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The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves:

As applied to Maboneng

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A discourse submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning from the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Science Honours in Urban and Regional Planning.

Johannesburg, October 2014



I dedicate this report to my parents for their unyielding support and love throughout this research process.

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the Degree of Bachelor of Science Honours in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university, nor has it been prepared under the aegis or with the assistance of any other body, organisation or person outside the university.

_____.

Signature of Candidate

This 22nd day of October 2014

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Abstract

South Africa's vast inequality between the haves and the have nots have caused spatial fragmentation of the urban landscape. The haves are currently dominating the urban landscape with new developments of exclusive social enclaves whose benefits rarely breach its boundaries into surrounding communities. This is somewhat caused by the discrepancy between policy, particularly regeneration policy, and design and the physical manifestation in space thereof. The enclaves have to be made more permeable, accessible and inclusive by applying both design and policy principles in order to address socio-economic concerns and better integrate into the urban fabric. This research report investigated the development of socially exclusive enclaves, stated how and why they have developed as well as how to physically permeate their boundaries so as to develop them in a more inclusive manner. This was achieved by asking "**What new policy/ies and physical design principles will permeate exclusive social enclaves?"** and using Johannesburg's Maboneng as an instrumental case study to conduct evaluative, qualitative, inductive research in the form of a photographic analysis and surveys. Maboneng shows evidence of social exclusion, particularly socio-economic exclusion. It has exclusive benefits as well as design and managerial qualities similar to that of other socially exclusive enclaves. The Precinct does, however, demonstrate somewhat of an interest in the surrounding communities and strives to re-engage Joburgers with their inner city. The literature review pertaining to enclave formation, urban regeneration, its related policy and urban design principles uncovered the need for a reformation of policy that incorporates contextually based models of urban regeneration with a focus on better regulated public-private partnerships, social justice and inclusivity and also recommended physical solutions incorporating liveable, meaningful, accessible and other inclusive design principles in its implementation. Socially exclusive enclaves, as discovered in this research report, are capable of encouraging inclusive development through the implementation of a 5 year Integrated Development Plan outlining the vision, goals, socio-economic obligations and public-private-partnership regulations of the development itself. A 5 year IDP will provide sufficient planning time and therefore better align the new development goals with that of the municipality and better integrate and coordinate its development with urban regeneration policies and community needs. An IDP will draw design and policy into one cohesive document so as to form a stronger relationship where both aspects are intertwined and deemed necessary for the encouragement of inclusive development.

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List of Acronyms

CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed-circuit Television
CID	Central Improvement District
COJ	City of Johannesburg
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GVA	Gross Value Added
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
GRIND	Global Regeneration Initiative for Neighbourhood Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan

JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
UDF	Urban Development Framework
UDZ	Urban Development Zone

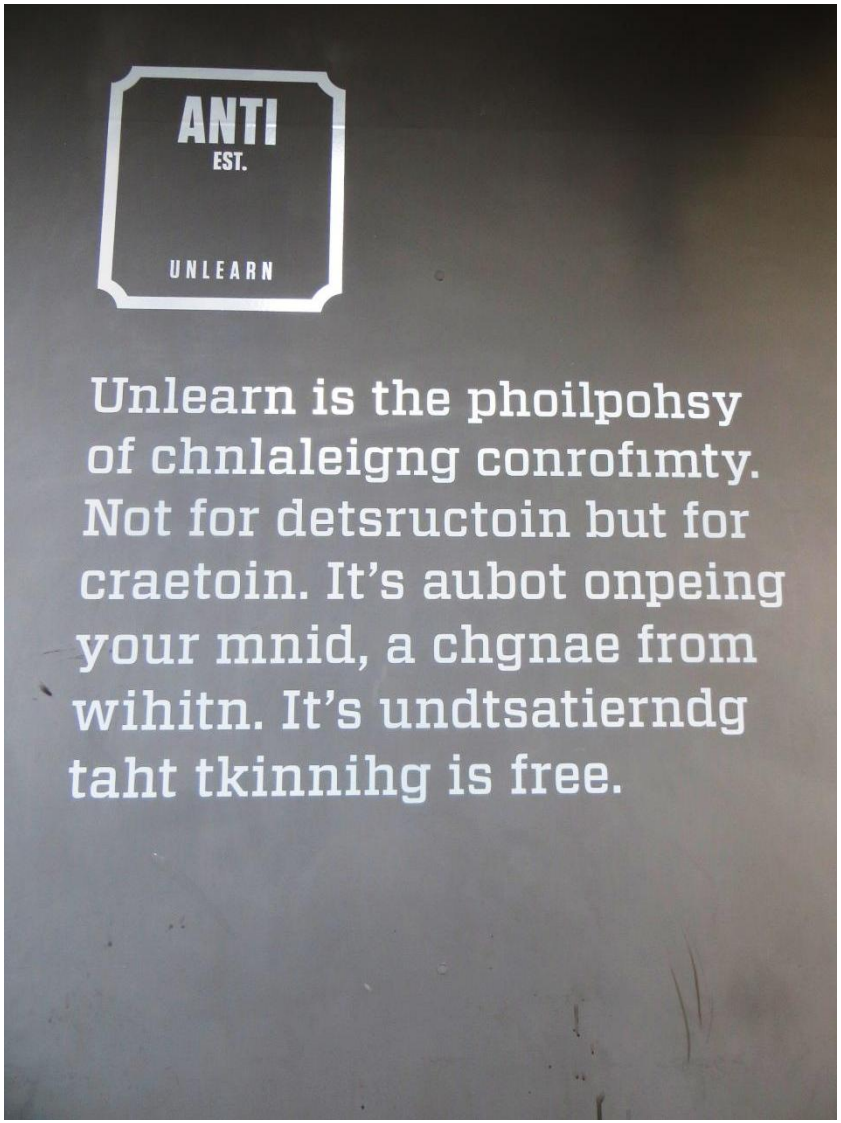


Photo 1.1. New developments such as this one in Braamfontein challenge people to be original and not conform.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Trends. People love and hate them. Many do not mind playing sheep while others try to deny them in everything they do. They are followed for various reasons; status, acceptance, belonging and often purely because 'Ag why not?' However; how does one tackle a trend that is based on being original, on being set apart from everyone else, on being non-conformist? One with the sole purpose of not wanting to be classified, categorised, boxed-in yet in that process boxes everyone else (including difference and otherness) out? It is a new kind of conformity – conforming to the un-conformed - and it is changing our city.

Such trends can be destructive in a vastly unequal context such as South Africa as they can quickly become socially exclusive. This report will focus on the trend of developing postmodern urbanist socially exclusive enclaves and how they are physically changing

the spatial, political and socio-economic environments of Johannesburg in particular.

1.1 Context and Problem Statement

South Africa is a vastly unequal society with a Gini coefficient, a measurement where 0 represents perfect equality and 100 perfect inequality, in 2009 of a high 63,1 (World Bank 2014). The Gini index represents the distribution of income or consumption expenditure within a country thereby showing the great inequality/equality between lower and higher income groups. The spatial implications of apartheid have left many social groups segregated and marginalised, even 20 years after its demise, which ultimately contribute to the rising coefficient. The immense difference between the haves and the have nots is manifested spatially in our cities and in particular, in Johannesburg. Those with a hand or two in the deep pockets of capitalism dominate the urban landscape in terms of territory, access and privatisation of public space. Thus we have seen the development of social enclaves, gated communities and isolated pockets/islands of progress and wealth (Walsh, 2013). New investment and income is being generated and sought after within the Johannesburg inner city and brings with it the development of these particular exclusive enclaves. There is a cyclical distribution of income and resources within the enclaves, however, these benefits often do not reach the surrounding degraded areas and as a result there are developments of places of quality and meaning in certain pockets within the inner city while, despite the socio-economic efforts of some of the enclaves, surrounding areas are low quality, placeless and unsafe public and living conditions reserved for lower income groups. This is partly attributed to the lack of correlation between developers, planners, architects, policy and design. Policy and design especially do not integrate and hence new developments do not necessarily address key social and economic issues present. The enclaves therefore further fragment the South African urban landscape and therefore have to be made more permeable, accessible and inclusive in order to benefit society as a whole and apply both design and policy in order to address social and economic concerns.



Photo 1.2. Good quality of public space in Maboneng Precinct



Photo 1.3. Poor quality of public space in surrounding inner city communities

1.2 Necessity

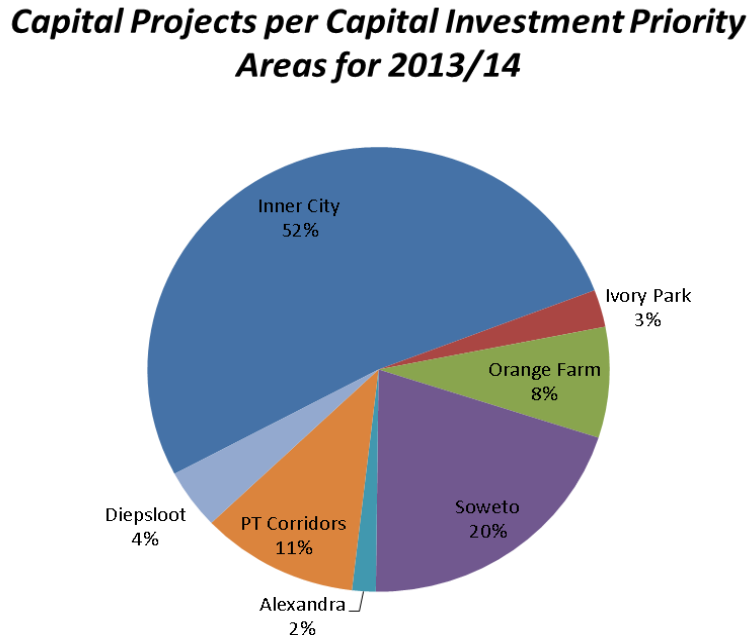


Figure 1.1. Inner City Budget for Capital Investment. (IDP Review, 2013/2014)

The inner city obtains the greatest fraction of investment from the city with approximately two and a half billion rand allocated to the area – see figure 1.1. below (IDP Review 2013/2014) - yet people are still forced to work, live and play in unsafe and unmaintained spaces while higher income groups have their own separate and exclusive playgrounds.

The research report investigated the development of socially exclusive enclaves, defined in Chapter Two: Literature Review, as well as stated how and why they have developed. It also investigated how to physically permeate their boundaries so as to develop them in a more inclusive manner (in terms of policy and urban design) that will be accessible by all groups of people and that will be better integrated with the surrounding urban fabric.

The Report is titled **The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng** and the

research question is asking: **What new policy/ies and physical design principles will permeate exclusive social enclaves? T**he report focus was on developing a set of design and policy criteria to encourage inclusivity in these newly developed/existing urban spaces as they often act as catalysts for new developments. Bahmann and Frenkel (2012) wrote on 44 Stanley being the catalyst for the Maboneng and Arts on Main development in *Renegotiating Space*. This research report will differentiate a range of enclaves from each other in the literature review but this report took a critical perspective toward the Johannesburg Maboneng development, as the report recognised it as an exclusive social enclave (also defined in the literature review), and used it as an instrumental case study which is further discussed in Chapter Three: Research Methods. This study has recognised the importance of combining and the co-existence of policy and design principles to encourage inclusive development as these principles have a strong correlation. Space is often used as an instrument in social change yet many policies do not recommend physical solutions. Architects have a greater focus on space whereas planners tend to emphasise policy. This report empahsises both, equally, as they inform each other and cannot achieve the desirable outcome unaccompanied.

The socially exclusive developments, with their particular urban design and focus on street life, generally strive to engage people with their urban environment (to different extents or not at all) however they still implement certain exclusive policy and design principles to intentionally and unintentionally exclude certain people from the area. Public-private partnerships need to be revised as they tend to regenerate areas but cause gentrification and loss of vitality and culture in the areas that are renewed due to the heavy surveillance (Peyroux, 2008). New exclusive social enclaves often bring vitality to the inner city but cater mainly for middle to higher income groups who commute to the inner city from the suburbs and thereby forego the needs and interests of the majority lower income groups residing in the immediate communities. Examples of these are Braamfontein, 44 Stanley,

Maboneng Precinct and the Old Biscuit Mill in Woodstock in Cape Town. The benefits of these developments often do not reach these communities, but rather exclude them, thereby causing more segregation and urban fragmentation. This is something that Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole can do without as this enhances spatial and social inequalities and reinforces the fear of 'the other'. Thus the exclusive developments have, to some extent, become pockets and islands of wealth and progress. Some enclaves, such as Maboneng, have social programs in place to empower surrounding communities; however, more needs to be accomplished so as to reduce the growing wealth gap.



Photo 1.4. The Old Biscuit Mill in Woodstock has also come under fire for its exclusive and enclosed attitude towards the immediate surroundings.

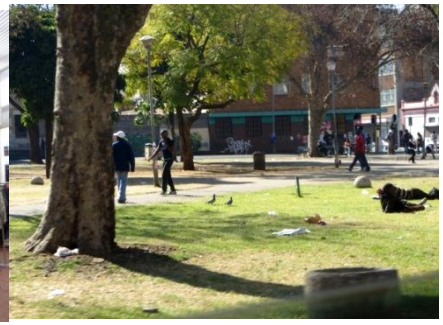
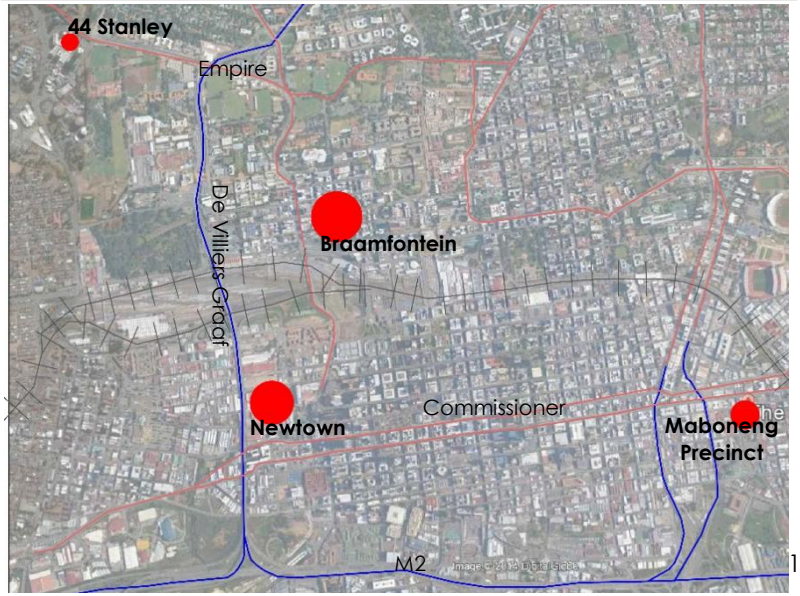


Photo 1.5. Public Space in the immediate surroundings is unmaintained, dirty and displays a lack of dignity.

Map 1.1 Regeneration Developments: 44 Stanley, Braamfontein and Maboneng Precinct



The design of most of the enclaves is based on European and North American models that are not fully adapted to South Africa's context for example Melrose Arch; "Live, work, play or simply love hanging out here and you'll discover hints of London, Paris, New York and Milan" (Melrose Arch website). However; in the case of the Maboneng development, this is what Jonathan Liebmann, the developer, aimed for (Maboneng Precinct Property Growth Report, 2013) in bringing small parts of Soho and Greenwhich village to

Johannesburg (Reddy, 2011). Unfortunately by not adapting to and thereby including the African culture in the development of Maboneng it has excluded the majority of the inner city residents.





Photo 1.6. and Photo 1.7. One would not know of the hidden spaces unless one 'belongs.' Such as the courtyards of 44 Stanley and Neighbourgoods market in an enclosed parking lot.



Photo 1.8. Spaces are often physically separated from the public via rooftops to contribute to its exclusivity.

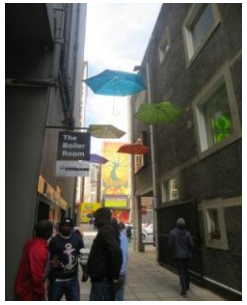


Photo 1.9. Floating Umbrellas. Each enclave has a unique branding to make it appear quirky and creative.

Many of the socially exclusive enclave developments are promoted as cultural quarters that accommodate the creative classes by including services and goods related to production and innovation. Both 44 Stanley and Arts on Main are such examples (Reddy, 2011). However, true cultural-led regeneration encompasses the interests and cultures of the entire community and therefore would offer religious spaces, community development, promote cultural tolerance and develop democratic open public space so as to encourage the mixture and social interaction between people of different ethnic/religious/cultural/socio-economic/political backgrounds (Reddy, 2011). These enclaves unfortunately, do not, in the opinion of this report, offer such democratic open spaces. The cultures of the surrounding communities are not represented in these enclaves which further contribute to their sense of un-belonging and lack of identity and control.

Outreach programmes are not sufficient. Do South African's want a European or North-American city? If the answer is yes, the false and superficial profiling of Johannesburg as being a 'World Class African City' (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014) must be stopped. If not, our design and innovation must be bold and our

models of regeneration must not be based on those of the global north (Peyroux, 2008) – as that is something very unfamiliar and un-relatable to the average South African/African. For the purposes of this report, the 'global north' represents the group of technologically advanced, economically developed and politically stable countries such as North America, Europe and Australia (Odeh, 2010).

