantage of building the community and its needs from the bottom up, from those with the least authority who often have the most experience of any given public space.

This theoretical approach then begins to inform a direction, for which the concepts discussed work to understand how the cemetery in particular develops this character and ability to change its meaning and place in society through the eyes of the individual. Very strongly echoed across the literature discussed about these particular concepts, is the understanding that the cemetery can and has begun to change drastically in society, and now seems to face a new chapter that might look very different to the way cemeteries have been perceived in the modernist city. For architecture which once made death a thinkable even celebrated outcome, this shift is a serious calling as it means a need for an entirely new architecture, a new perspective and way of thinking about the cemetery, as a Real Lived Heterotopic Wildscape with a unique meaning that extends beyond the grave, one which is more responsive to those who actively use and attempt to define this space.

There is no passion to be found in settling for a life that is less than the one you are capable of living _ Nelson Mandela

Research Methods and Materials

CHAPTER 4



CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS AND MATERIALS

4.1 Introduction

To achieve the outcomes of this research the approach taken needed to be a **qualitative exploratory study**, where the research aims to understand the characteristics of an existing phenomena, the activity of millennial youth in Stellawood Cemetery. The research is focused around investigating why and how these interactions occur and the characteristics of the cemetery that influence the millennial's perceptions and behaviour in them, to use this to inform the design of cemetery spaces which can facilitate these youth.

The research is based around an **instrumental case study** within the area of Durban, that being Stellawood Cemetery, where these activities, most dominating being that of skating, have become almost notorious among youth within the city of Durban. The reason for this choice of case study is the research's purpose to inform a new architecture for cemeteries through understanding and interpreting the existing conditions and occurrences within this cemetery, to re-integrate this space into mainstream society and create a space relevant to both the living and the dead in cities. The boundaries of this case study lie within the parameters of '*adventurous and expressive play*' (Edensor et al, 2012) understanding activities in cemeteries that may become an accepted practice in these spaces rather than activities which are be deemed 'destructive' or 'hedonistic' (Edensor et al, 2012).

4.2 Sampling Strategies

A **snowball sampling** method was deemed the most appropriate method of sampling for this research, to be able to effectively engage with youth who are involved in these activities such as skating, longboarding and cycling, who can give relevant information to aid this research. This choice is best to locate and approach these youth in a non-abrasive manner, as their activities in cemeteries are restricted and it was assumed they may not be open to engage anyone who would just approach them here. Therefor sample began with connections made through social media of youth who have produced and posted online a series of home-based media of their explorations in this cemetery. From these networks further connections were to be established. All anonymity was kept when necessary with the use of pseudonyms as discussed with the sample.

The first samples that were reached allowed access to a public group on social media titled 'Durban Downhill Sessions', a group formed to arrange places and opportunities for local skaters to meet and skate together, to which Stellawood Cemetery was identified as a frequented popular location referred to as the 'cemet'. This group was where the remainder of the sample were identified, as well as where events for which opportunities to observe the skaters inside and outside of the cemetery were identified. The saturation point for the research was decided once enough information was gained by the researcher from a variety of samples, when the researcher deemed to have adequately understood the nature and needs of these youth's interaction. This **sample size** was decided after 5 highly informative interviews were carried out and the information proved sufficiently informative within the time constraints for the purpose of the research as these individuals who were interviewed were among the key drivers of skating scene in Durban, one of which was a past student in architecture. The first sample age was chosen through an assumed average age of between 20-25 years of age, however through the interviews carried out this age was identified as being much broader ranging from 16 through to 35, an age which is still recognised as 'youth' in the South African context. The **sample age** for the interviews conducted were therefor varied ages of between 20 and 35.

4.3 Data Collection

Two key areas of Data Collection were identified as the most effective research tools to gain the information required; these were namely **Interviews and Observations**. The reasoning was that this research needed to understand the experiences (emotional characteristics) and the connections, interactions and behaviour (naturalistic characteristics) of youth in cemeteries.

The first focus was on a series of semi-structured interviews which will allow for shared experiences but maintained a direction of information that would inform this research actively. These interviews were conducted with some of the key figures in the Durban Downhill skate scene who were believed to be the most valuable sources for information. The questions in the interview schedule (see appendix A) were broken up into three parts. Firstly questions began with an ice breaker to ease into the interview, followed by questions which were aimed at answering the key questions of the research. The last part was constructed a certain level of assumption made by the researcher, based on current literature, that these youth might actively be seeking to develop or see this space developed, to which the questions ask what their responses might be. An informal interview with the caretaker was used to gain an outside view of the presence and activity of these youth to measure and validate information received from these youth.

Further passive and participatory observations were conducted when youth interviewed got together within the cemetery as well as at events staged at other city locations, to gain first-hand experience of their activities and further to see how they engage with the cemetery. The researcher focused on key elements of how they skated, how they interacted with each other and other visitors or spectators, which areas and routes they frequented, the lengths of the activities they performed and overall how these interactions were strengthened or limited within the cemetery.

4.4 Data Analysis

The data gathered through the interview process and observations was transcribed and from them general themes were drawn that best described the characteristics which the youth collectively highlighted. There were six main codes generated being;

The Atmosphere the Cemetery Provides

The Aspect of Safety within the Cemetery

The Community Base of Similar Activities

The Lawlessness Provided by the Cemetery

The Respect for the Dead and Mourners

And Finally the Right to this Space

The information regarding each of the themes was then interpreted in two manners, which described first how the information answered the key questions, aims and objectives of this research and finally how, through the conceptual principles, it could best inform the design of the cemetery which could re-integrate the living with the dead.

The Greatest discovery of any generation is that a human can alter his life
by altering his attitude_ William James

Findings and Analysis

CHAPTER 5



CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The Information within this chapter shifts now from the secondary data founded in the literature and begins to discuss all the primary research gathered about youth and the cemetery, analysing these within the context of Stellawood Cemetery as a critical case study. The general structure has four main parts being firstly a case study to introduce the character of Stellawood Cemetery, followed secondly by a review of the findings of the research, thirdly these findings are discussed around the research questions, and finally it concludes with an interpretation of the research relating to the conceptual principles.

The research carried out provided a unique understanding of the potential youth presented to lost city spaces like the cemetery. Their search for space, for opportunity and belonging sees them cross many barriers and boundaries which would otherwise limit any other authority or city inhabitant. In the cemetery context there presented many different categories of youthful activity but the most striking greatest form within Durban's Stellawood Cemetery was that of skating, in particular downhill skating; a form of longboarding.

Echoed across all the interviews carried out was this aesthetic of skating that is incredibly captivating to many youth. They talk of the nature of skating being something which defines every aspect of the world around them where there is freedom and creativity to redefine the very way their environment influences them. Like a skilled artist they re-interpret each element of the space around them; the obstacles, the runs and the inclines. Skating to these individuals provides an unmatched source of activity, adrenalin, convenience, and thrill of accomplishment. The strong community base of skaters in Durban is another characteristic highlighted by the skaters and the Cemeter is one of two key reliable and undisputable locations for downhill skating of all levels and skill, which this community continuously choose.

5.2 A Case Study of Stellawood Cemetery

Introduction

Stellawood Cemetery is the largest Cemetery in Durban. The cemetery owes its history to casualties of the First and Second World War. Durban, during the wars was a significant military hospital center and the cemetery was opened formerly as a military cemetery for fallen soldiers. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission records 193 casualties of World War I and 491 casualties of World War II, buried in Stellawood Cemetery (CWGC, n.d). Today it's a typically mixed religious cemetery.

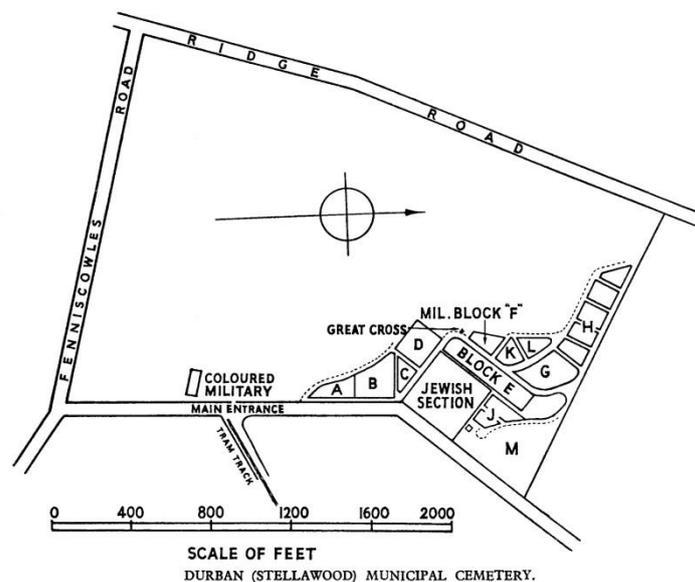


Figure 5.1: The Early Military Cemetery (Source: CWGC, n.d)

Justification of Case study

Stellawood cemetery is a colourful vibrant hive of various levels of recreational activity. This space though mostly informal, serves the community around it as a space far more than a burial landscape. The natural topography sets up the opportunity for various levels of activity from leisurely strolls, to walking dogs, admiring the sweeping vistas of Durban, urban exploration, jogging, cycling, and even skating. On a daily basis the public nature of this natural landscape is exploited to serve its community in a manner never expected or planned for in this city. This site serves therefore as a precedent for the creative adaptive re-use of these sacred natural resources, and the most appropriate contextual model relevant to research into the life and activity within cemeteries.

Geographical and social context



- Durban, South Africa



Figure 5.2: Location (Source: Author, 2015)

Stellawood Cemetery is located in a large suburban region of Durban South Africa, approximately 5km from the main city center. It's situated 1km west of Durban harbour and 500m from the industrial areas of Umbilo which serve the harbour, the extents of which are shown in figure 5.2 and industrial zones shown in figure 5.3. The site is 105 acres of land set amidst a large scale residential area of predominantly lower-middle income stand-alone houses. Figure 5.4 displays in blue, the areas which are zoned residential, in the lighter shade of blue are two retirement old age facilities, whilst the dark blue is subsidised residential flats.



Figure 5.3: Industrial (Source: Author, 2015)

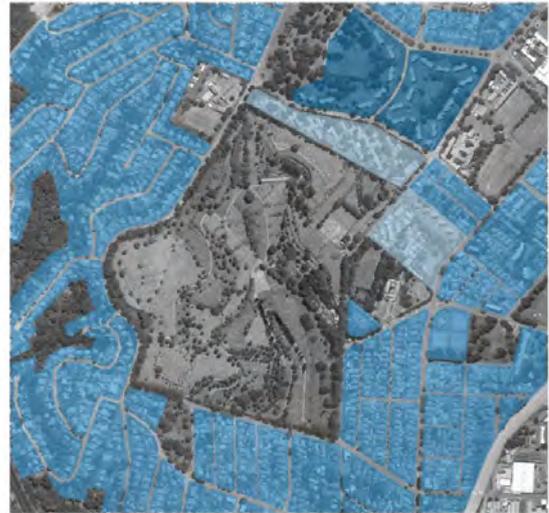


Figure 5.4: Residential (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 5.6: Green Open Space (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 5.7: Institutions (Source: Author, 2015)

Being a largely residential area there is a collective need for recreational open spaces. Figure 5.6 zones the natural spaces that are available within the immediate community though the southernmost green spaces towards Umbilo River are zoned green open space but not maintained or accessible for public use. Stellawood Cemetery is the largest open green space connected to this community that is perfectly adapted to public use, situated directly between Glenmore to the north and Umbilo to the south. The cemetery further is immediately neighboured by three educational institutions, two primary schools (Glenmore Primary School and Carrington Senior Primary) as well as Port Natal, a combination of High school and Primary School, as highlighted in figure 5.7. Socially this means the context is a largely a family oriented community, comprised of various ages evenly spread from children to young adults and even to the elderly.

Site Specific Context

Stellawood Cemetery was designed as a Rural Type Cemetery which was the preferred developed typology during the 1900s as a natural sanctuary amidst the highly industrialised city. The intention behind the rural type was to naturalise these landscapes but still keep them with certain controlled features that would enable the visitor to familiarise and locate themselves within the landscape through various seemingly unorganised intersecting paths, roads and features. This was at first a response to the accepted practice of recreation within cemeteries, where they essentially were the first public parks designed within cities for the general public, though later this typology became more of an aesthetic objective rather than recreational.

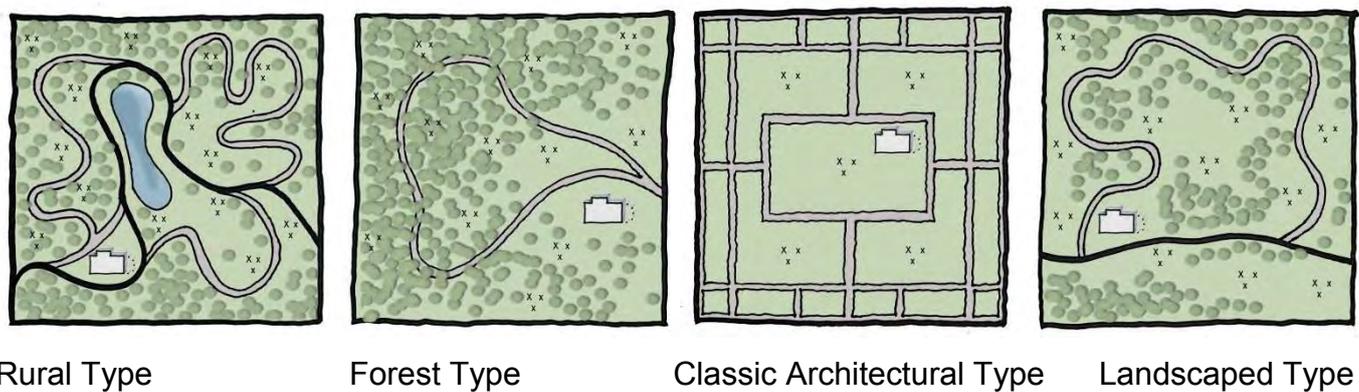


Figure 5.8: Common Cemetery Typologies (Source: Author, 2015)

Stellawood Cemetery is 105 acres of green lush flowing, hills, valleys, roads, twists and turns which serve the community as a natural haven in the suburban hard divided landscape around it. It's a basin site which descends over 60m from the highest point and is completely surrounded by century old trees and vegetation. From the highest point of the cemetery are sweeping views of the Durban coastal areas from the iconic Moses Mabida Stadium across the Central Business District, the Harbour and the Bluff through to Durban's major industrial and trade areas, as shown in figure 5.9. Descending into the basin one is completely enveloped in the serene sacred realm of the cemetery, isolated entirely from the world outside of the cemetery.

