IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN JOHANNESBURG’S INNER CITY: A STUDY OF MABONENG IN RELATION TO JEPPESTOWN

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DECLARATION

I, Lesley Mashiri, declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the honors degree of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.
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ABSTRACT

It is evident that urban regeneration has been able to revitalize the Johannesburg inner-city and improve its urban environment. The project has been able to bring investment and people back into to inner-city, however it is important to analyse what type of investment is returning as this has a bearing on who is being attracted back to the city. The study examines neighbourhood in Jeppestown in order to assess the urban contestations over space as well as the impacts of urban regeneration on the lives of the people in Jeppestown. A significant part of the literature covers the process of urban regeneration and the factors existing in cities which lead to it being needed to improve the urban environment. The second part suggests that urban regeneration causes exclusion and forced evictions of pre-existing lower-income residents in the effort to make way for the middle class leading to undesirable social problems such as urban marginality and segregation. The study finds that Jeppestown and Maboneng can develop a symbiotic relationship provided that there is a connection between the two.
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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

*Building owners not notifying City officials about evictions*¹ -

“In their rush to become global cities, cities risk creating spatial apartheid” - Melissa Tandiwe Myambo (June, 2017)

*Revamping South Africa’s largest cities leaves the urban poor battling for housing*²

The newspaper articles and headlines above give a brief summary of the research topic I am about to discuss in this report. The article extracts above are on Johannesburg’s inner city neighbourhoods, particularly Jeppestown. Jeppestown is a district located in Johannesburg’s inner city with a mix of foreign and local workers residing in it. These workers are most likely to have travelled to the inner city in search of opportunities associated with big cities similar to Johannesburg. After all cities are places for people to produce, trade, innovate, learn, work, live and play (Mkhize, 2014). Given the function of cities it is normal that people travel from their places of origin to look for opportunities within cities. The increase in inhabitants causes cities to constantly change and evolve with time in order to face challenges such as population growth, natural disasters, immigration and out-migration among others. These challenges make people move between cities and sometimes leaving them in decline.

According to the Monocle Quality of Life Survey, liveability is a hard-to-define quality that makes a city a desirable place to live in. A liveable city must include affordable housing, local public transport, a low crime rate, independent book shops, a good business climate as well as more subjective issues such as joy of life and human tolerance. These are some of the factors that are vital in attracting those who can live in the city to do so (Patriciosop, 2017). However Johannesburg’s inner city is not on the list

and neither is any other sub-Saharan African city. This is due to the fact that the inner city was not a great place to invest in previously or to work in and live in. This was based on how the Johannesburg inner city had developed from a social, historical, spatial and economic perspective, it is noticeable how the inner city has lost some of its charm due to flight of capital and disinvestment, combined with decentralising forces towards the end of apartheid. These periods have seen the Johannesburg CBD transform from being a vibrant trendy space into a place of urban decay, crime and grime. These are characteristics which have deterred visitors, investors and workers from investing and living in the CBD. Historically, numerous cities around the world have followed a similar pattern of urban decay which is then followed by rejuvenation and prosperity. This rejuvenation and its impacts are of interest and will be discussed in this research report.

1.2 **Background**

Urban regeneration is defined as a process which addresses urban decay. The process is usually carried out in inner city areas in order to revitalize the whole physical, social and economic environment of the declining area (Burrocco, 2013 ). The objective is to revitalize and rejuvenate it, therefore bringing investment and interest back into the area. The local municipality is generally an important facilitator by creating dedicated structures, tools, policies and strategies needed for regeneration. According to Laura Burroco, (2013), urban regeneration occurs at a precinct scale and involves both the public and private sectors working together guided by a coordinated plan developed through municipal processes. Currently there are six metropolitan municipalities carrying out urban regeneration (City of Johannesburg, City of Tshwane, and City of Cape Town, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality and Ekurhuleni Municipality) but all in different ways. In each case urban regeneration requires a complex institutional set-up where the municipality acts as a facilitator in combination with the private sector in the form of public-private partnerships and sometimes dedicated structures such as development agencies. However the institutional set-up differs from one city to another, which has different implications for how the process unfolds in the different cities.
The urban regeneration strategies implemented by the municipalities are similar in terms of their vision and content. They are usually concerned with promoting economic growth, social inclusion and social development. The strategies emphasize attracting sustained private investments and improving physical infrastructure. The physical upgrading of urban environments is generally accompanied by mechanisms to enhance urban management. These mechanisms are aimed at decreasing the impact of crime and grime and improving how people perceive the inner-city (Palmary, 2001).

Urban regeneration is not only about revitalizing residential buildings. It also involves regenerating the public environment and making it look better since this helps improve how people engage with and perceive the Johannesburg inner-city\(^3\). The process requires good management of buildings, pavements and public spaces. In the ideal situation this should be done with the least possible social cost to society and more directly to the existing communities of the area under regeneration.

During apartheid South African cities including Johannesburg were governed by an oppressive system based on racial capitalism. Racial capitalism is the process of deriving social and economic value from the racial identity of another person. In South Africa racial capitalism was evident when the white population under apartheid exploited the labour from the Blacks, Indians and Coloured people for their own economic benefit but excluded the other races from economic opportunities found in the inner-city and other economic centers\(^4\). The apartheid Government was able to do this by using laws such as the group areas act which prohibited the said groups from living in areas reserved for Whites. Racial capitalism harms nonwhite individuals and society as a whole in that it creates segregation and opens the door for inequality (Leong, 2012). Even with the demise of the apartheid regime spatial segregation has essentially remained in place and has even intensified urban sprawl, with people living further away from places of

\(^3\) http://propertuity.co.za/downloads/Maboneng-Developing-a-Neighbourhood-Economy.pdf page 14-16 Accessed (06/10/2017)

employment and economic opportunity but still having to travel to these places frequently. For example the majority of South Africans live on the periphery of the city in townships and have to travel to places of employment daily. This negatively impacts their livelihoods in terms of large percentage of their incomes they spend on transport and the amount of time they can spend with their families.

However with the fall of apartheid in 1994, some of its oppressive legislation for example the 1950 group areas act were removed. Tens of thousands of people migrated from these townships on the periphery to the CBD area, which they had previously been excluded from during apartheid (Maylam, 1995). They moved into the buildings which were in decline due to the fall of property prices and their owners abandoning them during the capital flight from 1980 to 2000 (WOOD and MOLL, 1994). Over time the decline made the inner city less attractive to young professionals, the middle and upper class hoping to settle in the city. They preferred to settle in the suburbs away from the crime and decaying streets.

In an attempt to revitalise and attract the suburbanites\(^5\) and investors back to the inner city a number of urban regeneration projects have emerged in parts of Johannesburg. They are part of a broader inner city regeneration program which deals with previously declining areas such as Newtown, Braamfontein and Maboneng. Braamfontein in particular which is located north of the CBD is currently experiencing rapid urban renewal and is quickly turning into one of the youth and creative hubs of Johannesburg (Bethlehem, 2013 ). The focus area of my research will however be Maboneng precinct located in Jeppestown east of the CBD. My research will be aimed at determining the impacts of urban regeneration on adjacent neighbourhoods in the inner city and from which emerged Maboneng and what this has meant for Jeppestown.

With this research I hope to shed some light on urban regeneration as a broader concept in urban planning and how it relates to development of Jeppestown. This will be discussed in relation to the inner city through attempting to understand and uncover what urban regeneration in Maboneng actually entails for Jeppestown in broader terms. The report will discuss urban regeneration in terms of its opportunities, threats, strengths,

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\(^5\) A suburbanite is a person who lives in a suburb of a city or large town
weaknesses especially with respect to economic growth, social development, public participation, inclusivity and as well as access to the city.

1.3 Research Problem

In the United Kingdom urban regeneration began during the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century as a form of social reform. It was a response to the overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions left after the industrial revolution period came and went. The plan was to use urban regeneration as a tool to clear slums and build up social housing clusters for industrial workers.

Meanwhile in the United States urban regeneration projects began with the housing act of 1949. This act allowed local authorities to acquire homes for improvement or conversion. The act also provided funds which owners of buildings could use to renovate their buildings. Coincidentally this was during the period between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the Second World War (Mallach and Brachman, 2013). The significance is that this was a time of reconstruction and a period in which American cities were (re-)shaped.

This act was heavily criticised as it led to units being torn down than were built which led to its amendment by American government officials in 1954. Which prompted the government to introduce urban renewal instead of urban redevelopment, similar to urban regeneration in the U.K. These urban regeneration projects focused more on slum clearance and where implemented by housing officials. In each case the aim was to improve the urban environment of the city.

The act enabled cities to acquire funding from the United States Federal government. The funds were to be used to finance the upgrading of buildings, street lights and pavements.

In South Africa prior to the 1970s the inner-city of Johannesburg was the centre of investment due to its history of gold mining which enabled a vibrant economy to exist (Bethlehem, 2013). The central business district which comprises of Newtown, Marshal Town and Braamfontein but also included the neighbourhoods of Joubert Park, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville, Doornfontein and Jeppestown, was at the centre of this vibrant economy. However these areas were reserved for the white population in the country, thus
maintaining their economic and social dominance on Blacks and Indians. This was enforced by the group areas act of 1950 and high property prices within the inner city during this period in time.

The trend of having the inner city reserved only for white people began to change by the dawn of the 1970s (Bethlehem, 2013). This was due to building owners in the inner-city abandoning their buildings and moving their capital to the Northern Suburbs. The decline was also influenced by the shift in the political landscape as the apartheid era was nearing its end. It is important to note that it was around this time that investors began to withdraw from the property sector in the inner-city because of poor public transport, weak administration of public properties and ineffective management of the urban environment (Bethlehem, 2013). To be fair the newly elected local government authorities did inherit a city on the decline due to the trend of capital flight which had already started during the mid-70s which was way before the political transition in 1994. The vacuum left behind after the flight of capital created an opportunity for low-income housing within the inner city.

According to Melinda Silverman’s research (2007), Johannesburg has from its origins been formed by a pattern of fragmentation and dispersion. This is due to the city’s development from colonial origins in which development was based on a unique form of racial capitalism. Elites have always spatially separated themselves from the poor, be it through work spaces or residential areas.

This was evident in the period between 1975 and 1992, where building owners abandoned their buildings and began to invest in decentralised locations in Johannesburg. These locations were Sandton and Midrand which are both located further away from the inner city which caused more fragmentation and urban sprawl which impacts on transport by increasing the usage of private vehicles. This trend increased the vacancy rates of buildings within the inner city as they now did not have occupants which made it easier for the people who had flocked to the CBD to find cheap accommodation in neighbourhoods such as Hillbrow, Berea, Marshalltown and Jeppestown.

Jeppestown is one of South Africa’s oldest suburbs established around 1889 by Julius Jeppe. The neighbourhood is made up of working class residents and is located towards
the east of the Johannesburg central business district. The neighbourhood is characterised by poor quality housing, inadequate resources and unsafe streets. Jeppestown is home to a large population of immigrants and low-income black people who make up the working class and whom are employed in industries and small convenience shops in the area.

The neighbourhood used to be an industrial micro-district with industries and warehouses but because of apartheid spatial planning the neighbourhood was reserved for white people. This however changed with more black people moving into the inner-city due to the depreciation of property values and building owners abandoning their buildings after apartheid came to an end during the 1990s. According to the Census taken in 2011, out of the 15000 residents of Jeppestown 89.3% are black.\(^6\) The migration of a new population group means a shift in culture and social interactions within a neighbourhood. This impacts how people use spaces which can determine whether there is urban decay or neglect.

When arriving from the city center on foot there are different ways to enter the Maboneng precinct adding to its accessibility. The contrast is remarkable for the pedestrian as the atmosphere changes from one street to another. When one enters the precinct they are welcomed by a redeveloped industrial neighborhood which is not only clean and hospitable, but also different to the other streets in the inner-city. The surrounding streets seem neither safe nor well maintained with rubbish and broken glasses on shop windows, yet there is no physical fracture between Maboneng and these streets. The reason is that the Maboneng precinct is not walled off like most private developments across Johannesburg. Although the visitor feels that he has entered a different neighborhood due to the stark differences between the space inside the precinct and the space outside the precinct, which can be attributed to the urban decline which has plagued the inner-city.

The decline has had a negative impact on how people perceive Johannesburg’s inner-city. People have associated the inner city streets with crime, slums and drugs. This prompted

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\(^6\) https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/ward-79800061-city-of-johannesburg-ward-61-79800061/ Accessed(06/10/2017)
the City of Johannesburg Municipality to propose an urban regeneration project in 2000 to address these urban problems. Their objective was to address the issue of rundown dilapidated and unused buildings in the inner city in order to improve the environment and change this negative perception of the inner-city from being a place of crime and grime to one of economic opportunity and livability. The City of Johannesburg Municipality saw this as an opportunity to improve the economies and environments of these inner city areas as this would attract investment and people back into the inner city (Bethlehem, 2013).

The process of urban regeneration did however take a neoliberal approach which bypasses the social imbalances and injustices brought on by apartheid spatial planning in South African cities. The process is considered neoliberal because it favours free market capitalism. Free market capitalism is a system of economics that minimizes government intervention and maximizes the role of the market. It is also however important to take note that neoliberalism is a path dependent process. This means that it needs to address the specific historical and political context before it can be accepted or implemented in post-apartheid South Africa. This is important if urban regeneration based on neoliberal practices in the cities of the South such as Johannesburg is to be successful. Especially with Johannesburg’s history of segregation and inequality there is a need for socially sensible urban policies which are inclusive and uplifting to all members of society (Faul, 2013). The approach is criticized for its largely pro-business nature, but has the potential to help implement efficient urban regeneration strategies.

This research is concerned with finding out whether urban regeneration impacts adjacent neighborhoods and therefore creating spaces like Maboneng through urban regeneration is beneficial to the local populations in neighborhoods such as Jeppiestown. The problem is that in pursuit of inner city urban regeneration the city displaces and segregates certain groups of people while accommodating other groups based on social economic classes.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study aims to examining whether urban regeneration is inclusive to all users of the Maboneng precinct on the basis of Propertia’s vision for the precinct to be inclusive to
all members of society\textsuperscript{7}. The study will discuss and determine the kind of impacts Maboneng bears on Jeppstown. I hope to determine whether if knowingly or unknowingly invisible barriers to public spaces are being created in the city through the process of urban regeneration and how this impacts on the livelihoods of people in Jeppstown.

The research will assess the impacts urban regeneration has on small businesses outside the Maboneng precinct in Jeppstown as well as on those within the precinct. The research aims to evaluate the challenges as well as successes of implementing a regeneration project.

The research will discuss relevant literature and theories that have been formulated with regards to urban regeneration as well as the idea of creating social enclaves in cities and the potential challenges associated with them. It will also explore case studies on international and local experiences to find out if the process is being done right and what other alternatives exist.

1.4 Limitations to the Study

Jeppstown is adjacent to the Maboneng precinct and is perceived as dangerous and susceptible to criminal activities. For safety purposes pictures have been taken from inside the precinct. I was limited to travelling to the area during the daytime due to transport and safety concerns.

There are considerations that people (foreigners and undocumented migrants) may not be willing to be recorded or asked questions based on fear of deportation, victimisation or political intimidation.

1.5 Research Question

How does inner-city regeneration impact the development of areas adjacent to the Maboneng Precinct?

\textsuperscript{7} https://www.forbesafrica.com/focus/2017/08/17/boom-come-fighting/ (Accessed 06/10/2017)
1.6 Sub-Questions

What is the economic impact of urban regeneration on the livelihoods of Jeppestown residents?

Who has the right to the city in Jeppestown?

What is the perception of Maboneng as a public space?