1.3 Main arguments that are relevant to the research question:

The research for this report has been separated into four categories namely: policy, the right to the city, social enclaves and urban design. They link in with the key concepts which are:

- Exclusionary enclaves
    - Segregation
- Urban design principles –
    - Inclusive and exclusive physical design principles (imageability,permeability, legibility, liveability, vitality)
    - Policy principles (inclusivity, social development, public safety, housing, transportation, environment and infrastructure services, efficiency, accessibility, spatial integration, economic growth, sustainable human settlements etc)
- Johannesburg Inner-city
    - Regeneration Policies
    - Social justice – the right to the city
    - Urban poverty, fragmentation, placelessness, crime, disinvestment, lack of good governance, public-private partnerships, social exclusion

1.4 Key Definitions of main terms

Inclusive: "Not excluding any particular groups of people: An Inclusive Society" – (Collins English Dictionary, 2003) and is applied to the concept of a democratic political and social public realm that encompasses public participation processes, cultural tolerance and

integration, serves the interests of all income and cultural groups and enhances citizenship (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell, 2003). Aristotle once claimed that similar men cannot construct cities; rather, that cities are constructed by a range of different men (Madanipour, 1996: 78) continued by Madanipour that difference and diversity are key urban features that keep the city alive. Strangers and encounters with strangers are important for urban life as it is through these encounters that tolerance grows and that safety can be secured (rather than through segregation). Inclusive spaces would encompass many accessibility and mobility options (Madanipour, 1996).

Permeate – To pass through the openings, to penetrate or pervade a substance or area – (Collins Thesaurus, 2002): This research report is concerned with permeability in that it would be used as the process of making an exclusive social enclave more inclusive.

The subject of enclaves suggests a relation to **social justice**. Social justice was addressed in terms of power and control over urban space and urban processes and the consequences of unequal power distribution in an urban environment. Enclave development is such a consequence and was explored in terms of this.

The problem statement briefly outlined the necessity for inclusive developments so as to reduce the fragmentation of the urban landscape, reduce the gini coefficient and ultimately reduce the growing inequality gap between the haves and the have nots. It has also outlined some of the important factors contributing to exclusive social enclave developments such as applying non-contextually based regeneration models, not distributing benefits generated within the enclaves and the impermeability and inaccessibility of these particular enclaves.

The research report extensively deliberates the mentioned factors in the literature review chapter two, followed by the research methods and how information was gathered using specific research conducting techniques/approaches in Chapter three. A case

research study on the Maboneng Precinct in Chapter four allows for a holistic understanding of the development and characteristics of Maboneng and why it is recognised as an exclusive social enclave. This is followed by Chapter five that consists of an analysis of the design and policy related research conducted to support the research question. The accompanying recommendations and proposed possible interventions, applying the set of design and policy criteria drawn up from the research, so as to ensure inclusive development is discussed in Chapter six. The concluding Chapter seven provides a brief summary of the set of criteria as applied to Maboneng, as well as applies generalisability to the criteria. An overall summary of the research report and what was personally found challenging and particularly valuable as well as what contribution the research would make to the field of study is included in the conclusion.

Chapter two

Literature Review

The previous chapter has introduced the research as that of one concerning the further fragmentation of Johannesburg by socially exclusive enclave developments. Literature has shown that it is not only the concern of this research report, but quite a common train of thought that seems to affect many disciplines. To understand and embark on the road to recovery, one has to understand the history as well as define the initial problem and what is meant by a 'social exclusive enclave' in order to answer the question of what new policy/ies and physical design principles will permeate exclusive social enclaves?

In this chapter, literature pertaining to enclave formation, urban regeneration and its respective positive and negative attributes as well as the relevant related policy in place will be reviewed and critiqued so as to determine the initial problem and how this

problem has transpired specifically within the Johannesburg context.

Firstly, the concept of social justice is discussed based on the definition in Chapter One. Secondly, the literature related to the definition of **social enclaves** (particularly focused on definitions introduced by Peter Marcuse) and from which the definition of a 'social exclusive enclave' used in this research report emerges, is reviewed. The literature review investigates the characteristics of enclaves and how they manifest themselves in space. Thirdly, Johannesburg spatial **policy** such as The Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007) and Integrated Development Plans (2012/2013) is reviewed and critiqued in order to understand Public Private Partnerships, Urban Development Zones, Central Improvement Districts and how these have influenced the development and shaping of the Johannesburg Inner City and the Maboneng Precinct. The existing policy visions and requirements has enabled the formation of new policy requirements and design principles that will be better suited to, and therefore capable of permeating social exclusive enclaves within the inner city and new urban developments.

Lastly, **urban design** principles are included into new policy so as to physically permeate the boundaries created by social exclusive enclaves. As mentioned in Chapter one, policy and design have a strong correlation and should therefore co-exist. Unique urban design principles that pertain to liveable spaces and democratic neighbourhoods are investigated to facilitate the design of an inclusive development or apply inclusive principles to an exclusive enclave.

With the introduction of the literature review, key categories that are the necessary tools needed to permeate the walls of exclusivity, have been formulated.

2.1 Theoretical key issues related to: **Right to the city**

In the previous chapter the concept of social justice was introduced. This chapter follows on and delves deeper into the notion of the 'Right to the city' mostly informed by David Harvey's

theory and its relation to social justice. The theory according to Harvey (2008) argues that there is a need for an urban revolution. One where the rights of private property and profit do not trump the rights of others, particularly those of vulnerable groups (Harvey; 2008). What influences someone's social right to the city? What socially unjust principles must be changed in order to develop Fainstein's idea of a Just City; a city that addresses social exclusion through participatory approaches, mutual learning, the development of engaged citizenry and equitable redistributive processes (Winkler, 2009)? The right to the city is related to the social justice aspect of this research and whether Johannesburg's current development trends are allowing for social justice to operate in the city and thereby contribute to the development of a Just City. The question is: if not, why not? And what policy changes will allow for equal distribution of services and benefits?

The emergences of urban social movements on a global scale runs parallel with the development and globalisation of capitalism and its neoliberal principles – a political stance of emphasising economic growth as a form of liberation and path towards social justice (The American Heritage Dictionary, 2003). Originating in Europe and North America, the urban social movements which had contested against urban renewal, rent increases, privatisation and commercialisation of public space, housing, poor service delivery, policing of urban space and the marketing manner for a globally competitive city, have now spread to developing countries as the fight against the neoliberal agenda have strengthened due to the rise in inequalities and social exclusion. The neoliberal paradigm had reduced the welfare state with the introduction of the free market (Mayer, 2009). Social institutions also suffered and thus led to the development of greater problems that affected the urban spatiality and urban movements. Local government had sought ways to reduce this negative impact by launching social community programmes and organisations informed by local economic development policies and strategies. The neoliberal paradigm had a detrimental effect on the social rights of vulnerable groups (Mayer, 2009). David Harvey, a Marxist theorist (Polanska, 2011),

explains his theory on the social right to the city in 'The Right to the City' by identifying the link between capitalism and urbanisation. This link consists of urbanisation as being "the mobilisation of a surplus product" and capitalism as "the perpetual need to find profitable terrains for capital surplus production and absorption" (Harvey, 2008:2). Where there are profitable terrains, capitalism will follow and will in turn mobilise the existing surplus value only to create more surplus value through reinvestment to produce surplus product (Harvey, 2008). His theory of the social right to the city is defined as a human right where she/he who has the power to manipulate the processes of urbanisation (Polanska, 2011) – are capitalists in the neoliberal paradigm. This supports Henri Lefebvre's concept that capitalism is dependent on the urban process and that this process will thus create class and social conflict. The city and urban life had become a commodity only affordable to those with more economic/social/political/legal power with access to services, infrastructure, opportunities and spaces becoming an exclusive benefit of that power (Harvey, 2008). Lefebvre defines the social right to the city as the right to individualisation and socialisation, to the oeuvre, to freedom and to participate in urban processes and urban governance (Polanska, 2011). Polanska calls it a 'new capitalism' or 'third stage capitalism' that continues to reproduce spatial conflicts and inequalities such as poverty and homelessness (Mitchell, 2003) and one that determines people's social positions by the spaces that they inhabit – or do not (Polanska, 2011). Neoliberalism has returned power over urbanisation processes to the new (capitalist) bourgeoisie and this has deeply influenced the development and spatial layout of cities with negative gentrification processes gradually pushing lower income groups to peripheries and the emergence of new socially exclusive, fortified and often physically gated enclaves that further fragment the urban landscape (Harvey, 2008). The senses of citizenship and unity are slowly but surely being destroyed leaving people lacking a sense of urban identity and belonging and thus allowing for the disrespect for their urban environment to breed.

The issue of public space and who it ironically belongs to is a contested one in cities across the globe as it determines where the true power lies. Public space, according to Don Mitchell, can be used to expose the underlying factors that cause inequality. In, The *Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space;* he argues that for a space to be truly democratic it has to encompass some form of chaos and unpredictability made up from the different users and uses, however, those with power tend to dislike disorder and would rather mask the undesirable elements that do not perpetuate the idea of a clean and well-governed urban environment (Mitchell, 2003). Harvey concurs with the urban sociologist, Robert Park, who stipulates that for a person to feel as if they have a social right to the city, they must be able to change themselves by changing the city to suit their needs and desires. If this is not possible, vast inequalities will continue to exist with certain parties being excluded from the urban life (Harvey, 2008). Social justice, on the other hand, allows for social inclusion whereby the marginalised and oppressed are able to partake in urban governance and decision-making on factors that would directly or indirectly affect them (Visser, 2001). Visser writes on Rawl's theory of social justice - to distribute resources in a sustainable manner that will place the most oppressed in the best position in society- and states that space can be re-organised and shared as a form of distributing resources, benefits and burdens (Visser, 2001). But social justice does not only involve how benefits are distributed; it also includes how people think they should, or want them to, be distributed. Social justice will thus never be all satisfying as circumstances evolve and new distributions have to be allocated, therefore it is important not only to incorporate social justice in terms of governance but also to have a shared understanding of what social justice entails at that moment and in those circumstances (Visser, 2001). It is about providing equal opportunity and fairness as well as redressing any inequalities that might exist through the redistribution of goods in a sustainable and ethical manner (Mayer, 2009).

The concept of social justice and the social right to the city plays an important role in this research and evaluation of Johannesburg inner city and Maboneng. It is critically evaluated whether this concept is applied to policy and if so, in what way and whether it does in fact, influence new programmes, developments and projects especially those regarding the Maboneng Precinct.

2.2 Theoretical key issues related to: **Social enclaves**

The Maboneng Precinct is a cultural quarter (which is dealt with in the policy literature later in this chapter) and encompasses many of the enclave characteristics shared in social enclave literature. Enclave development takes many forms. A few are discussed below so as to distinguish between the different formations and reasons of formation. Many, particularly those within South Africa, have formed due to high crime levels and the need for people to protect their respective neighbourhoods (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). Enclaves limit access to an area and can accomplish this through the construction of physical barriers such as fortress-like walls, as seen in gated communities, booms, security gates or more indirectly such as heavily surveillanced neighbourhoods with neighbourhood patrols and CCTV installation (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). They are also indirectly formed by homogeneous culture, architecture or goods and services available. These developments particularly lend themselves to postmodern urbanism (Ellin, 1996).

Nan Ellin (1996) speaks about the influence of postmodern urbanism on the development of segregated urban forms. She formulated four distinctions namely Form follows Fiction, Form follows Finance, Form follows Fear and Form follows Finesse with each representing different reasons for form (Ellin, 1996). Form following fear is attributed to the decline of the public realm, crime, individual and gated housing units and lack of community. Fear drives the formation of gated and enclave communities that privatises public space. The privatisation of space can also breach into malls, office and industrial parks amongst others. South Africa's form mainly follows Fear. Form follows Finesse is also applied in some instances

where architects are concerned more with aesthetic appeal and sense of superiority or image than with mitigating social issues. In their aim for form to follow finesse they apply progressive and expensive design theories/principles that exclude lower income people from the area due to its un-affordability by the average Joe. It is mostly for exclusive purposes and Ellin claims that in this case, postmodern urbanism becomes narcissistic (Ellin, 1996). A South African example of form follows Finesse is Melrose Arch. Form follows Finance is dependent on market forces and particularly enhances capitalism through the commercialisation of urban development. This term can be applied to, for instance, the reconversion of old industrial buildings into new apartments/galleries or the regeneration of old neighbourhoods for profit-driven motives. Ellin asserts that Form following Finance, due to its capitalist nature, exacerbates inequalities in the society in which it is present. Form follows Fiction demonstrates a desire for an efficient and convenient society in which different forms from different eras/spaces/places are applied irrespective of whether they fit into the particular context. Here Ellin claims that postmodern urbanism can be inauthentic (Ellin, 1996). A South African example might be the Italian-styled Monte Casino.

Peter Marcuse (2001), in his paper *Enclaves Yes, Ghettoes, No*; writes about the various definitions of different types of spatial segregations, namely urban clusters, urban quarters, ghettoes, citadels and exclusionary enclaves and how they are constructed (Marcuse; 2001). The definitions described these particular urban developments as encouraging segregation (Evans; 2009). They are defined according to their position in a hierarchy, their functional economic role and the influence of a specific culture in their structure and construction (Marcuse, 2001). The definitions of segregation and exclusionary enclaves made use of in this research report are adopted from his journal article. Marcuse defines *segregation* as the forcing of a certain group of the population to involuntarily move into one, well defined space/area. *Walling out* is defined as a certain group of the population voluntarily moving into one specific area so as to remove themselves from others that are

seen as a threat to the advancement of their interests and social/economic/political position in society (Marcuse, 2001). He claims that an area of spatial concentration such as an *exclusionary enclave* or *citadel* encompasses and is formed by the *walling out* process. If the formation of an exclusionary enclave is influenced by the private real estate market in terms of its housing typologies and property prices, the enclave is also termed a *quarter* (Marcuse, 2001). Other of his definitions of enclaves include:

'Cluster' is used as an umbrella term for the concentration of a particular group of people (based on socio-economic, religious, ethnic etc. similarities) in one point/area larger than a building (Marcuse, 2011).

Citadels are areas in which people who regard themselves to be superior in socio-economic circumstance and/or status and power, concentrate so as to protect and further enhance that status/power/superiority (Marcuse, 2011).

Ghettoes are areas constructed by a dominant group in society to separate themselves from a perceived inferior group. The 'inferior' group is forced to reside in an area in which their power is usually limited by the dominant group (Marcuse, 2011).

Themed districts also apply certain enclave characteristics in its expectations and homogeneity in urban design/meanings. Themed districts, according to Bell (2007) have applied the process of quartering according to various themes constructed based on identity or activity that distinguishes one area from another so as to make it more marketable/desirable. Themed districts construct identities through branding, types of people, goods, services and meanings attributed to the space. They are postmodern urban developments (Schmid, 2006) that have progressed since the 1960's (Bell, 2007) and embrace a trend towards commercialisation, entertainment, culture and often fantasy (Schmid, 2006). Different meanings attributed to spaces and places are conveyed through branding, symbolism and motifs and are used to regulate behaviour

and consumption in that space (Bell, 2007). Examples of themed districts are Chinatown, Disneyland and themed cities such as Dubai and Las Vegas.

Exclusive social enclaves combine qualities of both exclusionary enclaves and citadels (Marcuse, 2001). Gated communities are social exclusive enclaves but social exclusive enclaves might not always necessarily be gated communities. Gated communities range from closed off roads to whole residential communities/complexes/estates surrounded by walls/gates or other natural barriers (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). The level of security is directly related to the perceived sense of insecurity due to crime. Other reasons for gated communities extend to traffic reduction, fear of mixing and privatisation/maintenance of public space due to the neglect of the state in maintaining and protecting public space. Developers have taken advantage of this insecurity and fear of crime or desire for a sense of community in society to drive sales of estate houses or houses protected by some sort of security such as patrols, surveillance, limited access and security gates. Gated community residences tend to have higher property values due to this extra security benefit (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). They are therefore mostly limited to higher income groups able to afford this luxury. Blakely and Snyder termed three types of gated communities namely; Lifestyle, Prestige and Security Zoned gated communities (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). Lifestyle refers to community oriented developments that share recreational or leisure facilities and amenities. Examples include golfing estates. Prestige includes communities with a focus on status and image, usually separated due to the desire to avoid mixing with the public. Such communities are usually inhabited by celebrities, politicians and so forth. Security Zoned communities appeal to security conscious people (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004).

Melrose Arch can be considered to be a gated community. It was initially designed to be an office park but was then envisioned as an open mixed-use precinct based on principles of new urbanism

(Dirsuweit and Schattauer, 2004). New Urbanism, according to Dirsuweit and Schattauer, developed post Second World War and incorporate principles of safety, community and stability and represented the 'cure' to urban sicknesses. The precinct consists of high walls that enclose high quality privatised public space such as the street and 'plaza' with aesthetically pleasing architecture (Olckers, 2011) lending itself to a European style and European design principles (Dirsuweit and Schattauer, 2004). It is only accessible to the middle-upper income groups of the general public (Olckers, 2011) and there is a strict code of behavior expected upon entering this enclave. It is unlike Maboneng in that it wishes to separate itself from the Johannesburg city by creating a 'mini' city or spectacle in which everything works – street lights are functioning, pavements are maintained and security is tight (Dirsuweit and Shattauer, 2004). It is placed far from the Central Business District and is mostly travelled to by car and accessed by higher income groups or tourists. It is a entirely private development, developed by Sentinel Mining Industry Retirement Fund (Dirsuweit and Shattauer, 2004) whereas Maboneng is located in the heart of public space- the inner city where privatised public space is possible but only to a certain degree – for instance through the implementation of CIDs. According to Olckers (2011) Melrose Arch promotes defensibility and territoriality.