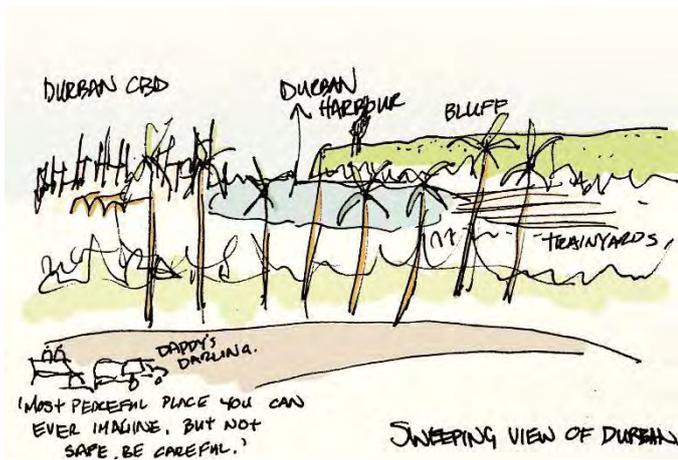


Figure 5.9: Two Gentlemen Admiring the View
(Source: Author, 2015)

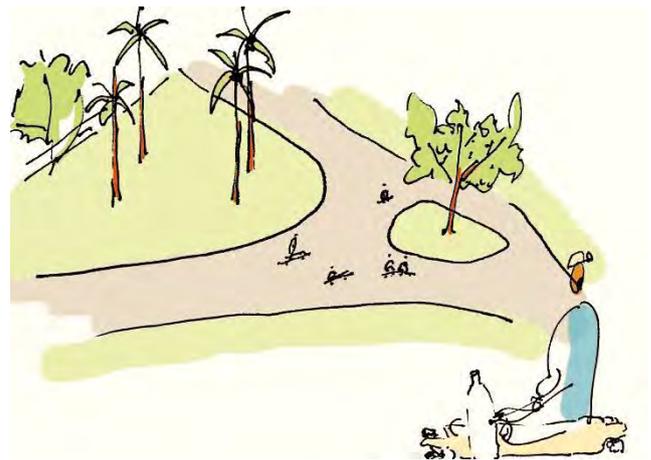


Figure 5.10: Children Downhill Skating After School
(Source: Author, 2015)

5.3 Youth, Life and Death in Our Own Backyard

5.3.1 Social Context

Stellawood Cemetery is one of many cemeteries in Durban that has reached maximum capacity. Though every effort to promote other forms of burial and the process of recycling graves has been implemented, the city understands that these strategies are only temporary solutions to a problem experienced world-wide. With the increasing population and lack of space already critical this cemetery and many like it face a serious need of intervention, in order to maintain and preserve the history and culture which these sites hold. Stellawood Cemetery is a unique landscape in that its context and topography have allowed for a remarkable relationship to emerge between the site and its surrounding community. To those who are able to look beyond the previously dominating social perceptions of the cemetery, this site becomes a new canvas of opportunities, a large natural space with picture-perfect settings for various activities.

With the emergence and maturation of the millennial generation enters a completely new perspective on almost every space in society, and more importantly that of the cemetery. This generation whom most are now in their youth are more connected to global patterns than ever before and have a perception of their own environment remarkably different from the generations before.

These youth are ready to challenge the societal norms and contest the functioning of spaces like the cemetery. Stellawood Cemetery is a site that is emerging at the forefront of this context, being almost 'taken over' by the youth who are recognising the potential of this site for recreation. As early as the 1980s this cemetery had begun to introduce informally this recreational characteristic. Over the last three decades Stellawood Cemetery has been growing in popularity with many locals in the skating world. Long-boarding and downhill skating has in the last decade become the most prevailing form of everyday activity in this cemetery and has since 2010 become one of the most significant sites for downhill skating in Durban, for beginners to even the most seasoned professionals.

5.3.2 Interviews with Skaters

What follows is an analysis of the interviews conducted with youth who actively skate within Stellawood Cemetery, otherwise known within the skate scene as the 'Cemet'. The analysis describes briefly the six key themes drawn from all research conducted.

The Atmosphere

"It is not designed for what we do, it is just ideal for what we like to do."

-JM Interview, 2015

The youth speak of the beauty of this natural landscape, the peace and the sanctity amidst the busy residential areas around it, as an integral feature in their reasons for why this site attracts them. They describe the 'Cemet' as a natural downhill paradise, filled with incredible 'runs' and routes, hills and varying gradients, twists, turns and bends and an enchanting natural beauty. These youth speak of how though the cemetery is a space that acknowledges loss and disconnection, it should also be a site which emphasizes a level of hope, of joy and a celebration of the life which loved ones had lived.

The cemetery as a location for recreation and socialization may seem for elder generations a little disrespectful but these youth of the millennial generation see this landscape as something far more than it had been before, seeing what they bring to this space as an element of life and positivity which might become in time a more accepted practice as future generations begin to adopt this or similarly strong feeling towards life in the cemetery. For now these youth continue to contest the societal norms which deny, disapprove or detest the thought of skating, and fundamentally of life within the cemetery.

The Safety

“The crime in the area is a risk but there is the same risk if not worse on public roads. Cars make roads less safe too.”

-JS Interview, 2015

Very few sites exist in Durban and even the world which are so perfectly adapted to what these youth are looking for and to the fundamental elements that make downhill skating appealing, attractive and safe. Throughout all interviews was the constant re-iteration of the factor of safety within the cemetery. This is seemingly contradictory when one thinks of the perceptions that exist in the surrounding community where crime, especially in low surveillance sites such as these, is at an extreme high. As many skaters attest to there is always an even greater risk for downhill skaters when out on open roads facing more than the risk of crime, a conflict between cars and people.

Finding a safe and accommodating space that provides various levels of intensity and is appealing is a very rare phenomenon and when the first few skaters dared venture into the Cemeter it was quickly realised how much potential rested in this location. The skater's talk of how the Cemeter provides a place mostly free of cars and those that are there are slow moving making them easier to avoid. An opinion also of the skaters is that the level of crime in the cemetery has also decreased since these youth have been there,

something which is a perfectly real possibility as their numbers greatly increase the number of usual visitors to a site where people were once few and far between.

The Community

“(Skating) provides a great premise for socialising with friends and meeting new and interesting people.”

-JH Interview, 2015

The Cemeter provides for these skater’s an attractive environment which perfectly caters towards their activities and this has also allowed it to become a central ‘local’ spot to meet and socialize with new people from all different backgrounds brought together by a love for skating. These skaters speak of how their relationship with some of the visitors and even cemetery staff who maintain and live on the premises has also been good and positive for the most part. The occasional smile from some passing by and offers of lifts to the tops of a run or even requests to stick around so that visitors can watch is something that these skaters really enjoyed about what they do within the cemetery, building a caring relationship between skater and mourner. In a continued effort to foster this caring relationship some of the skater’s rallied together to help supply gear for the son of the caretaker who had shown a keen interest in the activity of these skater’s and found it difficult to relate with his usual friends at his own home being that it was within a cemetery. This young man is still in high school but has become a prominent up and coming feature in the skate scene along with a new generation of keen eager young skaters who all have a very strong connection and early beginning within the cemetery.

The Lawlessness

“I think my favourite aspect of skating is the general lack of rules or laws. It provides a sense of freedom that is difficult to find anywhere else.”

-JH Interview, 2015

The lawlessness referred to in this context does not refer to a point of complete anarchy but rather as the point from which these skaters feel a sense of freedom from the ‘laws’ which govern society, those perceptions which direct and control all activity in the public realm. Skating to these individuals is an art which sees the world as a blank canvas of opportunities where they are able to paint their own unique direction and sense of place. For this reason it was said of one of the frontrunners promoting the sport of longboarding, that in the future all architects will be skaters, describing how they, the skaters are able to naturalise and experience the raw beauty of the hard city landscape, re-interpreting spaces in their own unique way where each and every element, despite how small, in the space around them is subject to interpretation. These skaters though challenging the very perceptions and rules which define the use of public space make every effort to respectfully build upon the character of these public spaces highlighting new possibilities which might normally be overlooked.

The Respect

“There is an unwritten law amongst skaters to respect mourners.”

-JH Interview, 2015

Unanimously throughout every single interview conducted was this simple understanding that within the cemetery there is high and utmost level of respect from the skaters towards mourners and other visitors. The cemetery they recognise is a space for remembrance of loved ones and they don't try to remove that character by their presence. When skating in the cemetery they are always cautious to avoid areas where funerals are being conducted or even where there are people mourning and remembering loved ones.

The cemetery is an incredibly large space filled with many different routes and spaces to skate, meaning for most cases when they encounter the few mourners who visit this cemetery they are able to remove themselves to another route, and in the instance of not being able to avoid mourners the skaters will always move off to skate another site or another day. They made particular mention to days like Father's day and Mother's day where they will avoid the cemetery all together as passed experience has shown these to be days when the cemetery visitors are high. These skaters also make certain to guide 'groms' (beginners) to understand these unwritten laws and to promote the respect and cleanliness shown from the general longboarding community.

The Right

“Skating on public roads usually ends with a visit from the police or an angry pensioner shouting at us from their car.”

-JH Interview, 2015

Skating for the most part has always been a controlled almost restricted activity within the city and for many of these skaters they have experienced much disdain and disapproval being expressed by elder generations towards their activity. In public spaces in cities very few spaces are offered to the skating community and even in those that do not restrict skaters or on public roads there is still a level of expressed anger towards their presence.

For the skater the city is already a contested ground for them to perform their activity and this has in part removed them from the disdain shown by some of the mourners towards their presence in the cemetery, being that wherever they go they are always being opposed to by some. The spaces they are given have not adequately provided or understood their needs and so when they find a space that permits them to even informally enjoy what they do, these sites become priceless invaluable beacons to them.

Though there is a considerate level of respect from skaters towards mourners there is also a level of right expressed by the skaters to this landscape. Being a public space and a space where many skaters also have loved ones buried this cemetery is as much theirs as any other mourner or city resident.

5.3.3 Observations within Stellawood Cemetery

Whilst visiting this site it was evident that this location is a vital resource within the community not only for the skaters but for many others who lived in the area. People would come and sit on some of the benches admiring the city vistas or taking in the natural beauty around them, other visitors would walk their dogs, some were cycling and jogging up the various routes, and even families visiting loved ones would bring their kids along on their bikes to cycle whilst they tended the graves of their loved one. The experience of this space though graves lay all around was something natural and alive with activity. Later began the process of observing specifically the skaters, in short as a necessary opportunity for the research to test the information being received from the interviews. The topography of the cemetery provided a unique vantage point from which to observe the activity of skaters without interfering or affecting the nature of their activity, whilst later observations became more interactive once a specific outside perspective had been established.

Access

When beginning this research it was asked of staff at the head office of the cemeteries department at eThekweni Parks, Recreation and Culture what their knowledge was of these youth skating in the cemetery and the response was that these skaters would visit the cemetery at odd hours when the public eye or staff were not around, that they would climb over fences to access the site and act in a very destructive reckless manner, but at ground level the experience of these skaters proved to be something remarkably different. Their presence in the cemetery did not see them challenge any authority or act out of criminal interests, rather they would access the cemetery at all times of the day through the front entrances and in many instances would see them interacting peacefully with the cemetery staff.

Practice

During the weeks the cemetery would see on average a small handful of younger kids skating and practicing after school. Many of these kids were from the surrounding community and a large majority of them from the nearby Kenneth Gardens Flats, which is a government funded residential scheme. These kids were from traditional African households where culturally the cemetery is not a site they should be visiting for recreation yet seemingly they even seek to challenge their own traditions to skate the Cemeter on a daily basis. Over weekends and Sundays specifically this site sees its most activity where all the skaters in large groups of up to 10-20 skaters and an entourage of spectators and friends would be visiting this location to practice and show off their skills and enjoy each other's company. There was a constant practice of choosing a particular run which they would skate a number of times until the group felt the desire to move to the next run for something different and this would mean that spectators could choose key spots where they would be able to adequately watch the skaters take turns at each run or attempt it in small groups at a time.

Interactions

The presence of these skaters in the Cemetery is as much about the interactions with the people as it is a site to practice and enjoy downhill skating. At the end of each run key spots across the cemetery, at intersections and under trees or open areas, would serve as points where these skaters would wait for each other or chat with spectators who had come to watch them skate. After a good day's session or to gather some respite from the heat they would often gather together in shaded areas and 'share the stoke' of some of the day's activities or recent events which they might have attended. Many of the skaters feel this community of long boarders is part of what makes life something more exciting and enjoyable and that having the Cemetery as a place for this community to meet and interact is a crucial part of their lives. Their interactions have even further been appreciated by many visitors who have no intent or interest in downhill skating but that they feel the skaters bring a good character and a safer lively atmosphere to this otherwise morbid and sometimes dangerous location.

5.5 Response to Conceptual Principles

Heterotopia

“The absolute quietness, the beautiful trees and birds that have made the cemetery their home bring a beauty to a typically sad place.

It is quite humbling skating there.”

-SS Interview, 2015

Stellawood Cemetery is a unique and incredibly fascinating heterotopia, filled with incredibly diverse and even contradictory layers of meaning in a single space, making it perhaps one of the strongest existing forms of heterotopia in Durban. As this cemetery has developed so has its heterotopic nature and character shifted with leading it towards the active landscape which it has begun to develop, filled with various diverse functions and meanings; as a burial and remembrance site, a historical repository, a natural arboretum teeming with birdlife, and now an even greater contrast as a site for recreation and leisure.

Access through the main entrance is a progression from active city spaces to a quite shaded road that leads into the cemetery, leading pass the main office and through the gates where an immediate glimpse of the basin below filled with graves radically changes the nature of the experience, drawing visitors in and isolating them within. The manner in which this site has been inhabited by recreational activities is a remarkable heterotopic ability. As a space which remained rather than one which was intentionally and specifically designed for this type of activity, the Cemetery oddly re-ignites the original purpose these early rural type cemeteries were intended for but which later became nothing but an aesthetic in the modern city. These youth have sought to provide a new character, a new meaning, a new layer in the complex system of the cemetery, that which has positively begun to influence the functioning of this cemetery making it an active, diverse, safe and attractive environment to other city residents, visitors and youth.

Wildscape

“The cemetery is of course a place for people to go and mourn, yet it is a lovely location amongst a busy residential area, that has brought many great times to many people.”

-JM Interview, 2015

“I see the cemetery as a downhill skateboarder’s paradise. The combination of amazing hills and the aspect of safety are unmatched anywhere else.”

-JH Interview, 2015

Stellawood Cemetery as an Urban Wildscape tells its greatest story. The mere presence of youth in this cemetery speaks boldly this narrative, displaying true characteristics of a Wildscape. With the steady decline of visitors paying their respects and diminishing funds to fully operate and monitor it, this cemetery has allowed for the increase in alternative users who exploit the relatively low surveillance to engage with activities not normally acceptable within the cemetery. The active recreational setting contrasted by the simultaneous existence of a passive sanctuary constructs a dynamic complimentary sense of ambiguity, as succinct as the connection between life and death itself. Through the community and constantly fluctuating re-appropriations and interactions, Stellawood Cemetery has developed a unique set of characteristics in which has established its own local identity, calling for an environment responsive to both the living and to the dead and their memory.

The youth’s presence and re-appropriation of this space previously reserved for the dead has drastically changed perspectives about the cemetery and its meaning in society. These youth are strongly engaging the discussion for how the future of cemeteries should play out, presenting their presence and activities as a very real example of how this space could be fully and adequately utilized as an invaluable city resource. Though they wish to present a new meaning they still call for a space which allows freedom for mourners as well to grieve without disruption and to be able to do so in a safe and caring environment, which expresses a great sense of maturity and pride within these youth towards the cemetery.

Death is not the opposite of life but an innate part of it. By living our lives, we nurture death_ Haruki Marukami

Precedent Studies

CHAPTER 6



CHAPTER 6: PRECEDENT STUDIES

6.1 Exploring Youth, Life and Death in Global Precedents

6.1.1 Introduction

The beginning of architecture is understood by many as the response to the most basic human need; that of shelter. From the beginning of mankind's knowable history these constructs were erected to protect and shield mankind from the natural elements, to sustain human life. Ironically however the earliest most salient surviving examples of architecture are those surrounding death, those which mark a discontinuation with life. In history these architectural marvels celebrated the life and magnificence of an individual. Architecture was and continues to be deeply rooted in its connections with death, in modern cities the cemetery continues to call for an architectural response to a space unlike any other in the city, an architecture which can make death more than a thinkable outcome but can celebrate it through the lives of the people who remain on this earth, on the communities surrounding the cemetery and on the people who would venture into its solemn sanctuary.

The basis of the following chapter sets out to achieve an architectural understanding of the physical manifestation of the argument discussed throughout this dissertation, that of the relationship between youth and the cemetery. The works identified in this chapter should be understood as 'pieces to the puzzle' where not each is in itself the complete picture of youth in the cemetery, but each add insight drawn from principles and approaches by architects and city planners with similar or relatable challenges. These pieces put together a potential picture of a cemetery suggested by an appropriate architectural response to this phenomenon, grounded on theories and concepts discussed in earlier chapters. The basic structure of the precedents below first gives a brief introduction on the project, design intentions and programs, spatial principles, structure and materials and a conclusion drawn about each of the project's significance to the youth in the cemetery.