Is there any trickledown effect impact from Maboneng onto the broader Jeppestown?
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an overview of the literature to be discussed in relation to urban regeneration which has taken place in Jeppestown and from which Maboneng has emerged as a destination in the inner-city. The review is meant to tease out issues and driving forces behind the urban regeneration taking place in Johannesburg in order to address urban decline. The literature discussed in this section of the report will hopefully provide a better understanding of the concepts and issues surrounding the research question and the sub questions proposed in chapter 1. I chose to review the literature in the form of a glossary in order to introduce the key concepts concerning urban regeneration one after each other discussing them and relating them to my research topic. There will be a critical assessment of the literature at the end of the chapter which will summarize the thoughts and arguments surrounding urban regeneration from different authors involved in this field of research. This is to help the reader understand chapter 3, 4 and 5 where I will be explaining my methods and discussing the findings as well as the analysis of the findings.

2.2 Urban Regeneration

According to my understanding urban regeneration is when a city or municipality attempts to reverse the decline and decay in a neighbourhood or district. This is done by improving both the physical infrastructure and the economy of the affected neighbourhood. In order to carry out this process public fund such as taxes must be used to attract private investment into the neighbourhood that is in decline.

2.3 Urban Decay

Urban decay is a process which occurs when a part of a city falls into disrepair or abandonment. The process has several implications for cities which include high unemployment rates, high crime rates, depopulation, desolate-looking landscapes, and
abandonment of buildings and split families. Urban decay does not have one single root cause but does result from poor urban planning, redlining, poverty, suburbanization and racial discrimination. Redlining occurs when services such as banking, insurance and access to jobs and healthcare are denied to certain races or classes of people through increasing the costs, which can be caused by specific policies or legislation (Del Rio, 2004).

Although some of the highlighted reasons for urban decay are general, there are more specific reasons relating to the South African context. For example urban decay occurred due to political decisions, relocation of wealthier and skilled which is associated with suburbanisation, concentration of low income dwellers and mismanagement of the urban environment. Given budget constraints and prioritisation of certain developments over others, governments have sometimes favoured some cities over others and encouraged the development of some areas over others (Sands, 2013). This leaves some areas in the same city or country overlooked and neglected resulting in them becoming rundown. Suburbanisation led to the concentration of low-income dwellers in the inner city when the elites moved towards the suburbs. This occurred during the post-1994 period when people living on the fringes of the inner-city started to move back into the city as the capital flight phenomenon was taking place from the mid-70s (Deane, 1995). This was fuelled by a drop in property prices and the movement of capital by investors to other locations such as Sandton and Midrand, which were becoming the new economic centres for the city.

2.4 Urban Decay and Regeneration in Johannesburg Inner-City

According to Moyane Mapetla (2006), cities decline from time to time and need to be revived as soon as they show signs of losing their particular identities as centres of attraction. The city of Johannesburg is no different in that it had begun its decline from the mid-70s up until the early 2000s. During this period the inner city began losing its identity as a centre for economic opportunity and vibrancy and turning into an area of crime, violence and dirt. The identity of opportunity and vibrancy had been built up during the gold rush days during the 1860s. Over time as the population grew and new
political forces such as the apartheid system began to also shape how Johannesburg would develop.

The apartheid system was built on racial capitalisation and segregation which separated people through the use of laws such as the group areas act of 1950. This act made sure that the inner city was occupied by white people. The act was repealed with the official demise of apartheid in 1994. The removal of the act allowed large numbers of black people to return back to the CBD and to settle in its neighbourhoods such as Hillbrow, Berea and the CBD itself (Brink, 2017). As more black people moved into the CBD, a phenomenon known as capital flight was taking place and had started occurring during the 1970s. This was partly due to the political transition which occurred from apartheid to democracy and poor urban management, poor public transport systems, crime, violence. Through this period of the emergence of South Africa as a new republic, Johannesburg was forgotten about and left to go into decline which made the CBD less attractive to businesses and for people looking to reside in the city. This left the CBD filled with empty buildings with extremely cheap rates allowing low-income people to move in (Venter, 2017). In recent years which has made the need to address urban decay within the inner city a priority in order to “save” the inner-city. It was evident that an urban renewal strategy was needed to revitalise the area and bring new life to the Johannesburg inner city.

### 2.5 Urban Renewal

This is when an urban neighbourhood or area is improved and rehabilitated by improving the physical infrastructure and its public spaces. A renewal process can include demolishing old or run-down buildings and constructing new up-to-date housing. Urban renewal of an area is mostly carried out in order to persuade wealthier individuals to come live in that area. Urban renewal ends up causing unintended processes such as gentrification and urban marginalisation if not carried out in a socially just and sustainable manner (Melhuish, 2015).

According to David Madden (2013), exclusion in cities has been rebranded as creative "renewal" of decaying areas. He proposes the argument that by creating renewal in cities
do we essentially get rid of poverty or does poverty just get bounced to another part of the city instead. The poverty gets moved towards the section of the city where low income residents reside which leaves this section of the city as a place in which tourist and investors are not interested in. This is because the property developers are mainly interested in areas which allow them to maximise on their returns. For this reason when property developers buy property in a neighbourhood they renew the area but at serious social costs to families, businesses and church parishes. These costs have a bearing and lasting impact on the character of a neighbourhood and its people long after the renewal process has been completed.

Although these arguments against urban renewal are strongly put across by well-known urbanists such as Jane Jacobs (1984). The process does do good in some instances and is harmful in others. For example urban renewal helps clear slums and proposes social housing developments in areas which had been decaying. This has been witnessed in New York City and in London where urban regeneration has helped develop neighbourhoods which had been in decline. Secondly urban renewal helps reduce crime through the upgrading of street furniture and street lighting which enables people to be on the streets longer therefore providing visual surveillance, especially for women, children and visitors to the neighbourhood (Davis, 2012).

2.5.1 Gentrification

Is the process of renovating a district to cater for the middle class who will move back into the city at the expense of the working class? In San Francisco it was observed that the housing economy shifted drastically in the last seven years between 2000 and 2007. Houses in the bottom half of home prices switched to the upper bracket at an astounding 42% annual rate. This was due to the renewal efforts and programs in the city. The low-income residents usually renting in these neighbourhoods are then not able to afford the new rental prices which come with development. This results in displacement and urban marginalisation of the low-income class (Richard Florida, 2017).

8 https://mic.com/articles/102004/these-7-cities-expose-exactly-what-gentrification-is-doing-to-america#.AWohEQRftf Accessed( 07/10/2017)
Contrary to the assumptions made by developers that urban regeneration creates a trickle-down effect which is beneficial for the whole neighbourhood. H.W Ardnt, (1983) argues that according to its definition\(^9\) Gross National Product (GNP) is not enough to measure or to test economic development. Other authors including Mark Rosentraub, (2014) who refers to Alfred Marshal’s concept that wealth is a function of how people combine ideas to create new products. This concept in theory is inclusive to everyone but attracting the wealthy into a neighbourhood and expecting their wealth to trickle down is naive and hypothetical. The trickle-down argument for gentrification ignores the fact that the middle to upper income city dwellers regularly seek to bend municipal priorities and local land uses towards their own needs. This usually impacts negatively on their less powerful neighbors.

There is an assumption that gentrification is usually associated with the idea of creating global cities. According to a paper written by Melissa Tandiwe Myambo, (2017) “A city is “global” if it consists of very particular types of cultural time zones: skyscrapers, cafes and malls which adhere to western notions of “modernity” and “development”\(^10\).” This is problematic when applied to cities of the south which have social-economic issues and historical legacies of oppression and hardships. Spaces like Maboneng are used to beef up Johannesburg’s global city credentials, but this comes at the expense of pre-existing residents living in the city’s inner-city neighbourhoods including Jeppestown.

Shannon Walsh, (2013) mentions in her paper the phrase “We won’t move”, which suggests how the pre-existing residents feel about urban regeneration and what she thinks happens to the right of the city as a concept when urban suburbanites reclaim the inner-city from the lower-class residents. She does explain that there are implications of creating these self-regulating enclaves for the wealthy as they seem to disregard left’s idea of the right to the city. According to Walsh it is a right to the city asserted by those who can do so, and who feel they have lost the chance of experiencing urban living in the city. There are inner city residents who are defiant to this gentrification wave and who are

\(^9\)The trickledown effect- "The overall growth of the GNP should benefit the masses in terms of Jobs and economic opportunities"
Page 1-3 (Accessed 07/10/2017)
then forcibly removed by organisations such as the red ants to make way for the upper-middle class to come back into the city. There are essentially 3 sides to this story about gentrification and forced evictions. From the residents perspective they are worried of being evicted while the government blames building owners for not informing them about evictions on time. The property developers are adamant that they had nothing to do with the evictions and the buildings they renovate have nothing to do with the residents of Jeppestown. This is where Shannon Walsh’s phrase “we won’t move” applies. When the residents mentioned that they will not move their reasoning is that the accommodation that the government would provide was inadequate and unacceptable.

2.5.2 Urban Marginality

Urban marginality as defined by Wacquant (2013) is the social reality of isolation and deprivation caused by an advanced form of capitalism in the rich cities of the North. In the Johannesburg contest urban marginality occurs during the forced evictions which occurred and are still occurring in the inner city in preparation for the upper-middle class. The lower class are pushed out because they cannot afford to pay the high rentals associated with gentrification which usually occurs after a city or neighborhood has been regenerated. The rentals have a bearing on who gets included in the city and who gets excluded and in some way cast out. In Wacquant’s (2007) book Urban Outcasts he describes what happens to the urban poor in a city which has undergone urban renewal and gentrification. He mentions that an urban outcast is a person with no place in society or in a particular group because the society or group they would want to belong to would have refused them. These individuals then suffer from the stigma and negative social symbolic capital11 associated with the places they inhabit. An example is the negative perceptions associated with neighborhoods like Alexandra and Hillbrow. Districts or neighborhoods where people have been displaced by gentrification are characterized by urban decay, crime, drugs and poverty. This robs citizens of their dignity and marginalizes them.

11 Symbolic capital refers the resources available to a person on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture.
Wacquant also mentions that marginality in the American ghettos emerged as a result of racial issues whereas class factors caused it in French Banlieues (suburbs). In the apartheid city this can be related to how the group areas act proceeded to outcast African, Indian and coloured people from the CBD. Today marginality results from socio-economic differences in society caused by the big gap in inequality which exists between the have not’s and the haves in Johannesburg (Tissot, 2007). Through Wacquant’s work it is possible to examine the ways in which marginalized communities become physically, spatially and economically cut off from the wider society. This is an interesting point as it would be interesting to find out how accurate this is when testing it for the relationship between Maboneng and Jeppestown. The precinct is located within the confines of Jeppestown but how connected is it to the neighbourhood is a big question that the findings should help answer in chapter 5.

2.5.3 Urban Renewal in Johannesburg

Urban Renewal as a process has been applied in western countries in the second half of the twentieth century particularly from the nineties as a result of the spreading globalisation processes (Cummings, 2016). The process involves revitalisation of strategic locations through refurbishing infrastructure, local economic development projects and social integration. The process however requires partnerships for it to be implemented on the ground.

Ten years ago Johannesburg was a derelict area due to the rise of slums, violent crime and trash filled streets. This is no longer the case as today in certain pockets of the CBD and inner city districts of Johannesburg you can find an array of chic-shops, trendy restaurants, edgy hotels and art galleries. This can be attributed to the influx of a young creative class\(^\text{12}\) moving back from the suburbs in search of innovation, economic activity and an urban way of living (Burrocco, 2013).

Urban renewal in Johannesburg occurred in 2 phases. The first phase refers to the projects such as the Mandela Bridge and the Newtown development. The second phase

\(^{12}\) The creative class is a group of talented and educated professionals who work in knowledge-based industries such as business and finance, technology, healthcare and medicine, law, and education (Saunders, 2017).
involved a series of less high-profile but more sustained initiatives. These were aimed at supporting and catalysing private sector investments. The JDA projects in this second phase included many precinct upgrades in which public spaces and infrastructure were created, replaced or improved (JDA, 2014). One of the precincts which were developed was the Maboneng precinct. This development included public lighting, pavements, small urban squares, parks and art galleries. These are just but a few ingredients needed to create a viable urban public space. One of the city’s objectives was to improve access to these regenerated areas and to the rest of the city through the Rea Vaya BRT system (Bethlehem, 2013). These upgrades have been managed and financed under what are called city improvement districts.

2.6 Special Ratings Areas (SRAs)

A formerly known as city improvement districts, these are distinct physical areas within which property owners agree to pay an extra charge for certain services (of their own choice) to enhance the physical and social environment of that area (Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act, 1997). The Gauteng government approved a piece of legislation in 1997 which created a platform for these special ratings areas to be adopted in South African cities.

According to Peyroux, Morange and Didier (2013) these SRAs are made up of business and land owner association at the neighbourhood level which work to assist neighbourhoods in planning for more services needed to improve commercial and residential areas in decline. The legislation passed by the Gauteng government enabled property owners of an area to collect levies over and above existing rates and taxes, which they would then use to fund a private management system for the area. This is controversial as the pre-existing residents may not be able to pay these taxes and will then be pushed out of their homes.

The SRAs became an opportunity for inner city property owners to carry out urban management where the city had failed to do so, as it they aligned with their interest. There are now nine SRAs in the inner city and they have made a huge difference to the level of safety and cleanliness in the inner-city. The SRAs are designed to work in
partnership with the city’s authorities including the Metro Police who operate a closed
circuit TV system which has greatly assisted in bringing down levels of street crime
(Bethlehem, 2013).

Although SRAs help bring investors into a neighbourhood it is concerning that they have
the potential to create polarised spaces\textsuperscript{13} within the neighbourhood that is to be
regenerated. This is one of the reasons for them being criticised along with how they are
expected to perform compared to how they actually perform in reality.

SRAs ensure improvements in selected areas and according to Davies and Waldstein
(1996), only those who can afford to live in SRAs reap their benefits. It can be argued
that they do reduce crime through the creation of walled enclaves which do not really
solve the problems but relocate them to other areas. SRAs are not viewed as democratic
in their nature because only those who can afford to have their say will be heard since
they are the brainchild of profit-seeking developers not planners or communities. Walling
off developments is common practice for most private developments in South Africa. The
question I propose here is that, in order to keep people and investments safe does the city
need enclaves? SRAs have the potential to create a situation where the poor who have
access to limited resources are dominated by the rich with abundant resources (Beito,
Gordon and Tabarrok, 2009). That is to say the rich will have a final say on which
services and where they are to be installed.

\section*{2.7 Social Enclaves and Themed Spaces}

A social enclave is a geographical location with a high ethnic concentration,
characteristic cultural identity, and economic activity. Chinatowns come to mind when
we mention themed spaces as they portray distinct features found in a city in China.
Chinatowns developed in the United States due to anti-Chinese racism and legal barriers
which prevented Chinese immigrants being assimilated into American society (Teu,
1995).

\textsuperscript{13} Social polarization - segregation within a society which may emerge from income inequality,
real-estate fluctuations, economic displacements etc. and result in such differentiation that would
consist of various social groups, from high-income to low-income.
Chinese immigrants were constantly being attacked for competing for jobs with local Americans which caused the Chinese communities to group together and form little districts with Chinese residents in order to stay safe. It also forced the inhabitants of these ethnic enclaves to resort to alternative forms of employment in order to survive. They become a place of belonging and an entry point into the city or country. According to research by Ivan Light (1974) Chinatowns seemed to develop into tourist attractions for middle class white males whom from the 1890s as they began visiting them in order to get a first-hand glimpse of the filth and depravity they expected to find in an immigrant squatter settlement. Due to the constant conflict between indigenous American citizens and Chinese immigrants for work, the Chinese had to find alternative forms of employment. These included opening night clubs, brothels and unofficial casinos. This gave the Chinatown a different dimension as they now offered more than just the disorder and squalor living conditions but also offered prostitution as a form of employment and tourist attraction.