44 Stanley is also considered to be an enclave. Perhaps more so than Maboneng. It is contrasting to Maboneng in that it consists of high walls that turn their back on the street and that encloses within it a series of courtyards and post-industrial low –rise architecture buildings consisting of exclusive boutiques and coffee houses (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). There is no relationship with the street and access is extremely restricted with no chance of being a thoroughfare as there are only two entrances, both which are guarded. Its post-industrial architecture lends itself to its past but in a greater Milpark context, 44 Stanley seems disengaged with the district. Brian Greene, the owner of 44 Stanley appears to encourage this disengagement because of the 'ugliness' of what occurs on the streets outside. This substantiates his desire to build a

'medieval city' that confines all activity within (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). Its context differs from that of Maboneng in that it is located on the seams connecting the Johannesburg inner city and the northern suburbs and has no roads traveling through it due to its confined nature. It is a small enough development to not have to engage with the city whereas Maboneng is located in the immediate city centre with main roads traveling through it and it becoming a thoroughfare to reach public transport destinations. This allows a diverse range of people to then travel through the Maboneng area but whether they are able to participate in its formation and activities is another question. 44 Stanley does share similarities to Maboneng such as the homogeneity of customers (mostly from the affluent northern suburbs) and goods and services and the presence of creatives (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).

Arts on Main acts as an enclave similar to 44 Stanley and was a inspired by the 44 Stanley development. It too has high fortress-like walls that enclose activity within, with guarded limited entrances and low-rise post-industrial architecture (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). It is however starting to form a relationship with the street by having shops from the Arts on Main enclave open up on both sides, for instance onto the outside street as well as onto the enclosed courtyards within. Arts on Main is better connected to the Maboneng Precinct that encourages street life (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).





Photos 2.1 and 2.2 44 Stanley and Arts on Main respectively.

Maboneng is not considered to be a gated community such as Melrose Arch or perhaps, to some extent, 44 Stanley, however it does apply similar principles such as patrols, guards, limited access, homogeneity of its customers and surveillance therefore it is a socially exclusive enclave. By combining elements of Marcuse's definitions social exclusive enclaves, with regard to this study, is defined as: **an area of spatial concentration of a specific group of**

the population that has assembled, with the influence of the private real estate market, so as to protect and enhance their own social/economic/political/legal power by incorporating the walling out process so as to exclude others, who are then involuntarily segregated and excluded from the area due to their social/political/economic/legal power in society.

Socially exclusive enclaves cause populations, with less social/political/economic/legal power, to involuntarily move into specific spaces and thus cause further segregation. The population's social/political/economic power may be based on race, nationality, religion, ethnicity, language, age, occupation, income or culture (Marcuse, 2001). Their difference in hierarchical power has reinforced exploitative and unjust processes. As Marcuse points out, space evolves. Its role is not constant and it is formed by, as well as reinforces, social relations. Its role shifts according to the needs and desires of those in or with the most power and unfortunately often leave no room for the marginalised to participate in its formation. The state too shapes space and has a hand in the formation of social relations through its political, social, economic and spatial policies and approaches which often favour private business interests (Marcuse, 2001).

2.2.1 Johannesburg's enclaves

The readings based on Johannesburg give an overview of the history of the development (or lack thereof) of the inner city (Peyroux, 2006) and the emergence of the social enclaves. They also describe the respective physical qualities of these enclaves – in these particular readings: Maboneng (Walsh, 2013 and Huchzermeyer¸ 2014), 44 Stanley (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012) and Arts on Main (Reddy, 2011) which were used as case studies - as well as describe their history and critique their lack of integration into the rest of the urban fabric of the inner city. Johannesburg's social exclusive enclaves have emerged mostly due to the desire to experience some form of urbanity resembling that of cities and neighbourhoods such as Brighton or Greenwhich Village and Soho respectively, in a safe and controlled manner (Bachmann and Frenkel, 2012).



Photo 2.3. Greenwich Village (New York)



Photo 2.4. Brighton (United Kingdom)



Photo 2.5. Brooklyn (New York)

They are primarily for middle to upper income suburbanites (mostly residing in the northern suburbs) and offer alternative, creative goods and services that appeal mostly to the creative class and people who wish to re-engage with the city and often act as catalysts for further development in their areas. The suburbs themselves are enclaves that are stitched together with links between them being almost non-existent and accessible mostly through the use of private vehicles (Bachmann and Frenkel, 2012).

They are the dominant environments of the city; being the best serviced, maintained and governed areas of the urban landscape with the central business district being among the worst. Bahmann and Frenkel claim that, due to lower income groups constituting the majority of Johannesburg and South Africa, in order to be a more democratic city, poorer areas have to be more inclusive of the higher income groups rather than, as in most western countries, it being the opposite phenomenon/situation (Bachmann and Frenkel, 2012). Although their reasons for formation and physical/social/economic/spatial/political aspects differ; socially exclusive enclaves that particularly cater for the creative classes and that can be termed creative cultural quarters have similar characteristics. They have limited access so as to limit the possibility of a thoroughfare, they usually have physical boundaries such as high walls or courtyards, they consist of privatised public space that is heavily policed or surveillanced by CCTV or privately employed security guards, they turn their back on the street and the majority are autonomous spaces as they have incorporated the concept of

work/live/play in the same space so as to limit the need to leave the enclave to fulfill the individual's needs and desires (Bachmann and Frenkel, 2012). As Bahmann and Frenkel argue, these enclaves are socially homogeneous and new people "are welcome on the silent condition that they conform to the social norms of the environment" (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012:25). Maboneng, in the opinion of this report, exemplifies many of the exclusionary enclave properties written above and therefore this research report has deemed the Maboneng Precinct to be a socially exclusive enclave.

2.3 Theoretical key issues related to: **Policy**

"*Government has many roles but a fundamental one, in democracy, is to build equality. For legitimacy to exist in society, citizens must perceive that inclusion and equality are fundamental objectives of public authorities. Democracy is not just about casting a vote. It is about public good prevailing over private interest*". (Enrique Penalosa; 2009, *Urban World*: 9).

2.3.1 Johannesburg as an urban space

The government, divided into its three tiers, has the ability to reduce spatial inequalities and enhance inclusion through co-ordinated policy development and consensus on each tiers' obligations in terms of development. This is how the government can become a major stakeholder in the evolution of cities. With regards to policy a number of readings on Johannesburg's regeneration policies as well as a general overview and critical assessment given thereof by authors such as Lindsey Bremner, Van der Merwe, Patel, Peyroux, Morange, Didier, Winkler, Visser and Reddy have been reviewed. Regeneration Policies that have been included in this study are the Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007) and The Integrated Development Plan (2012/2013) which cover Urban Development Zones, City Improvement Districts and Public and Private Partnerships. Johannesburg inner city was once the place to see and be seen in with major investment, both local and international, and people flocking to the streets of Hillbrow to enjoy urban life and

all its entertainment. So what happened and what had transpired since the fashionable 1950s up to now, 2014?

Currently Johannesburg is South Africa's leading commercial and economic hub – contributing 17% to the national GDP and 47% to Gauteng's economy- and due to this draws thousands of people from both across the nation as well as the continent to its bustling environment with the hope of finding a better life. The inner city forms part of Region F which is the third most densely populated area of Johannesburg (IDP, 2012/2016). The economy is supported by strong finance, business, community services, trade and manufacturing sectors. Johannesburg's population of 4.4 million alone makes up 36% of Gauteng's and 8% of South Africa's population (IDP, 2012/2016). However, with increasing numbers and growth, there is increasing unemployment – with a rate of 25% - and poverty as economic growth cannot keep up with the demand (IDP; 2012/2016). The city's focus is on job creation and how to diversify the economy into other sectors that might help mitigate unemployment. The lack of formal jobs has seen a massive rise in the informal trading sector that has absorbed between seven and ten thousand traders within the inner city and this sector has an annual turn-over of approximately R4.2 billion (COJ Inner City Regeneration, 2006). Informal trade is being monitored by the city however, there is controversy surrounding it as both the city and informal traders are not satisfied with the rules and regulations such as permits and designated trading areas. In 2013 the city saw the implementation of Operation Clean Sweep by the City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department – where the city was literally swept clean of informal traders and their goods were confiscated (SERI, 2013). Many accused the City of Johannesburg of denying the rights of the lower income communities who rely heavily on the informal sector for their livelihoods.

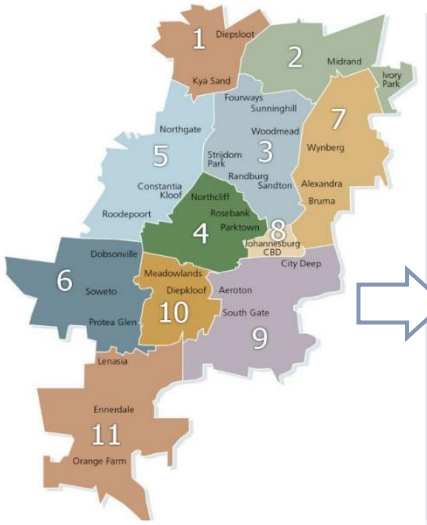
Johannesburg's inner city is unlike any other as it is an inner city that has been caught in a cycle of decline since 1970 (Bremner, 2000). Only recently have suburbanites started re-engaging with the inner city due to the substantial regeneration processes and new urban developments. Once previously, Johannesburg had experienced

economic booms due to the flourishing gold mining industry and was home to 65 headquarters out of 100 listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange as well as the home to the National Reserve Bank and other main banking institutions. Soweto, the township located just outside south west of Johannesburg, housed the majority of the black working class population that commuted to and from Johannesburg for work opportunities (Bremner, 2000). It was set aside from Johannesburg by apartheid legislation as well as physical barriers (buffer zones) such as the mine dumps and vast open space making the two spaces difficult to integrate. As the 1970s drew on, influx controls were being lifted or wavered and violence was increasing in the townships, due to opposing and conflicted parties, the city saw the gradual infiltration of the black working class into Johannesburg and particularly into the inner city. White population groups retreated to the suburbs and by 1996, the black population formed more than 85% of the inner city population (Bremner, 2000). Landlords saw the influx of illegal black tenants as an opportunity to raise rents and reduce maintenance on their buildings causing a wave of physical decline. The decay of the inner city was being blamed mostly on the black population and this caused prejudice to breed within the white suburbs. The chaotic informal trading sector and the intensification of the narcotics trade was believed to be caused by the arrival of international African populations such as Congolese and Nigerian groups and this sparked xenophobia in certain parts of the inner city as space and access were the targets to be controlled (Bremner, 2000). Accompanying the degradation of the physical environment, rise of crime and grime and informality, was capital flight with the emergence of a second central business district development in the north (Sandton). The Johannesburg Stock Exchange moved to Sandton and thereafter more investment followed, leaving the inner city with a 45% office vacancy rate by 2000. (Maylie, 2012) The inner city became a no-go zone for suburbanites and was known for its poverty and lack of maintenance, security and proper infrastructure (Bremner, 2000) – certainly something to be avoided by middle and higher income groups.

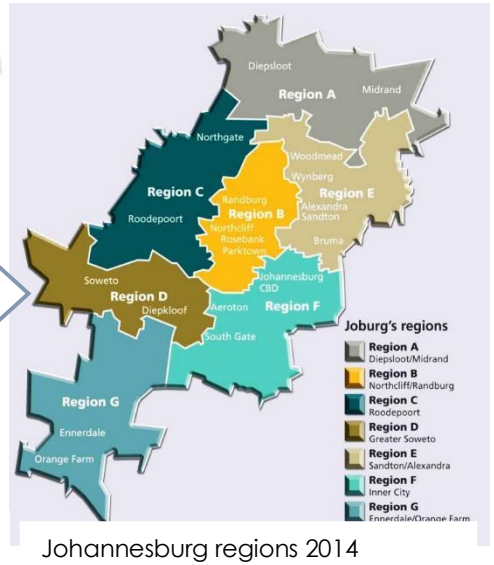
At the turn of the millennium it was recognised to be a time for change in the inner city. Regeneration processes such as Urban Development Zones and Central Improvement Districts were being unfolded so as to increase investment, public private partnerships and the overall upgrading of the public physical environment (Maylie, 2012). Blue IQ, an economic development initiative instigated by the National government, Gauteng Provincial Government and Local Government (Huchzermeyer, 2014) as well as the private sector was established to fund the upgrading of the inner city. Main Street and Gandhi Square are two such projects that have benefitted from private sector investment and upgrading (COJ; 2006). Currently office vacancy rates of the inner city stand at 14% compared to the 45% in 2000 (Maylie, 2012).

The start of Johannesburg's regeneration process was to adopt international models based on urban entrepreneurialism focused on investment and economic development rather than social transition so as to reintroduce South Africa to the global economy by making it globally competitive (Bremner, 2000). Public-private partnerships were established, services were outsourced, negative perceptions of Johannesburg were being tarnished and the role of local government was shifted to enhancing economic growth within the municipality and redressing economic decline. Johannesburg was marketed as a new launch pad into Africa and implemented a civic spine that led to the development of an interlinked business and financial district along with the new Newtown Cultural Precinct (Bremner, 2000). Other projects included the Ellis Park Sports Precinct, the Bara-link project and the Jewel City commercial theme park which were implemented by the Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum in partnership with government, civil society and the private sector. Lindsey Bremner argues in *Reinventing the City* that not enough emphasis is being placed on an African spatiality and African identity and that despite what Tanja Winkler states that the ANC is introducing more postmodern participatory approaches to urban governance and planning policy (Winkler, 2011) development is continued in a very modernist manner (Bremner, 2000) that involves a top-down master-plan

approach to planning. Various inner city committees have been established so as to promote the realisation of the inner city vision, monitor the implementation of policies and strategies, market the inner city and conduct participation processes for all stakeholders within the inner city (COJ Joburg 2030 Vision, 2002). Blue IQ and the Johannesburg Development Agency - who is responsible for the stimulation and promotion of economic development projects within the inner city - (COJ Joburg 2030 Vision, 2002) play a role in urban regeneration policy and decision making and in translating that policy into the public consciousness. They focus on sustainable and just development but also on changing the values and attitudes towards it. It is believed that by changing attitudes it will be achieved at the local and physical level. Blue IQ and the JDA recognise the importance of sustainable regeneration and environmentally just development in realising reconciliation for this country (Van der Merwe and Patel, 2005). The Region 8 (now part of Region F) administration delivers municipal services such as housing, social, recreational, educational and cultural services.



Maps 2.1 Johannesburg regions 2006
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e3/Johannesburg_region_map_with_names.jpg accessed 3 August 2014



Johannesburg regions 2014
http://www.joburg.org.za/images/stories/2009/december/Joburg-Regions.jpg accessed 3 August 2014

The Inner City Regeneration Business Plan determines the various regeneration stakeholders and their respective responsibilities and has assembled the Inner City Regeneration Strategy document compiling all the regeneration initiatives and listing the 5 pillars of intervention namely; (COJ Joburg 2030 Vision, 2002).

Textbox 2.1

1. Infrastructure upgrading and maintenance 2. Economic sector support 3. Promote ripple-pond development 4. Intensify urban management 5. Address sinkholes

2.3.2 Culture-led Regeneration

Cultural planning originated in 1979 as a strategy that focuses on harnessing cultural talents and creativity and uses culture for consensus building, community pride and as a response to the social, political, cultural and economic needs of the community (Reddy, 2011). Cultural precincts attract the creative classes to the area (often declined areas), stimulate cultural production and innovation and encourage creativity (Winkler, 2009). Culture-led regeneration is viewed as an economic stimulant for post-industrial cities. New residents mean new ideas, new encounters and new identities. Reddy (2011) lists the requirements to be met for a cultural precinct in *The Arts on Main Development as part of a Cultural Precinct in the City of Johannesburg* as precincts that provide: entertainment, theatres, religious organisations, neighbourhood markets, art galleries, artist accommodation, libraries, recreation centres, street cafes, a unique branded identity that portrays the precinct vision, public transport, night-time activity, public space for experience and encounters, an active street life and bookshops (Reddy, 2011).

The IDP promotes the 2040 vision of Johannesburg as a World Class African city. The COJ itself is using culture as a form of regeneration in the manner in which it is striving to develop cultural industries as catalysts for economic development, tourism and investment and to portray the city of Johannesburg as a liveable and secure space that values arts, culture and heritage (Reddy, 2011). The Inner City Partnership Forum was the first to recommend culture-led regeneration as a regeneration strategy in Johannesburg and thus saw the development of the Newtown Cultural Precinct. Newtown cultural Precinct is the only precinct not managed by the private sector. Johannesburg has adopted international models, specifically those from Soho in London or Greenwhich Village in New York, that have not incorporated the local contexts of Johannesburg fully and thus there exist cultural issues and conflicts. The Heritage Policy Framework was constructed so as to conserve heritage buildings within the inner city that will contribute to uplifting the area,

especially for cultural precinct development, as well as offer more desirable work, live and play spaces (Reddy, 2011).

If implemented correctly cultural regeneration can lead to benefits of improved community pride and active citizenship, a sense of identity and belonging and embracing differences that will incorporate principles of social inclusion, cultural tolerance and social justice. Johannesburg plans to implement cross-cultural programmes so as to meet the needs of the various cultures sharing the inner city space. If implemented incorrectly, cultural regeneration policies can lead to gentrification, neglection of the existing culture and heritage of a space by trying to accommodate new ones in the urban changing process and be socially exclusive by favouring developers and real estate rather than the local residents and their needs (Reddy, 2011). Community participation is required (and important) in the development of cultural precincts however participatory processes tend to be overlooked or dealt with in an incompetent manner which ultimately results in top-down developments. Cultural precincts need to adopt their own cultural regeneration models that are contextually adapted to the local culture.