6.1.2 An Active Cemetery Landscape: Green-Wood Cemetery, New York

Introduction

When one researches some of the most successful cemeteries around the world, Green-Wood Cemetery almost always makes the list as one of the largest most striking examples of a cemetery that has made its existence more than just a burial landscape, but an attraction for art lovers, for history, architecture, nature and so much more. Green-Wood Cemetery was founded in 1838 long before any parks or green public spaces existed within the city's borders. For the living in the cemetery, Green-Wood boasts one of the most active landscapes of any cemetery around the world, even being recognised as a major American tourist attraction in the late 1800s, second only to Niagara Falls (Greenwood, 2015). For this reason Green-Wood cemetery became the first point of origin to analyse within this area of research.

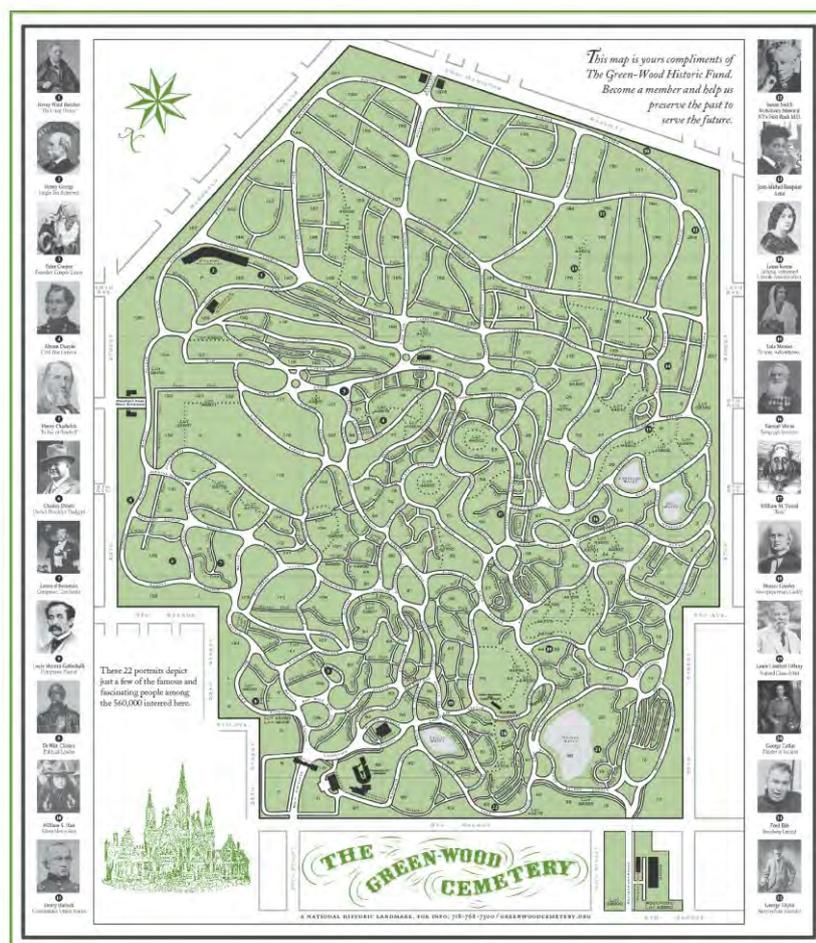


Figure 6.1: Green-Wood Cemetery Map (Source: Green-Wood, 2015)

Green-Wood is a 478 Acre National Monument, park and ultimately a cemetery. Its location is Brooklyn, New York, a city bursting with constant movement and activity, making the cemetery an oasis in contrast to its surroundings. Its overwhelmingly large landscape, hills, valleys and glacial ponds create an atmosphere unlike any cemetery in the world. It is recognised as one of the oldest landscaped spaces in New-York, an arboretum of plants and trees which are home to an array of bird and animal life. To many it's seen as a museum of twists and turns, a Mekka in its own right for historians, scientists, artists, bird watchers and city residents (Green-Wood, 2015).

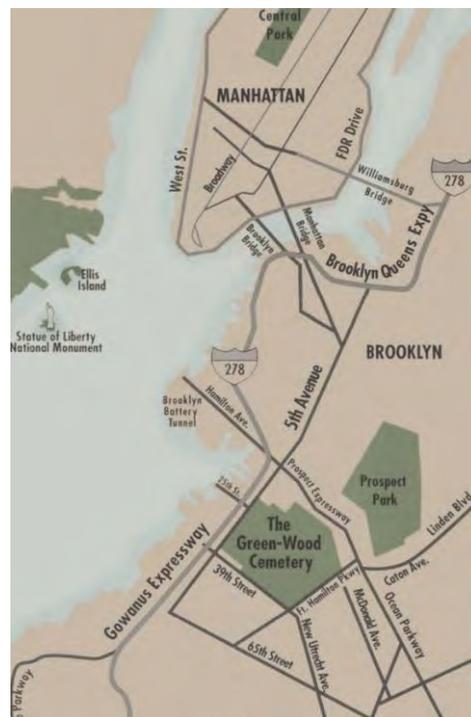


Figure 6.2: Locality (Source: Author, 2015) Figure 6.3: Green-Wood in context of New York (Source: Green-Wood, 2015)

Design Intent and Program

Being recognised as a major city and community resource, Green-Wood Cemetery has through various landscape architects, architects, planners and city authorities been designed and fashioned for over a century to host an eclectic array of activities which continue to shape and build this incredible landscape into a space designed for the living as much as it is for the dead. The ambitions of this cemetery are that it will become a leading major cultural institution for the city of New York and destination for tourism unlike any landmark of its kind.

Most of the original character and beauty of Green-Wood Cemetery remains intact and well preserved through the efforts of The Green-Wood Historic Fund. This fund was established in 1999, with the mission of maintaining the existing infrastructure and integrity of Green-Wood, whilst pursuing the advancement of this cemetery into the future through, preservation, knowledge, and appreciation of the significance of this landmark and its natural spaces. To achieve this, the historic fund has over the last decade hosted events of all scales from guided tours and workshops, to larger events like re-enactments, concerts and seasonal events, which draw any visitor into a liminal space between death and life, where the past meets the present in a manner unlike any public space in the city. This continued public relationship has continued to fund and cultivate Green-Wood Cemetery which remains as much today a living part of New York as it did when it was first conceived and admired.



Figure 6.4: Main Entrance Gate and Offices
(Source: Green-Wood, 2015)

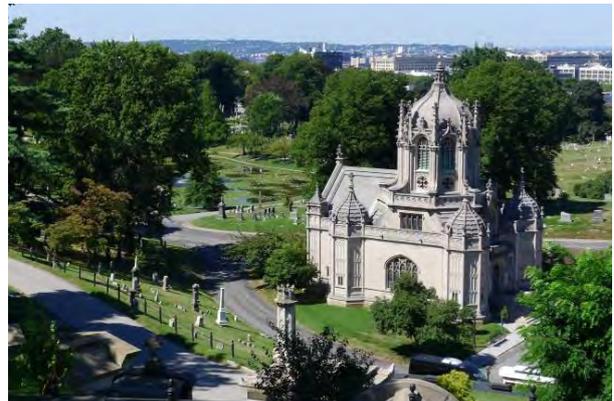


Figure 6.5: Chapel (Source: Green-Wood, 2015)

Spatial Principles

Green-Wood is a rural type garden cemetery which means its spatial layout is fluid shaped with the context of its landscape. It comprises of paths, routes, roads and avenues spread out in a seemingly disordered fashion but labelled and sectioned to mimic the context of the city, the meaning being to familiarise and locate its visitors within this garden city.

Structure and Materials

Many of the most notable architecture within this cemetery are Victorian and Gothic inspired iconic features. Materials vary from incredible stone masonry to marble and even 19th century stained glass art.

Significance

The context of Greenwood Cemetery in relation to this research lies within three key areas namely; the approach to the landscape, the programs and activities of Green-Wood and finally how this feeds the active character of this cemetery.

Green-Wood Cemetery from its inception was designed and laid out as a natural park, as a living breathing organism of the city. Its approach to the design of the cemetery maintained natural elements and features with striking architecture piercing from its picturesque setting. The subtle influences of the city have been drawn through in places across the cemetery to allow its visitor a sense of familiarity and comfort in an almost 'rural' rather than completely 'wild' landscape. Features including road names and way finding, paths lined with benches, and maps with iconic landmarks allow its visitors the opportunity to escape the concrete urban grind around them into a natural semi-wild sanctuary, a site recognised as a key city resource, as far more than a burial landscape.

The Green-Wood Historic fund has made every commendable effort to allow visitors the opportunity to engage with the rich history and culture of Green-Wood. The fund since establishment have been researching and designing events, workshops, tours and programs that highlight and appreciate the unique characteristics and history of this 478 acre two century old garden cemetery. Drawing from the natural features to inspire art, science and nature lovers, or from the 600 000 graves, monuments, and tombs to entice historians or story tellers, inventors, scholars and audiences with interests of almost any nature. Green-Wood makes use of these characteristics to serve the life and future of this cemetery.

Green-Wood's success in promoting the opportunities and characteristics it possesses continue to keep this cemetery a living Historic Landmark and beacon for culture and tourism in the city of New York. It is a monument formed by life of its visitors, a living testament that still recognises and respects the history and memory of those interred within.

6.1.3 A Place For the Living: Tomba Brion, Brion-Vega Cemetery, Venice

Architect _ Carlos Scarpa

Introduction

Tomba Brion is without question an exquisite and incredibly powerful work of architecture and is a strong testimony to the memory and reflective character of a cemetery and memorial space. From having researched an active cemetery landscape like Green-Wood the research now aims to investigate a strongly solemn and reflective environment. Tomba Brion was commissioned in 1969 and was one of the final works of the Venetian master Carlos Scarpa. It was to commemorate the death of Brion, the founder of Brion-Vega Cemetery.

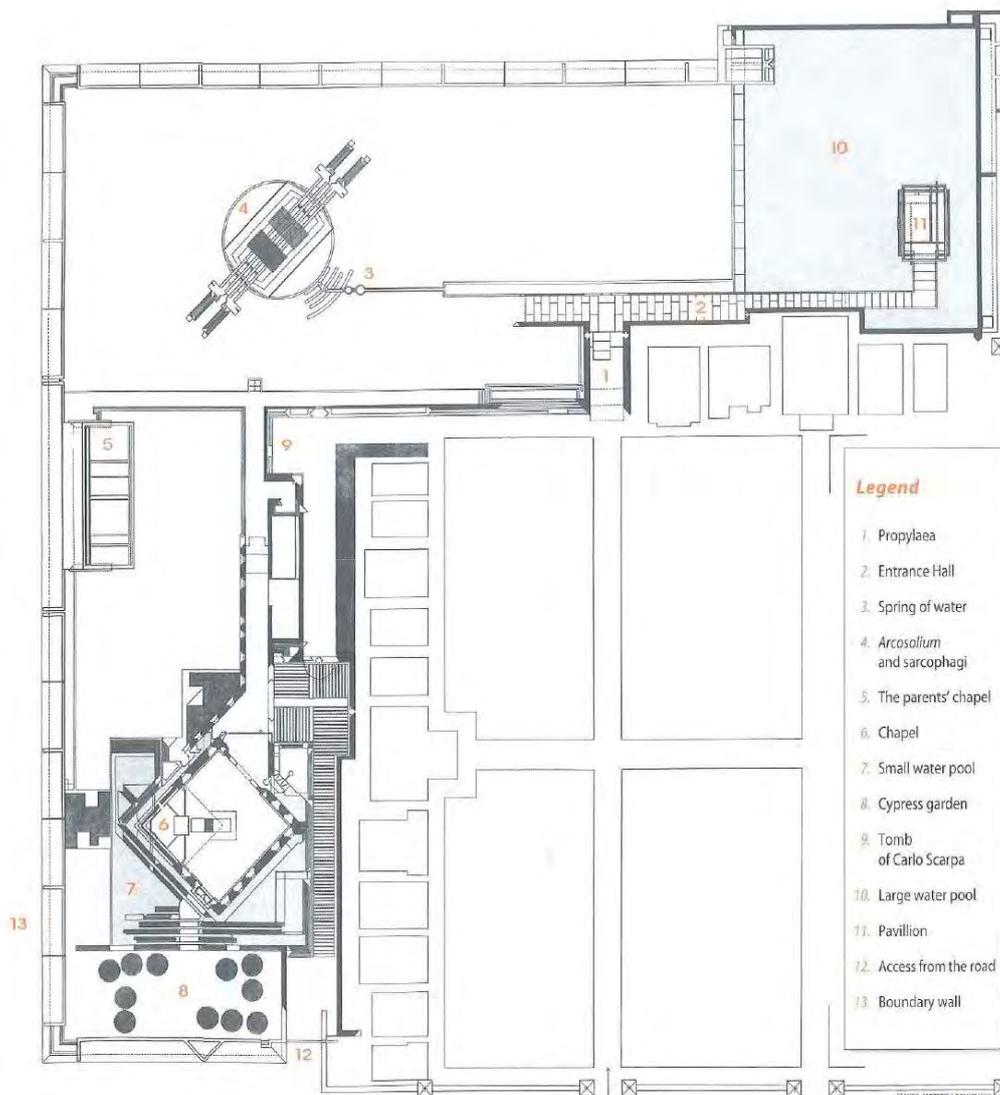


Figure 6.6: Tomba Brion Plan (Source: Albertini, 2013)

Design Intent and Program

Carlos Scarpa is recognised by many architects and scholars as the master of light and this is the exact quality that makes Tomba Brion stand out. The intention of Carlos Scarpa when designing Tomba Brion was to carefully manufacture the experience of movement through the building, meaning that visitors would partake in an experiential journey through that would forever alter their reality. The building is rich with symbolism and well-constructed spatial arrangements. Its architectural aesthetic is dominated by two strategic elements; being water and light (Buosi, 2013)



Figure 6.7: Chapel Exterior (Source: Choe, 2012)

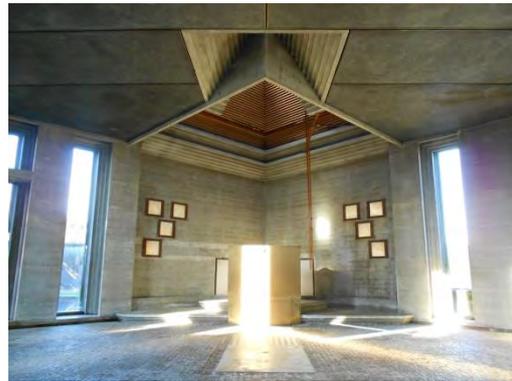


Figure 6.8: Chapel Interior (Source: Pivari, 2012)

The details and edges of every window, corner, opening and skylight are carefully fashioned to capture the essence of falling light, as seen in figure 5.9 below. Scarpa has made use of openings of all shapes and sizes to filter light at various angles and unique forms to control the ambiance of spaces which these look into; see figure 5.10. In main gathering spaces light floods in through large multiple openings, whilst transitional spaces are dimly lit, subject only to momentary pauses.



Figure 6.9: Corner Detailing (Source: Buosi, 2013)



Figure 6.10: Skylight (Source: Buosi, 2013)

The use of water along the chapel edges and the main pool set up a reflective quality throughout this site. Scarpa makes use of the eternal reflective nature of water to draw onlookers into a liminal space between life and death and the form of the chapel has been said to resemble a boat which would carry one there. The further uses of architectural elements beneath the water's edge are characteristic of cultural tales of underwater cities (Buosi, 2013), as seen in figure 5.12 below.