Having understood how they have formed it is important to highlight that from 1970s onward economic forces contributed to their growth. This led them to quickly being recognized as tourist attractions since they offer visitors a glimpse into the culture, vices, traditions and lifestyle of Chinese people living in America. I have included them in this part of the literature review to explore the benefits for local residents. In America they helped develop households with two incomes. In these households the men worked in the restaurants and the women worked in fabric factories. This increased employment and income levels for households. This is one of the goals of regeneration projects for declining parts of cities, including Johannesburg. However they have been criticized for creating a closed economy where Chinese businessmen would rather to do business with their fellow Chinese inside the ethnic enclave. In terms of employment opportunities created there seemed to be a bias towards people of similar ethnicity and less so towards outsiders (Kim, 1999).

Problems arise when these immigrant and local populations of the themed districts are pushed out through the process of gentrification. This is because as the district becomes a well-known tourist attraction as with the case of Chinatowns with their pull factor for the
white middle class. Property prices rise and so do rental prices which local low-income residents cannot afford (Teu, 1995). They are pushed out into the periphery of the district where there are poor services, inadequate social housing and high crime. This is what Wacquant was talking about when he mentioned urban marginality which results from gentrification.

### 2.8 Perception of Space

People’s experiences of the city are not only determined by larger social and economic structures, but they are also determined by their individual perceptions, mental maps and their spatial practices within the city. Everyone is a different social actor when it comes to the city and for that reason we all have different spatial stories to tell about how we move through the city (Shrinagesh and Markandey, 2016). In short people will visit the spaces or places they have fond memories of and enjoyed spending time in.

Literature on perception and cognition often looks at how people organize, identify and interpret information through their senses. Perception has a bearing on how we attach meaning to particular places and spaces. Through attaching meaning to a space people gain a sense of place and they can identify with the space based on how they perceive the space to be and what it means to them. Specific places and moments create particular knowledge and experiences. Previous experiences shape how people understand and allow people to recognize particular things or respond in specific ways within space. According to Simmel (1944), how people conceptualise what happens in the urban life and how they interact within urban spaces helps shape our perceptions of places and neighbourhoods. This perception then determines whether people venture into these places or not as is the case with the inner city. This will help determine the kind of spaces created after an urban regeneration process has occurred based on how the users perceive the space (Liggett and Perry, 1995).

As human beings we have an overwhelming need to feel safe and secure in our homes and neighbourhoods. This is evident with the increase in security systems, gated communities, and private security forces. This is the case in South Africa with the constant worry and fear of crime. This feeling affects how people perceive spaces and
locations within the inner-city given its reputation. According to Greenberg & Rohe (1984), certain elements of physical design could release, reinforce, and express the underlying sense of territorial control. Newman (1972) introduces the idea of defensible space in his defensible space theory. He mentions that defensible space occurs when design characteristics of the physical environment have clear articulation of boundaries between public and private spaces. This is different for Maboneng as these boundaries are not so clear due to the precinct not having walls but it does have design characteristics which make it a fairly defensible space. These design characteristics promote feelings of territorial control and capability of surveillance of spaces. These feelings shape how people perceive the precinct (Brown & Altman 1981). According to Newman (1973) how we design the built environment has a causative factor on crime.

2.9 Inside and Outside Spaces

Enclaves in general are defined as portions of territories surrounded by a larger territory whose inhabitants are culturally or ethnically distinct (Iossifova, 2014). These spaces are either physically or socially “walled” off. The subject of enclaves has come up in literature given the return of affluent suburbanites to the city. These individuals are coming back to the city in search of liveable and revitalized urban areas which are safe and trendy. Enclaves do bring social problems with them such as segregation, exclusion and urban marginality.

Social division and segregation between residents living within an urban enclave and those living outside is evident, not only in the residential spaces they occupy but can also be witnessed in their values, social relations and daily lives. For this reason it has been argued that research on socio-spatial segregation should pay more attention to how individuals use urban spaces in their daily lives. (Wang, Li and Chai, 2012) suggest that exclusion and segregation do not only happen due to residential segregation but also through the ways in which different social groups spend their time and use urban spaces. For example it is known that Maboneng is a space which attracts artists and hipsters looking for an urban experience. The ways in which they use the space is different to how a local resident of Jeppestown would use the same space.
The return of the suburbanites has negative and positive implications for declining city centres. On the one hand it means more economic development including job creation and economic growth for the area, whereas on the other hand gentrification produces exclusionary effects. The suburban gentry brings with it forms of social control which are used to guard and protect public spaces and investments of property developers. These social controls come in the form of guards on street corners, signs of prohibited activities such as hawking and street trading (Johannesburg). These social controls do bring a level of safety within the area they are applied to but also incur a social cost to the local community (Francis, 2016).

People’s perception of Maboneng is a positive one such that they have associated it with words and places fond to their memories for example, "The old Hillbrow", “Warm and welcoming paradise”, “Middle to upmarket”, “Art district”. The issue is that to most residents of Jeppestown Maboneng is a destination for the elite and not their community.

2.10 **Identity and Culture**

Identity is primarily about belonging and what people have in common with some people and what differentiates different groups from others. Identity allows a person to gain a sense of personal location within society and determines what type of individual one is. It influences the types of relationships we can have with others and with the modern world (Weedon, 2009).

According to Weedon (2009) we all live with a contradiction of identities within us, whether it’s male or female, black or white, straight or gay, able-bodied or disabled, British or European. The list is endless and so are the categories in which people can belong. In western societies the idea of identity has been used to repress and oppress other groups within the population, i.e. white South Africans were allowed to live in the inner city during the 1960s while other races were denied access. Identity is often tied to racism, ethnocentrism, sexism and homophobia. Exclusive forms of identity can lead to discriminatory behavior towards others and violence of all kinds. When it comes to cities we need to be aware of particular forms of identity and how they relate to the reproduction of economic and social inequalities. This is important in order for planners...
and urban designers to avoid including some users and excluding other users when planning for cities.

Culture is defined as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society. The main elements of culture are symbols, language, norms, standards, and artefacts. Language makes social interaction possible and influences how people conceive and perceive concepts and objects. Certain spaces are designed in ways which display particular cultures which are socially acceptable within the space. Urban regeneration should enable the integration of different cultures into the city but must be done in a socially just and responsible manner which does not exclude other cultures.

2.11 Creative Class

The creative class are group of talented and educated professionals who work in knowledge-based industries such as business and finance, technology, healthcare and medicine, law, and education (Saunders, 2017). Richard Florida, (2002) argues that economic growth no longer relies on raw materials and competition of firms. It depends on the ability of a city to attract and retain talented and creative people who are innovative and who can develop technology based industries as well as propel economic growth. Florida goes on to say,” Cities must invest heavily on cultural amenities and pursue progressive social legislation” 14 Saunders, (2017) also adds that the agglomeration of high-value knowledge-based economic production has benefited cities and allows their economies to grow.

Jamie Peck (2005) criticised Florida’s ideas about the creative class theory by providing a social-science perspective. He based his argument around Florida’s shaky evidence and on the fact that the economies of cities have less to do with the shift in urban cultural-economies and more to do with the political- economic fields. According to Peck, Florida had not looked at the political changes which promote economic growth. Fiscal policy is one such factor which can determine if the city has the budget to carry out improvements to include cultural amenities and programs which can attract the creative class. Peck was

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14 http://www.hillstrategies.com/content/creative-class-short-summary-theory
(Accessed 08/10/2017)
joined in critiquing the creative class thesis by Steven Malanga, (2004) who in some way commends how the leftist planners of cities in the north have been convinced by Florida’s ideas that in order to compete in the 21st century economy cities need to be trendy and happening places. Malanga does however argue that the basic economics behind Florida’s ideas do not work. He comments that Florida is mainly focused on the supply side of the creative economies and less so on the demand side. Some of the cities Florida hailed as economic power houses underperformed for example Seattle which was an economically struggling city with a declining population until Microsoft relocated there from New Mexico in the 1980s\textsuperscript{15}. At the same time some of his creative cities do not attract or keep their residents well either. It is a harsh critique but Florida did make some dubious leaps in logic such as stating that economic growth was not caused by the externalities of big firms but by their creative employees who then go on to start their own firms. According to my research Maboneng is considered a space for entrepreneurial enterprise and less so a space for bit corporate companies meaning perhaps in a small part Florida was right.

Florida did however encourage cities to maintain their diversity as this has an appeal to the creative class. I would add that more can be done in cities to improve their human development and social capital.

\subsection*{2.11.1 Creative class in an African Context}

Members of the Creative Class prefer active participatory forms of recreation and have come to expect them in urban centres. These are usually associated with street-level culture, blend of cafes, galleries, small music venues. They enjoy spaces where they can be participant observers enjoying the urban scene unfold before them. Rosenberg, (2013) mentions that these spaces are created by creative industries in African cities and what makes them unique is their quality of place which adds to the attraction for the creative class. However evidence of this cannot easily be found in academic literature but can be found in abundance on websites, social media websites and blogs (Rosenberg, 2013 ).

There is a positive correlation between infrastructure investment and the attraction of the creative class who bring in innovation and knowledge to the cities they move to. The more investment that goes into infrastructure development the better and more appealing the city becomes to the creative class (Rosenberg, 2013). According to research by Richard Florida (2005), cities need to invest in creating high-quality urban environments rich in cultural amenities and conducive to diversity in local social life. The argument is that in attracting the creative class in pursuit of economic development and growth do cities develop policies which foster inclusion for local residents as well?

During a study done in Nairobi Kenya, residents who interviewed about the potential innovation and economic development which come along with the creative class. The resident’s responses were not positive as they were concerned about how gentrification might affect them (Rosenberg, 2013). This is one of the reasons for considerable debate amongst urban researchers on whether the creative class theory actually works or it is just a theory. They argue that applying the creative class theory in an African context as problematic due to the majority of the population being low-income and will eventually get pushed out of these neighbourhoods.

According to an article in African arguments (2013), during the 2008 global economic crisis creative services and goods kept on growing at an annual rate of 14%. In the UK they contributed to 6% of the GDP, yet in Africa they barely make up 1% of most GDPs. Creative industries which give the creative economy are interesting for Africa in that they can help diversify our economies and ensure that we avoid depending on limited natural resources. Apart from that creative industries can be a solution for unemployment in overcrowded African cities as they allow different people to share innovative ideas in one place. The burgeoning upper-middle class usually provides a domestic market for creative goods and this is no different for spaces like Maboneng and Braamfontein. The question is where do the lower-class fit in and how do they also benefit from the creative economy as well or are these benefits for the upper middle-class alone.

(Accessed 08/10/2017)
2.12 **Existing Research**

Existing research on Maboneng has focused on the following themes, Creative industries, the remaking of the inner city with regards to the right to the city. Under this section I will be discussing this research in terms of what they discovered and what they may have potentially missed out on. This is to give a little context for where my research will lie in the broader body of urban regeneration studies.

### 2.12.1 Creative industries

Debate about creative industries is centred on policy interventions which are designed to regenerate decaying sites and to bring economic activity to deprived locations.

JJ Gregory (2016) admits that there exists a minimal body of research on determining the actual size and scope of creative industries in South Africa’s major cities. Ndlovu, (2011) mentions that creative industries have potential to contribute meaningfully to inner-city renewal and socio-economic development of low-income residential neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods in which creative industries can be found are areas of economic potential and opportunity (Gregory, 2016).

Creative industries create spaces for what we call the “creative class”. The creative class are people in the science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, produce new technologies and new content. Their life style and cultures obviously differ from those of local residents who may not identify with the culture of the “creative class” (Gregory, 2016).

The Gregory, (2016) intended to show that there are possible linkages between creative industries and the urban as well as local economic development. Creative activities often generate positive externalities in the areas where they are located, through their openness and interaction with other activities, while giving rise to agglomeration and cluster effects. Creative industries have the potential to grow faster than other economic sectors, therefore creating more employment opportunities which are important for a city like
Johannesburg with an official unemployment rate of 27.7%
. He did also highlight that emerging policy frameworks and initiatives help promote creative industries in Johannesburg but more research is required (Gregory, 2016).

2.12.2 Remaking of inner-city Johannesburg and the right to the city: Case study of the Maboneng

South Africans have long dreamed for a fully integrated and equitable country after apartheid. Inequality, spatial segregation, economic and social exclusion are some of the factors limiting the country and its new government. These forces are shown across Johannesburg’s urban landscape with the location of townships on the periphery and “former white” suburbs closer to the inner city.

The city has its wealth concentrated in the Northern suburbs due to the decentralisation which occurred during the 1970s and 1990s as a result of the capital flight from the CBD. Townships on the periphery of the city continue to suffer from inadequate access to housing, poor service provision and from a lack of economic opportunities. According to Emily Vejby,(2015) the inner city is dominated by the competing forces of urban degeneration and gentrification. The private sector according to this research is trying to reclaim the city by attending to the interests of wealthy suburban dwellers. A trend which has been growing in the last 15 years, the problem is that it threatens to displace the inner-city low-income residents from their homes.

According to Emily Vejby, (2015) the Maboneng precinct, located in the CBD, is fast transforming the inner city into a home for the elite and well up-youth. This is due to it having numerous trendy restaurants, art galleries, bars and recreational public spaces which cater for the young and wealthy urban dwellers. The Maboneng precinct has successfully branded itself as an “inclusive” integrated alternative to the exclusive suburbs (Vejby, 2015). The author then argues against this conception that Maboneng is inclusive and states that the neighbourhood functions as a fortified enclave with clear

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distinctions between inside and outside spaces. On the inside there is a heavy security presence with private security guards and police patrol vehicles.

The research is aimed at exposing the under discussed aspects of how the neighbourhood has been designed to function which reinforces class divisions and contribute to the displacement and marginalisation of low income residents (Vejby, 2015).

2.13 Urban Regeneration Legislation and Stakeholders involved in developing Maboneng

Urban Development Zone Tax Incentives (UDZ)
Areas where municipalities prioritize development and upgrading of buildings and services are referred to as UDZs. A UDZ is able to attract capital investments in commercial and residential property through tax rebates. That is to say it can persuade the private sector to finance upgrading of infrastructure and buildings in cities when the local municipality cannot do on its own. The UDZ tax benefit allows buyers to reclaim 30% of the purchase price as a tax deduction against taxable profit over 5 years. UDZs require partnerships between the government and the private sector, with the government providing the policy and legislation which allows their implementation and the private sector funding the development.

More than R10-billion in investments have been poured into the Johannesburg inner city since the UDZ tax incentive was introduced 17 years ago. The Johannesburg UDZ encompasses the entire core of the inner city - from Fordsburg to Jeppestown. It was reported that due to the level of decline, the inner-city needed to upgrade infrastructure and resurrect the old abandoned buildings. A major issue is the lack of public urban management by the city of Johannesburg municipality. They needed to sit down with property developers to strategize a way forward in regenerating the inner-city areas in decline. According to Cabaret (2014), the overall lack of public urban management has triggered the formation of a privately managed city improvement district. There has been

an argument, put forward by Anna Minton (2006), that the privatisation of public space has been responsible for the making of privatised enclaves. This has been seen in Maboneng which is located in an extremely neglected part of the inner-city where most of the upgrading has been done through private investments initiatives.

**Revenue Laws Amendment Act (2003)**

This piece of legislation offers an allowance for the erection or improvement of buildings to support urban renewal and inner city regeneration. This tax incentive relates to the construction and refurbishment of both commercial and residential buildings in designated decayed or inner city areas. Provided these buildings are within the urban development zone.