2.3.3 The Inner City Regeneration Charter

The Inner City Regeneration Charter had come into effect in 2007. It was constructed in co-operation with inner city stakeholders such as housing development, public arts and culture, urban management, safety and security, economic development, social development and transport and included meetings with ward councilors, public figures, Wits University, corporate and inner city organisations and community groups. The Regeneration Charter is a regeneration policy for the inner city of Johannesburg and outlines the key challenges facing the inner city as well as demonstrates how those challenges will be overcome through the range of strategies proposed by the city and the various committees involved. The vision as outlined in the Regeneration Charter of the Inner city has evolved from, as well as combined, previous visions.

Textbox 2.2 The Regeneration Charter vision is of a city that is liveable, safe, people-centred, accessible, vibrant, dynamic, well managed, celebrates cultural diversity, operates around a 24 hour basis, is welcoming to tourists, entrepreneurs, residents, workers and learners, respects heritage and social differences, a globally competitive city that can capitalise on its position in South Africa and Africa as a whole, a trading hub, values public-private partnerships, embraces the spirit of Ubuntu and allows for fair and equal participation processes (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

Successful areas of regeneration are noted in the Charter as being the Newtown development, Mary Fitzgerald Square, the upgrading of Main Street, the Fashion District, Braamfontein, Constitutional Hill and the Nelson Mandela Bridge among others. These particular initiatives are thought to be successful as they were planned in collaboration with the private sector, different spheres of government, other stakeholders and the civil society. The public-private partnerships play an increasingly important role in the regeneration processes of the inner city and have been introduced and enhanced by strategies such as Central Improvement Districts and Urban Development Zones (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

Urban Development Zones is a tax incentive initiative implemented in 2004 to attract private sector investments back to the inner city to stimulate urban renewal in specific areas that have declined (Huchzermeyer, 2014) after the period of severe capital flight.

Textbox 2.3 UDZs aim to improve the areas that lack investment and that have descended into downward spirals of decay by increasing land values, developing job opportunities closer to residences, improving the quality of life within specific areas, stimulating economic development, increasing investment in existing infrastructure, improving the conditions of decayed or abandoned buildings and promoting Black Economic Empowerment and participation of previously and currently marginalised groups in the local economy (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

Johannesburg. It provides businesses with tax incentives/allowances when wanting to refurbish buildings or create new developments

within the inner city (Huchzermeyer, 2014). Bigger corporations claim to have benefitted from the UDZ incentive scheme as the return on their investments are greater and state that the UDZ scheme makes inner city investment opportunities more appealing to investors (Garner, 2011). Approximately R9 Billion of private sector investment has been attracted to the inner city by the UDZ initiative (Garner, 2011) Future plans for the UDZ include the leasing of buildings owned by any sphere of government to the private sector and added incentives for the development of high density low-cost housing. The UDZ scheme has also developed approximately 65 000 construction-related jobs (Garner, 2011).

Social Programmes of the inner city include the Inner City Corporate Social Responsibility Fund that was set up as an NGO to receive funds from corporates within the inner city as well as from the Lotto Fund and distribute it to areas of decay or to support organisations operating within the inner city (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). The inner city Housing plan aims to develop more intermediary shelters for the homeless and street children. The Housing Action Plan will be implemented and by 2015, 75 000 new residential units, of which 20 000 will be targeting lower income groups, will be developed in or close to the inner city, taking steps to apply inclusionary housing principles so as to develop a socially mixed urban environment as well as to avoid the city becoming a dormitory for the poor (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). There is a fear of the 'not in my backyard' concept taking hold in socially mixed communities. Community pride is targeted to be enhanced so as for people to take pride and take part (politically and socially) in their communities. This will occur in co-ordination with community organisations such as Ekhaya that drives community-led initiatives to upgrade the general public environment, improve service delivery and construct participatory processes for the community as per the Municipal Systems Act. More emphasis will be placed on affordable and efficient public transport such as an integrated Park Station transport node and the Bus Rapid Transit system that will serve as the inner city distribution system. The Informal Trading Development Programme was established to

control the location and permits of informal trading activities (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). The Regeneration Charter has also recognised the need for better and more efficient management of informal trading and has established an Entrepreneurial Development Programme to provide training and mentoring as well as to manage where and when trading takes place, the permits required and who has to be registered to trade (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

The Better Buildings Programme was established to target abandoned or hi-jacked buildings that are in poor condition and are housing residents illegally. All bad buildings are targeted to be eliminated by 2015 in a proactive approach that will improve health and safety within buildings and work to strengthen tenant association (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). It promotes the upgrading of bad buildings by their owners or by selling them (even though the owner is sometimes unwilling) to new owners provided that they will maintain or renovate it (Huchzermeyer, 2014).

The presence of Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department officers will be increased for improved public safety. In collaboration and co-management with UDZs and CIDs, the inner city is targeting main public spaces to improve their quality and safety through a coherent approach to maintain and upgrade the dysfunctional open spaces (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

Other regeneration strategies outlined in the Charter such as the Inner City Streetscape/Public Environment Upgrade Plan of 2007 is a strategy towards the development of a walkable inner city that is safe, clean and green and portrays stronger imageability and legibility in terms of its layout of streets and access to public spaces.

Textbox 2.4 Upgrades of the public environment will occur in certain areas to support the walkable initiative. These include new paving, better street lighting, planting of trees, better drainage, street trade and informal trading management, better facades and building edges, street furniture and clean amenities provision, refuse bin provision, better maintenance of sidewalks and better integration of pedestrian linkages with public transport nodes and stops (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

A regeneration mechanism that has taken hold is that of profiling Johannesburg as a cultural capital by including cultural-led regeneration strategies in its implementation and construction. The 2010 FIFA World Cup was targeted to be used to further enhance the image of the city as a cultural capital. More emphasis will be placed on, and support given to, the arts and culture and preservation of heritage within the city. As well as to the smaller community based arts and culture organisations and the creative industries itself. The vision is of a city that welcomes otherness but still celebrates the African culture (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

Despite the Regeneration Charter efforts, many of the key inner city challenges have still not been addressed or are merely displaced elsewhere. Although certain neighbourhoods are experiencing a reversal in decay due to the implementation of regeneration strategies such as CIDs and UDZs, other adjacent and excluded neighbourhoods are deteriorating at an increased pace with an increase in crime, hijacked buildings, uncontrolled informal activities, poor maintenance of public spaces and sidewalks, street appropriation for taxi rank use, illegal dumping and uncovered manholes. These neighbourhoods generally do not fall within the CID or UDZ boundaries (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). Thus the inner city regeneration charter strategies are often seen as fragmentary and exclusionary in their implementation and development as they tend to favour economic development in terms of neo-liberal principles and thereby forego social obligations or pass them on to the private sector (Winkler, 2009). The Charter is also criticised for its strict control of informal trading in that it expects traders to be registered, buy permits and trade in designated trading areas. There are only a certain amount of traders allowed to trade in the inner city. A great proportion of the inner city residents depend on informal trading as a livelihood and often have their goods confiscated due to absence of permits or trading in the incorrect areas (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). The traders are upset about not being able to afford permits and thus have to increase the prices of their goods but thereby lose

customers who would rather walk further for a cheaper option. Smaller businesses do not benefit as well from the UDZ incentive (Garner, 2011) as much as major businesses do.

2.3.4 Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan

The Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan is a 5 year local planning document constructed by the local municipality that focuses on the developmental plans for that particular municipality, how its strategies will be implemented, its key targets and how its progress and performance will be monitored (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014). The IDP focuses on spatial planning and economic development (The Saturday Star, 2014). The IDP represents the true purpose of local government and ensures integration with other spheres and tiers of government in aligning development planning principles and targets (Visser, 2001). The latest IDP is dated to be in operation from 2011 to 2016. It is a medium term financial plan that is informed by the long term financial plans of the Joburg 2040 and Growth and Development Strategy by breaking up the long-term goals into 5 year attainable goals. It outlines the long term strategies and goals to be achieved for the city with central themes being:

Textbox 2.5 Sustainable human settlements, economic development through investment attraction, safety, a citizenry that is active and engaged, green economy, smart city growth, financial sustainability and resilience, SMME support and development, food security, resource sustainability and agriculture (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

The IDP is informed by various legislation such as the Municipal Systems Act 23 of 2000 as well as other planning documents such as the Spatial Development Framework and the Regional Spatial Development Framework.

Textbox 2.6 Inner city key targets identified in the IDP are the need for SMME development, safer and better maintained streets, parks and open space upgrading, sport and recreation facilities, waste collection, upgrading of accommodation, inner city capital projects that will distribute benefits to surrounding residents and a skills development and multi-purpose centre (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

The IDP supports the development of high intensity nodes that have been identified as having economic and growth potential with the necessary underlying infrastructure and resources (Visser, 2001). The inner city goals to be achieved is that of an inner city that is:

Textbox 2.7 Clean and safe, sustainable, productive, inclusive, well governed, integrates work/play/living spaces, offers economic opportunities both formal and informal, is socially cohesive, engages its citizenry and offers open and recreational spaces of quality (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

The IDP implements twelve flagship programmes in order to realise these goals and Key Performance Indicators that set targets to be met in order to measure the progress of the IDP strategy (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

It has introduced the Joburg 2040 Vision which states:

Textbox 2.8 *Johannesburg – a World Class African City of the Future – a vibrant, equitable African city, strengthened through its diversity; a city that provides real quality of life; a city that provides sustainability for all its citizens; a resilient and adaptive society, pro-active delivery, resilient, sustainable and liveable. Offers support that drives economic growth, optimal management of natural resources and the environment, the development of society and the individuals within it, and the practice and encouragement of sound governance, Outcome 1: Improved quality of life and development-driven resilience for all Outcome 2: Provide a resilient, liveable, sustainable urban environment – underpinned by infrastructure supportive of a low-carbon economy. Outcome 3: An inclusive, job-intensive, resilient and competitive economy Outcome 4: A leading metropolitan government that pro-actively contributes to and builds a sustainable, socially inclusive, locally integrated and globally competitive Gauteng City Region.* (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014)

The Joburg 2040 GDS has six main principles that the IDP is aligned with in its plans and strategies. These six principles are:

Textbox 2.9 The eradication of poverty, sustainable human settlements, environmental sustainability and resource security, an inclusive economy, social inclusion and good governance (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

The Growth and Development Strategy Roadmap is defined in the IDP as a tool that aligns and integrates the long-term vision and outcomes with the IDP strategies that would realise those outcomes. It was constructed after the Joburg 2040 and is also used to break the vision down into feasible goals (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

The Spatial Development Framework is another tool used within the IDP to construct the plans and analysis of the Johannesburg municipality. It has central themes that include Strategic Densification, Public Transport for improved access and inclusion and the Urban Development Boundary. The SDF outlines components that will guide future development. These components include the Growth Management Strategy, Regional Spatial Development Frameworks, Development Strategies, Capital Investment Framework and assessment tools. The components determine priority areas for investment, infrastructure and development, precinct plans with area-specific interpretations of the SDF and determine priority capital projects (COJ Integrated Development Plan Review, 2013/2014).

Visser states in *Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post Apartheid Urban Reconstruction* that the IDP interprets social justice in a specific manner in the way in which it decides to distribute benefits and burdens as well as resources, opportunities and responsibilities to specific areas, communities and stakeholders (Visser, 2001). He argues that South African policies need to incorporate social justice theories in their construction and in guiding their implementation. This is to ensure better social inclusion of the marginalised and lower income groups and greater equality and equity. He also argues that space moulds the interpretations and views of social justice and that people and their views and attitudes

in turn mould the space. The IDP plays a major role in the interpretation of post-apartheid social justice and how it can be manifested within space. What needs to be taken into account is how social justice is also interpreted by various social groups based on their individual attitudes and values as well as their connection with past historic consequences and circumstances. Socially just policies should incorporate the principle of having everyone who is part of that society benefit despite their income differences however, everyone part of the society should also contribute in some manner to realizing a socially just city (Visser, 2001). Dr Crispian Olver, a policy expert, notes that the IDP has not realised its goals as "They have become a compliance exercise rather than a planning exercise" (The Saturday Star, 2014, p.5) and they are being outsourced to consultants rather than being compiled by the municipalities themselves. More work will need to be done to ensure participatory processes are correctly and efficiently carried out in order to develop the city in a democratic manner. (The Saturday Star, 2014).

2.3.5 City Improvement Districts

CIDs: City Improvement Districts, originally conceptualised from Business Improvement Districts, is an international model imported from North-American cities as a Local Economic Development planning tool to enhance the perceptions of the inner city and to attract investment so as to rejuvenate the commercial aspect of the city. CIDs were approved by the provincial legislator in 1997 in terms of the City Improvement District Act 12 of 1997 after having been encouraged and lobbied for by businesses and the CPJ before 1994 and in anticipation of the African National Congress's neoliberal turn (Peyroux, 2006). The first CID was implemented in Johannesburg in 1993 and is said to have impacted on the crime levels of the area. With the implementation of the Igoli 2002 planning policy – based on neoliberal principles, there was a shift away from the state-driven Reconstruction and Development Progamme to the Growth and Development Strategy so as to reduce the role of the state even further to that of facilitator. This led to the privatisation, private influence of policy and decision-making, outsourcing of more public

services and the adoption of a single metropolitan structure for Johannesburg (Peyroux, 2006). CIDs embrace the neoliberal agenda in their governance and have to some extent replaced municipal service delivery through outsourcing and private organisations within the CID boundaries. These services include the maintenance of public spaces (such as Gandhi Square), security, parking and access to transportation (Peyroux, 2006) as well as marketing a distinctive identity of the area and its opportunities through the implementation of urban design principles.

CIDs are aimed at improving the general standard of urban governance in cities through catalyst development by supporting private-corporate efforts located within specific districts (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). It encompasses public-private partnerships (through the Central Johannesburg Partnership) that lead to perimetered districts for self-taxing, the improvement and development of public spaces (Peyroux, 2006) and public services and enhancing the declining district so as to place the city in a globally competitive position (Didier, Peyroux and Morange, 2012). CIDs contribute to the revitalisation of the inner city economy as the increased business activities generate tax revenue, property values rise due to improved security and public spaces (Peyroux, 2006) and provide property investment protection as well as services where local municipalities might not have the necessary capacity to do so. Crime levels are reduced due to higher levels of control and surveillance; however this may only be a case of crime displacement to the nearest district not defined as a CID.

Some CIDs offer social programmes to the surrounding communities and there is a great emphasis on increasing the participation of local businesses and property owners in managing and governing the city and their surrounding space through public-private partnership development (Peyroux, 2006). However, CIDs remain a profit-oriented initiative and are thus also said to enhance spatial and social inequalities between districts in terms of the quality of services and public spaces provided, social exclusion particularly of lower income and marginalised groups from these intensively controlled environments, the rising property and tax prices leading

to gentrification and the growing privatisation of public urban space which ultimately takes power from the public and distributes it to corporate (Peyroux, 2006). In South Africa public space is highly contested as it is ideally meant for the interaction and integration of various social and economic groups in one space so as to reduce the social and spatial inequalities between them. The CID model is also one not contextually based on South Africa but rather imported from North America where there are vast contextual differences (Peyroux, 2006).

CIDs in the inner city are important for this study as Main Street is an example of a CID district within the city and Maboneng ultimately then falls into the CID category. Braamfontein and Newtown are more examples of CIDs and, for the purposes of this study, CIDs tend to, intentionally or not, implement the exclusive urban design principles that this research is interested in investigating to make these spaces more permeable and thereby more inclusive. It is the existing public-private partnerships that have led to the development of the Maboneng precinct.

The main arguments related to policy were that Johannesburg's regeneration policies, in general, were imported from the 'North' (Didier, Peyroux and Morange; 2012). The policies were based on ideas of economic competitiveness, responsive governance, social cohesion and social mixing strategies (Winkler; 2009). They were largely prioritizing economic strategies and not social policies. As a result, they have to some extent led to social and spatial exclusion which ultimately affects Johannesburg as a just city. Policy makers use 'best practice' regeneration precedents such as: tax incentives, public-private partnership, middle/high income home ownership, flagship projects and intensive urban management (Winkler; 2009). There is a notion that the city cannot rely on private and government intervention/partnerships as it excludes public participation and does not incorporate inclusive design. Another argument was that any social policies that are evident in the 2007

Inner City Regeneration Policy	Characteristics	
City Improvement Districts	International model Revitalising commercial areas	Enhancement and outsourcing of public services Self-taxing
Urban Development Zones	Tax incentives Reinforce CID collaborations	Investment in new developments or refurbishment of old
Johannesburg Development Agency	Economic development Public and Private sector investment	Area based regeneration programmes 5 Intervention areas: Braamfontein, Newtown, Greater Ellis Park, High-court, Fashion District
Regeneration Charter (2007)	Better Buildings Programme Improvement Districts	Profiling Inner City as Cultural Capital Institutional Arrangements
Integrated Development Plan	Joburg 2040 Strategy Spatial Development Framework Corridors of Freedom	5 pillars for inner city development: A well-governed, clean and safe, sustainable, productive and inclusive inner city.

Charter are undermined and are in effect, only prolonging the onset of gentrification (Winkler; 2009).