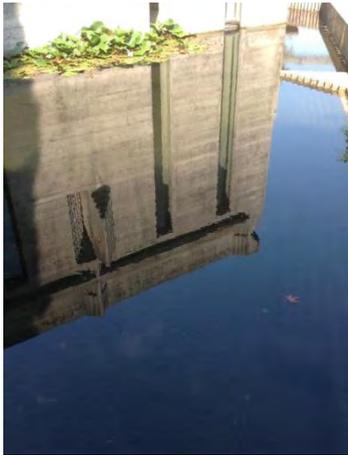


Figure 6.11: Eternal Reflection
(Source: Buosi, 2013)

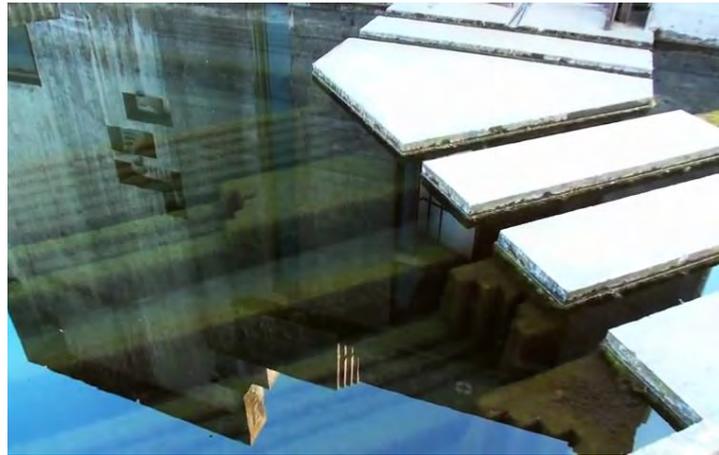


Figure 6.12: City Beneath the Surface
(Source: Di Capua, 2011)

To continue this narrative of reflection Scarpa introduces a water pavilion. This water pavilion sits in the center of the main pool with water surrounding its edges and a semi-cover structure above which engulfs the individual within a room that makes use of no walls or even a roof.



Figure 6.13: The Water Pavilion (Source: Choe, 2012)

Spatial Principles

The layout of structures have been positioned within a linear geometry and connected with a pathway type passage to suggest the journey through this memorial reflective space. At either end of the path are the chapel and water pavilion whilst the central point of this route turns 90° and holds the main crypts of Guiseppe and Onorina Brion in the center of a green lawn space, beneath an arching bridge. See figure 5.11 below.

Structure and Materials

The major structural massing of Tomba Brion is concrete designed with a very heavy brutalist aesthetic, see figure 5.12. Dark timbers, marble, coloured tiles and copper details have been used artistically to contrast and compliment the concrete and light in different spaces, with the major use of white plaster and marble in the chapel to accentuate the shadows cast through the openings and skylight.



Figure 6.11: The Arcosolium
(Source: Buosi, 2013)



Figure 6.12: Relatives Chapel
(Source: Choe, 2012)

Significance

The significance of this architectural work in this research lies in the attentions to detail for generating a reflective architectural landscape. The symbolism and character of spaces supplemented by ingenious use of water and light create an environment which is designed as much for the experience of the living as it is for the memory of those interred within. As a landscape which is purely reflective it has set up a unique relationship with the living.

6.1.4 A New Cemetery Typology: Igualada Cemetery, Spain

Architect _ Enric Miralles and Carme Pinos

Introduction

Igualada Cemetery sets up a very different perspective on cemetery landscapes and it is the intentions behind this approach which make this cemetery complex the next architectural work in this discussion. The current cemetery was commissioned as a competition to replace an older cemetery which rested on the same site. Enric Miralles in partnership with Carme Pinos were chosen to design this complex, emphasising in their proposal that this new cemetery should consider those who were laid to rest as well as the families that remained, meaning this landscape was to be inclusively designed for the living who would visit it. The cemetery was completed in 1994 and is situated in the Catalanian hills of Spain (Kroll, 2011).

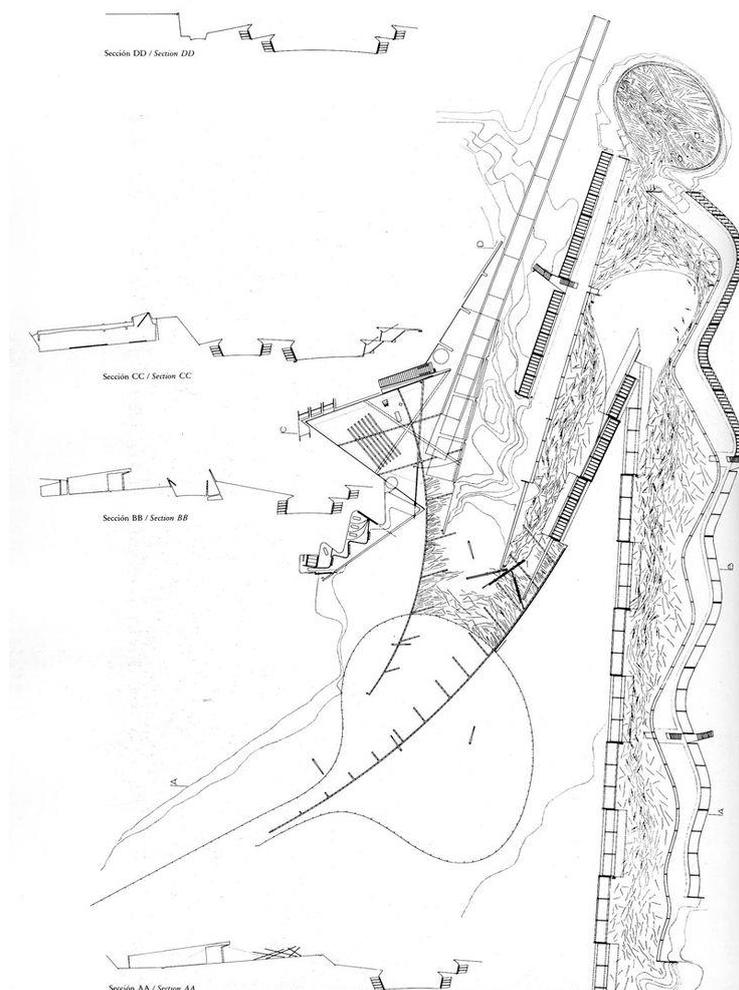


Figure 6.13: Igualada Cemetery Plan (Source: Lambert, 2011)

Design Intent and Program

The desired intent of Igualada Cemetery was to design it into the hillside landscape, set along a winding path which descends into the carved out tiered landscape, leaving the visitor caught between terracing mausoleum-like burial plots and the sky above. Similar to the earlier precedent of Tomba Brion the focus of this cemetery complex was the experience of circulating through its spaces to evoke in visitors a sense of solitude and serenity between its walls. The effect that was pursued was a cemetery complex which did not represent a typical cemetery typology but rather a natural landscaped park to enhance to the experience for the living. The vertical burial walls are the signature feature of this cemetery and ingenious in their own right. Firstly they maximize the potential capacity of this cemetery whilst adding a unique aesthetic beauty to its character. They further serve as terracing walls against the hillside landscape (Kroll, 2011).



Figure 6.14: Burial Walls
(Source: Kroll, 2011)



Figure 6.15: Empty Capsules
(Source: Kroll, 2011)

The second level of this linear structured terraced complex features an unfinished chapel and monastery where the lack of detail is complemented by intricate spatial arrangements, volumes and voids which add to the serene nature of the rest of the cemetery, despite being unfinished. The spaces within are complimented by skylights and features which transform the light and fashion subtle plays between the light and shadows of these spaces. As seen in figures 5.16 & 5.17.



Figure 6.16: Empty Chapel Foyer
(Source: Kroll, 2011)



Figure 6.17: Shadows on the Staircase
(Source: Kroll, 2011)

Structure and Materials

The Main structures of this cemetery are the terraced burial walls which in essence serve as the retention of soil embankments formed by the spaces carved out of the landscape. The use of concrete for the main structural massing is somewhat heavy but its aesthetic is not imposing due to the structural forms employed by Scarpa of concrete terraced boxes which manage to break up the scale of the surrounding walls. Along with concrete structures Scarpa also made use of other natural earth-like elements such as stone gabion walls and timber railway sleepers to blend this architecture into the surrounding rough hard landscape (Kroll, 2011).

Significance

The significance of Igualada cemetery lies in its approach to the experience of the living who would visit this complex. From the onset Carlos Scarpa and Carme Pinos intended to change the traditional typical notions of burial landscapes and design a space that introduced itself to the living, a space that familiarised them with poetic spaces and sensual experiences set up in this cemetery. This new cemetery landscape serves as a space for reflection and transformation even of visitors with no physical connection to members interred within. The outcome is a cemetery complex that as many describe it, is a beautiful connection between life and death, a space where one comes to accept the cycle of life and its connection to the past, the present and most crucially the future (Kroll, 2011).

6.1.6 A Wildscape Narrative: Game Street Mekka Esbjerg, Denmark

Architect _ EFFEKT

Introduction

Having explored cemetery complexes and architecture which engage with the living, from the austere active landscape to the contemporary reflective spaces the research ends with a precedent that talks of a character which rises unpredictably out of cemeteries that either are or in the process of becoming disused, abandoned, 'ruin' spaces. This character as described in earlier chapters is that of a 'Wildscape'. Game Street Mekka is rooted in this nature, and though it does not portray this within a cemetery context it does adequately express the architectural responses to the presence of youth in these historical disused spaces. The site is part of a former locomotive maintenance shed which was no longer in use and slowly began to decay in the midst of youth, skaters and street artists who had taken over this space. The city recognised the importance of this historical site as well as the culture and community of the youth who had made this space their own. The subsequent architectural work by EFFEKT Architects was the winning design in a competition held by non-profit organisation Realdania, and is set to open in December 2015 (Frearson, 2014).

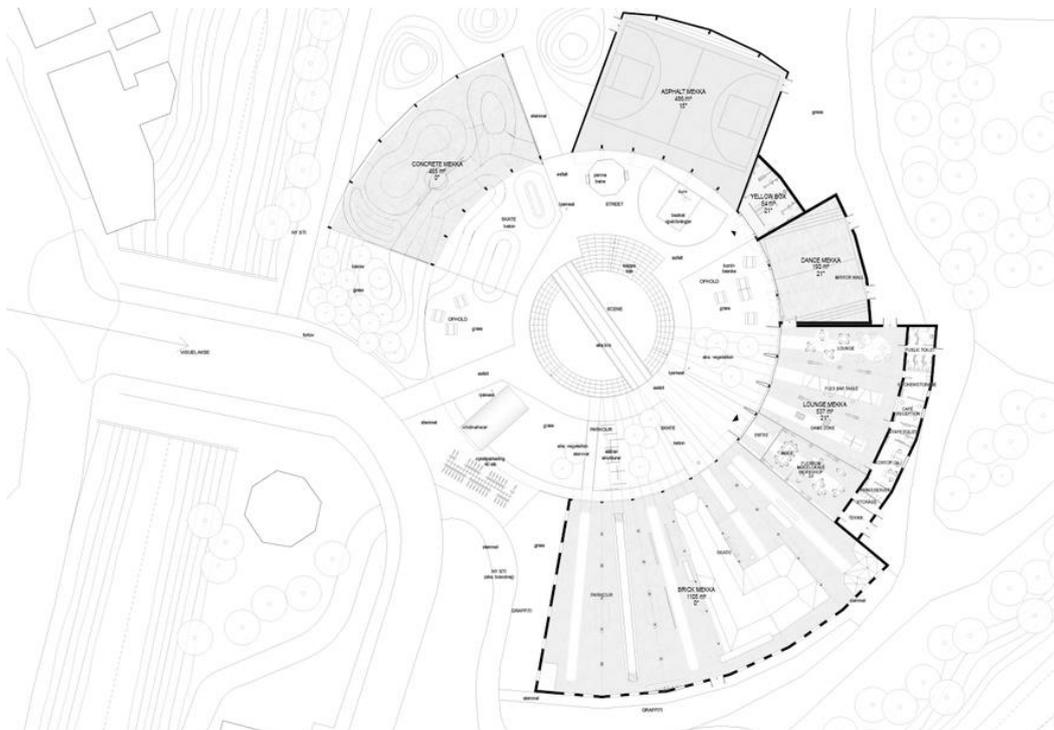


Figure 6.18: Game Street Mekka Plan (Source: EFFEKT, 2014)



Figure 6.19: Artistic Perspective Render (Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

Design Intent and Program

The approach to this design was two fold in that it had to preserve the cultural heritage that existed within the site whilst merging this heritage with essentially a 'playground for street culture', a space adapted to the culture and community who had taken over this space within the city. The move made by EFFEKT was to preserve the roundhouse geometry and industrial features of the site and plug themed activities into the spaces of this geometry. This even taken as far as maintaining the central sunken turntable for trains as a central terraced gathering auditorium space. The activities which were seemingly unrelated, relatively unorganised, and spontaneous, were themed according to spatial and material requirements. These were effectively seen as Mekka's of their given activities, the almost perfect reality of what would be needed for the activities which happen within (Frearson, 2014).

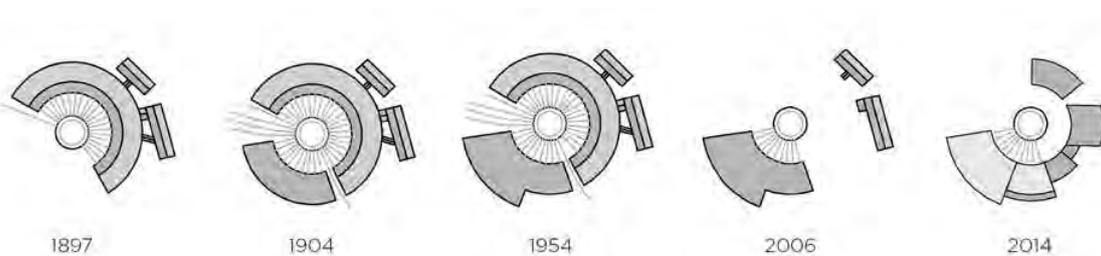


Figure 6.20: Historical Development (Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

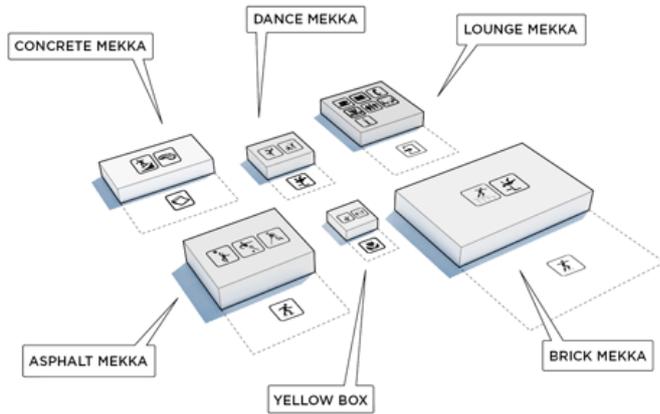


Figure 6.21: Consolidated Themes
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

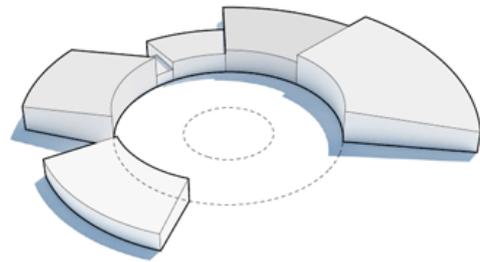


Figure 6.22: Adapted Geometry
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

Spatial Principles

The conceptual idea behind the layout of this project was to use the street culture which had taken over this space and represent this through the design of the building. What this became was a sequence of spaces, nodes and niches each specifically designed to cater towards that type of activity which opened up to and spilt out into this central linear street (Frearson, 2014). The roundhouse geometry allowed this street to be a transitional zone from the individual activity Mekka's to a centralised common space. See figures 5.21 and 5.22 above. Along this street are smaller scale features, each outside of the main event spaces to which they are related, where more sociable unstructured participation can occur.

Structure and Materials

The main structural elements and aesthetics were in keeping with the heritage of this historical train yard. The architects made use of exposed steel portal frames and corrugated roof sheeting with no ceiling. The further use of industrial lighting, unplastered brick, natural stone and concrete continues this raw industrial aesthetic. The most notable use of materials in the design of this building is in the floor finishes which symbolise the functions planned for each individual space. The Concrete Mekka hosts skating and bmx facilities, The Asphalt Mekka hosts court sports like basketball, indoor soccer and netball, the Dance Mekka makes use of timber and the Lounge Mekka features softer surfaces and seating. See Figures 5.23 & 5.24 below.