**Stakeholders**

- JDA
- Propertuity
- City of Johannesburg Municipality

The JDA (Johannesburg development agency) after being established in April 2001 became a platform for public investment through infrastructure development, which has brought new life to the inner-city area. Their most significant intervention has been the Rea Vaya which has stops throughout the inner-city area including one by the Jepp estown police station.

From the beginning Perpetuity has targeted older inner-city buildings which were previously industrial and converted them into mixed-use buildings. Their focus has shifted however in 2016 as they are now more focused on densifying the area with more and more residential units. Propertuity was responsible for the majority of the organisation and planning behind Maboneng. They consulted with several artists and musicians in a bid to attract art and culture loving people back to the inner-city.

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The city of Johannesburg local municipality was instrumental in drafting policies and implementing legislation aimed at facilitating the urban renewal process. The municipality was responsible for drafting an overall budget for the urban regeneration project. The city came up with several policies to help urban regeneration which included the Problem Properties By-Laws (2014). This law enabled the city to provide for the identification, control and management of dilapidated, abandoned and problem properties in the City of Johannesburg. It is estimated that about R2-billion has already been spent around the city on greening public spaces, upgrading derelict buildings, developing the Rea Vaya bus rapid transit (BRT) system, upgrading housing and other infrastructure. It can be argued that the city has been trying to address the issue of ineffective urban management through investing in initiatives such as CID and creating UDZ, which then become the custodians of these inner city areas.

2.14 Debates around Urban Regeneration

As argued by Nel,(2002) the demise of apartheid in the early 1990s left South Africa with a social and economic legacy characterised by racial division and discrimination). There are issues around social justice, economic development and regeneration policies which need to be addressed. Nel leads us to ask the question: Should development solely occur to attract investors without addressing the historical and social problems in South African cities in the post-apartheid era?

Winkler, (2009) suggests that contemporary regeneration practices and policies tend to focus on making cities more economically competitive while bypassing issues of social and spatial justice in neighbourhoods earmarked for rejuvenation how do we avoid creating socially exclusive enclaves? People are being pushed further away from economic opportunities by the regeneration process; how does this affect their lives, routines or social responsibilities?

2.15 Critical Review of Literature

The literature used in this study is both descriptive and discursive of the process of urban regeneration and its associated externalities when it comes to cities in decline. It first
focuses on defining the problem which is the process of urban decay. The review points out the different forces which drive it. Some of these forces include municipalities prioritising development of certain segments of the city while neglecting others. This causes socio economic impacts such as a decrease in employment opportunities which in turn increases the crime rate and the level of poverty people as well as decreases in the value of property and deters investors from investing in the city or neighbourhood. These are the push factors which cause the elite to move out of the city centre towards the suburbs through the process of suburbanisation. Brink, (2017) and Venter, (2017) both explain how urban decay occurred within the South African context with the capital flight, falling property prices, decentralisation and the fall of apartheid as the main factors.

The literature also describes how the city of Johannesburg from its origins has been a city which has reflected and reinforced inequality. The form of inequality has however changed over the years, during the days of the gold rush the divisions were previously based on racial lines, but these lines have become blurred but predominantly black people remain poor (Terreblanche, 2005). Today inequality is based on socio-economic status and social class lines. The results have been how the poor or low-income city dwellers have had to become secondary citizens to the elite. This means that when the city calls for public meetings those with wealth is usually heard over those without wealth. This has been seen in the regeneration and renewal processes where the municipalities are at risk of over commodifying spaces within the city through the introduction of CIDs (City Improvement Districts) which require funding to provide services. The problem with this is that it worsens the already existing income-inequality within the city. H.W Ardnt (1983) and Mark Rosentraub (2014) have highlighted this danger and also mentioned how urban regeneration can lead to gentrification with the middle-class and upper-class returning to the city in place of the lower class. This leads to processes of urban marginality, polarisation of spaces and eventually social exclusion.

The literature also discusses themed spaces with regard to how different users perceive them. For the local residents themed spaces such as Chinatowns provide their residents with a sense of belonging. For the municipality and land developers these spaces are
revenue generators in terms of tourism and developing emerging economies. This is a debatable issue since through regeneration and renewal of these spaces the locals are then pushed out by the high prices of the upgraded buildings. The argument proposed by (Teu, 1995) here is that do themed spaces not lose their culture, traditions and place making attributes through gentrification. Furthermore do the local people feel they belong to the area after it has been regenerated? Or are they gradually excluded and forced to relocate to the underdeveloped decaying parts of the city through a process called urban marginalisation.

Richard Florida introduces the concept of the creative class and creative industries which have the ability to foster local economic growth of an area in decline. He describes the actors who make up the creative class and how they contribute to the economic development of an area, through knowledge and skills sharing. The literature also criticises the creative class in African contexts because residents revealed their fear of gentrification and increasing property prices which directly affect them.

The literature gives a base to understand the research question and gives a background to concepts such as urban regeneration, urban decay, urban marginality and gentrification. The intent is to illustrate how they play a role in the urban regeneration process and how they relate to the Maboneng case study. The literature also includes policies such as the Revenue Laws Amendment Act, 2003, (s.13) which was amended into the income tax act to provide funds used to improve buildings and to support urban renewal and inner city regeneration.

The literature does suggest that urban regeneration and renewal of inner-city areas requires strategic policies and implementation which comes through partnerships between the private sector, government and affected communities. A possible area of weakness in the literature is the role of the community when urban regeneration is occurring. The literature does not discuss how communities should be involved as this will be concluded after the findings in chapter 5. The roles of the developer, planner and city official are clearly defined but the level of public participation is not sufficiently discussed.
The literature review uses terms such as economic development but gives the impression that in order to understand how urban regeneration impacts businesses it must be viewed across different scales from large restaurants like “pata pata” down to the street trader. This is applies to my research as the area in which Maboneng is located has several small businesses of various sizes such as hair salons, vehicle spare part shops, Indian convenience stores and street traders.

2.16 Urban Regeneration Broken Down

The study starts of by defining what urban regeneration is and how it is a solution to address urban decay which is a common problem for post-industrial cities. The framework then shows the relationship between urban decay in Johannesburg with urban renewal and specifically urban renewal in Johannesburg. Urban renewal comes with gentrification which can lead to urban marginalisation on the one hand, but, on the other hand, it can improve the physical environment of the area in decline through the formation of Central business districts (CIDs). Through the privatisation of CIDs there is a tendency to create social enclaves of which some come from themed spaces such as ethnic communities or themed spaces which can influence how people perceive space and that has a bearing on the identity and cultures within these spaces. From Identity and
culture emerges the creative class who are associated with creative industries and these can have a revitalising effect to reverse the urban decay which has affected the city.

2.17 Ethical Considerations

My research will follow ethical principles of respect for persons, honesty, Benevolence and justice. My interviews were done in a manner that ensures the dignity, rights, safety and well-being of all participants. I will ensure respect for all groups in society, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion and culture. With regards to honesty I will inform all participants of the reason for my study and the roles they will be playing. This is to avoid endangering or violating their rights. My questions will be uniform for male and female respondents as I am aware of gender differences.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss my research methodology with regards to how I went about the research process in choosing the respondents, approaching them, and how I am going to analyse my findings. The overall plan of this research investigation includes the study population and sampling techniques used in arriving to a sample size. The chapter mentions research instruments used during fieldwork which are field observations, interviews and questionnaires.

3.2 Research Conducted

I carried out my research in three ways, firstly through the use of interviews with randomly selected defined groups of individuals. Secondly I used a photographic analysis of the study area in which I compared the physical state of the Maboneng precinct to the environment of the rest of Jeppestown. Lastly I went through academic text, newspaper articles and video advertisements relating to urban regeneration and or Maboneng. A large percentage of my research involved engaging with secondary data from academic text in the form of papers, journals, books as well as newspaper articles.

The main elements of my research methodology consisted of the research design, research population, research instruments, data collection procedures, and the analysis of findings.

3.3 Research Design

The study uses a qualitative approach as it deals with the perception and opinions about phenomenon. Using this qualitative approach I carried out 15 unstructured interviews with worker respondents working within the precinct as well as those working outside the precinct, resident respondents living within the precinct and those living outside the precinct as well as visitor/tourist respondents. The reason for interviewing people living within the precinct and people living outside of the precinct was to get varying
perceptions and opinions which would help me understand how people view inside and outside spaces. This gives me an opportunity to comparatively assess and analyse how different individuals view Maboneng and to what extent this impacts their livelihoods.

The interviews I carried out were in the form of conversations. I prompted and directed questions, which allowed respondents to describe their perceptions on their understanding of urban regeneration and how it has taken place within the inner-city and specifically in Jeppestown. In the interest of time I also drafted questionnaires with more structured and questions about how the process of urban regeneration works. When choosing my worker respondents I walked along Fox street as this is the most active street identifying restaurants which were busy during the week and during the weekend. I managed to interview 3 business establishments (a restaurant/art gallery, a restaurant and a street artist) within the precinct. When outside the precinct I chose 2 businesses (a hair salon and a spaza shop) which were less than 10 meters away from the precinct as they were in close proximity and that would help me determine if they were benefiting from trickledown effect. When selecting visitor respondents I very randomly walked up to people walking the streets and asked whether they were visitors or not. After obtaining their role I approached them and informed them of my research and its objectives and this opened up room for conversation which made my research richer and provided an insight into how tourists, residents and first timers perceive the Maboneng precinct.

My research also draws on an extensive photographic inventory with the aim to visually represent the areas which have been impacted due to the development in Maboneng. The images and fieldwork observations will form part of my primary sources and show the effects of urban regeneration on people’s lives in Jeppestown.

### 3.4 Sampling Procedure

As the researcher I must consider several technical details when collecting data from a large population (Wegner, 1999). A sampling procedure is defined as a process of selecting a representative segment from a whole population (Saunders et al, 2003). According to Mupambireyi (2009), the sample should avoid bias and must be representative of the whole population. For my research I divided the respondents into 4
categories namely visitors, business owners, residents, and workers allowing the study to gain different perceptions from different groups of respondents. The four categories were representative of the population found in Jeppestown.

**Stratified Random Sampling**

For this study I used the stratified sampling procedure, relevant when a population is divided into different specific strata usually based on similar attributes (Muchengetwa, 2006). Respondents were sub-divided into visitors, business owners, residents and workers.

**Purposive Sampling**

The study also used purposive sampling in order to come up with a sample among the property developers. A purposive sample is defined as a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling. This type of sampling is very useful in situations when you need to reach a targeted sample quickly (Tongco, 2007)

### 3.5 Sources of Data Collection

For this study I utilised both primary and secondary sources of data. I collected primary data through field observations, interviews and the use of questionnaires. Primary data provided relevant information on how people perceive Maboneng which then formed a basis for the subsequent analysis to follow in chapter 5. I collected secondary data from secondary sources such as websites, newspaper articles, library books, urban regeneration reports, journals, the Internet and the planning and architecture library at the University of the Witwatersrand which formed the basis for my literature review. Both primary and secondary sources of data provided more information on the background to the inner-city regeneration and the historical context within which it is occurring.
3.6 Research Materials

During my fieldwork I used field observations, interviews and structured questionnaires as my research materials.

Field Observations

My field observations involved visiting the site on a Monday, Thursday and Saturday, in order to find out how the precinct was used on these different days. Due to safety concerns I did not venture too far from the precinct and therefore used a desktop study in combination with my site visits. The desktop study was for the areas I was not able to travel into due to safety concerns.

The advantage of a field observation is that the data collected is first-hand and reliable while the disadvantage is that it is costly and time consuming.

Interviews

The purpose of my interviews was to understand the ways in which the respondents understand or perceive their surroundings. In this case it refers to how the sample population perceives Maboneng and the process of urban regeneration. Kvale (1996) mentions how interviews are important to qualitative research as they help bring out people’s experiences and in some cases their memories of a space. This helps build a mental impression of the space.

The advantages of interviews are that they enabled me to acquire information faster and to clarify the question so that the respondent could understand better. They also allowed me to deduce answers based on the body language of the respondent. I used interviews where the respondents were unwilling to fill out the questionnaire due to literacy issues in the case of car washing entrepreneurs in the precinct and ladies in salons and actually got more information out of respondents through interviewing them. On both occasions I went with a local student who would translate when respondents did not use English.
3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed my methodology during this research. Judd (1991) defines research methodology as the analysis of conceptual logic and research procedure by which knowledge is developed. Scates (1894) describes research design as an overall plan for conducting a research investigation. He also defines a research design as a detailed blueprint used to guide a research towards achieving its objectives. A good research design minimizes the danger of collecting haphazard data. Both primary and secondary sources were used in my data collection. Primary data sources included field observation, interviews and questionnaires. In this chapter I discussed the data collection instruments I used for this research. These were field observations, interviews and questionnaires. The main effort of this methodology was to achieve the research objectives highlighted in chapter 1. The chapter ended by describing data presentation and analysis procedures. Chapter 4 will be based on the case study of Jeppestown and chapter 5 will be reviewing the findings of the research by way of data presentation, discussion and analysis.
Chapter 4: Case Study

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces Jeppestown in order to give context to the Maboneng case study. The chapter locates Jeppestown within the Johannesburg metropolitan area and will briefly describe some of the issues facing the neighbourhood and how the emergence of Maboneng attempted to address some of these issues affecting the neighbourhood. The chapter will then describe the Maboneng precinct in terms of its physical location in relation to other inner-city neighbourhoods, its evolution and the current state.

4.2 Locating Jeppestown

Fig 1: Map showing location of Jeppestown within the Johannesburg Metropolitan area

The neighbourhood is located just above the mining belt and towards the east of the CBD, and is accessible by the R29 highway the M31 and the railway. the area was a micro district which served the city with textile industries, factories and warehouses hence its accessibility.

4.3 Brief Description

Jeppestown is a suburb to the east of the city centre and located in region F of Johannesburg. It is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Johannesburg established in 1889 by Julius Jeppe (Aymard, 2013) and is a working class neighbourhood. The area has
changed over the last decade given the decline and decay which has affected most inner-city suburbs. Many buildings have become overpopulated and neglected, leaving the area characterised by poor quality housing, inadequate resources and unsafe streets (Aymard, 2013). Jeppestown is nonetheless home to a large population of immigrants and low-income black workers working in industries and small shops.

The neighbourhood used to be an industrial micro-district but because of apartheid spatial planning the section of the city it is located in was reserved for white people (Leila Patel, 2008). This meant that the economic opportunities it offered went to the dominant white population at the time. However this has changed with more black people moving into the inner-city due to the depreciation of property values and building owners abandoning their buildings. The migration of a new population group into a neighbourhood means a shift in culture and social interactions within the neighbourhood (Leila Patel, 2008).

The Jeppestown area is located fairly close to work opportunities (approximately 3 kilometres) which can be found in the CBD it has good infrastructure and access. The key traffic routes which pass through Jeppestown are Commissioner Street which provides access to Kensington, Jan Smuts Airport and the East Rand; Jules Street which provides access to Malvern, Germiston and the East Rand. Furthermore it also has two railway stations (George Goch and Jeppe Station) which provide access to the city centre.
Fig 2: Map showing how Jeppestown is close to The CBD and other Inner City Neighbourhoods

There are several old and derelict buildings which could be demolished and rebuilt for the betterment of the built environment. Jeppestown exhibits numerous characteristics of the Inner City syndrome, as mentioned by Aldous (1988) which include poor housing, gap sites, neglected land, vandalism and graffiti, high levels of unemployment and low earnings.