Table 2.1 Some regeneration policies of Johannesburg

2.4 Theoretical key issues related to: **Urban Design**

The main ideas of the readings outline the principles of urban design such as vitality, permeability, legibility, imageability, sense of place and meaning, inclusion and the public realm. It outlines the basis of the relationships between spaces, places and forms that make up the urban environment and what particular urban environment, through the manipulation of specific elements, would develop a certain relationship (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987). The research project integrated various urban design principles deemed essential by authors such as Lynch, Jane Jacobs, Appleyard and Jacobs, Carmona, Sternberg and more, to design a set of criteria of design and policy principles fundamental for the encouragement of an inclusive and just city. These principles were, to an extent, used to analyse the case study in terms of its urban design and inclusion.

Jane Jacobs argued the importance of **vitality** to street and urban life in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). She observed commercial urban renewal processes and concluded that it destroyed diversity and created dead zones. She also found that free real estate markets are essential for vitality. She referred to Greenwich Village in New York as a diverse neighbourhood with vitality. A neighbourhood with vitality encompasses permeability, density, mixed uses and fine grain (Sternberg; 2000).

Permeability is discussed by various authors which is evidence of its importance as an urban design concept. Permeability affects human movement as it can offer a range of choices in terms of alternative routes through a neighbourhood (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985), it contributes towards a liveable city/street (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987) and Allen Jacobs (1993) claims that permeable and accessible streets are better than those that are not as they allow engagement, participation and interaction which ultimately enhances community life. According to Jane Jacobs and Appleyard and Jacobs (1987) a permeable neighbourhood is one that has buildings facing onto the street, with many outside spaces such as balconies, patios and windows/entrances and with permeable soft-edged shop fronts (active edges). These specific permeable qualities enhance 'eyes on street' and community surveillance – making an area safer (Sternberg; 2000). Jacobs (1961) also argues that neighbourhoods that overlap with others and that have soft edges/boundaries are more permeable and integrate better with the surrounding communities which, in turn enhances vitality in the area. Clear boundaries, however, demonstrate a clear district identity (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). Larger city blocks cater for vehicular movement as there are less traffic stops and disruptions in speed whereas smaller/shorter city blocks accommodate pedestrian traffic and make an area more permeable for pedestrians (Jacobs; 1985).

High Density (which Alan Rowly (1996) included into the concept of vitality) of people in a space will allow for more chance encounters and more 'eyes on street,' safety and sustainable thresholds

(Sternberg; 2000). A liveable neighbourhood will consist of the minimum density required to sustain public transport as well as an active public/community life with adequate human exchange (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987).

Mixed uses will encourage 24 hour activity, diversity and eliminate dead zones (Sternberg; 2000). It contributes to **Variety** - the assortment of choices and uses available by locating different land uses (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985) and different building typologies (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987); **Robustness/Liveability/Adaptability** - whether the urban is flexible in its present and future purposes and can be modified to adapt (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985) in order to make efficient use of its resources and be self-sustaining (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987) and **Fine grain** – the principle that a neighbourhood should consist of varying types of buildings (in terms of history/scale/architecture/uses/age) next to each other for interest and diversity (Sternberg; 2000) and buildings should define and be interrelated with space such as, for example; streets, plazas and parks (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987). Intensive land uses contribute towards a compact city design and a walkable live/work/play environment (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987). Buildings can define space by being located close to the boundaries for example the further a building is set back from a street the weaker the relationship between the building and street and the respective people as well as the day-to-day public life (Jacobs; 1985). Land uses and buildings can indicate a break or seam which represents a change in community policy/management through a change in physical orientation, design style or in standards such as block sizes (Jacobs; 1985).

Sternberg's Integrative Theory (2000) combines the concepts of vitality, legibility and meaning as those which are necessary for successful urban environments. He argues that **Comfort;** comfortable urban experience that offers convenience using traffic barriers, sun angles, rest stops and takes into account micro-climate, wind exposure and walking distance (Sternberg; 2000), lends itself as a component to the above. Appleyard and Jacobs also agree and

add that trees, sidewalks, adequate noise levels, open space and safety are contributing factors to liveability (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987).

"To approach the street as if it is a democratic space of diverse encounters, as Jane Jacobs did, is to overlook the fact that many kinds of encounters have already been foreclosed by the law and those that remain are themselves deeply regulated." (Barker; 2009; Street Life, *City and Society*: 159)

Control is described by Lynch as the extent to which the people who use, work or reside in a space are able to manage, modify and/or access its resources, opportunities and activities (Lynch; 1984). Urban design affects control in terms of privatised spaces - "Privatisation is akin to voluntary exclusion – an activity described as the succession of the successful" (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003, Public Places and Urban Spaces: 119) and entails degrees of control over spaces expressed through segragatory aspects such as walls, gates, barriers and surveillance (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). The public realm should be designed and used as a neutral political and social platform used for expression, interaction, personal development and communication (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003).

Access to imagination, joy and opportunity – the city should offer new opportunities, mystery and cultural exploration, should be enlightening and should allow the urbanite to break from the mold (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987). Lynch describes access as the ability to reach other people, activities, opportunities and information and that it can be measured by the diversity of elements that can be reached (Lynch; 1984) especially the design of facilities for the vulnerable (elderly, women and children) (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). There are different types of access namely; **Visual access** – people can conclude whether or not they will be/feel welcome in a space by looking into it (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003); **Symbolic access** – types of shops express the type of people welcome (Jacobs; 1985) or other policing strategies to make access for 'undesirables' difficult (a strategy would be the exclusion of public toilets in a space) and **Physical access** –

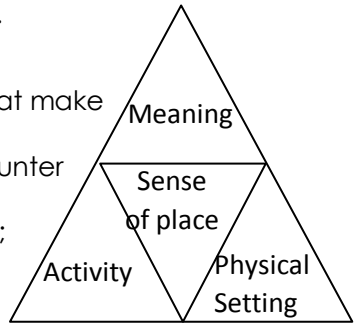
concerning the public/private physical entrances/exits to a space or the types of routes (vehicular or pedestrian orientated) employed (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003).

Kevin Lynch in *Image of the City* (1960) referred to '**Imageability**' and how the city is composed in a legible manner from senses and experiences of the urban such as sensory qualities and sense of place (Lynch; 1960). A **legible** city is one that has a strong image and is easily read by an observer in terms of its layout and enclosure (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985) using paths, nodes, districts, edges and landmarks (Lynch; 1960) as well as how well one can read the opportunities it offers (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985).

Appleyard and Jacobs in Towards an Urban Design Manifesto (1987) discuss the importance of political and socio-economic aspects of the urban and how they were interrelated and influenced by the emergence of the concept of phenomenology in the 1960's that saw the rise of community development, social groups, social movements and urban activism (Appleyard and Jacobs; 1987). Phenomenology is the study of the interpretation and description of phenomena (Lester, 1999) from an individual's conscious subjective experience (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014). It is associated with postmodernism, sociology and subjectivity in that it is not solely based on facts and figures but rather asks how and why those facts and figures came about (Phillip, 1998). Some of their key design components stemming from this are: **Identity and Control,** the environment has to belong to residents collectively and individually to some extent in order to gain their respect for it and **Meaning and Authenticity** where the origins and the history of the urban environment should be clear. Graffiti and vandalised property are signs of a lack of personal identity and control in a perceivably unpredictable urban environment (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). **Personalisation,** the degree to which inhabitants have placed their 'personal stamp' on their urban environment (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith; 1985), add to a sense of identity and control. A **'Sense of Place'**, such as 'Empathetic Insideness,' where the cultures and values of the inhabitants are

reflected in their urban environment also achieves identity, control and meaning (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). But, unfortunately, despite the efforts of urban designers, it is only people who can add meaning to space and thereby create 'place' (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003).

A diagram depicting the components that make up a sense of place according to John Punter (1991) (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003)



Public art can enhance a sense of community according to Hall and Robertson (2001) in Hall and Smith (2004) *Public Art in the City*. It can accomplish this as it promotes a sense of community and explores local culture, sense of place, civic identity and also educate and provoke social change. Not only can it discourage social exclusion, but it is also visually stimulating and appealing and can encourage participation, especially in public spaces that are exclusive (Hall and Smith; 2004).

2.5 Outline of research done

- *The arts on main development as part of a cultural precinct in the city of Johannesburg* – Sue Reddy
- *'We won't move': The suburbs take back the center in urban Johannesburg* – Shannon Walsh
- *Renegotiating Space* – Dirk Bahmann and Jason Frenkel
- *Invoking Lefebvre's 'right to the city' in South Africa today: A response to Walsh* – Marie Huchzermeyer
- *Policies Prolonging the Global Age of Gentrification: Johannesburg's Regeneration* - Tanja Winkler
- *City Improvement Districts in Johannesburg: An examination of the local variations of the BID model* - Elisabeth Peyroux
- *Johannesburg Ten Ahead: a decade of inner city regeneration* – Gerald Garner

– *Responsive Environments: A Manual for Designers* – Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith

2.6 Conclusion: Critical assessment of research done

The pieces of literature reviewed in this paper have researched and critically analysed regeneration policies of the Johannesburg inner city however no or very few solutions have been proposed and there are not many policies specifically related to the physical design characteristics of the inner city development. The policies seem to be unsuccessful and undermine social integration and equity development even though they are stated as part of their strategies. The correct implementation of policies and their objectives have been unsuccessful and are not being realised spatially. There is a need for policy and urban reform that allows for inclusivity and social justice as well as a need to revise public-private partnerships as they tend to develop social enclaves through their input and investment in certain areas. Regeneration policies are based on international 'western' models (Peyroux; 2008) and are therefore not shaped according to local desires. Clearly new policies that are context-specific, while still applying successful regeneration design principles, are required.

Inclusive urban design principles have been investigated and have led to the conclusion that a socially mixed and inclusive community will consist of: a variety of land uses, locally owned businesses and shops, 24 hour activity patterns, street markets, a café culture (cinemas, theatres, wine bars) of different quality and price, open spaces to encourage people watching, inclusive housing (different sizes, costs, investment opportunities, architecture) and an active street life made so by active building edges (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell; 2003). It will be permeable, accessible, imageable, legible, robust, liveable, meaningful and encompass vitality. This will ensure for a responsive urban environment and one that consists of permeable edges.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

Chapter two Literature Review has allowed for the development of some generic concepts. These concepts acted as the foundation for the data collected and inspired the questions asked to collect the specific information needed to support the research question. The research methods/approaches are the tools used for data collection. These tools are discussed in this chapter, chapter three, and how they were implemented to ensure that the data are valid, reliable and collected in the best possible manner. The research report focused on qualitative data capturing and did so using a case research study method. A photographic analysis and surveys consisting of questionnaires as well as interviews act as the two research tools within the case research study. A photographic analysis, for the purposes of this study, forms part of personal observation data collection.

3.1 What type of research will be conducted?

Qualitative research formed the main body of research as the report centred around social experiences and processes (Bhattacherjee, 2012), everyday life experiences in Maboneng, social issues such as exclusivity and inclusivity and the reviewing and evaluation of existing policy documents (Phillip, 1998). Qualitative research was focused on due to its ability to be interpretive (Bhattacherjee, 2012), diverse and uncover deeper personal meanings through observing and exploring everyday life experiences of people in a specific context (Phillip, 1998) in a phenomenological approach (Bhattacherjee, 2012). As the researcher, I became an instrument used to capture data by interviewing and engaging with participants yet conducting direct observation so as to remain neutral and objective to the data. It is resource-intense and time consuming but it offers a holistic approach, can be contextualised and can collect unobservable data such as attitudes/preferences (Bhattacherjee, 2012) which allowed for responsive design and proposals in Chapter six. Due to the subjective and sociological underlying of qualitative data; it could have proven difficult to apply generalisability to the outcome and therefore might have limited its transferability however; this was overcome by detailing the context and all processes of this data collection. Triangulation of this collected data, techniques and methods used as well as documentation of transcripts have enhanced the credibility of the research (Bhattacherjee, 2012). This was achieved by having the data supported and substantiated by interviewees, questionnaires and personal observations and using the data in a comprehensive manner. Photography was used to graphically depict the data collected. Some quantitative research, such as the survey questionnaires, were conducted so as to distinguish certain groups or look at overall patterns within one area and what that may indicate about the social environment of that area as a whole (Phillip; 1998).

The research touched on explanatory as it drew relationships between findings and asked the questions “How?” and “Why?” (Bhattacherjee; 2012) as well as exploratory as it asked the question,

"What would make this more inclusive?" and therefore drew propositions such as the set of design and policy criteria that are believed will permeate social exclusive enclaves (Yin, 1994). The explanatory research was relevant to the first part of the research which was the formulating of a set of exclusive design and policy criteria so as to design their antithesis that will overcome them. It sought to explain why the socially exclusive enclave is socially exclusive by observing its design and policy elements (often depicted through photography). Exploratory research uncovered what improvements are needed to allow for a more integrated and inclusive community by engaging with the community and their attitudes and behavior (Bhattacherjee, 2012). The research was inductive as it built new theories/policies from the observations and findings.

Evaluative research was conducted in which spatial policies such as the Integrated Development Plan and Regeneration Charter as well as the Spatial Development Framework of the Maboneng area was analysed and critiqued. Evaluative research is a form of qualitative research and assesses policies, programmes and interventions and their respective implementation and outcomes to decide whether they are sustainable, needs-fulfilling and effective (Sarantakos, 2005) This research evaluated whether Maboneng is in compliance with these particular policy regulations (Sarantakos, 2005). Evaluation research has a political element that aims to look at various political and socio-economic outcomes presented by policy (Sarantakos, 2005). The report presented a reformed policy that includes inclusive design and policy principles that will encourage the development of an inclusive and integrated city. The new policy and recommendations for existing ones will physically permeate social exclusive enclaves. By assessing the relevant policy of Maboneng, a better understanding of the enclave and its surrounding communities was formulated. This helped towards formulating a set of design and policy criteria that met the needs of the community yet preserved its unique identity. Evaluative research engaged the community politically and allowed for public participation (Sarantakos, 2005). The community, for instance; inner city residents,

informal traders, people who live/work in Maboneng and ward councillors participated so as to uncover the community needs in a needs-analysis process (Sarantakos, 2005) as well as to discover the impact that Maboneng has had on the community.

The qualitative research was evaluative, exploratory, and explanatory and made use of the aforementioned method: a case research study that, in turn, used secondary data analysis, a photographic analysis and surveys such as interviews and questionnaires as tools.

3.2 Case Study Research

Yin (1994) and Bhattacherjee (2012) describe a case study as an observational inquiry into a specific phenomenon that takes place within closed boundaries (Sarantakos, 2005). Maboneng Precinct constituted the case study boundaries and the development of exclusionary social enclave injustice was the investigated phenomenon. Case study research is an all-encompassing method (Yin; 1994) as it includes various research tools such as personal observations (in this case depicted through photography), secondary data analysis and pre-recorded documents, interviews, surveys and questionnaires (Bhattacherjee, 2012). This contributed towards the triangulation process. It investigated decisions (in this case policies or design proposals), why they were made, how they were implemented and the outcomes thereof (Yin, 1994). The research was conducted on and within the precinct of Maboneng. Maboneng was utilised as an instrumental case study, which inquired into social issues such as exclusion and injustice (Sarantakos, 2005) and was used to explain and test theories and the implementation of Johannesburg spatial policies. Included in the literature review were spatial policies such as the Integrated Development Plan and Regeneration Charter that were used as secondary data for research and analysis to identify how their implementation has affected this specific site and the phenomena that occurred within the site boundaries. This case study research was theory testing – that exclusive design and policy elements cause exclusion and lead to the fragmentation of the urban

through the development of exclusionary social enclaves – as well as theory building, – what design principles and policies will allow for inclusivity in Maboneng and encourage the development of inclusionary urban areas? The case research study allowed for a contextual analysis of the Maboneng Precinct and used personal observations, a photographic analysis and surveys as tools to define and analyse the context according to its design and policy aspects. Case study research allows for in-depth information and analysis through personal observations and personal interviews (Sarantakos, 2005); it provides contextualised research, the ability to modify research questions as research progresses and it can be observed from various levels/angles/perspectives (Bhattacherjee, 2012). It does however also have its weaknesses including being subjective and biased and due to its contextuality it can prove difficult to generalise and apply to other situations/phenomena.

3.2.1 Personal observations were conducted to observe land use and zoning (spatial mapping), the types of shops/goods and traders, property prices and crime statistics. Maps were used to locate the case within a Johannesburg context so as to better understand the context and give it meaning by allowing patterns and routes to emerge (Knoblauch, Baer, Laurier,Petschke and Schnettler; 2008).