Figure 6.23: Dance Mekka
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)



Figure 6.24: Concrete Mekka
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

Significance

What's significant in the design and approach of this project for the research is the consideration for the user of this valuable historic site. The city, rather than destroy or completely change this abandoned space, chose to use the Wildscape narrative that was set up by the informal over taking of the youth. This narrative guided the form and program for this site as people came to realise that what was happening in this and other spaces like it around their city were as much a part of its culture as any other historical monument or museum, social or cultural space. This facility emphasized a strong level of trust between the youth and city authorities and relied on the presence of youth, their creative re-use of spaces and community connections to preserve and re-interpret the historical importance of this site, to give meaning and purpose to a space that otherwise would have fallen completely away from the history of the city.



Figure 6.25: Asphalt Mekka
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)



Figure 6.26: Brick Mekka
(Source: EFFEKT, 2014)

That pulling together of seemingly opposites, of differences into a single space, this is architecture _ Andrew Makin

Conclusions and Recommendations

CHAPTER 7



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Part A

7.1 Introduction

Given all the research the outcome of this dissertation has been incredibly positive in that it has provided a key understanding in how these youth have come to be within the cemetery and though they promote a function that many elder generations of people might not agree with, these youth have taken this space and shown a completely new character which it could have given the way society and cemeteries are leading towards. These youth have sparked a crucial topic which needs to be spoken about, debated upon and tackled with reasonable actions as the future of these sights within this context are slowly becoming less certain, and without big ideas and contestations such as these the youth are promoting for how to re-appropriate these spaces, this discussion may never happen until it's too late.

The following chapter outlines the outcomes of the research in regards to the key questions, aims and objectives set out at the beginning of this research. It outlines how these have been achieved and what this means for the future of these spaces should it accept and respond to the purpose proposed by these millennial youth.

7.2 Outcomes of Research Questions

7.2.1 Why and how do youth re-appropriate the cemetery?

a. What are the key interactions and activities youth have and perform within the cemetery?

The youth perform various activities (excluding hedonistic activities which occur but are seldom) within the cemetery including the most common being downhill skating as well as other forms of long boarding, skating, cycling, jogging, urban exploration, and meeting with friends and fellow individuals who share similar interests. These meetings especially within the long boarding community provide a strong link to downhill enthusiasts within the greater Durban region and country wide. The Cemeter provides a space to practice and engage with others in the sport they love with a sense of freedom and safety.

b. Why do youth chose the cemetery setting for this activity?

For the youth the Cemeter is perfectly catered to the activity they look to perform. The hills and wide variety of roads are generally empty and smooth with varying gradients making them ideal for different styles of riding, different challenges, and for gaining incredible speeds for the daring. There are equally enough runs for beginners to practice through to those which can make even the most experienced downhill skater '*weak at the knees*' (JH Interview, 2015). They do not choose this space for their activities with the intention of challenging the existing systems but rather they chose the cemetery because of the character and opportunity which the cemetery presented, that which was not found anywhere else in the city.

c. How do youth perceive the cemetery, and what has influenced this perception?

Having been brought up in the millennial generation, the internet generation these youth have grown to view all aspects of life with a different perspective to elder generations, making it easier for them to challenge the norms of society which are imposed on them. The skaters spoke of some of their friends being initially apprehensive about skating in a cemetery but that skating was their link to the place and once in the Cemeter they lost all perceived reservations and saw the potential of this location as something appealing and noteworthy. This attractiveness and qualities of the Cemetery is said by one of the skaters to be unrivalled by any other location in Durban and around the country, saying that even in the locations of races which he had competed in across Europe and Australia, there were few that matched the experience of skating in Stellawood Cemetery. The skating community perceived very positively the Cemetery as a downhill paradise, a living vibrant landscape. Having become almost desensitized to the perceived stigma of death and the thought of play within a cemetery these youth see a beauty and natural character, seeing the Cemetery as a perfectly adaptable public space that welcomes them.

d. What needs and desires can the cemetery fulfil for youth in these spaces?

The Cemetery provides these youth with a safe space to practice downhill and interact with friends and fellow skaters. It's a perfectly adaptable space for their needs when it comes to downhill skating. The Cemetery as one skater pointed out allows for '*open creativity to practice and hone in their skills before going out into the open roads*' (JM Interview, 2015). With fast moving traffic and the speeds these skaters get up to the open road can become an incredibly dangerous zone, having the cemetery as a space where they can practice free from those dangers makes it an ideal location.

The Cemeter is an open canvas of opportunities for these skaters and it has attracted a world-wide audience of skaters who have seen videos and images of skaters here.

7.2.2 What Value does this have for the modern cemetery?

e. How can the youth influence a new landscape and purpose for the cemetery?

The youth in their presence in contested sights such as the cemetery adequately highlight the lack of existing infrastructure to support their needs for activities like that which occur in the cemetery. The cemetery because of the decline in visitors and the lack of constant control over this site has allowed the youth an angle into this space and allowed them to informally present a new even greater meaning for a space they believe to be of incredible value for the city. These youth talk of the beauty of such a space like the Cemeter being something that already adds beauty and life in a space that would otherwise be morbid and that because of this the Cemeter demands a presence of people for more than just remembrance but celebration of life, a space built on the 'vibe' of the various activities these youth are bringing here.

There is definitely merit to what these youth propose as this generation are now the up and coming decision makers who will influence further generations to look differently at the cemetery and collectively they could reconfigure entirely the meaning of a cemetery into something that will live on in the city around it even when it ceases to provide more land for burial. These youth challenge the lost spaces of the city and in doing so they promote the most fundamental feature for resilience and sustainability, where no space especially large sites like these, are undervalued or left to ruin. By their presence these youth have brought a new level of meaning to the Cemeter and this presence has rippled into the surrounding communities influencing the practice of other nearby residents and has also added an improved sense of safety for one visiting the Cemeter. Though some may not agree completely with their activities these youth are here and changing perceptions, their respect for mourners which if promoted will continue to assist others into seeing passed the fact that these youth are 'having fun' in a space which others have come to mourn, and assist

others to understand that without their activities the cemetery might not always be the same safe and accommodating space for future generations or even themselves.

f. What role can architecture in cemeteries play to develop a responsive environment for the living and the dead?

Architecture once influenced how people saw death, the ancients built architectural wonders which even today are tourist beacons that celebrate and boast of the life and importance of those they were made for. In early developing cities architecture again played an influential role in catering towards a cemetery that would accommodate its visitors and promote their presence and activity. Architecture today should also play an influential role in presenting these youth and the meanings they bring, guiding the use of the cemetery to function sufficiently as a space which can support these two seemingly contradictory meanings.

When asked of the skaters what features would better promote their activity and sport within the cemetery the response was incredibly positive with a lot of their suggestions surrounding more the respect and relationship between them and the mourners and ideas for how to promote these relationships or help them avoid interfering with the mourners. They spoke of an architecture which would buffer them the roads and the routes without obstructing completely the views within the cemetery but sufficiently that it would allow the mourner a sense of privacy to remember their loved ones in peace. Better lighting for skating later in the afternoons and early evenings as well as separated spaces for interactions and gatherings they believed would also assist them in keeping a respectful distance from mourners.

7.2.3 Closing Response to the Key Questions

Why and how do youth re-appropriate the cemetery?

Through both secondary and primary research conducted a full picture was understood about why and how youth have become a present, living and active part of Stellawood Cemetery. These youth have found a space within the city that is perfectly adapted to the activities they look for and their presence has begun to highlight a new perspective and potential that exists in spaces particularly contested lost city spaces such as this cemetery.

What Value does this have for the modern cemetery?

What these youth leave for the modern cemetery is an untapped potential for these spaces to once again become central figure in the context of the city. To become key locations for which people, surrounding communities and other visitors can be intimately connected to the cemetery on a level that extends beyond just death, loss and disconnection. These youth highlight what the cemetery can and perhaps as argued throughout this dissertation should be within the modern city.

7.3 Achieving Aims and Objectives

Aims

The Purpose of this research is to explore and understand the reasons for and the kinds of interactions and connections millennial youth have with Stellawood Cemetery. To then use this understanding to motivate and inform a design for cemeteries that could promote a new life and purpose for these 'dead' spaces.

This aim was achieved within the research, the youth who have made this cemetery a key part of their activity are looking to promote this location as something which expresses life and joy in a space where loved ones are celebrated and where people can come to meet others, to share common recreational interests and to enjoy this incredible landscape of Stellawood Cemetery that lies in our own backyard.

Objectives

1. To explore the movement and activities of millennial youth within Stellawood cemetery

The activity from within Stellawood Cemetery is not something hidden from the public eye but rather it is a bold and very present phenomenon where these youth most of whom are here for Downhill Skating, though others exist, are contesting strongly the use of this landscape.

2. To understand why the youth would chose to be there as opposed to anywhere else

Achieving this objective was the most conclusive part of the research. This location unlike anywhere else in the city not only perfectly caters towards these youth but is a space that is inviting to all kinds of recreational activity within the area where visitors are looking for a space to escape the chaos and hard landscape of the city around them. Here these youth see less danger and trouble between them and other residents as the city and public spaces are already contested grounds for them.

3. To understand how these youth perceive the cemetery within society

Though these youth initially expressed a sense of reservation towards skating in a cemetery, they firmly stated that this landscape to them was a unique incredibly beautiful space that they could enjoy provided they respected the core purpose of this space. Their perception of this site is unquestionably different to older generations but they suggest that their presence will in time sway the perceptions of society to look differently at this space, and see its potential in the city.

4. To understand what the needs are for these youth in public spaces like the cemetery

This objective was achieved with an incredibly positive and mature response from skaters not just looking to make their presence a more real and overarching theme of the modern cemetery but rather they asked that a response to their needs further catered towards the respect and relationship that these youth had with other visitors to promote an understanding between them and mourners. They don't look to stand out but rather be a part of society, to be seen as people with a very real and very strong care for the future of the city, where their input is valued as something that can guide cities to strengthen public facilities and promote a socially inclusive society.

5. To inform a new architecture for cemeteries that re-integrates these spaces into public life and spaces

An architecture that would adequately support the needs and functions for these youth in the cemetery needed to for the skaters be something that further strengthened the needs and purpose of the existing cemetery. These skaters saw their relationship with other visitors as an interdependent relationship that architecture needed to promote and facilitate. Only by doing this do they believe the living could be integrated and supported sufficiently within a city for the dead.

7.4 Conclusions

Stellawood Cemetery sets up an incredibly unique sense of place which invites almost any individual regardless of their purpose for visiting. For its community it has an obvious connection through the families of people buried there, however Stellawood Cemetery has developed a character and community of a completely different nature. For those millennial youth this natural landscape is diversely attractive and suitable for many of the activities of these youth, where they have been able to find their own sense of belonging as they engage with others of similar interests within the cemetery. This community of youth and local leisurely visitors provides a new level of meaning within the cemetery connecting it to a larger residential community which borders this site and in turn through their stories this larger community then connects the cemetery spaces to the living breathing city around it. For many such as the long boarding community this site has become a well-known and frequented location for all down-hill enthusiasts to visit and attempt its runs, taking this site beyond the local community and even gaining global attraction.

As shown throughout the literature the presence of these youth in a contested setting such as Stellawood Cemetery reveals the insufficiency of existing commercially developed public spaces in the city, in supporting the everyday need for 'play' and social integration, especially among these youth. Not only do these youth express a lacking in urban public space they also highlight a certain level of potential that exists between the cracks of currently underestimated sites within the city that wouldn't typically have been conceived or even perceived by the regular city authorities.

Their everyday presence along with other recreational users in the cemetery starts to introduce to the city to this new perspective of the cemetery and what its role is within the community and the city. The activity of youth in Stellawood Cemetery sets a precedent unlike any cemetery in Durban, where this historical and cultural landmark serves as a beacon for the city making active use of this otherwise lifeless horizontal burial landscape. Stellawood Cemetery has an unprecedented potential revealed through the eyes of one of its least likely users, those individuals who wouldn't normally have a voice, overlooked and often chased away from regular public spaces and yet continue to serve the city by generating new meaning in places where no one else could. For this particular cemetery a unique opportunity rests in the hands of city authorities, to accept and use this presence and activity to enhance its public image and develop an iconic unprecedented cemetery landscape, rich in history and culture.

Part B: Recommendations

7.5 Introduction

What follows in this section is the approach taken towards an architectural design that would adequately respond to the needs and proposals made through the research contained within this dissertation. The approach taken was to envision a space which aided by architecture could enhance the overall appeal and functioning of this key resource in the city. The design approach looks to promote Stellawood Cemetery as the central figure in the discussion around purpose and meaning in the modern day cemetery.

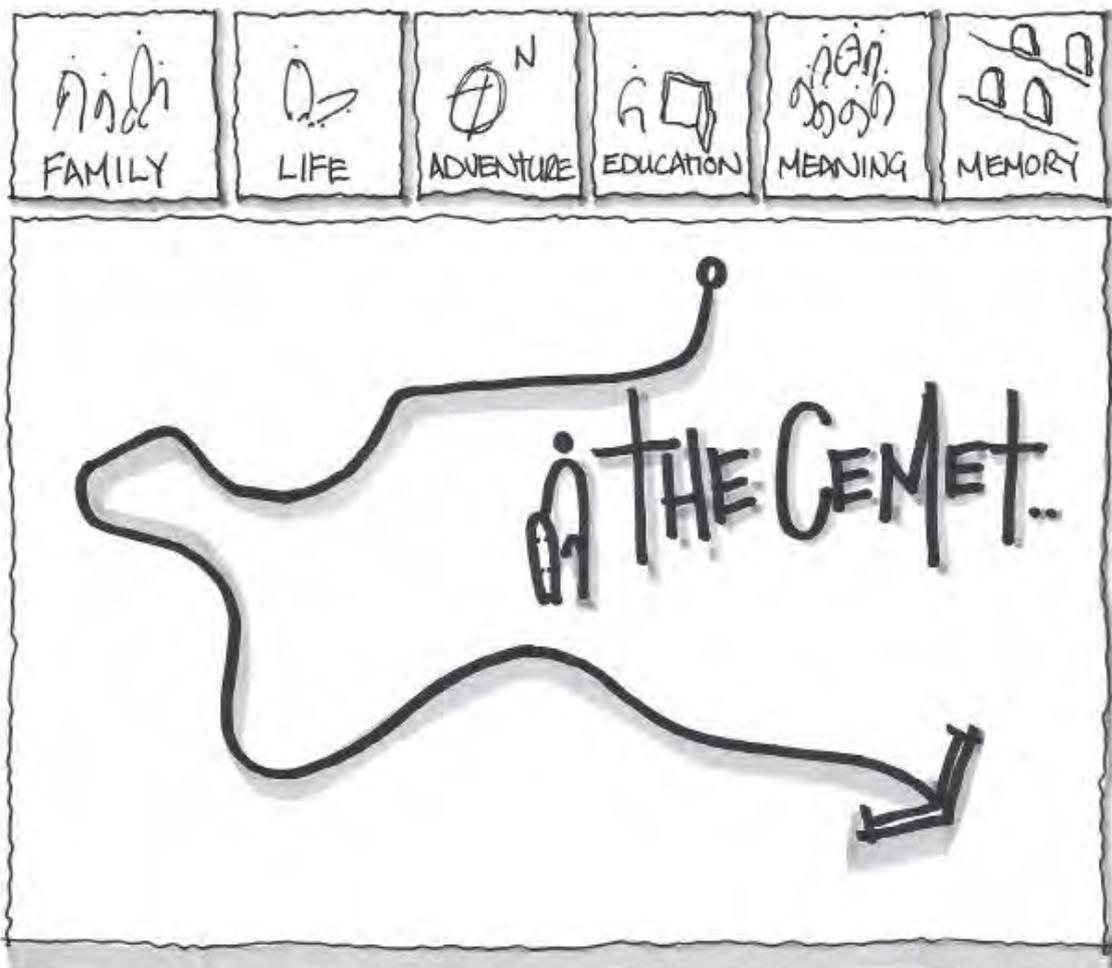


Figure 7.1: Signage (Source: Author, 2015)

7.6 Design parameters

7.6.1 Who, What and Why

Who

With regards to whom this design shall impact there were three key figures that an appropriate design would need to accommodate. These are the recreational user, the core function for burial or interment, and finally as a site for remembrance.