Due to these characteristics slum clearance has shaped a large part of Jeppestown’s history. They were planning for slum clearance as far back as the 1930s in Jeppestown, but the city only intervened during the 1950s as a result of the deterioration of the physical environment. However in 1963, a slum survey was carried out by the City health Department to assess the state of deterioration in Jeppestown and to find out whether an urban renewal program was needed (Deane, 2013). This was 39 years before the city of Johannesburg’s urban renewal program which began in 2002. The results of the survey
showed that the area was ready for renewal in 1965. The downgrading of the environment meant that many wealthier residents moved out of the suburb to neighbouring suburbs such as Kensington, resulting in buildings becoming more affordable to lower income groups who then moved into the neighbourhood.

4.4 Jeppestown Today

The neighbourhood is still characterised by decaying run-down buildings in some parts and has streets which need upgrading of street lights, street furniture and sidewalks. This is despite the urban regeneration program which has been taking place within the inner city. One such project was the development of the Maboneng precinct which began in 2009 under the guidance of the property company “Propertuity” through partnerships with several stakeholders including the city council. The precinct has well maintained streets and buildings while streets in Jeppestown streets are still dirty, quiet and unsafe due to crime. The crime in the area can be linked to the physical state of an area as the buildings are rundown and there is very little activity on the streets meaning they become dull. This lack of activity gives criminals an opportunity to carry out criminal activities such as muggings and dealing of drugs.

Crime within the CBD has become a focal point of discussion regarding the inner-city. In Jeppestown the threat of violent crime should be taken seriously as this has the potential of keeping people away from the CBD potentially undoing the work the city is doing to bring people back to the inner city. There have been issues regarding forced evictions in the area. These evictions have occurred as a consequence of the city’s attempt to revitalize the bad buildings in the CBD but unfortunately this also leaves people displaced.
Fig 3: Images showing the current state of Jeppestown physical environment
Source: https://johannesburg1912.wordpress.com (9/09/2017)

The images above show how dilapidated some of the buildings in Jeppestown are and how the streets do not attract pedestrians to linger or explore. The images also show how narrow the sidewalks are and how they lack street furniture.

4.5 Locating Maboneng

Situated on the east side of the Johannesburg CBD, the Maboneng Precinct is close all Rea Vaya BRT networks and is bordered by Market, Albrecht, Main and Berea Streets. Most of the properties in the area were originally light industrial buildings, warehouses and workshops.

Access to the precinct is offered from the M31 highway which connects the South of Johannesburg with inner-city neighbourhoods Doornfontein, Berea, Yeoville and the UJ Doornfontein Campus.

Within the precinct there are 2 streets of interest – Fox Street and Main Street – given that most of the amenities in the Maboneng precinct are located on Fox street. Along Fox street, activity nodes are more numerous as it has more points of interest including
restaurants, bars and apartments. Motorists can access the precinct from the highway off-ramp or from Commissioner Street.

![Context Map Maboneng's location within the eastern section of the Johannesburg inner-city](image)

**Fig 4: Context Map Maboneng’s location within the eastern section of the Johannesburg inner-city**
*Map shows the hierarchy of activity streets within the precinct as well as activity nodes where people gather and engage with the urban environment. The image also shows how inviting and legible the entrances of the precinct are.*

### 4.6 The Emergence of the Maboneng precinct
The area where Maboneng is located had been impacted by deindustrialisation processes from the 1980s which resulted in the emergence of empty warehouses and factory premises. In 2008 with the financial backing of an international financier, the developer bought old construction offices and warehouses and came up with ‘Arts on Main’, to create a mix of studios, galleries and creative office spaces. By 2012, Propertuity had bought 25 buildings in an area with over 200 buildings and started branching out with additional developments such as the Main Street Life building. It is important to note that
all these developments began on one street at first, Fox Street, which has developed into the main activity street within the precinct.

Through urban regeneration the street scape has been improved with better lighting on the street, the presence of rubbish bins, textured pavements to slow down traffic and trees to add visual interest. The precinct also boasts several activities which keep people visiting and spending both time and money there. According to one of its founders, Market on Main attracts up to 2000 visitors weekly (van der Watt, 2014). In this sense the precinct succeeds in getting people back to the inner-city. The question is who are these people being attracted to the inner city and how does this impact issues such as the right to the city as mentioned by Lefebvre. In Jeppestown, do the locals have the right to the city or does that right belong to the middle-class suburbanites looking to experience urban living. The problem in Maboneng is that the desire to live in the city has as mentioned by Shannon Walsh, 2013) turned Maboneng into a privately controlled, individually conceptualised and corporately branded urban enclave. The reason I have included that statement is that she goes on to mention that, “The cost of square footage in Maboneng has doubled in four years, from R5000 a square foot in 2008 to R10, 000 in 2012.” Shannon Walsh (2013).

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20 What happens when the Right to the City is understood as the right to reoccupy the inner city by middle-class suburbanites? “In the self-styled Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg, the writing is on the wall, literally. Graffiti reading, ‘We won't move’ on the roof of Revolution House begins to tell the story of hipster-styled urban gentrification in the city. These processes force a radical reinvention of the meaning of the right to the city, of centrality and of accumulation by dispossession.” Shannon Walsh (2013) PAGE 400
Fig 5: Image showing evolution of the main change building between 2009 and 2013

Source: Maboneng 2013 Report
The image shows what the street used to look like in 2009 and what it looks liked like in 2013 after the regeneration process.

Fig 6: Image showing the growth of the precinct

Source: http://www.daffonchio.co.za/the-maboneng-precinct-johannesburg/ (15/09/2017)
4.7 Review of Case Study

From the history of Jeppestown we can determine that Maboneng was due for renewal as early as 1965. It is difficult to say whether the neighbourhood was neglected or if its issues were too big for the city council to handle them back then.

What is important however is to realise that Jeppestown is strategically located within the CBD in terms of its access to economic opportunities and therefore in my research it was useful to include it as a case study to give context to the impacts of Maboneng’s emergence for the area. The precinct might have come as a possible solution but the question of how inclusive it is and to whom will be answered in chapter 5.
Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the results of the findings of the fieldwork which I carried out during June and October 2017. The gathered findings and raw information were deduced primarily from questionnaires and interviews conducted on the streets of Maboneng and Jeppestown over the course of the fieldwork. The findings will be analysed with attention being paid to the impacts of urban regeneration on Jeppestown’s physical environment and economy. I sub-divided the data into three themes which are in accordance with the objectives and the sub-questions of the research. This was done to ensure that the findings help answer the overall research question and paint a picture of what urban regeneration actually means for the study area.

5.1 Population

In Jeppestown, 59.6% of the population are male and females make up the remaining 40.4% (2011 census). Again according to the 2011 census, 79.8% of the population is made up of South African citizens and the remaining 20.2% are foreign individuals from the SADC region, and the rest of Africa. Migrants in search for jobs and better economic opportunities have shaped many cities across the African continent including Johannesburg. There are several reasons that make people decide to move from one country to another ranging from severe ones such as wars, natural disasters, and economic hardships to less severe ones such as visiting family, vacations or religious holidays. From around 2007, South Africa has become a popular destination for foreign nationals pouring in from all regions due to desirable pull factors attracting many immigrants across borders into the country in the hope for a better future especially for those coming to Johannesburg they come because the city is close to the homes of SADC citizens. (Visser, 2010). It has strong market potential and the existing networks of family and friends who would have come before them (Visser, 2010).

These new arrivals are able find cheap accommodation in several dilapidated hostels in Jeppestown. They cohabit in groups according to ethnicity, culture and nationality.
During the fieldwork I was able to find out that the area also caters for a variety of employment types mostly associated with males such as car washing, factory work, waste recycling, car guarding, vehicle repair workshops and security guards for the precinct. Women are mostly employed in spaza shops, hair salons, restaurants (inside Maboneng) and informal food stands.

Urban struggles over resources have not only created new social, ethnic and class, but also possible gender boundaries within cities. During the fieldwork I did notice that there seems to be a visible predominance of men within the precinct, while women are mostly seen on the fringes of the precinct. Does that mean Maboneng is creating a gendered economy in Jeppestown which favours males over females? Certainly the findings do seem to suggest this assumption. Gender economics is an emerging field of study which builds on the theories of diversity but promotes the value of gender balance, particularly in the area of innovation and creativity (Moore 2012). Given that Maboneng is associated with the creative economy this theory is important in understanding how women of all classes and races are incorporated in the precinct from an economic activity perspective. From the statistics in the table below and from a visual observation there seems to be a predominance of men within the precinct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>6,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>10,112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table a: Sex (Table Gender)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>13,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Africa</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table b: Table of Region of Birth**

**Fig 6: Image showing predominance of men in Maboneng**
Source: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, August 2017

### 5.2 Age

The table below (Table c) shows that 83% of the population fall within the 15 to 64 age group, known as the economically active group within a given population. They are part of the population who are either gainfully employed or actively seeking employment within the economy. The availability of these particular individuals is beneficial for the growth of an economy in the neighborhood provided that they are gainfully employed.
Otherwise if not they just add more numbers to the unemployment rate in Johannesburg, which officially stands at 25% as of the 2011 census. Approximately 75% of the respondents I interviewed for this research fell into the economically active category.

Using urban regeneration and reclaiming the inner-city as strategies should help increase the number of employment opportunities for young economically active individuals which in turn should boost the economic growth potential of the neighbourhood. As mentioned before in the literature review, the creative class mostly comprises of young professionals between 20 – 40 years who share their skills and knowledge within a community through networking and socially interacting with peers. This is one way of improving the human development capital within the neighbourhood. According to population projections for Jeppestown this age group will make up 58.4 % of the total population within the next five years (2011 Census) which is very beneficial for Jeppestown, provided they are gainfully employed and can contribute to the economy of the area. Having a youthful population willing and able to look for employment not only reduces the dependency ratio for the neighbourhood but also allows for greater productivity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>2,211</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>1,481</td>
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<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>5,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>3,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table c: Population by age range (Age group in 5 years)

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>80+</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Education

According to the statistics of ward 61 roughly 36% of the population has attended secondary school while 44% of the population has completed Matric. This affects the type of job opportunities available for the residents of Jeppestown even with the emergence of Maboneng. For example, within the precinct the respondents working in restaurants that I interviewed did have work contracts but most of them come from other areas outside of Jeppestown. Some of the respondents living in Jeppestown were carrying out less formal forms of employment such as recycling cans, washing cars and guarding the vehicles for people visiting the precinct.

In the ward only 3.6% have an undergrad or post-grad qualification, which is a very low number compared to 10.9% for the whole Gauteng province. This is alarming as it negatively affects the human capital development within the area as there are fewer skilled workers being produced from Jeppestown. This has a negative impact on the human development capital of the neighborhood and the economy in general (Baine, Docquier and Rapoport, 2001). This is surprising due to the ward being close to several higher education institutions including the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Johannesburg and Johannesburg Technical College.

In relation to the sub-question about the trickledown effect of Maboneng on Jeppestown it is hard to say if the locals are really benefiting. The reason is that Maboneng attracts young educated professionals, also known as the “creative class”, who then take up the high skilled jobs and leaving the less formal and low-skilled jobs to the locals. The city is disadvantaging the residents of Jeppestown who by the virtue of the low wages for unskilled working class cannot afford to live or buy food in the restaurants in Maboneng. The local residents are forced to look for accommodation in dilapidated housing units far outside the ward.

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from the precinct as these are the areas they can afford to live in. This assumption that a creative economy can automatically assure growth and bring about a trickledown effect through attracting the creative class must be critically assessed and there needs to be evidence of this since Richard Florida’s work was heavily criticized by Perk and Malanga.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Primary</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Secondary</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>4,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12 (Matric)</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>5,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-grad</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Population by highest education for Ward 61
Source: https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/ward-79800061-city-of-johannesburg-ward-61-79800061/
(Accessed 09/10/2017)

5.4 What is the economic impact of urban regeneration on the livelihoods of Jeppestown Residents?

5.4.1 Rental analysis

According to the literature review and contextual background, the city of Johannesburg was in a state of decay with property prices falling and property owners moving away from the inner-city causing the subsequent decline. The decrease in property prices did allow people of low-income status to acquire property legally or illegally within the inner city in neighbourhoods such as Jeppestown, Berea, Hillbrow and Newtown. Today in Maboneng the lowest rental price for accommodation is R3150 for a bachelor apartment and the highest price for accommodation is set at R12000 for a loft. (Private property, 2017) These rental prices do suggest that one needs formal employment and a salary above R3000 to be able to rent accommodation within the precinct. This is not a problem
for the middle to upper class that can easily afford these prices but creates a problem for the lower-income residents. In Jeppestown the lowest rental price for accommodation is R1540 for a bachelor apartment and the highest price is R8000 for a loft (Private property, 2017)

I interviewed 2 resident respondents living at the Eyethu House block of apartments located on the edge of Maboneng. They mentioned that they moved to Maboneng from areas such as Bryanston and Rosebank given that Maboneng seemed to have cheaper rentals for an inner city area, cheaper according to their middle-class status. They moved to the area in pursuit of an urban lifestyle where they could actively engage with the inner-city and its urban environment, something which is portrayed by Maboneng’s marketing strategy. One respondent has lived in Jeppestown for more than 30 years stated that the rent paid to stay in the precinct is not affordable to the normal working class Jeppestown resident on the basis of their types of jobs, income and education level as well as social class. The respondent confirmed that residents living in Jeppestown are under the constant threat of eviction as the Maboneng precinct keeps expanding its territorial boundaries further into Jeppestown. According to the literature this causes urban marginality and affects the everyday lives of the residents of Jeppestown. Gentrification is unquestionably a double-edged sword in that its benefits are welcomed by declining neighbourhoods like Jeppestown but its disadvantages are feared by the people living in Jeppestown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Property</th>
<th>Rentals (R)</th>
<th>Type of Property</th>
<th>Rentals (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor apartment</td>
<td>3150 - 7500</td>
<td>Bachelor apartment</td>
<td>1540 - 3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loft</td>
<td>4200 - 12000</td>
<td>Loft</td>
<td>5000 - 8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bedroom apartment</td>
<td>7500 - 11000</td>
<td>1 Bedroom apartment</td>
<td>2160 - 6500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bedroom apartment</td>
<td>6800 - 11000</td>
<td>2 Bedroom apartment</td>
<td>3250 - 5200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studio apartment</td>
<td>4100 - 6000</td>
<td>Studio apartment</td>
<td>2060 - 4700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table e: Table of property prices
Fig 12: Image showing flats and types of accommodation in Jeppestown and within Maboneng
Source: L.Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017

The image shows how the area has mixed use with retail on the ground floor and residential on top, the difference is the type of retail. Maboneng properties have high end retail including trendy bars, saloons and fashion boutiques, while outside the precinct there are hair salons, hardware shops and fast food outlets.

Respondent Profile (15/09/2017)

1) Name: Anonymous

Age: 25

Occupation: Graphic Designer
Location of occupation: Maboneng Precinct

Place of Residency: Propertuity apartments

Question: How far do you stay from the precinct and what are the issues you face living in Maboneng?

“The precinct is 3km from where I stay, which makes it convenient as I work within the precinct. The precinct is safe as there is 24 hour security personal which helps reduce crime; the only issue is the recycling guys who keep begging residents and customers for cash and food”. The precinct does not have a grocery shop close by except for a green grocer shop which does provide everything, I still need to go to pick and pay at Rosebank mall.”

Question: What would you say brings people to Maboneng?

“The Maboneng precinct attracts people through its cultural appeal as people come to see art and to experience the vibe of the space which is trendy and laid back on a weekend. During the week the precinct is used as a networking space and a creative space for new business ventures and corporate lunches. The space becomes active from Thursday right up to Sunday as this is when the artists come and bars open.”

Question: Who does Maboneng cater for?

“I would say Maboneng caters mostly for the middle- class but offers the lower-class an opportunity to sell art”. 