3.2.2 A photographic analysis

Personal observations were used to identify physical design qualities of the enclave through the camera lens. Visual sociology is the study of society by producing and interpreting images of society and behavior (Banks, 1995). Photography has been used in sociology and anthropology to study humankind, culture and how political, social and economic aspects can influence it. A Photographic analysis is a form of visual sociology/methodology (Banks, 1995) and was a participatory tool used in engaging with communities and respondents as well as a tool used in the interviews by collecting both visual and verbal data from the interviewee. It is an expressive tool and will make use of iconicity to interpret and explain the world by recording and representing it in a graphic format (Knoblauch, Baer, Laurier,Petschke and Schnettler; 2008). The image/photograph

will only ever remain a representation of reality intended to depict the subjective idea of this research report (Banks, 1995). As the researcher I have chosen what to photograph and how to photograph it therefore even the capturing of reality through photography becomes influenced by subjectivity and thus the photographs of this report do not represent the whole and all-truthful reality that existed in that specific space and time (Banks, 1995). Photographs are influenced by culture and how and what wants to be presented and interpreted in an image/reality (Christmann, 2008). Photography was used as a form of phenomenology in this report as it represented a photographic reality depicting certain visual characteristics of a phenomenon/object/social behavior/social process. Photography supports the research and as Marcus Banks (1995) states; it legitimises social facts. The photographs used provided a direct record of events as well as captured the immediacy of the moment. They allowed for focus on very specific elements – usually those closer to the centre of the photograph by 'framing' them and drawing attention away from other possible elements in that environment that were decided are not relevant to this report. The images allowed the viewers/readers to engage with the subject of the image (Grady, 2008). This photographic analysis drew together many different images of the case study/site to emphasise certain characteristics of it or to recreate a sense of being mobile within that site. Sarah Pink (2008) notes the importance of walking around a space; being mobile is a fundamental part of fieldwork as it allows for a better understanding of places and spaces and how people use and move around a space to define their own respective meanings for it. Therefore a photographic analysis provides the researcher as well as the reader with the opportunity to be mobile in the case study space and engage with the space on the ground and street level rather than looking at it from an aerial top-down view (Pink, 2008). Grouping photos into categories allowed for the drawing of comparisons as well as the generalisation of phenomena captured in the images. It helped to distinguish the intentions of the images and allowed for the classification of strengths, weaknesses,

opportunities and threats of particular situations and cultures in this case study. Thus was useful to this report in that it allowed for the graphic representation of the conflict and problem areas that need to be addressed or reassessed. The content of the images was explained either in the accompanying written paragraphs or in the captions so as to avoid misinterpretation by the reader (Kolb, 2008) as well as to analyse and distinguish their unique purposes and the questions that they may answer or ask (Grady, 2008). The photographic analysis was used to compare different design qualities from different sites and their respective activities so as to design a set of design and policy criteria required to permeate social exclusive enclaves.

Design Criteria: A set of exclusive design qualities present in the enclave was analysed. Observation and photographs of factors such as pavements (width, maintenance, trees, shade, edges), levels (distances of entrances from the ground level, separation of shop fronts from pedestrian walkways), identity (street art, branding, trees, types of goods and events, genius loci) and housing typologies (apartments, rent ranges, building design) amongst others was investigated for the purpose of designing a new set of inclusive design criteria.

Design Criteria

Pavements



Levels



Identity



Housing typologies



Policy Criteria was observed to determine if, and to what extent, the case study incorporated the following principles in order to design new policy that is responsive. (IDP 2012/16 and Regeneration Charter 2007)

- Inclusivity - equality, accessibility, social integration
- Development planning, - economic development, environment and infrastructure services, Compact city
- Sustainability and resilience, efficiency
- Sustainable human settlements - housing, public safety, spatial integration, transportation, social development, community development, Physical Urban design
- Good governance
- Private-public partnerships - investment
- Engaged active citizenry and the representation of the interests and cultures of surrounding communities.

3.2.3 Surveys

A research tool, that forms part of the case research study method, is a survey that was extensively put to use in its various forms. Surveys include personal face-to-face interviews, structured/unstructured and semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys (Simon, 2006). Surveys are associated with positivism (Williams, 2001), the 'Data of experience' and what is observable is measurable (An unnamed Sage Publication) and can measure quantitative facts or qualitative attitudes and personal experiences/preferences that are

classified as unobservable data (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Surveys allowed the data to be collected from vastly differing individuals and groups of people that had contrasting interests and beliefs regarding Maboneng. Surveys also reached other population groups such as inner city residents or informal traders that are illiterate or sensitive to being observed. Caution was taken so as not to include personal bias in the data collected and in influencing potential respondents' answers. Surveys were divided into interviews and questionnaires.

Interviews

Interviews are more personal than questionnaire surveys and they offer more control over the flow of questions, issues of clarification and elaboration that might not be possible in a written questionnaire survey (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Interviews also offer the opportunity to trigger more questions and interesting facts that might not have been initially considered. They are unfortunately time consuming, resource-intensive, cannot guarantee anonymity and can be quite intimidating. A certain protocol has to be followed when conducting the interviews especially in the case of structured interviews that must have specific questions (Bhattacherjee, 2012). The interviews undertaken in this research report were structured as well as semi structured. Structured interviews included people in the **design/planning/architecture** profession as well as **city officials** and related to issues of design and policy principles as well as community needs and community perceptions. Semi-structured interviews included **informal traders** and **non-frequenters of Maboneng.** So as to ease the language barrier and allow for the respondents to talk freely, an interpreter was essential. Street traders and non-frequenters shed light on whether people of lower income backgrounds feel uncomfortable in these enclaves and if so, how that could be countered. Cover letters and the researcher's personal details were brought along to interviews to allow for the interviewee to follow up or validate authenticity (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Interviews were conducted with various people (for full indication of proposed questions see questions and questionnaires attached) and include Tyrell Meyers

(Ward councillor for the surrounding communities), Alice Caberet (GRIND studios on regeneration), Thireshen Govender (Urban Works on urban design), informal traders as well as non-frequenters of Maboneng in the inner city.

Survey Questionnaires

Questionnaires were introduced by Sir Frances Galton (Bhattacherjee, 2012) and are flexible data collection tools that were useful in capturing people's attitudes, experiences and preferences for in-depth research as well as simple demographics such as annual income for quantitative data (Simon, 2006). Questionnaires were conducted as they can explain people's attitudes and behavior yet allow them to remain confidential and act as a 'statistic' in the case research study (Simon, 2006). Semi-structured questionnaires were utilised, consisting of structured nominal response questions relevant to demographics (Bhattacherjee, 2012) where respondents ticked the relevant boxes and provide short written responses to open questions so as to uncover personal experiences and attitudes regarding Maboneng. The questionnaires were each one page long and took up to a maximum of ten minutes to complete so as to be respectful toward, and appreciative of, people's time and to allow for rich responses (Simon, 2006). Logical factual and structured questions were staged at the beginning of the questionnaire (Simon, 2006) with more complex open sensitive/attitudinal questions towards the end so as to ease respondents into the questionnaire (Bhattacherjee, 2012).

A random sampling of people within the Maboneng Precinct participated to ensure that everyone in the sample group stands an equal chance of being chosen to participate (Williams, 2001) – although participation depended mostly on the willingness of the respondent that was chosen. Questionnaire surveys were conducted at different times of the day on different days i.e. weekdays and weekends so as to allow for a wide range of people (who work/live/play in the area) to take part.

To ensure validity and reliability of the questionnaire – it should be able to be replicated yet yield the same results and responses and it should measure what it is intended to (Williams, 2001). A

questionnaire was most suitable to survey people who visit Maboneng as it was short, simple, could ensure anonymity, could be completed in the respondents' own time and was less influenced by the researcher's personal biases (Williams, 2001). The purpose of the questionnaire and data collection was explained to the respondents. They were thanked for their participation and were asked to sign a confidentiality declaration. The questions were not ambiguous, presumptuous, general, too specific, biased or emotionally or negatively worded so as to influence the respondent. Pilot testing of the questionnaire surveys was conducted to allow for unanticipated problems to be dealt with before the final questionnaire was released (Bhattacherjee, 2012). This was an important step as it allowed the questionnaire to be modified to be better understood and more clear for the respondent.

Maboneng Frequenters

These interviews revealed why people are drawn to Maboneng, what their various perceptions of the inclusivity of Maboneng are and their attitudes toward making Maboneng more inclusive and permeable to surrounding communities. It also revealed the population group that frequents and makes use of the services and opportunities in Maboneng and whether those services and opportunities are exclusive.

A case research study – including a photographic analysis and surveys - allowed for holistic qualitative data collection and was a sufficient method for the triangulation process as the tools were very different and measured and depicted a wide range of perspectives, including my own. There was a large focus on restraining personal subjectivity towards the surveys.

The municipality, provincial and national government should be responsible for the alignment of development with policies and ensuring development is sustainable in terms of housing, infrastructure and service provision. But there is a lack of consensus between tiers with overlapping and misunderstanding of obligations.

Chapter 4

Case Study Research

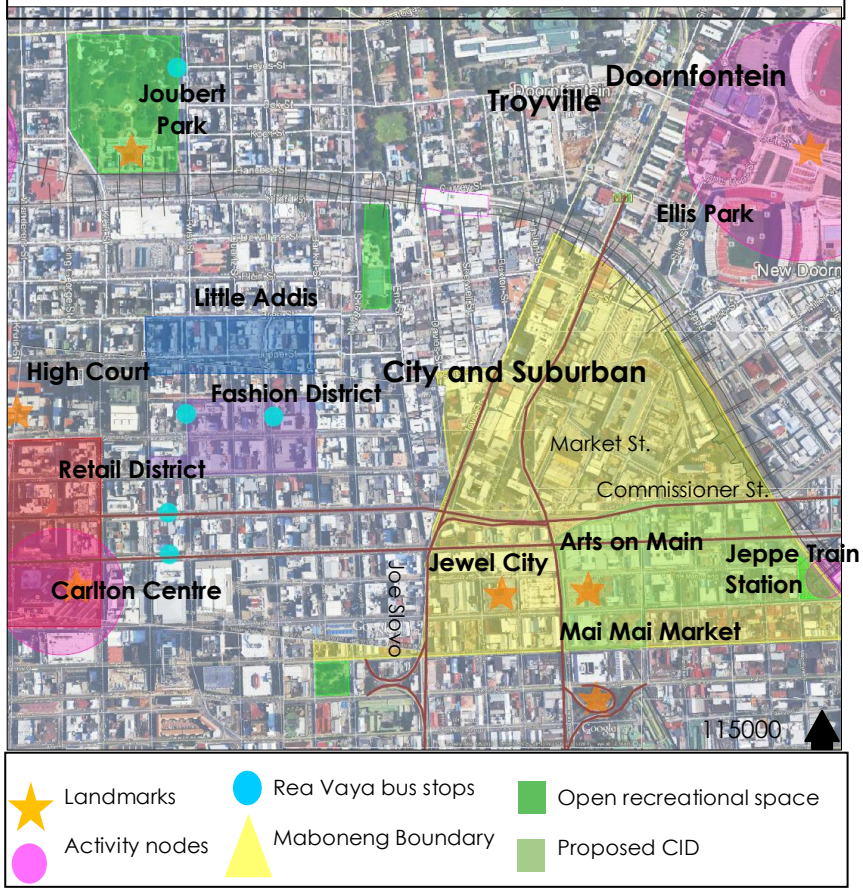
The previous three chapters have grappled with the research question in terms of it analysis, reviewing and deciding what research methods need to be followed. A case research study is the research method that was followed with two approaches namely a photographic analysis and surveys, consisting of interviews and questionnaires. Chapter four introduces the case study that paved the way forward for the next chapters - analysing and applying the research - and was the foundation for determining recommendations as to what design principles and policies will permeate social exclusive enclaves. The case study research was applied to the Maboneng Precinct. The report takes a critical stance of this development however; it does recognise the advantages that Maboneng (and exclusionary social enclaves in general) offers such as its ability to generate income and investment within the inner city through regeneration of dilapidated buildings/neighbourhoods, bring people back into the inner city, the

development of new spaces of culture, the upgrading of public space, the revival of the 'street' and other sustainable qualities (Maboneng 2.0, 2013). In spite of this, it still remains highly exclusive as it caters only for the luxuries of higher income groups - as will be discussed in this chapter.

4.1 Context

Maboneng Precinct, originating from a Sotho word meaning Place of Light, was established in 2009 as part of an urban regeneration trend that incorporates creative-classes and private property developers transforming urban industrial areas (Property Growth Report, 2013). The Maboneng Precinct falls within the industrial City and Suburban Area on the outskirts of the inner city. The area is incorporated into an URBAN Development Zone that will provide tax incentives of 30% over 5 years till 2020 (Property Growth Report, 2013). Central Improvement Districts will become the Maboneng urban management frameworks so as to better manage the public space in Maboneng.

Map 4.1. City and Suburban Contextual Map



City and Suburban is located between Troyville, the Ethiopian quarter 'Little Addis' and the Fashion District and forms part of a wider radius of other cultural projects such as museums, Newtown, Constitutional Hill and various art galleries (Reddy, 2011). The Carlton

Centre is a major activity node and the area draws thousands of people for retail and commercial purposes. It also forms part of the Small Street Market that extends almost all the way to Park Station which offers public transport to many of South Africa's cities. The major infrastructure and highways that surround the area allow for long-term opportunities to arise and provides the neighbourhood with easy access. The current buildings are part of a more holistic vision for expansion (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). Maboneng is located close to Jeppe Train station which allows for the neighbourhood to become a thoroughfare, is connected to Park Station via a private shuttle (MABO'go) and is within walking distance to the Rea Vaya bus routes: making the neighbourhood accessible from all parts of Johannesburg.

Further south of the neighbourhood, as one draws closer to Rosettenville, are mine dumps that are currently used by some religious groups, such as the Zionist religious group, for praying grounds as well as used by illegal miners at night time. The Maboneng neighbourhood had once been a gathering point for a social programme involving street children and teaching them to skateboard (Reddy, 2011). The 'I was shot in joburg' initiative also involved street children and teaching them new skills.



Photo 4.1. Social programmes offered to street children to partake in creative classes such as guitar lessons on the side of the road on Fox Street.



Photo 4.2. Drawing lessons in the Arts on Main Bookshop.

4.2 The Vision

"It has been very organic growth. I think there was no real strategic vision when it started. It was all more about Arts on Main and Arts on Main worked amazingly so the vision of the neighbourhood started. But there has always been the vision of buying empty vacant industrial spaces and reconverting them into mixed use buildings, with the idea of mixed income inside" (Alice Cabaret, Urban Strategist and Director at GRIND interview).

Propertuity is the main developing institution of Maboneng and was founded by Jonathan Liebmann, a 30 year old developer, who crafted the vision of the Maboneng Precinct (Maboneng website). Liebmann was inspired, much like previously mentioned regeneration policies, by Soho in London and Greenwich Village in New York and wanted, after a gap year abroad, to bring the urbanity that he had come to love there, back home and implement it into a whole neighbourhood (Reddy, 2011). "This is not a lone street that's being doggedly occupied by some brave coffee vendors and a couple of urbanites wistfully trying to make believe they're in London/New York/Paris. This is a full-fledged neighbourhood" (Pitman, 2013:20).

Propertuity is focused on sustainable mixed use developments that allow Johannesburg urbanites to re-engage with the inner city (Maboneng website). The vision of Maboneng was to develop a walkable, sustainable urban environment that regenerates a degenerated area through the reconversion of industrial buildings into 'hybrid architecture' that will allow for chance and collective encounters and an energetic neighbourhood providing a high quality lifestyle to its residents (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). Propertuity goes the extra length to conserve the original industrial warehouses and buildings of the area when it repurposes the buildings for inner city regeneration. Liebmann and his architect; Enrico Daffoncio from Daffoncio and Associates, converted the DF Corlett warehouses as the initial phase of the Maboneng Precinct development in 2008 and incorporated values of green, contemporary and sustainable design (Maboneng website). "If you asked what differentiated us from other property developers that would be it. We know how to design spaces." (Liebmann interview, Unrealistic Optimist, 2013:21).



Photo 4.3. Preservation of historic buildings now converted to Arts on Main.



Photo 4.4. Typical Specialty corner coffee shop much the same as in Europe/New York.

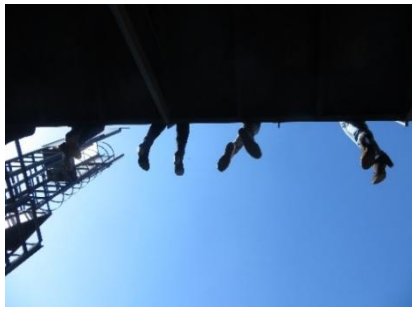


Photo 4.5. Industrial remnants such as old metal bridges and ladders appear everywhere.



Photo 4.6. History peeking through. Old buildings being revitalised.

Mixed land uses such as the retail and restaurants on the ground floors of each property have re-engaged the buildings with the street to develop more livable streets and integrate buildings with 'public space' (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). The warehouses consist of triple volume ceilings, perfect for artistic expression and exhibitions and the buildings are in close proximity to each other which is conducive to a walkable environment (Reddy, 2011). The street is open with most buildings opening up onto it to bridge the divide between public and private space (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). The Precinct encompasses retail, residential, restaurants, public facilities and commercial space (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). "The idea is to have a complete and sustainable community that offers everything. People want an integrated space where they can go downstairs, watch a movie, eat in a restaurant, walk everywhere and ride a bicycle" (Liebmann interview, Unrealistic Optimist 2013:21) – however Pitman points out that "This is no small irony that this is the stated wish-list of almost every person who buys into one of Johannesburg's gated communities" and that Maboneng has become trendy and "The place to see and be seen" (Pitman, 2013:21).



Photo 4.7 An enclosed street within the Precinct. Kruger Street.

4.3 Investment

Maboneng will eventually establish its own CID. However this only allows for the upgrading of public space within Maboneng and not

necessarily that of the surrounding communities that fall outside of the CID - "The management of the public space around our buildings" (Jonathan Liebmann: Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013:1). However; Liebmann notes that his projects address the government's mandatory social and environmental requirements which are in line with the Growth and Development Strategy that focuses on promoting and using open and cultural space to drive economic growth (Reddy, 2011).

Nedbank is a major investor in the funding for the Maboneng Precinct development (Corrigall, 2013). The Johannesburg Development Agency invested in the area by maintaining the public environment by planting trees, fixing pavements, adding street lights, landscaping, fixing storm water drainage problems, cleaning the freeway columns that have now become a trademark of Maboneng displaying its name as one enters the precinct, upgrading Jewel City and committing R24 million to it and installing CCTV to provide security.