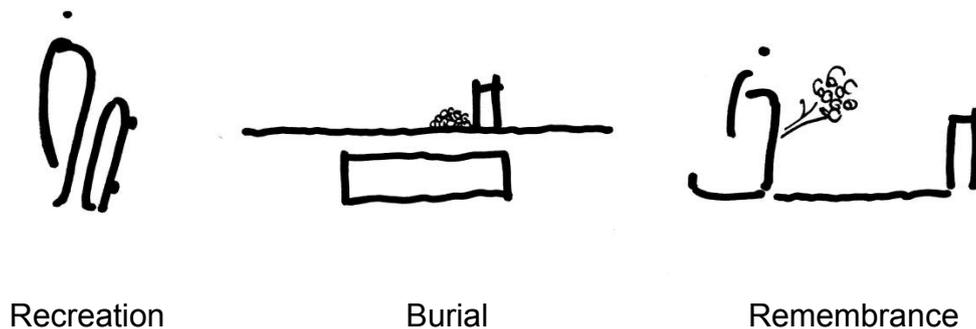


Figure 7.2: Users (Source: Author, 2015)

What

What this design needs to be is a space that firstly highlights the presence of these recreational activities but that which also provides a respectful dialogue between the youth and the mourners. Within the design of an architectural space the cemetery also called for functions which could support the continued need for burial space and alternate burial solutions. As well the needs for additional services that better enhance operations of this cemetery.

Why

To begin to highlight this dynamic of life in cemeteries with the aim of responding to the crisis felt by many city authorities for the future of cemeteries in the midst of over-populated grave sites and diminishing funds and visitors within these spaces. Taking into consideration the approach of an unlikely cemetery user whose presence has begun to influence positively and display the potential of these lost city spaces.

7.6.2 Proposal of Client

The proposal of a client had two considerations, firstly that this Cemetery was owned, run and supported by eThekweni Parks, Recreation and Culture. This meant that the project to upgrade existing facilities would best be supported by this department of eThekweni Municipality as something which would greatly influence the modern cemetery and the future of this site. The benefit for this client would be the long term preservation of this historical and cultural landmark whilst also creating an opportunity for Durban to be at the forefront of this discussion, a leader and global icon for a new cemetery typology.

The second proposal and joint client was the Common Wealth War Graves Commission who continues to maintain and promote the war graves and monuments that this cemetery owes its heritage to. The Commission in supporting this project would be able to benefit from the new generation of visitors who would learn from and about the lives of the soldiers who are commemorated in this cemetery. As an icon for the world this cemetery would support the memory and legacy of these soldiers for many generations to come.

7.6.3 Exploration of Routes

Stellawood Cemetery is a colourful vibrant hive of various levels of recreational activity. Roads which twist, turn and descend into this central basin landscape provide a unique context for interaction between the living and the 'dead'. The conceptual foundation looks at these routes as the perfected everyday experience moving through the cemetery. These routes all lead towards a central point at the bottom of this basin site. Through research with downhill skaters the chosen route was the most popular route identified by them, termed by the skaters as 'Main Run'. These routes of which main run would be the focus for this design project would essentially be the key to the design project as these are the realm where the major recreational activities that occur in this cemetery play out.

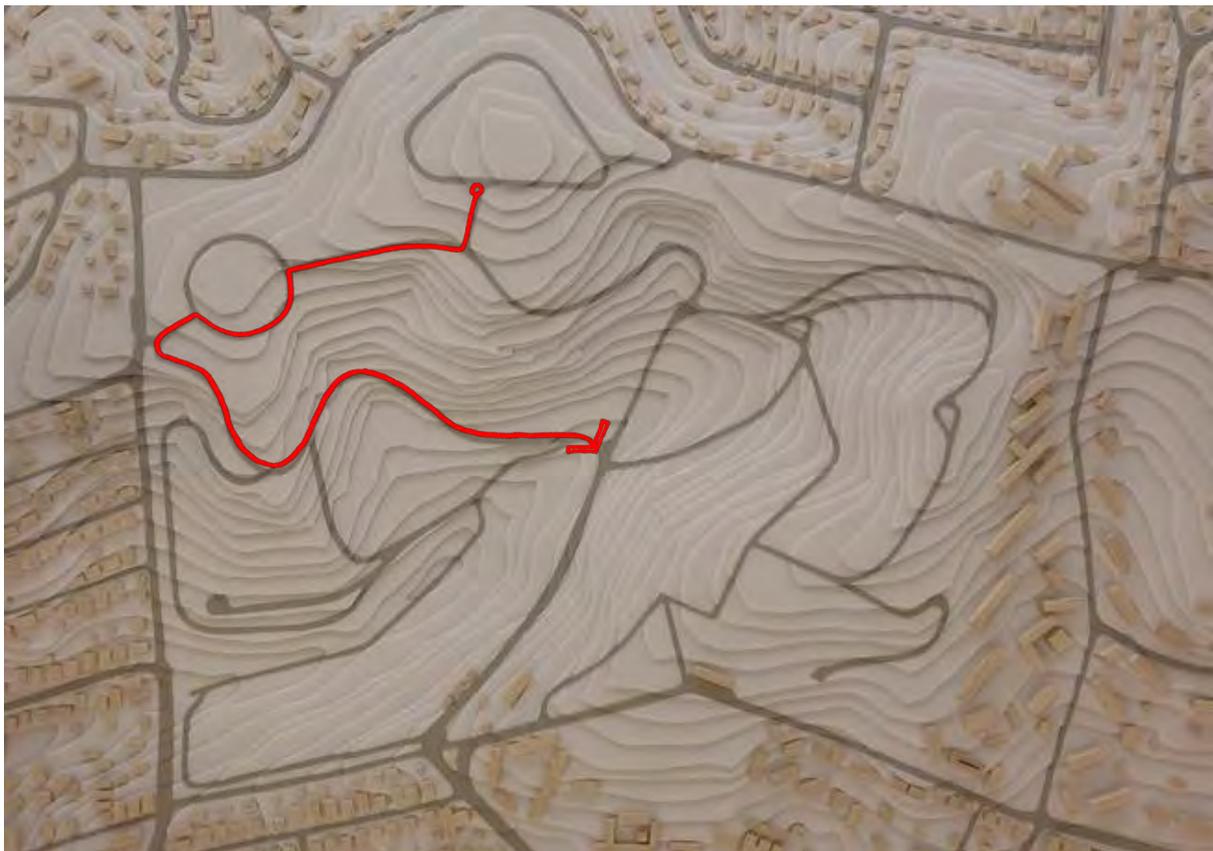


Figure 7.3: Main Run (Source: Author, 2015)

7.7 Site selection

In choosing a site for a possible design the need was to find a location where the least interference with existing graves would occur. These sites needed to feed off the intersection where all the routes terminated so as to stand as an extension of these routes into the architectural space. Two sites came out of this exploration where the least impact was deemed. Site was A is linear site which ran along the lowest section of the basin landscape. This site is the only undeveloped (in terms of graves) part of the cemetery due to the water which collected at the bottom making burial here not an option. Site B would directly feed off of this intersection of routes digging itself into the terraced landscape. This site because of the terraced landscape meant a minimal disruption where the graves were single files one on each level of the terrace so fewer graves laid in the affected area. Due to the linear nature of the routes which are a crucial part of the design the site A was then chosen as it best reflected the qualities of space that the design needed to work with.



Figure 7.4: Site Choices (Source: Author, 2015)

7.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework which would define this design worked off the concept of **skating as an art**. Skating can for architecture be seen as an art that transforms spaces seeing possibilities where otherwise one would see interdictions. Expressing this art in the cemetery would take place through the techniques of sculpting, **carving into the landscape** revealing the passive characteristics that lie hidden beneath the surface of the cemetery and then **building upon it** to highlight and bring attention to a meaning which is a growing trend, this active recreational re-use of space.

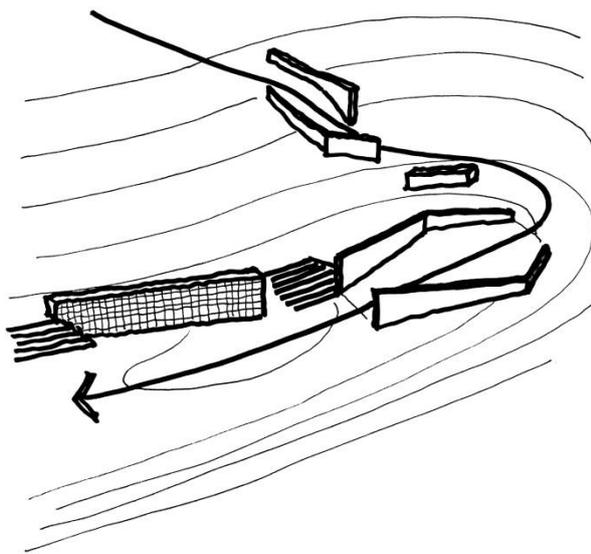


Figure 7.5: Carved Out: Reveals a hidden character (Source: Author, 2015)

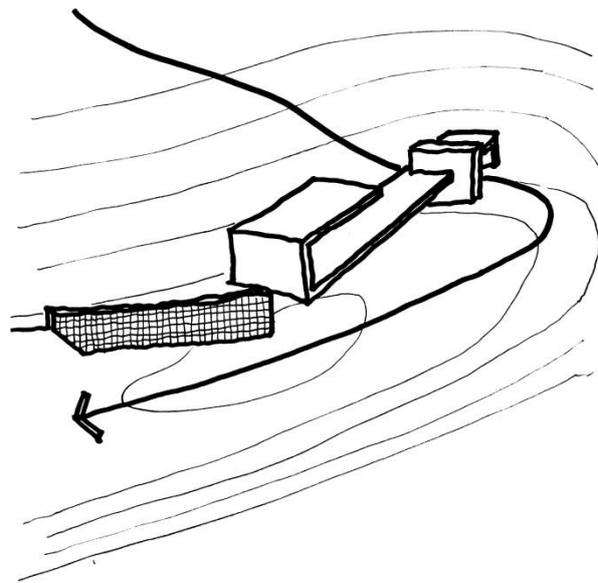


Figure 7.6: Built Up: Highlight a new character (Source: Author, 2015)

7.9 Preliminary Design

The preliminary design approach took into consideration the manner in which the architecture could work within the existing landscape to create a buffer between the active route and the cemetery space which bordered it. What this became was a series of pieces that grew in intensity as one progressed deeper into the cemetery. These elements were spread out in accordance with the open spaces where neither tree nor embankment separated the skater and the mourner whilst on the route. The architectural features would serve an additional purpose of creating more space for burial in the form of vertical burial plots as taken from Igualada Cemetery in Spain.

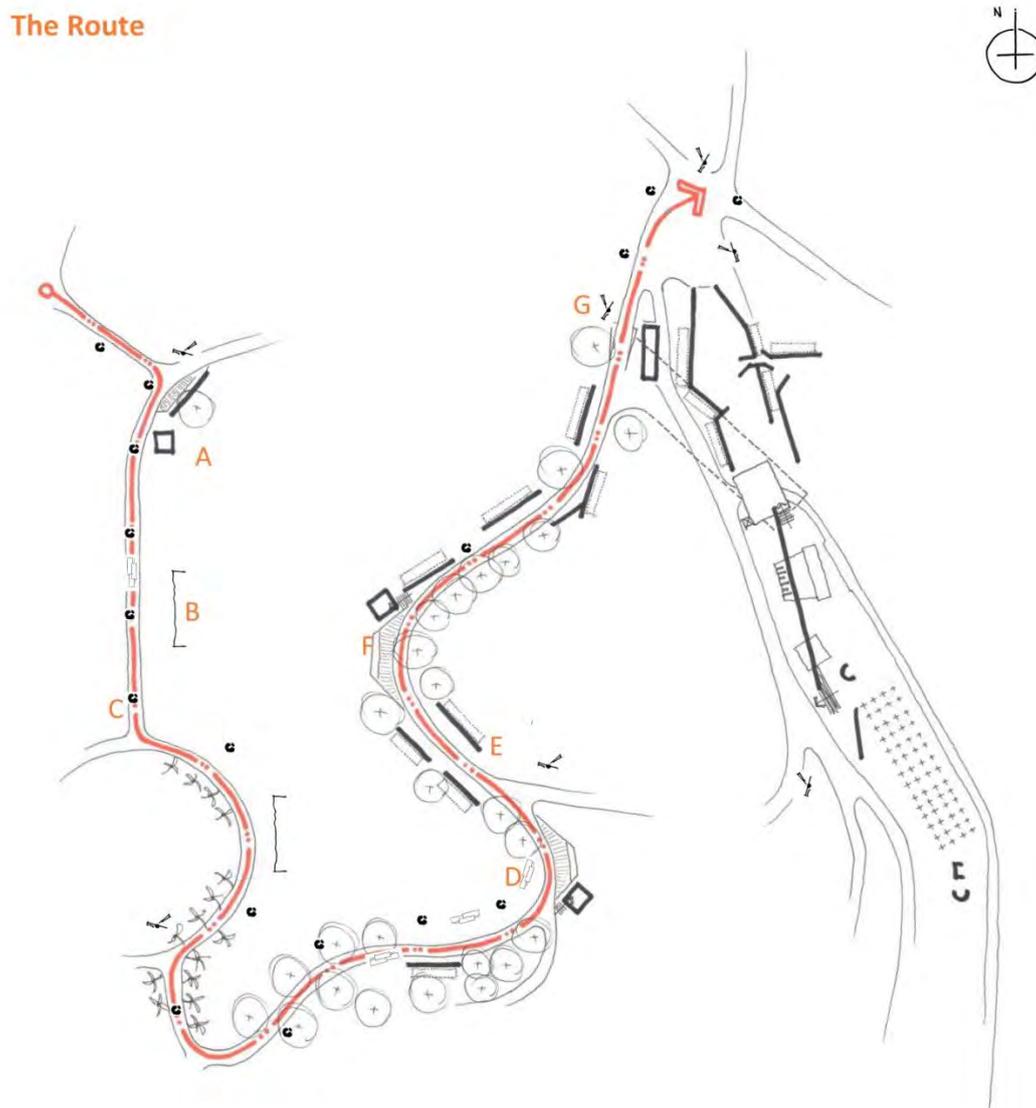
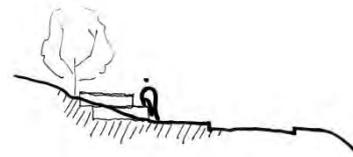


Figure 7.7: Sketch Design Plan (Source: Author, 2015)



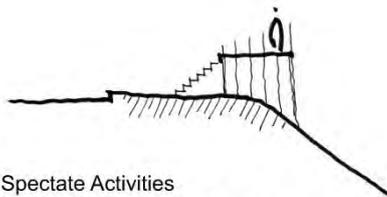
- _ Build up of Activity
- _ Leads into Building
- _ Afterwards this Dispates as it Began

Route Concept



- _ Built Along Road Edges
- _ Places to Spectate Activity
- _ Seating for Leisure

Seating



- _ Spectate Activities
- _ Inspect Route Before a Run
- _ Admire Views Of Cemetery and Durban

Viewing Towers

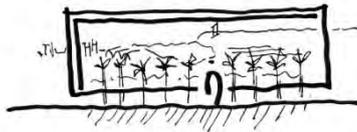
A



- _ Both Trees and Built Form
- _ Seperate Activity and Remebrance
- _ Safety for Skaters and Other Visitors

Buffers

E



- _ Areas with Unprecedented Views of Durban
- _ Framed Views
- _ Minimal Designed Elements

Vantage Points

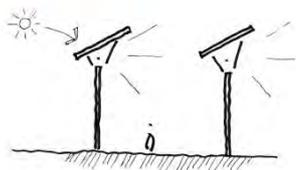
B



- _ Positioned on Sharp Corners for Safety
- _ Opportunity For Spectators
- _ Special Tributes To Memory of Heroes

Burms

F



- _ Solar Lighting
- _ Light Up Routes
- _ Permit Activity into Later Hours

Lighting

C



- _ Roadnames and Way Finding
- _ Familiarise Vistors With Landscape
- _ Encourage Respect From Recreational Visitors

Signage

G

Figure 7.8: Sketch Design Elements For Route

(Source: Author, 2015)

These features along the route would then lead directly into and continue to influence the architectural language of the building itself. Another influence of the architectural language is the use of natural and raw materials that would blend with the setting of this 'rural type' cemetery. The Passive User, the mourners and visitors, would approach the building from the intersection point of all the major routes and descend into the building via a sunken garden on a sloped surface. This sunken garden features these vertical burial plots, also used along the routes, which become the walls for this carved out landscape. Being a basin site where large water runs off this area would also serve as a catchment for this water and in turn filter that water for the reflection pools and other services. Following the linear nature of the routes, the building functions are then laid across a linear path leading through the reflection niches, the multi-denominational chapel, Cremation Niches, Memorial Walls and Promession facilities and gardens. Towards the end of this site again the building would slowly dissipate as it began with the last feature being a Promession Garden which would serve as the introduction of a new form of interment for this cemetery.