2) Name: Anonymous

Age: 26

Occupation: informal chesa nyama restaurant

Location: outside the precinct

Place of residency: Betty Street, Jeppestown, Johannesburg

Question: How far do you stay from the precinct and what are the issues you face living in Maboneng?
“I stay 15 km from the precinct and need to leave work early to be on the safe side and we have to pay rent for the facilities provided by the city, but for the space we do not pay. I live on the fringes of Maboneng as I do not make enough money to afford their 3500 apartment rentals”.

Question: What would you say brings people to Maboneng?

“People come to see celebrities and listen to music and see artists

Question: Who does Maboneng cater for?

“Maboneng is for the rich and celebrities, not us working-class people although it also attracts people but they do not go beyond the precinct, we only serve the working class here and taxi drivers”.

5.4.2 Food Prices

During my fieldwork I recorded that for R50 one can get soft drinks or coffee for two in the Maboneng precinct while a steak and chips for two roughly adds up to R400. Just beyond the precinct there are several spaza shops which cater for the workers of the precinct who cannot afford to have meals at such high prices. At the spaza shops, prices range from R15-50 for meals which include quarter chicken and chips, burgers and deep fried chips. In the precinct, trendy restaurants cater for a specific target market consisting mainly of well off youth and young professionals who are able to afford having lunch in the precinct. Ironically, it could be argued that the workers in Maboneng help promote the spaza shop economy but it is only by default due to the high food prices within the precinct. The spaza shops cater less for the low-income members of the population in Jeppestown.

The increase in cost can possibly be attributed to the different market groups that the retailers are looking to attract. These are the high and medium income earning individuals in the city.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restaurant/Café</th>
<th>Cost for 2 (R)</th>
<th>Business Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origin Café</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mon-Fri 8am -4pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Merv’s</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Mon- Fri 7 am-4pm ,Sat-Sun 8am-4pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha’p Braai</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Mon-Fri 10:30 am -10pm , Sat-Sun 10:30 am-10 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Addis</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Tues-Sun 12pm-9 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curiocity Backpackers</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Mon-Sun 10am-9 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul Souvlaki</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Mon-Sat 10am -5 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The living room</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Mon- Wed 11am-5 pm , Thurs.-Sat 11am-10pm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table f : Table of food prices in Maboneng**

**Respondent Profile (22/08/2017)**

Names: Anonymous

Age: 23 and 24

Occupation: Bartenders (From Tampa Florida)

Reason for being in Maboneng: Visiting friends in South Africa

Question: Where are you from?

Answer: “We come from a small town in Tampa Florida called Ybor city”

Question: Where are you staying while you’re in Johannesburg?

Answer: “We are staying at a friend’s place 15 minutes away from Maboneng, the reason is that it is expensive to stay in hotels abroad and we wanted to really enjoy the city and this allows us to travel to the precinct by Uber.”
Question: How did you end up in Maboneng? Did you know about Jeppiestown?

Answer: “We organized the trip by ourselves but researched about Maboneng on yelp, it did not mention too much about Jeppiestown however except that it’s the neighborhood surrounding Maboneng”.

Question: What do you like about Maboneng?

Answer: “The space is innovative and different especially with its creative restaurants. The only issue is that they are usually closed but we are told they open on Sundays. The precinct is hip-happening and full of color and always has different activities on offer”.

Question: What aspects could be improved?

Answer: “They need to increase the variety of businesses which will help lower prices of food and drinks as the precinct would have made enough to offset the costs. The precinct needs to further embrace heritage when it comes to meals and African style restaurants. There is a need for a locals' day at the bioscope to help increase their knowledge about Maboneng and what it stands for”.

5.4.3 Employment Opportunities

Maboneng is evidently a valuable economic ‘asset’ within the inner city which has the potential to enhance growth. The precinct has created its own niche local economy in several ways with varying facilities, stakeholders and businesses feeding off of each other within the precinct and immediate surroundings. The urban environment provides mixed
land uses, with the ground floors being predominantly catered for commercial; retail or restaurant uses which maximizes the functionality of the precinct. The agglomeration and clustering of industries enables the creation of innovative ideas which enable the creation of employment opportunities with potential benefits for local residents and new workers relocating to the area. One way the precinct has done this is by supporting entrepreneurial enterprises such as Curiosity Backpackers, Catalyst Café and Shap Braai. This support has come through the precinct being well located, providing collaborative work spaces. The precinct also has a mix of people on the street from international tourists and homecoming-revolution expats, business people, students and artists. These elements help in building an atmosphere where new forms of businesses can grow and creates employment opportunities for the local residents of Jeppiestown and Maboneng. This can then provide some support as outlined by Richard Florida’s work on how the creative class can contribute to cities.

Maboneng has benefited from tourism as it enables visitors to come into the inner-city and experience urban life. The tourism potential of Maboneng also creates informal job opportunities including providing parking assistance, vehicle guarding, rubbish recycling, street art and side walk musical acts. The interviews done with tourists revealed that the precinct does not yet fully operate during the week but comes alive from Friday through to Sunday. In the interviews conducted 3 out of the 5 visiting respondents did mention that Maboneng is an inviting, attractive, hip, lively and unique destination. The atmosphere and vibe present in Maboneng has proven to be a telling factor and the trendy and fashionable nature of Maboneng has been able to persuade investors that it is an area to optimize their investments.

According to the literature on creative industries it is possible to disseminate that urban regeneration in an area like Maboneng does potentially create a variety of employment opportunities either in the formal or the informal sector. When I interviewed respondents who worked in spaza shops, they did not have contracts and were hired informally; this was the same for people guarding cars and the men involved in recycling trash on Main Street. However the respondents who were washing cars on the sidewalks did mention that the precinct has provided them with a decent living where they do not need to
commit crime in order to survive. There was a contradiction as one business owner respondent operating outside the precinct did not agree with this and went on to say that the precinct offers a nostalgic feeling of what Hillbrow used to be in the 1960s, inclusive with vibrant public spaces, markets, music, art and fashion - but the precinct does little to boost their businesses if you are located on the periphery of the precinct.

Fig 8: Image showing the job advertisements in Jeppestown and Maboneng
Source: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017

*Image showing job vacancies advertised and the types of jobs available within the precinct which include providing security, selling crafts and artwork and working in garages.*
The precinct provides opportunities for artists to come and set up their artwork and for craftsmen to showcase their work. Most young people are employed as waitresses/waiters, security guards as well as carwashes.

5.5 Who has the right to the city in Jepeestown?

5.5.1 Invisible Barriers

On the basis of newspaper articles and flyers, Maboneng’s marketing strategy is framed as a picture of communal belonging for new and current residents as well as visitors. On the surface this seems to be true. However, according to Malcom Reese (2013) who researched on social behaviors, if a person does not have certain traits or social economic characteristics, allowing them to be in the precinct, they will quickly be ushered out by private security guards. It is clear that in creating a residential offering tailored to the better-off and those who are used to the relative tranquility of Johannesburg's sprawling suburbs, the precinct has been set up in a way that provides a sense of security, an aura of cleanliness and order. This is how privately developed spaces (enclaves) in South Africa operate; a popular example is the Nelson Mandela square where private security is seen to be ushering people who do not fit the profile of the area. Eventually Malcom Reese (2013) concludes that in Maboneng, there are efforts to control and monitor its "rejuvenated" spaces; these efforts exclude people from the lower social bracket.
Visiting respondents whom I interviewed within the precinct supported this need for security. They seemed to complain about the issue of crime within the precinct, difficult to curb due to the open layout of the precinct and which adds to its transparency. Having an open precinct is good because it shows how inclusive the precinct is in terms of access but bad because criminal elements can take advantage of tourists and suburbanites who come to relax in the precinct.

There are existing barriers which contribute towards the exclusion and alienation of people who had been living in Jeppestown before the emergence of Maboneng. Visible barriers include walls, doors and fences while invisible barriers come in the form of social boundaries, cultural identities, norms and values. Some of the invisible barriers are shaped by socio-economic distinctions and certain cultural protocols. That is to say people need to earn a certain amount of money and must behave in a particular manner to be able to fit in. Due to the strong securitization of the area, it carries features of a privatized space which then affects their ability to enter, linger or act within the precinct. A respondent working in a spaza shop did mention that the precinct resembles the old Hillbrow but she did not feel it was welcoming to her as she cannot afford the high prices.
for food and beverages within the precinct. This has shaped her perception of the precinct in a negative way, in that she would rather stay away than be in a space where she cannot consume products. According to Scott McQuire (2016), this does make people avoid these spaces and prevents residents and business owners in Jeppestown from benefiting from the urban regeneration and truly reaping its rewards.

![Fig 10.1: Images showing the invisible barriers within Maboneng](http://www.ilovemaboneng.co.za/item/industry-bar-lounge-maboneng/ (Accessed 10/10/2017)

Image shows how certain activities and spaces seem to exclude people without physically doing so, the living room lounge is one such space, the pata pata restaurant is another. The type of vehicles that are parked in the area displays that it is predominantly a space for the wealthy and middle class.

Lefebvre (1979) mentions that the goal behind the right to the city is to encourage urban policies to promote justice, sustainability and inclusive cities. Citizens should be able to enjoy the benefits of urban regeneration irrespective of their social or economic class. This in line with social justice sought after by the City of Johannesburg municipality. At the same time, this must then be balanced against rejuvenating the inner-city in order to bring back investment. According to Lefebvre, the problem is that through industrial
capitalism the city and its spaces have been reduced to economic elements based on exchange value. In other words, people can enter spaces based on what they can exchange, usually money to pay for meals or to buy art in galleries. The reason for criticizing the over control of ‘public space’ as observed and mentioned in the paragraph above is that public spaces are spaces of representation in that different groups, values, ideologies can represent themselves in public space. This importance is under threat from the perception of crime as the precinct is still in the inner-city which is notoriously renowned for criminal acts.

5.5.2 Inner-city forced evictions

South Africa has a long history of forced evictions and displacement carried out during apartheid, which brought about many social and economic issues. From a social perspective, removing people impedes on their dignity and sense of security. It is against the constitution section 26 (3) which states “No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions”. From an economic perspective, moving people away from economic opportunities and placing them in townships on the periphery of the city where they have to spend more on transport is unfair and served to keep the white population wealthy. It is therefore up to the government to protect the rights of urban dwellers in the city rather than chasing them away.

The municipality and private developers have been attempting to clear these so called “hijacked” buildings by forcibly removing people who have settled in these abandoned buildings illegally. This is what happened in Jeppestown earlier in the year. According to newspaper articles the issue is that there are some building owners who issue eviction notices without informing city officials, who then cannot find alternative accommodation in time to house the evicted people.

Fig 11: Images of inner city evictions or low-income residents

What is interesting is how the property developers in Maboneng deny that they played any part in the forced evictions which took place. Johnathan Lieberman was quoted in the article saying, “We’ve got around 40 buildings in and around Maboneng Precinct and none of them had anything to do with any of the evictions. In fact most of the buildings we bought are either vacant or have been used for industrial purposes previously”\(^{23}\). In addition to that the city of Johannesburg had purchased buildings which were to accommodate the evictees. According to an article on 702 the buildings which the city was proposing for the evictees were unacceptable as they were in quotes, “Dormitory style accommodation, separate the people by their gender and tell them you have to be out by 10am and come back at 5pm”\(^{24}\) the city is left with a tough situation given the information so far on these forced evictions. Will the city take responsibility and provide


better accommodation, if so where and how will they finance this. Since the buildings located in better locations and with better designs belong to property developers and they are most likely going to be expensive for the city to purchase.

5.5.3 Effects of Gentrification on Cultural Identity

In general, gentrification relates to the production of new social identities for the middle-class through rehabilitating deprived working-class neighborhoods (Neducin, Caric and Kubet, 2009). This can improve the overall urban environment and economy of these neighborhoods but at the same time it can marginalize the original inhabitants of the area. This is one of the most relevant critics of the process; the social cost of gentrification on local inhabitants is considered an injustice.

*Fig 12: Image of dilapidated buildings in the CBD*

The image displays the urban decay and dilapidated buildings which can be found in parts of the inner-city before urban regeneration process takes place.
Fig 13: Map showing the location of impacts of urban regeneration in Jeppestown

Fig 13.1: Images of impacts of improving the urban environments along the streets of Maboneng
Source: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017

Images show how the physical environment inside the Maboneng precinct has been upgraded and improved to create a better aesthetic space which is inviting to pedestrians. The streets inside the
precinct do engage well with pedestrians with their transparent windows, crafts on the sidewalk and street furniture to sit on.

Fig 14: Images of impacts of improving the urban environments along the streets of Maboneng
Source: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017

Image showing how parts of Jeppestown have not benefitted from gentrification or urban regeneration. There are still visible signs of decay which include vacant streets, decaying buildings, as well as sidewalks that are not maintained

New inhabitants who have moved into the precinct arrive with their high-class cultural products (e.g. alternative music, art and crafts, fashion and cuisines). These products are not what the low-income residents of Jeppestown are used to given their context and social economic status. This was evident in the interview carried out with one Jeppestown resident who works in one of the restaurants in Maboneng. This is a form of segregation based on socio-economic status for the worker who does not fall into the desired target market the precinct caters for (Özcan, 2015).
Fig 15: High-social class products

Source: https://www.tripadvisor.co.za/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g312578-d4513389-i203232016-Choice_Tours-Johannesburg_Greater_Johannesburg_Gauteng.html Accessed (12/08/2017)

*Image shows crafts on sidewalks targeted at tourists and sidewalk entertainers playing music as well as the pata pata restaurant which again favors the middle-class due to its prices*

On the bright side the process of gentrification does improve the social interactions within the precinct, whether be it formal meetings between clients or casual meetings between friends. It allows for networking to thrive. The precinct hosts several shows which help to bring locals residents, tourists, suburbanites and celebrities together. These events include fashion week, film and art festivals, music concerts, urban markets or occasionally bumping into celebrities. The urban market for instance mixes a blend of wine and cuisine from all parts of the globe and brings tourists and suburbanites to the precinct to enjoy these cuisines and spend some free time. During an interview with a gentleman washing cars I asking what (more) could be done to benefit the local residents of Jeppestown. He responded that creating a platform for “Ama pantsula” dancers to come and showcase their culture through dance would not only provide entertainment but also provide a source of employment for the youth, keeping them out of socially undesirable activities such as drug dealing and abuse.
In certain contexts culture has the ability to influence economic activity in the way that it affects the choices people make regarding how to allocate resources (Özcan, 2015). Culture is defined as the norms and values which guide how people interact or engage in a space. For this reason culture has the potential to influence how people utilize the facilities of an area. An example is the growing hipster culture which exists in regenerated spaces such as Newtown, Braamfontein and Maboneng itself. This culture comprises of people from the middle-class and in their twenties, who are taking an interest in returning back to the city. They return to consume the high-class products which include arts, fashion and cuisine on offer in Maboneng.

There was a feeling of annoyance from the older respondents who believed that some of the young black suburbanites visiting Maboneng seem to alienate them due to their low-economic status. In their words, “the youth have lost their culture and adopted foreign cultures”. He went on to say that the workers relate more to the tourists than to the
suburbanites who visit Maboneng. One of the tourist respondents did mention that they visit Maboneng for the vibe, food and the stories they share with the local workers.

5.6 How Different Users Perceive Maboneng

5.6.1 Inclusivity of Public Spaces within the Maboneng precinct

Public open spaces play an important role in achieving equity and inclusion in cities. They are spaces where different groups of society express themselves, whether through their ideas or their cultures. In determining the inclusivity of a public space, the latter must possess three mutually supportive qualities of access: physical, social as well as access to information about the space.