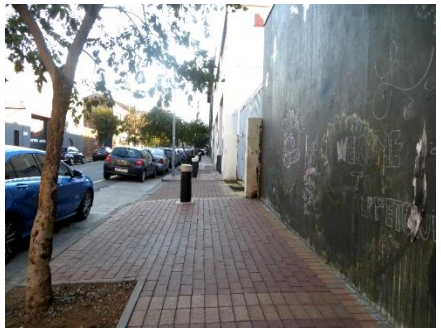


Photo 4.8 Wide pavements for vegetation, lights and pedestrians. Pavements are kept clean and pedestrian friendly. Trees contribute towards liveability.



Photo 4.9 Maintenance of lights allow people to feel safer in the neighbourhood at night-time.

Before Maboneng, City and Suburban was a mixed retail and industrial area and much like the rest of the inner city, had poor socio-economic circumstances, poor maintenance and poor safety and quality of public space. The area was poverty stricken as unemployment was high and the general fearful perception of the inner city was applied (Reddy, 2011). "Respectable people didn't want to drive through there; the suggestion that they live there would have been at once horrifying and laughable" (Pitman, 2013:20).



Photo 4.10 Piece-job workers on the peripheries of the Maboneng Precinct where pavements are unmaintained and there is no sufficient place and urban furniture for comfort or to rest.



Photo 4.11 Signs of lower income residents living on the peripheries of the precinct where there is a need for proper infrastructure, housing and public space.

The neighbourhood consisted of many historical buildings and smaller clothing shops and garages. Maboneng was fairly vacant pre-development and therefore resulted in minimal displacement of people (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012) however future extension/expansion (as seen in map 4.2) will increase surrounding property prices leading to more intense gentrification of lower income communities. The real estate favours private developers as they bring in new investors – particularly people from the north – at the expense of the older original residents who have been displaced due to the area becoming gentrified with increased property prices (Reddy, 2011). "With the guarantee that many more buildings in the neighbourhood will continue to be uplifted, inevitably resulting in properties increasing in value, the Maboneng precinct is a prime investment opportunity for those interested in the regeneration of Johannesburg" (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013).

4.4 Future proposals

Other main designers and property management companies involved in the development of the Maboneng Precinct were Malica Design for interior design of retail and residential space and Mafadi Property Management respectively (Maboneng website). Johannesburg had experienced some of the best property growth rates since/during the recession compared to other countries such as Germany, London and the United States (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). Main Street Life represents the mixed use vision of Maboneng best; "*I do believe you need this diversity. It's*

not only focusing on affordable housing, you also need to offer options for middle income and higher income people so you create an environment where people meet from different backgrounds. And we proved it in Main Street Life; I mean it is totally possible to have this type of environment." (Cabaret Interview). It consists of residential units (single, double or penthouse), cinemas and theatres, event spaces, a boxing gym and restaurants (Maboneng website). Main street life was the first residential building that achieved a nominal growth rate of 45% in 36 months (between 2010 and 2013) while the national price growth was between 0 and 9%. It claims to have a positive impact on property prices in the area (other more critical professionals might term this gentrification) with a trend of mixed uses and upgraded environments of the formerly degenerated area. Residential apartments ranging in small, medium and large apartments are high in demand with medium apartments being the most sought after (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). Propertuity owns 34 buildings in the area but only 5 have been developed to date. New buildings and developments in 2013 include Museum of African Design, Curiocity, Artisan Lofts, the Urban Fox, Maverick Corner and Remed's View. More parking, retail,

Map 4.2 Maboneng Development and Future Expansion



hotels, office space and residential units will be developed. Maboneng Urban Design Framework (UDF) and second phase of development: *Maboneng 2.0 shifting Urbanism* will be implemented in the near future. The *Maboneng Public Spaces framework* will integrate the buildings. The next phase of development introduced by Maboneng 2.0 claims to contribute to job growth with job opportunities for cleaners, construction workers, building managers, new businesses and security (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013). A skate park is also in the plans for the future as it is believed that this will allow interaction and encounters between various groups of people: children and adults who are united by one common interest: skateboarding (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).

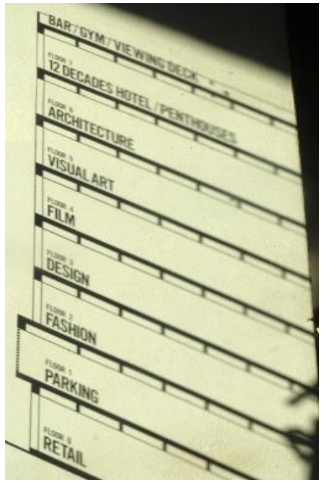


Photo 4.13. Vertically mixed land uses.



Photo 4.12. Main Street Life – one of the first Maboneng residential developments.



Photo 4.14 The Livingroom eco-friendly rooftop restaurant. Entrance fees are the order of the day.



Photo 4.15 Curiocity backpackers for curious travelers and cheaper accommodation within the Precinct. R160 – R300 per night. They offer tours to explore the inner city.

4.5 Cultural Quarter

Culture is a tool to strengthen community development and citizenship by providing a sense of identity and control over the environment. In the opinion of this study, Maboneng has, rather than use culture to revitalise the neighbourhood through engagement and cultural representation of the surrounding communities, glossed up the urban decay for middle and higher income suburban artists and creatives. Jonathan Liebmann himself admits the importance of the creative class in regenerating an area and has implemented cultural regeneration in his own development:"While travelling, and in my time living near 44 Stanley I'd learned that artists and creatives are often the best catalysts for

change. They are the perfect first adopters. It's not in any way unique to Arts on Main. It's been proven in many cities throughout the world. It was important to get them in as they would become the foundation of the community" (Liebmann interview Unrealistic Optimist, 2013:20). Maboneng claims that its projects are inclusive of the neighboring areas yet does not state how so. The Precinct encompasses the principles of new urbanism in coordination with public private partnerships and cultural-led regeneration (Reddy, 2011).



Photo 4.16 The new Maboneng radio station located by the GRIND studios.



Photo 4.17 Creative industries moved in to Maboneng and form part of the creative classes.



Photo 4.18 The neighbourhood, specifically GRIND, host evenings and talks on urban matters; drawing professionals from all over and from all sectors.



Photo 4.19 Cultural industries such as art galleries, bookshops, theatres and cinema are located within the Precinct.

Unfortunately, the cultural-capital profiling of Maboneng is one that serves the creative middle income groups rather than the surrounding lower income artists and creative communities. A cultural quarter, as defined by Reddy, is one that "includes the visual and performing art, culture and heritage contributing to the development of a creative city" (Reddy, 2011:8). They are post-modernist tools for regeneration and act as an economic resource as they inspire innovation, cultural production and creativity in space that attract new services and people (Reddy, 2011 and Evans, 2009).



Photo 4.20. A range of art galleries located across the Precinct.



Photo 4.21 Cultural theatre productions take to the streets as an advertising tactic.



Photo 4.22 Theatre production handouts to pedestrians.

Liebmann wants to engage the surrounding communities to better understand their culture so as to allow for a cultural revival of the neighbourhood and its surrounds (Reddy, 2011). Reddy recognises the positive qualities of Maboneng yet she is very critical of it as she believes that people in the surrounding communities, especially the foreigners, are apathetic to the precinct as it does not represent their interests, their culture or that the Precinct did not engage with them during its development. It does not add cultural value to their lives and is seen as an inhabitant of their space. Jonathan Liebmann however did not have to engage with the surrounding community to the extent that public developers and institutions have to; however to develop a truly inclusive and authentic cultural capital one has to represent all existing cultures and stories of the community. "It is only when venturing outside of these enclaves that one has the opportunity to engage with the urban in a less mediated way", "What happens on the peripheries of these enclaves is what may have the possibility to enable such change" (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012:8). The surrounding neighbourhoods and public spaces such as the Mai Mai market (See figure 4.1) are highly neglected and support the claim that the inner city residents' sense of belonging in Maboneng is non-existent as most of them belong to the lower income group. Some believe Maboneng is destroying racial barriers whilst others think it is an island of wealth, reserved for middle and higher income groups, located amongst the decaying context (Reddy, 2011).



Photo 4.23 Unmaintained and dark streets with narrow pavements on the peripheries of the Precinct.



Photo 4.24 Poor pedestrian environments just outside of the Precinct off Commissioner Road.

These enclave developments, despite their criticism, act as stepping stones particularly for middle and higher income groups to re-engage with the inner city and to better understand it (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). The point is not to equalize the socio-economic circumstances of the users of the space, but to allow all to occupy and utilise the same space so as to encourage cultural tolerance and social cohesion. (Liebmann interview, Unrealistic Optimist). The slow moving nature of Fox Street somehow achieves this by allowing the Precinct to become a thoroughfare which allows for different types of street users for instance such as trolley-pusher recyclers, commuters to and from Jeppe Station, street children and people involved in skateboarding as well as tourists and residents that wander or stroll through the neighbourhood (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).

4.6 Maboneng Compared

Maboneng has similar design and managerial qualities to other quite significant urban developments such as Neighbourgoods in Braamfontein and 44 Stanley in Milpark. Neighbourgoods is a multi storey gourmet food market started in Braamfontein by Adam Levy (Maylie, D, 2012). Levy claims that his Braamfontein development differs from that of Liebmann's as he wants to emphasise a street culture that can breach Braamfontein rather than another 'retail enclave' – referring to Maboneng (Maylie, 2012). Liebmann calls Neighbourgoods a replication of Cape Town whereas his Maboneng development is authentically Joburg and more African as it includes Ethiopian culture – one can purchase Ethiopian coffee in the Precinct - as well as South African culture represented by a 'braai' house in the neighbourhood (Maylie, 2012).



Photo 4.25 Ethiopian coffee on sale at Maverick's corner.

The Maboneng Precinct and Arts on Main were inspired by Brian Green's development; 44 Stanley. Both these developments are perceived as diverse yet their target market and consumers are homogeneous in terms of socio-economic circumstance. The postindustrial architecture of the spaces shape a perception of diversity (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012). Arts on Main particularly has borrowed certain elements of design from 44 Stanley for instance in its courtyard design with olive trees and its industrial preservation being a unique design quality separating it from most other new developments. Arts on Main, like 44 Stanley, is an enclosed area connected by courtyards and smaller retail spaces. It has no engagement with the street. Market on Main is not visible from the street and therefore produces the assumption of a private space reserved for an exclusive and privileged few. Access is very strict in terms of security guards posted at the only three entrances/exits to the two respective spaces. Maboneng itself is not fortified like the rest of the City and Suburban context; however security presence is high and visible. "We have implemented a number of unobtrusive security measures such as private security guards, and we've worked hard to foster community interaction. It's important in any neighbourhood for people to know each other. But this is also a micro-economy – we offer both affordable and high-end products, and in between our properties are people who are poor. Hopefully in time, the upliftment of the area will bring greater opportunities to these people and, with our ethos of fostering and encouraging entrepreneurship, they will stand to benefit. This is a long-term solution to the issue of crime." (Liebmann interview in Unrealistic Optimist, 2013:21) These spaces (arts on main and in particular 44 Stanley) offer lower rents to that of shopping centres, which provide opportunities for smaller business like boutiques and other creative industries (Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).

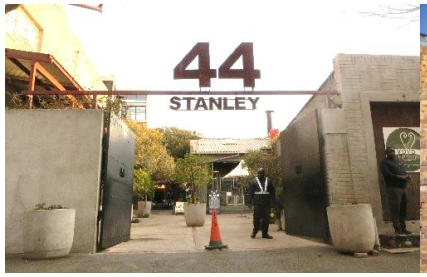


Photo 4.26 Guarded entrances at 44 Stanley. Low accessibility.



Photo 4.27 Guarded entrances at Market on Main. Low accessibility.



Photo 4.28 Tight security around the Braamfontein neighbourhood as part of CID implementation.



Photo 4.29 Precincts that do not operate on a 24 hour 7 days a week basis.



Photo 4.30. Industrial hybrid architecture with high vaulted ceilings at 44 Stanley.



Photo 4.31 Quirky elements that brand the neighbourhood in Braamfontein.



Photo 4.32 Clean, wide and well maintained pavements with vegetation and colour in Braamfontein.



Photo 4.33 Exclusive Courtyard markets in Braamfontein.



Photo 4.34 Exclusive lemon and olive tree courtyards at 44 Stanley.

4.7 Maboneng Activities/initiatives

The newly offered *Maboneng Membership* is exclusive to residents and encourages them to use the Maboneng facilities, stores, "to live more consciously and engage in Maboneng's urban lifestyle" (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013:14) and includes discounts and event entrance fees as well as access to exclusive events in the neighbourhood. *Made In Maboneng* is another such

initiative to encourage investment in goods and services supplied and produced by local Maboneng retailers so as to develop a strong local economy that will offer growth opportunities to the local entrepreneurs of Maboneng (Maboneng Property Growth Report, 2013*). I was Shot in Joburg* is a community initiative that started in 2009 and that works with street children from a Hillbrow shelter - Twilight Children – and allows them to develop photographic skills and see beauty and interest in their urban environment through the lens of a camera. It is a non-profit organisation instigated by Bernard Viljoen – an architect and a photographer himself. Their work is exhibited at Arts on Main and has given the children the voice and confidence to showcase their work. It aims to tackle homelessness through skills development and a sense of empowerment (www.iwasshot.com)



Photo 4.35 I Was Shot in Joburg located on the top floor in Arts on Main.

Market on Main is a market at Arts on Main that takes place every Sunday and on the first Thursday evening of every month. It consists of approximately 100 traders that offer food or design goods, ranging from furniture, to Belgian waffles to wooden sunglasses. "Market On Main is made for the people of Joburg by the people of Joburg. Our goal is to encourage inner city lifestyle, learn lots about sustainable living, and provide a relaxed and creative space for our friends to spend their leisure time." (Market on Main website)



Photo 4.36 Night market at Arts on Main every first Thursday of the month.

Public art, produced by both local and international artists, had played a fundamental role in sculpting a unique identity for the area. Public art walks such as MainStreetWalks are on offer and

provide opportunities to explore the inner city on foot and via public transport (Main Street Walks). The walks emphasise the relationship between art and justice. One unique public art venture is 'Before I die' produced my Candy Chang (an international artist) and implemented in Maboneng by Steven Slotow that includes public participation by encouraging the public to write down their dreams and aspirations on this particular wall and complete the sentence "Before I Die".



Photo 4.37. Public art on the Precinct peripheries.



Photo 4.38. Before I Die – public participation art in Fox Street.

Mabo'go, launched in 2012, is an 'off the grid' transportation plan uniquely for people commuting to and from the inner city (Maboneng website) – however, this seems to be unnecessary as there are effective main public transport systems already in place surrounding the Maboneng Precinct. This demonstrates a further example of distancing the Precinct from the rest of the inner city and making it a self-sustaining community.

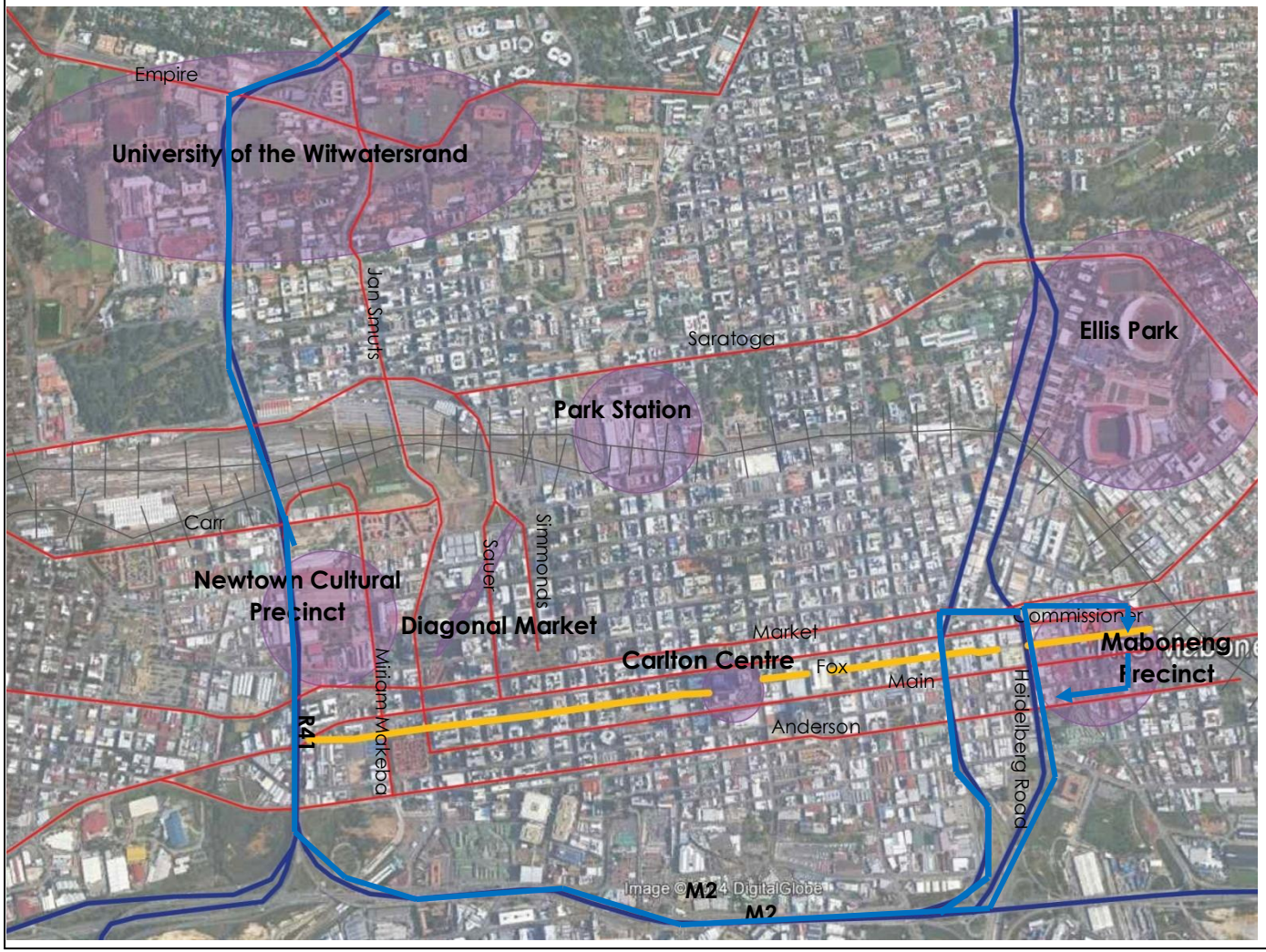
Maboneng does show evidence of social exclusion, particularly socio-economic exclusion. It has exclusive benefits such as Mabo'go, Maboneng Membership, heavy surveillance and security, exclusive boutiques and stores and similar design and managerial qualities to that of other socially exclusive enclaves. The Precinct does however, demonstrate an interest, somewhat, in the surrounding communities through the instillation of certain empowerment programmes and public art. The precinct also strives to re-engage Joburgers with their inner city and aims at designing active streets.