The Active or Recreational user would approach the building from a sweeping platform that turns off the base of the route known by the Long boarders as 'Main Run'. This route as part of the architecture is designed to enhance the experience of these skaters whilst maintaining a separation of the graves spaces, through those vertical burial walls, skate features and trees. The Active level of the design is catered to the specific needs of these recreational users and would serve as a place of leisure, a gathering point where these youth would meet, socialize and hone their skills or chat about the runs and routes they 'nailed'. This space would second as an event space which would be used to promote activities and organized events that could be used for various promotional services to continue and prosper this cemetery as a unique and innovative landmark for the city of Durban.

As a final concluding remark, there is potential in the presence of these recreational users within contested sites such as the cemetery. By giving these youth a unique voice to define contested spaces such as these, the city could really begin to engage with apt responses to the problems faced by authorities in maintaining these historical and cultural landmarks and architecture which once played an influential role in making death a thinkable, celebrated, iconic and timeless landmark, once again can potentially promote the bringing together of both death and life within a single space, to revolutionise the way in which these landscapes are used and viewed within society for future generations.

7.10 Schedule of Accommodation

Route Acc.

Designed Area = 3500m²

- _ Vertical Burial Plots
 - 2000 Vertical Burial Plots
- _ View Towers
- _ Burms and Features

Lower Ground Floor Acc.

Designed Area = 6500m²

- _ Formal Promession Garden
 - 60 Additional Interment Plots
- _ Cremation Niches
 - 60 Cremation Plots
- _ Common Areas
- _ Wall of Remembrance
 - 2000 Plaques
- _ Funeral Chapel
- _ Ablutions
- _ Drop-off, Circulation and Service Areas
- _ Reflective Spaces
- _ Sunken Garden
 - 500 Vertical Burial Plots
 - 5000 Cremation Plots
- _ Water gardens and Reflective Pools
- _ Water Storage and Services

Ground Floor Acc.

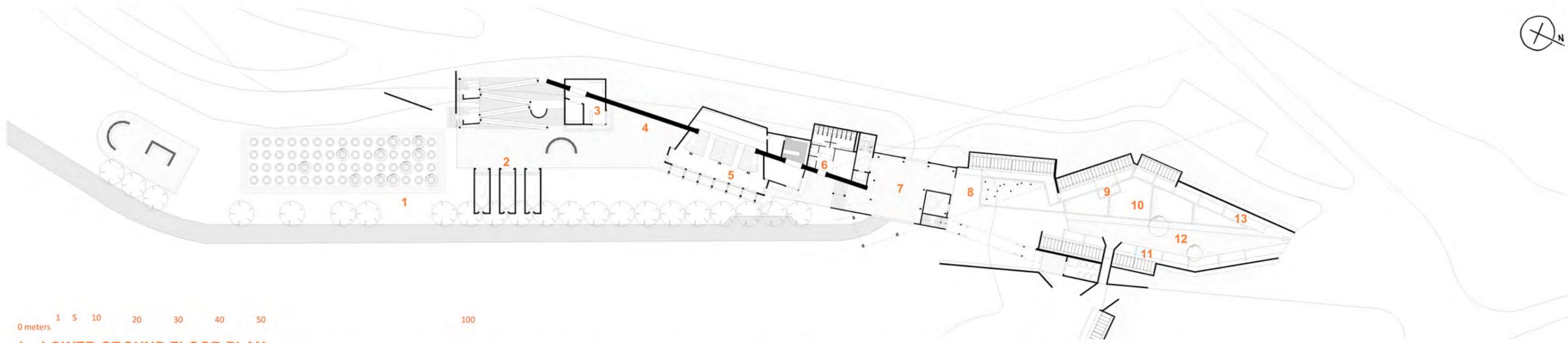
Designed Area = 2200m²

- _ Genealogical and Historical Records Office
- _ Archive Rooms
- _ Education and Development Offices
- _ Office Service Areas
- _ Maintenance Rooms
- _ Circulation Areas
- _ Parking Facilities
 - Semi-formal Area 50 cars holding
- _ Ablutions

First Floor Acc.

Designed Area = 2500m²

- _ Linear Skate Space
- _ Event Gallery
- _ Service Kitchen
- _ Service Rooms and Circulation
- _ Ablutions



0 meters 1 5 10 20 30 40 50 100

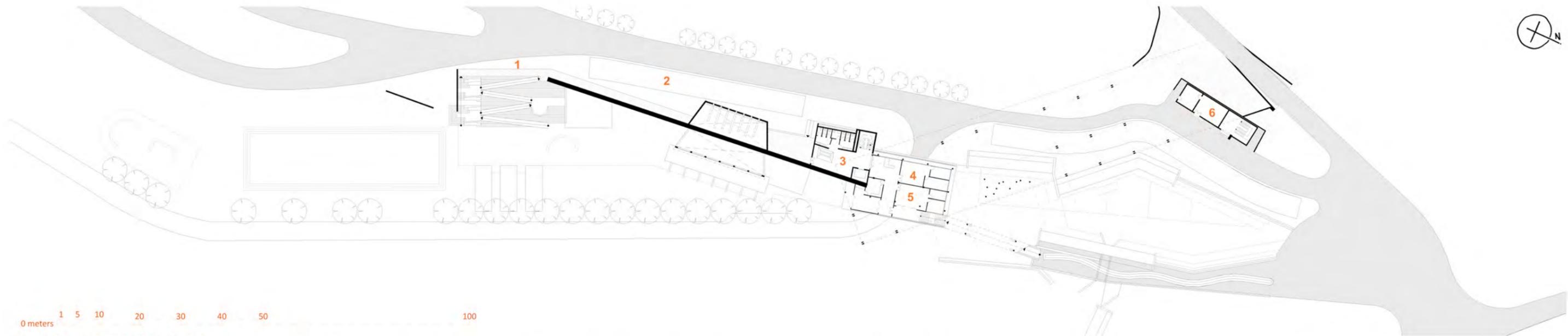
-1 _LOWER GROUND FLOOR PLAN

1. promession garden 2. cremation niches 3. promession facilities 4. memorial wall 5. funeral chapel 6. service rooms 7. dropoff 8. water garden 9. water pavilion 10. reflective pools 11. vertical buial walls 12. sunken garden 13. cremation walls



EAST ELEVATION

Figure 7.9: Lower Ground Floor Plan and East Elevation
(Source: Author, 2015)



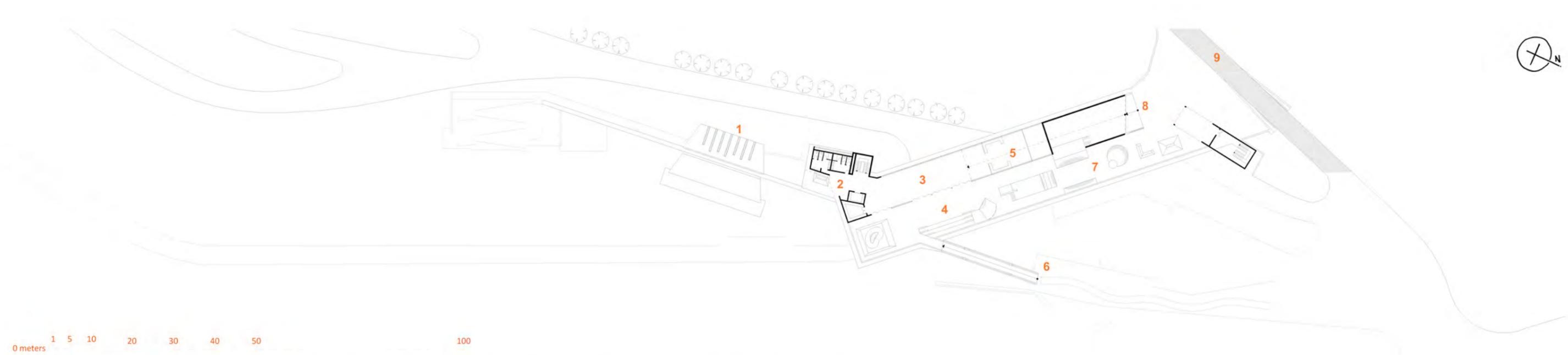
0 _GROUND FLOOR PLAN

1. ramping staircase 2. off road gravel parking 3. services and circulation 4. geneology and historical archives 5. education and development offices 6. existing maintenance offices



SECTION

Figure 7.10: Ground Floor Plan and Section
(Source: Author, 2015)



1 _FIRST FLOOR PLAN

1. stained glass roof lights 2. services 3. event space. 4. event spill out area 5. event kitchen 6. connecting bridge 7. linear skate space 8. ramped rooftop 9. link to route



WEST ELEVATION

Figure 7.11: First Floor Plan and West Elevation
(Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 7.12: Artistic Render: Sunken Garden and Skate Space (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 7.13: Artistic Render: Water Garden (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 7.14: Artistic Render: Chapel Space (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 7.15: Artistic Render: Promession Garden (Source: Author, 2015)



Figure 7.16: Artistic Render: 3D Section (Source: Author, 2015)

Appendix A: Sample of Interviews

Youth Interview Schedule:

I. Introduction

Firstly I would just like to thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this discussion.

As a part of my Masters Research dissertation at UKZN, this interview is focused on understanding what your connections, interactions, activities and perspectives are about and within Stellawood Cemetery.

I have a few questions to ask but if you have anything you feel is relevant to this discussion, please feel free to say so at any point, as I am particularly interested in what you feel is important.

I would really like to treat this as more of a discussion, and get as much out of your experience as possible.

II. Ice Breaker

Just to get us started

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?
 - a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?
 - b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?
 - c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

III. Body

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?
 - a. How often do you come here?
 - b. When do you come to the cemetery?
 - c. How do you access it?
 - d. Do you come here alone or as a group?
3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?
 - a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?
 - a. Discuss with map
 - i. Consider places they gather
 - b. Why these particular places or routes?

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?
 - a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?
 - b. What about your parents or other elders?
 - c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?
 - i. If yes, why do you still come here?
 - ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?
 - a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?
 - b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?
 - i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?
 - ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:
 - a. What would you really want to see in it?
 - b. Would you visit this place more often?
 - c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?
 - i. If yes, how?
 - d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

IV. Contact

That is all the questions I had needed to ask you so thank-you so much for your willingness and time to help in this research, I would now just like to ask you lastly:

8. Would you be able to recommend anybody else you know who could also help me in my research?
 - a. Name:
 - b. Contact information:
 - i. If you'd prefer to leave them with my contact and have them get hold of me then please provide them with (a copy of information forms)
9. I would like to keep in contact via email, if you are willing, should any further questions come up at a later stage that you will be able to help me with. If you're okay with this please provide an email address and/or contact information:_____

Researcher Information:

Name: Jean-Pierre Audibert

Email: audijp@live.co.za

Supervisor: Bridget Horner

School: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

School of the Built Environment and Development Studies

Caretaker Interview Schedule:

I. Introduction

Firstly I would just like to thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this discussion.

As a part of my Masters Research dissertation at UKZN, this interview is focused on understanding what your experiences are about the youth's activities within Stellawood Cemetery.

I have a few questions to ask but if you have anything you feel is relevant to this discussion, please feel free to say so at any point, as I am particularly interested in what you feel is important.

I would really like to treat this as more of a discussion, and get as much out of your experience as possible.

II. Ice Breaker

1. How long have you been working here at Stellawood Cemetery?
2. What are some of the activities that take place here?
 - a. Are there days or times where the cemetery is particularly busy?

III. Semi-structured questions.

3. Are you aware of the youth skating and cycling in this cemetery?
 - a. How often do you notice them?
 - b. Are there specific days or times they come here?
 - c. Do they come in groups or as individuals?
 - i. If in Groups how many usually?
 - ii. Are they regularly the same group of people skating?
 - d. Roughly how old would you say they are?
4. Do these youth interfere or disturb individuals paying their respects?
 - a. Do they make a large amount of noise?
 - b. Does their behaviour change when visitors are nearby?
 - c. Are they respectful of others here for other purposes?

5. Where do you notice them mostly skating; particular roads or specific areas?
 - a. Are they respectful of the gravesites and memorials?
 - b. Have there been any complaints from neighbours or users about the skaters?
 - c. Has there been any reported damage caused because of the skaters?
 - i. If yes; what type and level of damage do they cause?

6. Would you encourage or discourage them using this space?
 - a. If discouraged how do you go about doing this?
 - b. Do they listen when asked to leave or move on to another area?
 - c. Is your relationship with these youth friendly and on good terms?

7. Do you believe these youth's presence contributes positively in any way to the cemetery?
 - a. Does their active presence improve safety for others visiting the cemetery?
 - b. How could they work alongside your staff to make the cemetery a better space?

IV. Contact

That is all the questions I had needed to ask you so thank-you so much for your willingness and time to help in this research, I would now just like to ask you lastly:

8. I would like to keep in contact via email, if you are willing, should any further questions come up at a later stage that you will be able to help me with. If you're okay with this please provide an email address and/or contact information:_____

Appendix B: Collected Data

Youth Interview with DH

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

Downhill Skate Boarding

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

Either a local spot like Stellawood or for more extreme roads, we go to the valley of 1000 hills

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

The adrenalin factor is addictive.

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

There is less rain in winter which is best otherwise roads are too slippery to slow down, usually weekends are best.

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

Stellawood is a safe place to come skate and practice, there are minimal cars and there is always a crowd there

a. How often do you come here?

Usually about twice a month

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

Mostly on weekends but sometimes we go after work to relieve some stress

c. How do you access it?

We come through the main gates

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

We usually come in groups as it is safer in case someone gets hurt there are people to help

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

We prefer Stellawood because of the safety factor and there is always a good vibe

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather

b. Why these particular places or routes?

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

I personally love the cemetery, when we first heard about it a lot of people were skeptical because, well it's a cemetery

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

Some people are rather weirded out by the fact that we hang around in a cemetery all day but once they come and see it they realize at we are actually bringing joy to an otherwise morbid place.

b. What about your parents or other elders?

We have had some mourners shout at us and say we are disrespecting the dead, but most of the time we get a lot of smiles and even lifts up the hills from these people.

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

We have heard that being in the cemetery after dark can be a bit dangerous and we tend to avoid it at night, but if we have a big enough group and the lights are on we will skate.

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

No

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

We have the utmost respect for them.

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

If we see someone mourning we will move to another section of downhill so as not to disrupt them, we will come back once they are done. We have been asked to stay sometimes so they can watch and see what we do, like I said we are only trying to have fun and some people prefer the good vibe we bring.

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

There are more than enough spots in the cemetery to skate if we need to avoid mourners.

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

The cemetery already caters for our sport, I would only recommend some signs saying beware of skaters and that would just explain our situation and benefits of skating in an enclosed area instead of in the open road.

b. Would you visit this place more often?