Physical access in the precinct has been enhanced by maintenance and improvements of the sidewalks which provide direct access to pedestrians onto the street. The sidewalks within the precinct are wide enough that 5 people can walk abreast. Wider pavements offer the pedestrian a sense of comfort which ensures that they stay on the street longer and form a positive perception and liking of the street. The sidewalks within the precinct have visually stimulating materials such as shrubs, trees and signage which keep the user on the sidewalk. The sidewalks outside the precinct are not as wide and only allow one user to walk at a time comfortably.
The physical environment within Maboneng is well maintained. There are however issues with parking with cars on sidewalks meant for people to walk. The trees, vegetation and signage keep the pedestrian curious and visually stimulated while walking down the street.

From the fieldwork and exploration of the site it is clear that legibility within the precinct is one a way in which people can understand and orientate themselves around the urban environment. The pavement upgrades that took place in the pioneering phases of Maboneng were due to a partnership between the Johannesburg Development Agency and Propertuity, and have assisted in enhancing the pedestrian experience and walkability of the area along the grid patterned street layout. The grid pattern layout allows for more legible direct access onto the street and easily understandable routes within the precinct.
Fig 18: Map showing the grid iron layout of the Maboneng precinct and the streets in Jeppestown

*Map showing how the grid iron makes the precinct permeable and thus accessible from multiple directions*
Fig 19: Images showing the legibility of the streets within the precinct
Source: L.Mashiri, September 2017
Images E, F AND K show entrance points to the site, which are simple to understand for a first time user. A,B,C,D,G,H,I,J show how legible the streets are as one can clearly see what lies in front of them and does not get confused or lost within the precinct.

After travelling to the precinct by bus, private vehicle and on foot I agree with the worker respondents who mentioned that the precinct and area is fairly accessible. The reason being the City’s initiative to improve public transport such as the Rea Vaya bus rapid transit system (BRT) which passes through Jeppestown. The Maboneng precinct is located in proximity of the Jeppestown railway station, an alternative form of transport which brings workers into the precinct, along with the taxis and private vehicles. The precinct is accessible to every user as there are multiple modes of transport, it is however more accessible to the pedestrian as they do not have issues finding parking.
Fig 20: Map showing transport options and access point for different modes of transport
While walking within the precinct on a Sunday it is evident that parking is a problem with the precinct having a limited number of available parking bays forcing people to park on the sidewalk. This helps the informally employed local car parking assistants in helping people find parking spots within or close to the precinct.

An inclusive public space must have pockets of spaces where people can carry out informal activities such as meeting friends on the sidewalk, watching passers-by while sitting outside a restaurant. Maboneng does have these spaces including redesigned alleyways with trendy street art, street furniture which enables the user to linger on the street as well as seasonal events like fashion week which occurs on the street. The street is not walled off or fenced meaning it is accessible to everyone and this means that from a physical access point of view Maboneng is an inclusive space.
Access to information is important in determining whether a space is inclusive to users from all groups in society. It helps people know how to use the space and understand its rules and regulations. This information can be in the form of street names, locations on a precinct map, signage on top of shop signs or a help center. In Maboneng information can be found under the bridge, on walls activating them as edges. The street signs allow users of different social groups to gain access to the streets of Maboneng and this makes them feel more included. There are soft edges such as sidewalks without impediments, public spaces without fences and open eating areas in restaurants. The soft edges offer some form of inclusion but at a minimum for example what happens when you cannot afford to eat in the restaurant. I experienced this after a few minutes the staff ask you to leave.
5.6.2 Crime and Public Safety

A number of studies have used the level of crime as an explanatory variable in determining a city’s population growth pattern. According to Levitt (1999), if the costs of crime in a city were to be fully realised into what they mean for property values, then an increase in crime levels will impose costs on property owners and on residents (tenants). The building owners would need to invest more to provide security and protection for
their buildings (investments). The owners would have to spend more on hiring security guards, install CCTV cameras and build walls, to reassure residents that the area is safe.

**Fig 24**: crime statistics from 2004 up to 2016 in Jeppestown

*Source: https://www.crimestatssa.com/provinceselect.php?sortorder=&ShowProvince=Gauteng&go=1&Crimes%5B%5D=Murder&Crimes%5B%5D=Common+assault&Crimes%5B%5D=Theft+of+motor+vehicle+and+motorcycle&Crimes%5B%5D=Drug. (10/09/2017)*
These statistics show how crime level has decreased from 2004-2016, which could be possibly caused by the emergence of Maboneng precinct.

The Johannesburg CBD has gained notoriety for its status as being the crime central of Johannesburg. This has contributed in a major way to the level of urban decline and flight of capital, which meant the wealthy leaving with their capital and affecting the CBD. Jeppestown neighborhood is no different as it is located in the CBD and has been experiencing decline. According to the statistics recorded from 2004 up to 2016, there has been a decrease in crime such as murder falling from 100 to 75 cases, common assault from 920 to 620 cases, common robberies from 360 to 230 cases, theft of motor vehicles from 520 to 350 cases, but there has been an increase in drug related crime from 64 to 150 cases. This means that the area is prone to drug related crime which is assumed to be committed by foreign nationals moving into the area in search of economic opportunities. A worker respondent, employed at the culinary school located on the corner of Main Street and Berea Road, did confirm this. Workers are worried as there are daily drug deals occurring in Jeppestown which cause public safety concerns. According to an eNCA news article from the 31st of July, 2015, a policeman was killed by a group of drug dealers in Jeppestown highlighting the level of violence found in the area and located in close proximity to the precinct.

The decrease in crime statistics in Jeppestown could be attributed to the emergence of the Maboneng precinct, a privately developed initiative or a difference in economic behaviors in the area. Due to the fact that it is a private initiative targeting the middle class and tourists, management is very concerned about ensuring people’s safety and comfort, the implications for safety are that the precinct is protected by CCTV cameras, guards and alarm systems to guard against crime. The level of activity on Main and Fox street provides added comfort and safety for pedestrians within the precinct. The street edges along these two streets engage actively with the pedestrian due to their design which includes street furniture, dustbins, trees and 5 to 8 meter sidewalks. In other words these streets offer the user a choice whether to actively participate in the urban realm through walking into restaurants and shops, walking past art work from artists who visit during the weekend, or to passively participate by either reading a book on one of the street benches or having lunch at the restaurants. Having more urban participants on the
street improves the visual surveillance and contributes to the street vibe. Visual surveillance, according to Jane Jacobs, improves street safety through having more people on the streets which shifts people’s perception in a positive manner (Jacobs, 2016).

Fig 25: Map showing perception of safety and relationship to visual surveillance
Fig 26: Images showing activity on Fox Street and Main Street

Source: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017

*Images display activity on the streets which keep people engaging with each other and the street, therefore creating a sense of safety. The presence of security officers helps keeping visitors safe from crime and unpleasant situations associated with the Inner-city.*

During observation carried out in the course of the fieldwork, it was noticeable how the precinct creates an impression of security. When asked how they feel within the precinct or what they remember respondents did mention the heavy security presence and cleanliness of the streets. However, there was an issue of not being able to explore more of the area beyond Maboneng due to safety concerns, this was rather annoying to the tourist respondents specifically who wanted to explore the area on foot. Within the precinct the streets are clean, lined with trees and street furniture but immediately once stepping out of the precinct one is met by graffiti, broken glasses on buildings, and narrow sidewalks with non-engaging street edges, and a lack of street furniture present which should encourage a visitor to linger longer on the street.

There are two streets which stand out: Marshal Street and Betty Street which are less than 10 meters from the precinct but show startling contrasts with Main Street and Fox Street.
in the center of the precinct. For example on Fox street the pavements are well maintained and there is street furniture and dustbins on every corner. This ensures that the street is clean, safe and comfortable to be on for the pedestrian. The same cannot be said for Betty Street and Marshal Street whose pavements are dilapidated and there is no street furniture or engaging street edges to keep people on the street. They are more prone to criminal activities. Crime affects business times, as they now have to close earlier in order to get home safely. These are some of the issues in Jeppestown given the emergence of Maboneng through urban regeneration (Levitt, 1999).

5.7 Conclusion

The findings help give a better understanding of the study area in terms of population statistics, trends and important issues affecting the area. The objective of this chapter was to respond to the overall research question and the sub-questions.

Firstly in answering whether Maboneng has an impact on the livelihoods of people staying in Jeppestown, I can say that the rental prices, food prices and prices of arts and crafts seem to exclude low-income residents from actively participating when they enter the Maboneng precinct. The rental prices in particular mean that only people earning a relatively high income and those who are in the middle-upper-class social class can comfortably afford to stay within the precinct. In terms of the food prices these affect the workers working in restaurants and existing residents of Jeppestown. Although working within the precinct, workers have to go to shops located outside the precinct to buy what they can afford. This indirectly supports the economy outside the precinct but as many business owners outside the precinct agreed this does little for their businesses. Instead they serve the local residents who too cannot afford the high prices for goods within the precinct. This suggests that there is some form of exclusion and segregation but it is now based on social- economic lines and not racial lines as was the case during apartheid. The sentiment that the precinct does little for small local businesses comes from the fact that most of the tourists of customers who visit the precinct rarely venture beyond its “safe” edges. Hence the economic potential is limited to the confines of the precinct.
In terms of the second sub-question which refers to Lefebvre’s concept on the right to the city, Shannon Walsh does give an insight into how this right is being given to the wealthy and less so to the lower-class. This is important given both Johannesburg’s and South Africa’s history of social injustices brought on by apartheid spatial planning. There are invisible barriers within the precinct which exclude low-income people from the precinct such as issues linked to culture or identity. One such barrier is culture which has a bearing on how people can enjoy the utility in a space. The middle class suburbanites coming back to the city seem to do so in search of the high-class products associated with urban living such as art galleries trendy restaurants and coffee shops. The low-income residents do not identify with this culture of networking or having meetings in coffee shops or restaurants and thus feel excluded from the benefits of having this creative economy within their neighbourhood. Given the information from the findings I can conclude that the middleclass and tourists have more rights to the city than the low income residents have. This gives me the ability to determine that urban regeneration within Jeppestown is not benefitting everyone and this is not a sustainable manner of getting people to come back to the city. There needs to be more done to ensure that Jeppestown and Maboneng share a link or are connected in some way. This could be done perhaps by connecting streets of the precinct with those of Jeppestown or through supporting small local businesses outside the Maboneng precinct.

Crime has a direct influence on how people perceive or behave in certain spaces, this is also true about the study area. When within the precinct one can clearly feel the difference between being inside a safe zone given the availability of security cameras and police patrols, and being on its fringes where there are less people and dilapidated buildings. On these fringes of the precinct the feeling of safety begins to fade away. There are fewer people on the street due to the streets not having active edges or enough activity nodes to attract people. This is despite the fact that the crime stats show a decrease in the crime which affects the study area. It was also interesting to note how perceptions changed on different streets for example one feels comfortable walking along Fox street and Main street but this is not the case when you move onto Betty Street and Marshal street where the environment does not give the same level of comfort as the two activity streets, Fox and Main. Based on this I have concluded that people perceive
the precinct to be safe but the territories beyond as unsafe, limiting the direct integration between Maboneng and the rest of Jeppestown.
Chapter 6: Recommendations and Conclusion

6.1 Summary

Urban regeneration in Johannesburg has transformed a city which had fallen into decline for almost 3 decades following the capital flight during the mid-70s. This process of inner-city decay left the city with dilapidated buildings, abandoned parking lots and the rotting of the city centre. A strategy was formulated by the city of Johannesburg municipality to reverse the impacts of urban decay which had been affecting the inner-city. The urban renewal strategy was aimed at promoting economic development, social integration and changing the negative perception which had become associated with the CBD.

The literature used in this research was broken down into 3 categories. The first category informs the reader on the background of urban regeneration and associated topics. The second discusses the implications of urban regeneration in relation to space, identity and culture. The final category discusses previous research on urban renewal and legislation needed in order to implement urban regeneration on the ground.

The first category proved to be very useful in establishing a strong foundation of knowledge on the processes that are involved in urban regeneration. The second category helps to define the possible implications and outcomes of urban regeneration and in explaining how urban regeneration influences space and how it has a bearing of cultural practices within space. The last category provides a background to policies and legislation involved in formulating and implementing the urban renewal strategy.

Discussing how urban regeneration impacts space helped shape the research methods which involved interviews with people within the study area, who gave their opinions and their views on Maboneng given their lived experience and in some cases lack thereof. The research methods did correlate with the aims and objectives of the research study and were qualitative. This was due to the fact that the research question aims measuring the impacts of urban regeneration for a neighbourhood.
The case study method is useful in this research as it offers an intensive description and analysis of the study area. The case study yielded very important information on developments involving Jeppestown for example the fact that the area was supposed to be regenerated as early as 1965. The reasons for the renewal not taking place were unclear but tied politically which is a point Perk mentions in his critique of Richard Florida’s thesis on the creative class. I had mentioned before that how the government prioritizes urban regeneration can impact on its implementation and this is likely what happened in Jeppestown. Assumptions that regeneration is successful in creating employment opportunities and social interaction need to be challenged. The findings from the fieldwork added significant weight to the information that had been gathered in the literature review. Peoples different opinions brought to light to the different perspectives and views people have of Maboneng, the inner-city and of course Jeppestown. Most of the respondents be it workers, residents or visitors of the precinct spoke positively about the initiatives and upgrades to the environment. The responses were positive when they talked about exploring the precinct but became vague and unclear when asked about the fringes of the precinct. One reason was that they did not feel safe enough to go beyond the safety of the precinct. The respondents living in Jeppestown were aware that Maboneng exists but were more worried about the imminent gentrification which usually accompanies a regeneration process which seems to favour the middle class.

6.2 Research Question

The research question for the project was:

How does Inner-city regeneration impact the development of adjacent neighbourhoods: Maboneng Case Study?

The introduction of the hipster culture in cities experiencing decline and having undergone urban regeneration has seen an increase in trendy coffee shops, art galleries and high end restaurants which seem to attract the young –well to do, tourists and the middle class. This has been the case for cultural precincts such as Newtown and Maboneng, especially with the arrival of the so called creative class who were praised by
Richard Florida as the saviours or decaying cities. This was based on his thesis which assumed that having the creative class would result in economic growth as they will create their own firms which then create jobs for locals and people moving back to the city. During my findings I did discover that the precinct does create a platform for enterprise but that’s if there is sufficient capital or investment behind the business proposal. For the more informal enterprises such as car washes, art and craft making, painting or musicians on the street this creative class theory does not seem to be helping them out. The area has several artists who use Maboneng as a platform to launch their artwork and themselves on to the target audience which comprise of the middle-class and tourists. There are invisible barriers that make it difficult for the local Jeppestown population to fit in with the cultural identities produced as a result of urban regeneration and gentrification. The locals then lose their sense of place and attach negative meanings based on their negative perception of the space such as, “Maboneng is a middle-class city/enclave in a lower-class neighbourhood”. Some of the invisible barriers are in the form of fashion, cuisine, music genres, rules (norms and values) associated with privately developed spaces and of course private security guards who usher out people who do not seem like they belong within the space. This shows that even without walls Maboneng does portray the characteristics similar to an enclaved, exclusionary space with walls. This research also provides a critical viewpoint of the effects of gentrification on people’s perception of a built environment.

6.3 Contributions of this Research

I do believe this research will contribute to the existing field of research on urban regeneration. Because it delves into how the perception of space influences how people use and relate to spaces after a regeneration process has occurred. The research explains the distinction between inside and outside spaces in the same neighbourhood and how this this has an effect on how people perceive the built environment and ultimately what this entails for suburbanites and the creative class looking to return to the inner-city in terms of safety. An increase in employment opportunities and investments in the public realm go a long way to ensure this. My research touches on some interesting concepts
and ideas such as the impact of cultural identities on how people use space, social enclaves without walls, invisible barriers and social exclusion. The research also takes into consideration how urban design, which is at the centre of the upgrading of buildings and public spaces during urban regeneration, can mould positive or negative perceptions which remain with people long after they have left Maboneng. The context of my research contributes to the existing body of work in the sense that most of the regeneration literature on Johannesburg is restricted to the central business district and rarely ventures out into the surrounding areas.

6.4 **Strength and Weaknesses**

A potential weakness of this research is the lack of interviews carried out with built environment professionals and local city officials. The sample size did include people of different backgrounds, ages and social classes which gave the findings a variety of different perspectives despite a common thread between the respondents. The common thread was that the precinct is susceptible to crime given its grid pattern layout. The literature discusses in detail more about urban regeneration and factors which affect it.

A significant strength of the research is that it is able to contextualize urban regeneration and bring it back to a local context and assess specific issues which were affecting the city of Johannesburg from the mid-70s up until the 2000s. Secondly conducting one on one unstructured interviews allowed me to conduct them in a conversation-like manner which produced information of better quality than having people follow rigid pre-meditated questions. Having one-on-one conversations with respondents allowed them to open up more and it became easier to extract information regarding their true perceptions behind what is happening in Maboneng no matter their personal interests.

Although the research did have some weaknesses, I believe that it produced a strong report that can provide some significant contributions to the existing research on urban regeneration. A strength I would like to highlight is that the research question and sub-questions helped structure the findings which were obtained during the fieldwork. The sub-questions allowed me to formulate other questions which guided my analysis of the findings. They also helped me in choosing the relevant pieces of literature to include as
this has a bearing on how one conceptualizes the findings and how to come up with appropriate conclusions in relation to the overall question.

6.5 Recommendations

6.5.1 The City’s Role in the Future Development of Jeppestown

Support Informal Businesses in Jeppestown

Based on my findings from interviews carried out during the fieldwork with business owners located outside the precinct I arrived to the conclusion that the Maboneng precinct seems to operate in isolation to other businesses in Jeppestown. In most cases the business owners perceived the space to be for middle-class white people and tourists only. I believe the precinct can do more to incorporate the other businesses which will then create a better perception of the streets in Jeppestown and also improve the local economy.

With regard to the informal car washing businesses located within the precinct I recommend that residents from Jeppestown or near-by areas running informal car washes get into contact with the City’s Water and Sanitation Department to ensure that they gain access to water and that they use water efficiently. The water they will use must be discharged inside the city’s by-laws. In order for the informal car wash enterprises to operate inside the requirements of the city’s by-laws they must be metered separately and the water discharged to the sewer and not to the storm water system. The reason being car washes generate greywater which has to be handled carefully and can be dangerous if not disposed of in the correct manner. I also recommend visits to these car washes by city officials and efforts to help formalize them by providing structures (sheds) which enable the owners to conduct business in a dignified yet profitable manner.

With regard to the informal braai area located a few blocks from the precinct, the city has helped by providing shipping containers which have been used as food stands and toilet facilities. This shows that the city is aware of enterprises in Jeppestown. The informal braai compound comprises of women who work in providing meals for taxi drivers and
factory workers who work within Jeppestown in warehouses and factories. However the City could do more to provide a link between this enterprise and the Maboneng precinct which could go a long way to improve these ladies income streams. The compound could benefit from the tourists and the urban suburbanites coming back to the city. Linking the compound and the precinct allows people to really engage with the inner city through possibly sharing a meal with a taxi driver or a carpenter working within the inner city. This promotes social integration while promoting economic development as well rather than only experiencing the activities provided for in Maboneng. I recommend that they do this by promoting intensive mixed use developments along Kruger Street and include street traders as part of this intervention. The reason being that street traders offer visual surveillance and ensure activity on the street through conducting their business which will provide a sense of safety and will encourage “safety” conscious pedestrians especially tourists and the middle class to venture further from the precinct. Along with mixed use developments the city can upgrade existing dilapidated sidewalks by improving street furniture and street lighting as well as ensuring that the street edges are actively interacting with the pedestrian. It is also useful to ensure that other streets have clear understandable signage which makes the streets legible to tourists and first time users. As a planner I believe that these improvements along Kruger Street can help people working in Jeppestown to find ways to connect with Maboneng and through this the precinct becomes a meaningful contributor to their socio-economic development.

To ensure sustainability for the compound I recommend that the city provides more toilet facilities and work with the waste management company to help keep the compound clean and visually attractive for customers. A management system would be useful to keep the compound running at an optimum and efficient manner. The city can partner with property developers and the owners of food stands through private-public partnerships in order to help subsidize rentals and to come up with a working business plan which benefits all parties. The reason is that the findings indicate that the rental prices are affected by the emergence of Maboneng, given its orientation towards the middle-class and its neoliberal nature. The high rental prices within the area make it difficult for people without enough capital to start their enterprises within the precinct.
Fig 27 : Map for proposed Recommendations
Fig 28: Images of Kruger Street
Sources: L. Mashiri, Johannesburg, September 2017(4, 5, 6)
https://www.google.co.za/maps/@-26.2050478,28.0592532,3a,75y,11.69h,82.72t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sDshFZlX7oEL3PMEXRoQDEw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656 (Accessed 10/10/2017)

Fig 29 image showing the section of an improved street as proposed for Kruger Street
6.5.2 The **Relationship between Jeppestown and Maboneng (Has Maboneng Made any meaningful changes to Jeppestown)**

Maboneng can be considered as a double edged sword in the way it relates to Jeppestown. On one hand the precinct has brought investment back towards the inner city in the form of a trendy artsy destination which has become Maboneng. With a creative economy which includes restaurants, art galleries, concept shops and trendy bars which attract the middle class, tourists and hipsters. According to the literature on urban marginality I can say that the precinct has marginalized some of the existing residents who are being pushed out of Jeppestown through forced evictions which are a controversial topic on their own given South Africa’s history. The alternative housing that the city provides for the evictees is deemed unacceptable. The rooms are similar to dormitories and have time restrictions to the annoyance of the residents.

From an economic perspective the trickledown theory does not seem to apply to Jeppestown as there is a disconnect between the precinct and the rest of Jeppestown. In
fact the high prices found in the precinct for food, clothes and art exclude low-income earning people living in Jeppestown. This disconnect is both physical and social and leaves residents having to try and find ways of re-connecting with Maboneng. These ways include informal car washes, working as car guards and selling of arts and craft during the weekend. The issue with these methods is that they are not sustainable forms of income for the locals. For example one of the artists did mention that they cannot sell their artwork during the week because more formalized companies will be operating in the precinct because they pay rent to be in the space and the artists do not. The locals then resort to other forms of enterprise in order to get a piece of the pie so to say. One such enterprise is the informal braai area located outside the precinct away from the income stream possibly provided by the tourists and the middle-class who do not venture outside the precinct due to safety concerns.

There is some hope for Jeppestown however in the form of entrepreneurs and property developers who include Dawie Swart, who reportedly bought 28 buildings on Betty Street in 2013 for R5.25 million, but the renovations of the property and making it decent for residential use, will surely cost double that amount. The entrepreneur expects to spend R40 million on renovations for his Jeppestown portfolio, at an approximate cost of R100,000 per apartment. Now given these figures one cannot help but question the type of clientele who can afford to live in these apartments as Swart would expect to make a return on his investment which makes economic sense. But it can be said without the emergence of Maboneng entrepreneurs and property developers alike would not have been persuaded to invest in the inner city due to how they used to perceive it during the years of urban decline. Then from that perspective I can say Maboneng has made people aware of Jeppestown and its potential but it has not helped the locals develop as I had assumed it would have before beginning this research. From the literature and articles on Maboneng this is an assumption shared by most people who have not looked beyond the surface of urban regeneration and its positive outcomes. There are negative outcomes as well which include marginalisation, gentrification and exclusion which are all seen to be taking place in Jeppestown.

The city could partner with property developers and the Jeppestown community through private-public partnerships where they can provide affordable housing for residents of Jeppestown. This can happen if the housing options vary within the area as mixed housing offers different price ranges for different income groups. Through being mixed they also help create a liveable mixed community which benefits the local residents as well instead of being evicted when property developers purchase and renovate buildings. In order to help provide the financials the city can partner with leading banks to provide loans for low income residents or to subsidize their rentals provided they work to improve the urban management of the neighbourhood, i.e. take up jobs with the waste revenue company, sweep the streets, work as neighbourhood watches. I however recommend that further research is done on how private-public partnerships along with assistance from the banking sector can help reduce forced evictions when regeneration takes place.

Although high rents and increasing property prices bring benefits to homeowners and attract additional investors. But there are some existing ways of protecting low-income residents against gentrification. These consist of either doing nothing, instructing rent control, subsidising rental housing costs, reducing barriers to building low-cost units, and encouraging homeownership to the low-income households so that they can benefit from increasing property values. I do however recommend that we explore new ways to battle gentrification. For example Robert Shiller (1993), investigated the development of markets in order to help protect house owners from a reduction in housing prices. Other researchers have decided to use his logic but to apply it for the low-income instead. This new concept is supposed to protect renters from price increases through two methods. The first one is to find a tradable option for rent, for example the resident can work in a restaurant in the precinct and this can help pay for his accommodation. Secondly planners can help work with insurance brokers) to get insurance against rent increases. For Jeppestown in certain areas where the low-income live McKernan, 2007)
Source: https://mg.co.za/article/2013-03-08-maboneng-i-am-an-island

Image showing Jeppestown residents on the outside of Maboneng
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Annexures

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (Business owner)

Greetings

My name is Lesley Mashiri and I am part of the Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning Studies (HONS) class in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. One of the requirements is to complete a research report on a topic of our choosing. I will be doing my research under the guidance of my supervisor Dr Romain Dittgen. My topic of research is “Urban Regeneration and Social-Economic Development of Adjacent Neighbourhoods”, and it is about how urban renewal in Maboneng affects the social economic development of Jeppestown.

During July I will be conducting a survey in order to understand people’s perspectives on how the urban regeneration has impacted the area. I am inviting you to be part of this study by filling in a questionnaire. It will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire will ask you a few questions on your perception of the impacts of urban regeneration in Maboneng on its neighbouring areas. The survey will take place in Maboneng and Jeppestown, both located in Johannesburg, South Africa.

You have been selected to participate in this study due to your interaction with the Maboneng precinct as a business owner. Your participation in this survey is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any of the questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time. You will not receive any payment or any other incentives for your participation.

Your participation will be completely anonymous and no identifying information is required. Any information that you share will be kept confidential and can only be accessed by myself. The results of this survey will be part of my research report and will be available electronically on the Wits Library website, which can be accessed by Wits staff, students and other researchers.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 827751@students.wits.ac.za

Or Dr Romain Dittgen at romain.dittgen@wits.ac.za (0) 11717 7648

I would like to thank you for your interest.

Lesley Mashiri
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (Resident)

Greetings

My name is Lesley Mashiri and I am part of the Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning Studies (HONS) class in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. One of the requirements is to complete a research report on a topic of our choosing. I will be doing my research under the guidance of my supervisor Dr Romain Dittgen. My topic of research is “Urban Regeneration and Social-Economic Development of Adjacent Neighbourhoods”, and it is about how urban renewal in Maboneng affects the social economic development of Jeppestown.

During July I will be conducting a survey in order to understand people’s perspectives on how the urban regeneration has impacted the area. I am inviting you to be part of this study by filling in a questionnaire. It will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire will ask you a few questions on your perception of the impacts of urban regeneration in Maboneng on its neighbouring areas. The survey will take place in Maboneng and Jeppestown, both located in Johannesburg, South Africa.

You have been selected to participate in this study due to your interaction with the Maboneng precinct as a resident. Your participation in this survey is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any of the questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time. You will not receive any payment or any other incentives for your participation.

Your participation will be completely anonymous and no identifying information is required. Any information that you share will be kept confidential and can only be accessed by myself. The results of this survey will be part of my research report and will be available electronically on the Wits Library website, which can be accessed by Wits staff, students and other researchers.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 827751@students.wits.ac.za

Or Dr Romain Dittgen at romain.dittgen@wits.ac.za (0) 11717 7648

I would like to thank you for your interest.

Lesley Mashiri
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You have been selected to participate in this study due to your interaction with the Maboneng precinct as a visitor. Your participation in this survey is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any of the questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time. You will not receive any payment or any other incentives for your participation.

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Lesley Mashiri
FORMAL CONSENT FORM

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the student researcher of the purpose, procedures, and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written Participant Information Sheet. I have also been informed of:

☐ The nature of my participation in the form of a written questionnaire
☐ The place and duration of the study
☐ The reasons for why I was selected to participate in the study
☐ The voluntary nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the study
☐ No payment or incentives
☐ No loss of benefits or risks
☐ Anonymity
☐ Confidentiality
☐ How the research findings will be disseminated

I therefore agree/do not agree to participate in this study by filling out the questionnaire.

Signature:

Date:
**Questionnaire 1:** IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN JOHANNESBURG’S INNER CITY: A STUDY OF MABONENG IN RELATION TO JEPPESTOWN

- To examine whether urban renewal/ regeneration is inclusive to all users of the precinct.
- To determine the influence of Maboneng’s territorial economy on surrounding neighbourhoods.
- To determine the existence of invisible barriers in the “public spaces” that are created in the city.
- To study the social acceptance of City improvement Districts.

**Section A**

1. How has your business been regenerated since the beginning of Maboneng?
2. Where were you located before you moved here?
3. What are the benefits of being located in the area?
4. What incentives could the city include to improve your business?
5. How many days of the week are you open, which is the busiest day? Why?
6. Are urban renewal strategies working to boost business? If so how?

**Section B**

1) Use 3 to 5 words you use to describe Maboneng to other people
Questionnaire 2: IMPACTS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN JOHANNESBURG’S INNER CITY: A STUDY OF MABONENG IN RELATION TO JEPPESTOWN

• To examine whether urban renewal/ regeneration is inclusive to all users of the precinct.
• To determine the influence of Maboneng’s territorial economy on surrounding neighbourhoods.
• To determine the existence of invisible barriers in the “public spaces “that are created in the city.
• To study the social acceptance of City improvement Districts.

Section A
7. How has your business been regenerated since the beginning of Maboneng?
8. Where were you located before you moved here?
9. What are the benefits of being located in the area?
10. What incentives could the city include to improve your business?
11. How many days of the week are you open, which is the busiest day? Why?
12. Are urban renewal strategies working to boost business? If so how?

Section B
2) Use 3 to 5 words you use to describe Maboneng to other people

Section A – If the respondent is a visitor
1. How long are you staying in Johannesburg?
2. Did you organise your own visit here or are you part of a tour group?
3. Have you been to Maboneng before? If yes, how many times?
4. Which town or city do you come from?
5. What do you like most about this area?
6. What do you like least about this area?

7. Would you recommend this area of Johannesburg to your friends, and why?

11. How accessible is the area to you?

Section A part 2: Optional

1. What community benefits should urban renewal bring about? Which factors should be considered in considering a sustainable urban renewal strategy?

2. Use 3 to 5 words you use to describe Maboneng to other people

Section B: If the respondent is a Maboneng /Jeppestown Resident or working in the area

1. How long have you lived in Johannesburg?

2. Which town or city do you come from?

3. Have you been to Maboneng before? If yes, how many times?

4. Has the area changed in many ways in the last few years?

5. Do you think it is now better or worse?

6. What do you like most about this area?

7. What do you like least about this area?

8. How accessible is the area to you?

9. How often do you come down to this part of the city?

Section B part 2: Optional

1. What community benefits should urban renewal bring about? Which factors should be considered in establishing a sustainable urban renewal strategy?

2. Use 3 to 5 words you use to describe Maboneng to other people