Yes

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

If it brings more people to skate that would be awesome, the skate scene has died a little in Durban and we would love to get it up and running like it used to.

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

We love the safety and vibe at the cemetery; we mean no disrespect to anyone and pride ourselves on leaving with everything we brought, EG. Trash etc.

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

I have always had a keen interest in skateboarding and have been actively skating for the past 20 years or so.

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

Skating can be done pretty much anywhere provided there is a hard surface and preferably some form of obstacle.

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

I think my favourite aspect of skating is the general lack of rules or laws. It provides a sense of freedom that is difficult to find anywhere else. It helps to clear my mind and usually provides a great premise for socialising with friends and meeting new and interesting people.

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

Provided that it's not hailing or flooding, every day is a great day to go out for a skate.

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

To practise downhill skateboarding and enjoy the activity with friends.

a. How often do you come here?

I skated at the Stellawood cemetery at least twice a week. Sometimes everyday as I worked and studied nearby.

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

Mostly over weekends but I also stopped by on my way home from work and university in the afternoons.

c. How do you access it?

The cemetery has a few access gates so it depended on the direction of approach.

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

I usually skate in a group for safety reasons. 2 sets of eyes are better than one for spotting approaching vehicles.

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

Once you become desensitised to the fact that you're essentially playing in a cemetery, the peace and quiet is really nice. Skating on public roads usually ends with a visit from the police or an angry pensioner shouting at us from their car.

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

The Stellawood cemetery is one of the most ideal places in the country for downhill skateboarding. It's made up of numerous interconnecting hills with amazing corners and varying gradients. These are qualities that will make any downhill skateboarder weak at the knees. Downhill skateboarders from around the world have come to Durban to experience the cemetery after seeing videos and photographs posted on social media.

One of the biggest dangers faced by downhill skateboarders is cars. I have personally seen 2 good friends get hit by cars that were driving on the wrong side of the road and another friend of mine was killed on a mountain pass in Cape Town. This makes the cemetery attractive as it provides skaters with a safe place to enjoy themselves as traffic is very quiet and visitors always drive around the property very slowly.

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

We will skate the entire cemetery, all roads and all routes.

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather



b. Why these particular places or routes?

These are most of the possible routes for skaters around the cemetery. The gathering spaces are shown with yellow circles. People tend to gather at the major intersections to watch other skaters and it have easier access to more hills.

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

I see the cemetery as a downhill skateboarder's paradise. The combination of amazing hills and the aspect of safety is simply unmatched anywhere else. I have skated and competed in downhill races all over South Africa as well as in Europe and Australia and I have yet to come across a place as perfectly suited as the Stellawood cemetery. This being said, it is still a place of mourning and we give unconditional 'right of way' to people who are there to use the space for that purpose.

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

I think my friends who don't skate have a very different opinion about it. Downhill skateboarding is my link to the place and I think it's very difficult for people to understand the appeal. Cemeteries are often perceived as sad and even eerie places to most and I think many people find it weird that I choose to visit one so frequently for recreational purposes.

b. What about your parents or other elders?

My parents have always been extremely concerned about my safety to the point where my mother refuses to watch me compete in races and other associated events. I think the idea of the cemetery was a bit uncomfortable for them at first, but after explaining the safety aspect they were totally supportive of the idea. Luckily my grandparents have a good sense of it has never seemed to bother them at all.

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

ii. If no, why not?

Fortunately I have yet to be told anything disturbing about the cemetery. In the years of skating there we have become friendly with the municipal staff who maintain the grounds as well as the family who live inside the cemetery. They seem to find us amusing and appreciated the fact that we donated skating equipment to the young boy who lives on the property.

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

Encountering a funeral at the cemetery is quite rare and not many people visit the cemetery on a normal day. We have learnt that father's day and mother's day are really busy and we usually stay away on those days.

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

I respect the people who visit the cemetery as mourning is its main purpose. It's impossible not to feel pity for the people who visit the burial site or memorial of a deceased friend or relative.

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

This is quite a sensitive issue as the cemetery is solely intended for mourning and paying respect to past friends and relatives. There is an unwritten law amongst the skaters to respect mourners and keep a good distance from them while they are there. In the case of a funeral we either move to the opposite end of the cemetery or move along to another hill for a few hours until the funeral is over.

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

Fortunately the cemetery is really big and has loads of places to go in order to give mourners their privacy. The geography and trees also help to buffer noise.

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

Adequate lighting could be an excellent way to promote skating at night to avoid mourners during the day. Most of the light fittings around the cemetery have been stolen. I think a secluded place to park cars and congregate would be a fantastic way to prevent any disruptions we might cause to mourners. Another issue with the cemetery is the availability of water. Most of the taps have been stolen or damaged.

I think some sort of buffer along the road edges would make a really big difference to the relationship between skaters and mourners. It would provide the mourners with a greater sense of privacy and also provide the skaters with a soft landing when we overshoot corners. This happens from time to time and it's not fun.

b. Would you visit this place more often?

I certainly would!

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

Large numbers of skaters at the cemetery has always caused issues as it inevitably leads to more encounters between skaters and mourners and it brings more unwanted noise into the place.

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

The major issue with skating at the cemetery is the tension caused by encounters with mourners. If some sort of balance is created it would be a much more inviting space.

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

Longboarding, Sailing and going fast downhill.

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

At Stellawood cemetery, the Valley of 1000 hills and local hills where I used to live (Queensburgh) but always willing to venture out into new territory.

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

The thrill of speed, the feeling of nothing else mattering besides for nailing the perfect line, landing a big slide and the occasional 'oh shit that was a stupid thing to do (usually ending up in roasties)'

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

Any day is good, well after work. The summer allows for long afternoon weekday skates in the graveyard which is a big advantage as most people travel at least 30mins to get there.

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

I come to longboard

a. How often do you come here?

When I first started skating 2013 we would skate every day in the cemetery, then less and less but usually 1-3 times a week, including weekends.

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

When the weather is good, friends want to skate. Weekdays or weekends.

c. How do you access it?

Via car threw the main entrance off Selbourne Road

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

Come alone sometimes, or come to meet friends and share the stoke

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

It's peaceful; there is every type of hill you can imagine. For beginners to the more advanced it is a perfect local spot that is relatively quiet and allows one open creativity to practice and hone in their skills before going out onto the open road.

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

There is less traffic so it is less dangerous and the tar is smooth, meaning a lower chance of falling due to obstructions and inconsistencies on the road. The diverse winding of the roads is also a pull factor.

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

There are almost no cars; there is a good vibe and a spook horror.... If you crash and burn at least they don't have to take you far.

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather

When we started.... hill from main entrance, down take first 2 lefts and park, practice abit threw the s-bend or if you feel uncomfortable you can go straight towards (pine Cone Avenue). Main run was also on this list (from the top, around the circle and then down till you go past the local hut and go right onto the flat surface.)

As we progressed... We would park at 'techno circle' and started using Q block quite a bit... Military run was always fun as we went faster and faster learning new lines. The road down to the circle was also really fun and good for a free ride with friends... we would still do main run and now at a faster speed. you can pretty much say we skated the whole cemetery... every nook and cranny.

b. Why these particular places or routes?

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

The cemetery is of course a place for people to go and mourn. Yet it is a lovely location amongst a busy residential area. It has brought many great times to many people.

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

Of course, there was often the look of 'what? You are going to longboard in a cemetery!!!!' Maybe they were just a little freaked out and didn't know the potential of this spot.

b. What about your parents or other elders?

Parents are happy to have a place that is relatively safe for us to do our thing.

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

Since the long boarders have used this spot there has been a significant decrease in the amount of 'lurkers' that hang around, a bigger increase of people walking, cycling through there and people that come to mourn. It's not to say that we have made it safe... not at all. But our presence has maybe been a good thing for criminal reasons.

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

Respect everyone, especially if they there for spiritual reasons.

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

Not all the time but often there are people who come to mourn, or the occasional funeral that's in progress.

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

We have always and still always move off to another spot in the 'cemet'. We also try to let the 'groms' know this too so they will also do that instead of making noise and hanging around. At the end of the day it is a cemetery and the people are there to spend time with their loved one... UNINTERRUPTED time!

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

It's not designed for what we do. It is just ideal for what we like to do...

Some added benefits would be a toilet, basin and shower area that we could access. a lift system to take us back to the top of main run or military run... this would bring lots more people, and give every one more time to skate instead of walking. Another idea could be a half pipe, mini skate park built up on the top section somewhere. maybe braai areas and the taps in the cemet fixed, its not always nice missioning for along time looking for water when you dehydrated and have dry mouth.

b. Would you visit this place more often?

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

I enjoy surfing, playing guitar and longboarding.

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

Longboarding usually around my neighborhood or other neighborhoods I am used to.

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

Creativity and freedom. And convenience when it comes to commuting to class (in Stellenbosch).

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

For surfing and longboarding it is best on warmer days, especially for surfing.

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

The roads are nicely paved and the hills have varying gradients for different kinds of riding. Roads are often empty.

a. How often do you come here?

I used to go once every 2 weeks or less

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

I come during the day when it is safest

c. How do you access it?

I remember just driving through the gates without any problems

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

As a group. It feels safer

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

The selection of roads and the peaceful atmosphere

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

It is safe as there are usually no cars and they drive slow

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather

b. Why these particular places or routes?

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

It is a great place to longboard as long as we don't disrupt mourners

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

They may think it is creepy and/or disrespectful to the mourners but most longboarders are for it

b. What about your parents or other elders?

Parents are concerned for our safety with regards to theft

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

The crime in the area is a risk but there is the same risk if not worse on public roads. Cars make public roads less safe too.

ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

With the highest respect

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

Don't often see people

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

I feel bad

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

We stay away from them

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

Yes, but if we can't find an "empty" place then we won't longboard.

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

A way to see if the roads and surrounding areas are empty would be handy.
(Camera's maybe with a video feed at the top of the hill?)

b. Would you visit this place more often?

Yes

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

More people would mean more fun as long as it doesn't get too crowded
and it affects the mourners

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

If you could manage to sway the mourners perspective so that they see the place as a celebration of loved ones lost. The vibe of the cemetery could be more positive - why does it have to be sad?

Set strict times when people can longboard. Obviously not allowed to on mothers or father's day etc... Implement a way of showing long boarders how important it is to respect the mourners and encourage a caring atmosphere around that. That consciousness of being respectful must be so strong in the riders that if a long boarder is disrespectful to a mourner, all the other riders should be shocked and enraged and he/she should be banned.

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

Downhill skating.

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

It's an incredible space to skate, safe for youngsters to learn to skate and challenging even for experienced skaters.

a. How often do you come here?

Use to skate there regularly.

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

Weekends are a great time.

c. How do you access it?

Always open.

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

Use to come in large groups of like 30 skaters or more, parents and friends would all be there to watch and was a great scene.

This has slowed down a lot but it just works in waves, there's a new generation of youngsters though coming up. The one kid was sponsored equipment by us all because his parents, the caretakers showed a keen interest in him being a part of what we brought there and the community of skaters.

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

There's a great atmosphere, it's a sick vibe in an otherwise morbid place.

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

Massive spaces that are great for what we do, a lot of the guys stay really close by, and it's much safer on the roads in the cemetery than other places.

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

All areas invite different challenges. There are definitely a few preferred routes and one or two particular spots where they guys park and hangout for breaks.

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather

b. Why these particular places or routes?

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

It's not a morbid place, it can and should be a space where people can relax and enjoy the experience of being there.

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

There's a similar feeling throughout the skating community.

b. What about your parents or other elders?

Sometimes they disagree and some chase us away but most people enjoy what we bring there. I have as much right to be there as anybody else does, my grandparents are buried there.

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

Not really, we are in groups so safety isn't an issue.

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

There's always a good respect between us and people there.

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

Not often funny enough, we come across more dog walkers and general strollers.

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

When we do see mourners we always make a point of changing our route till they have left giving them time in peace.

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

The cemetery is big and there is plenty places we can go and not bother other people.

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

There are a few things that could improve the place for everybody using the space not only the skaters. At the water fountains in Bulwer Park they have built in dog bowls at the bottom, which could be done here and perhaps also to revamp one or two of the shaded spots that are already there and maybe add one or two more as places to rest and chill together.

b. Would you visit this place more often?

We love this space; anything that will let others enjoy what we do about it would be great to see.

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

There's a smaller crowd around now but the cemetery is a great space and would be good to see these younger guys being able to enjoy it.

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

The future Architects will all be skaters. We see and feel things, experience places unlike anyone has or ever could. Ordinary objects are so much more to us.

1. What kind of Activities/Hobbies are you interested in?

I am a photographer by profession, and enjoy downhill skateboarding.

a. Where do you spend most your time with these activities?

I skate on anything from quiet suburban roads to mountain passes.

b. What do you enjoy most about what you do?

The adrenalin rush and the community base within the skating crowd.

c. When is the best time of the year, month, week, or day for this?

All year round.

2. Why do you come to Stellawood Cemetery?

There is minimal traffic and there are a wide variety of roads with some more technically challenging and others great for straight downhill and gaining speed.

a. How often do you come here?

I am currently living in Cape Town, but when I lived in Durban I was going between 3 and 4 times a week.

b. When do you come to the cemetery?

Any day of the week as well as most Sundays. The times vary according to what suits the skaters on that day.

c. How do you access it?

We drive through any of the entrances.

d. Do you come here alone or as a group?

As a group.

3. What do you enjoy most about this particular place?

The quiet roads and smooth tar.

a. Why would you choose the cemetery over anywhere else?

There is less traffic so it is less dangerous and the tar is smooth, meaning a lower chance of falling due to obstructions and inconsistencies on the road. The diverse winding of the roads is also a pull factor.

4. Where do you mostly move through, routes or specific places?

We will skate the entire cemetery, all roads and all routes.

a. Discuss with map

i. Consider places they gather

Coming through the main entrance, you continue to an island in the middle of the road where the roads fork. This is where we the skaters meet, as it is central.

b. Why these particular places or routes?

We meet there as it is central, and skate the entire cemetery as each route provides something different.

5. What are your thoughts about the cemetery, how do you see it?

I see it as an environment which is not as morbid as one would think. The absolute quietness, the beautiful trees and birds that have made the cemetery their home bring a beauty to a typically sad place. It is quite humbling skating there, and there is always a sense of respect among the skaters for their surroundings.

a. In your opinion do your friends think of the cemetery differently to you?

No, I can confidently say they feel the same way I do.

b. What about your parents or other elders?

My parents are aware of us skating in the cemetery and do not seem perturbed by it. I feel they too would want us to maintain respect for the environment in which we skate.

c. Does anything you're told about this place worry or affect you?

The crime is a worrying factor. We have been informed about the cemetery being a popular location for drug abuse, which is why we prefer to skate there during the day.

i. If yes, why do you still come here?

In our larger numbers and during the day we feel safe.

ii. If no, why not?

6. How do you treat other people in the cemetery when you're (type of play)?

If we come into contact with others, we adopt attitudes of respect. If someone voices to us their disapproval of our skating there, we would leave.

a. Do you see other people a lot whilst you're here?

Not too often.

b. What do you think about someone you see mourning or visiting their loved one?

i. What do you do when you see someone mourning?

If there is a funeral taking place or people are visiting their loved ones, we stay clear of that area completely.

ii. If they try to avoid people, are there enough places around the cemetery for you to avoid other people?

Yes, there is enough space for us to still skate while staying away from others who are paying their respects.

7. If this Cemetery were to be designed to cater for what you enjoy doing:

a. What would you really want to see in it?

There is nothing more I think we would want changed, the roads are perfect as they are.

b. Would you visit this place more often?

As I said, we are happy with it as is so our visiting amount would probably stay the same.

c. If that change brought more people here, how would it affect you?

i. If yes, how?

Having more people at the cemetery might make it difficult to skate, as we require the roads to be clear to ensure safety.

d. What would make the cemetery a more accessible, open and inviting space for you or others?

I think the biggest improvement would be some sort of security to reduce the amount of crime in the area.

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