Chapter 5

Case Study: Design and Policy Analysis

Chapter four has introduced the case study and various reasons as to why Maboneng is considered to be a socially exclusive enclave. It has provided a brief history on the development of Maboneng and its circumstances as well as the opportunities it offers. This chapter substantiates the reasons for its exclusivity through the use of a photographic analysis and interviews specifically in relation to the physical design and policy-related aspects of the precinct. This chapter analyses Maboneng's physical design qualities according to those discussed in the literature review, namely: vitality, diversity, liveability, accessibility, permeability and sense of place. It also analyses and takes a critical view of issues regarding policy and does so according to aspects such as governance, social justice, cultural representation, economic and community development and public-private partnerships. Recommendations for physical solutions are provided along with recommendations for policy in Chapter Six.

Map 5.1 Inner City Accessibility: Maboneng Precinct and Fox Street in relation to main roads and anchor nodes



5.1 Accessibility

Maboneng can attribute part of its success to its extraordinary locality as it is located within the inner city and close to infrastructure and public transport nodes as well as in close proximity to educational institutions such the University of the Witwatersrand and University of Johannesburg, other cultural hubs and major landmarks; for instance the Carlton Centre and Ellis Park. Map 5.1 depicts the relationship of Maboneng and particularly Fox Street to the major anchor nodes and roads in the city centre. The anchor nodes are significant cultural nodes that attract people from across the city (Newtown Cultural Precinct and Park Station) and even across the country (Ellis Park and Wits University). The Precinct can therefore feed off of the thresholds sustaining these anchor nodes. Its close proximity to these allows it to attract students, tourists and the creative class. Its proximity to main roads allows other visitors such as Critical Mass cyclists (a once a month cycling initiative) as well as people commuting from the East-rand to the west over the train tracks to pass through via Albertina Sisulu or Commissioner streets. The major roads provide access to public transport systems such as the Bus Rapid Transit and for opportunities to arise in the long term. Fox Street is not a continuous road and is frequently divided by buildings such as the Carlton Centre. Fox Street consists of both fully pedestrianised and vehicular streets. It is also the main road in the Maboneng Precinct with most of the new developments facing onto it to provide a sense of enclosure.

The Precinct is located adjacent to the M2 highway and Joe Slovo Road providing very easy access and exit points to and from the area, especially for private vehicles. This, however, allows visitors to enter and exit the Precinct in a very short space and time without having to 'engage' with the Inner City at all, which contributes greatly to the enclave fortress-like feel of the Precinct. Maboneng is located close to Jeppe Train Station which serves the development well as the station provides opportunity for pedestrian activity through the area. It can also serve as an instrument to integrate various people – middle/higher income groups who travel in their

private vehicles and lower income groups or inner city residents who use the public transport (Personal observations).

Map 5.2: Maboneng Permeability: Figure Ground



5.2 Permeability

Map 5.2 Depicts the figure ground for the Maboneng Precinct and the contrast between open space and built form. The area demonstrates a lack of open space, especially as it is an industrial area with most of the land being occupied by big warehouses and car parks. There is clearly a need for open public space – preferably green recreational space as parks in the area are also scarce with the closest public spaces to the neighbourhood being located near the Jeppe Train Station or Beyers Naude Square and the Library Gardens. The various social programmes offered in Maboneng particularly target street children. This indicates that there are children in the area who are in need of safe recreational space for skills development and entertainment to keep them off the streets.

The area is a previously industrial area as can be seen by the large buildings and large block sizes in Map 5.2. Large block sizes, as discussed in the literature review, inhibit permeability as it decreases the number of choices of alternative routes through the area. Commissioner Street and Main Street are main roads with heavy

vehicular traffic and, therefore, along with Joe Slovo Drive, Berea St and the Railway line, create hard edges around Fox Street (Govender Interview) that contribute towards its sense of enclosure and lack of permeability of the Maboneng Precinct centre (Map 5.3). Fox Street thus becomes a quiet 'haven' to escape the outside rush – making it a preferable route for recyclers and pedestrian thoroughfare. It also creates a sense of escape from the inner city which adds to its desirability for outsiders.



Photo 5.1 Main Street with heavy traffic and wide lanes.



Photo 5.2 Kruger Street – peaceful and enclosed.



Photo 5.3 Berea Street and Joe Slovo Road acting as hard, impermeable edges.

Map 5.3 Maboneng's Impermeability: As enclosed by hard edges



5.3 Density

Figure 5.1 Density within Maboneng



Figure 5.1 Depicts the density of a section of the Maboneng area. As shown, the density is low with building heights rarely reaching 5 storeys. This is evidence of the area's industrial background. The large building spaces allow for creative renovation of the buildings and their conversion into exhibition spaces such as galleries, studios and collaboration rooms. The low density operates as a weakness or potential threat and to counter that, the area needs to increase in density in order to support public transport or retail initiatives in the area. Low density within such a central area as the Central Business District also compromises sustainable development and a walkable environment. However, Propertuity has developed a 2020 vision that sees the expansion and development of more residential developments across the area that will increase density to some extent. Density also provides safety as the more people concentrated in a space, the more 'eyes on street' and with the unfortunate crime reputation of the inner city, the more eyes on street, the better.

Map 5.4 Relationship between Maboneng Land Uses and Edge Conditions



5.4 Land uses and Active Edge Conditions

Map 5.4 illustrates the neighbourhood's mixed land uses – as mentioned in Chapter 4. The preservation of the industrial buildings has allowed for different building typologies in the area and - as discussed in the literature review - different building typologies in terms of age/architecture/uses/meaning and mixed land uses contribute to diversity and vitality and, ultimately, inclusion. Active edges are present where these public-private thresholds are breached which thereby enhances Jane Jacob's 'eyes on street' concept for safety in the neighbourhood. Although there are some active edges, many of them are not along Fox Street but rather Main and Commissioner as they draw closer to the informal trading at Jeppe Station. It should, however, be taken into account that the Precinct was an industrial area that consisted of many hard impermeable edges that had buildings turn their back on the street and those that still seem hard and impermeable tend not to want to partake in the development of Maboneng (Govender Interview). The hard edges imply a lack of engagement with the street and with passersby, which could add to a sense of insecurity especially at night time when there are no 'eyes on street.' Very active spaces, such as Arts on Main, have turned their backs completely on the street even though it is a new development. There is a need for greater engagement with the street – even in the form of permeable edges such as balconies or cafes or the breaking down of walls to uncover hidden active courtyards. Many of the industrial spaces are surrounded by high walls, which make them inactive edges that sometimes span an entire block. The neighbourhood's mixed land uses encourages walking as well as living, working and playing in the same area or within a close proximity and this is essential as it reduces costs for the residents and allows for a sense of community (Reddy, 2011)



Photo 5.4 Eat Your Heart Out café sprawling out onto the pavement to blur the edges of private and public space.



Photo 5.5 'People - watching' at Maverick's Corner where ship container cafes/smoothie bars extend their customers onto the pavement.



Photo 5.6 The local 'Uncle Merv's' hangout on the corner of Kruger and Fox Streets.



Photo 5.7 Different levels provide interest and diversity and allow for 'otherness interpretation' to occur such as converting space into a seating area.



Photo 5.8 Arts on Main literally turns its back on the street with only three entrances that are guarded and consist of big metal sliding doors – as if guarding a secret.

Mixed land uses also contribute towards vitality and diversity as well as liveability. However, the benefits of mixed land uses can be compromised by the homogeneity of the uses in terms of who they serve. For instance, if they cater for middle to higher income groups only in terms of the goods and services on sale and accommodation prices. Privatised public space such as Fox Street also reduces vitality as there is great regulation as to who can access the resources and various land uses in the neighbourhood. Thus, Maboneng is a homogenous enclave despite its potential for diversity and vitality.







Photo 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 Different building typologies add vitality.



Photo 5.12 Coffee shops such as 'Origin' encourage active edges.



Photo 5.13 Permeable facades with balconies offer eyes on street.

5.5 Public Art, Personalisation and Sense of Place

Public art is displayed across the Precinct with work by both local and international artists. As discussed in the literature review, public art can be a form of self-expression, personalisation and community development. Maboneng has utilised its public art as a branding mechanism with many token artworks/art pieces such as 'Main Street Life', the Adidas Van and the Maboneng letters hanging above the street, spanning gaps between buildings. Although the artworks demonstrate a strong district/precinct identity, they seem to lack a sense of the surrounding communities and fail to represent their respective cultures/thoughts/feelings towards the area or Johannesburg in general. There are public participation murals such as the 'Before I Die' work, however, this does not seem to extend beyond the regular 'Sunday market day' crowd leaving the piece slightly empty and superficial; actually becoming a form of exclusion and direct representation of the lack of identity and belonging of those in the surrounding communities.

The branding of the precinct has developed a sense of genius loci for the Maboneng frequenters with some spaces becoming quite meaningful such as the local 'Uncle Merv's' on the corner of Fox Street and Kruger Street. The bicycles on the edge of Uncle Merv's have become a well-known image associated with Maboneng and can even be found on the website. Uncle Merv's is quite popular as it is usually the active retail space when others in the neighbourhood are closed and often business or creative class members can be seen sitting on the corner busy sipping their cappuccinos and engaging in people-watching.



Photo 5.14 Public art on the Precinct peripheries.



Photo 5.15 The Addidas van that has become a token of the area adding to genius loci and branding.



Photo 5.16 Google Earth 2010 photograph of a wall with murals next to a child-care centre. Heavily personalised and meaningful.
(Google images, 2010)



Photo 5.17 The same wall in 2014 displaying an image un-relatable to what can be seen underneath the thin coat of paint. Sense of meaning and identity was destroyed for the original artists.

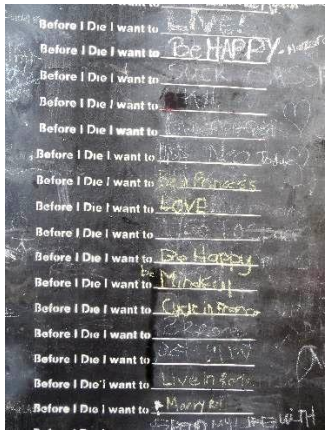


Photo 5.18 'Before I Die' public participation piece.



Photo 5.19 Uncle Merv's contributes to genius loci of the area.

5.6 Movement in and through Maboneng

Movement within and through the Precinct is important to stipulate patterns of where people go, for what reasons and who- from the various groups- goes where. The different movement patterns of Maboneng visitors and the people who pass through the area depict the different meaning, or lack thereof, that the precinct holds for them. It also portrays the street as a public space.

Saturday Movement

Saturdays are usually rather quiet in the Precinct with few visiting the area for the theatre, cinema and various restaurants. The visitors tend to congregate in one specific section of Fox Street due to most of the restaurants being located there and one does not see them overflow into the rest of the area as other stores are open by appointment only or operate exclusively on certain days. The through-flow is slightly busier with people passing from the north of the inner city down to the southern tip which is active due to the large retail component of the area just south of Maboneng.

Map 5.5 Saturday Pedestrian and Vehicular Patterns





Photo 5.20 Quiet streets mostly filled with through-flow pedestrians.



Photo 5.21 Recyclers passing through. E -W



Photo 5.22 Through-flow pedestrians. N- S



Photo 5.23 Through-flow with groceries not bought at the newly-developed stores.



Photo 5.24 Children playing soccer in the streets – depicting insufficient public recreational space.

Thus people mostly pass through from the south and north along vertical roads such as Betty, Albrecht, Kruger and Berea streets (Map 5.5). People still pass through the precinct coming from the Jeppe Train Station so as to enter the inner city from the outskirts of town. Maboneng vehicular movement is mostly from Market onto Commissioner and out at Betty Street. Visitors can enter and exit the inner city quickly. This is the route encouraged on the Precinct Pamphlets.

Map 5.6 Sunday Pedestrian and Vehicular Patterns



Sunday is the busiest day for the precinct as the Maboneng Market on Main is open from 11:00-15:00 (Yet this time has been unofficially extended due to the large crowds and high demand). Most of the visitors tend to walk west on Fox St down to the market, often passing the other restaurants and stores and stopping to look around and wander through the area. Parking is on the road with no official space designated to parking- prompting visitors to park far away from the market due to the large number of cars.

This allows the visitors to breach the boundaries of the precinct as they have to pass through the surrounding areas to access the market. From personal observations, the visitors to the market tend not to engage with the surrounding communities and therefore, much like the through-flow, merely pass through as the perception is that the visitors to the precinct cannot relate to the surrounding communities just as the surrounding communities cannot relate to the precinct and what it has to offer. That being said, it is also a

direct fear of the other due to disengagement and a lack of understanding due to the exclusivity of the precinct. A public response to Maylie's (2012) article "Johannesburg Crafts and Artsy Comeback" demonstrates this fear and lack of understanding quite astutely – "Artsy establishments are no good if upon exiting them one gets a bullet to the head or maimed by some lunatic in the process of a robbery. This brings to mind Longshanks' quote in Braveheart i.e. 'The trouble with Scotland is that it's full of Scots.'" (Jose Calabro, June 2012). The through-flow is also busy as there are religious spaces in the surrounding areas with a big congregation located close to the Mai Mai market. This allows for people to once again pass from north to south through the precinct. One informal trader trading on Fox Street has been observed and he trades there on both Saturdays and Sundays and has special permission to do so.



Photo 5.26 People milling about the bookshop located at Arts on Main.



Photo 5.27 Maboneng is a pedestrian friendly community.



Photo 5.28 Religious groups pass through to their sermons.



Photo 5.29 Sunday is market day and draws huge crowds to the area.



Photo 5.30 Heavy Sunday pedestrian traffic around the Precinct.



Photo 5.31 Informal trader with special permission to trade in the area.



Photo 5.32 Maboneng is all about style and trend. The place to see and be seen.

Map 5.7 Weekend Night Pedestrian Patterns



Weekend evenings are quiet as most people are dining at the restaurants or attending the Bioscope. However, some weekends are busier due to certain art exhibitions, events, talks or live music events that are frequently held.

Week day movement

Week day movement consists mostly of people who work or live in Maboneng and who might have breakfast or lunch or meetings in the area. Visitors tend not to visit the area during the week because most stores are closed and the market is closed. A few 'Curiocity' backpackers might be wandering around but usually explore outside the Precinct. The through-flow is busy with both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Delivery vehicles and service vehicles pass through. The pedestrians include mostly recyclers pushing their trolleys south down the vertical roads of Kruger and Albrecht or down to the east side of Fox Street. Other pedestrians include people travelling to and from Jeppe Train Station to reach their work within the inner city and their movement is usually northerly and back south at night towards the station. As there exists a lack of informal traders within the precinct; most likely due to operation 'Clean Sweep' that took place in 2013, there are informal

Map 5.8 Weekday Pedestrian and Vehicular Patterns





Photo 5.35 And 5.36. Informal traders pushing their produce/ goods around the city.

traders who cart their produce around in trolleys and often pass through the precinct with a few transactions taking place between themselves and 'Mabonengers'. These traders usually sell newspapers, phone merchandise or fruit. Production companies use the quiet nature of the precinct during the week to do television/advertising/film shoots and are often seen carting their equipment around.



Photo 5.34 Most stores are closed on weekdays with through-flow pedestrians being the main visitors.



Photo 5.33 Sense of community between those who can access benefits of the area.

Weeknight movement

Weeknight movement is limited; with few visitors dining in the area. GRIND, an urban regeneration company, sometimes holds talks and presentations on urban matters, such as urbanisation, in their studios which attract city officials and other professionals. Recyclers move around a lot at night time as they return from their labour-intensive day, some retreating to an old dilapidated and stripped building opposite GRIND studios where they sleep for the night. These dark and unserviced ruins house anywhere between 80 and 150 recyclers with their trolleys. Earlier in the evening people working in the inner

city travel back to the train station, heading east down Fox Street and homewards.

Map 5.9 Weeknight Pedestrian Patterns



Map 5.10 Thursday Night Pedestrian Patterns



Every first Thursday of the month plays host to the night market in Maboneng which is a replica of the Sunday market – only taking place at night.



Photo 5.37 Night time through-flow pedestrians; recyclers.



Photo 5.38 Night market pedestrians standing outside a guarded entrance.

This event draws large crowds to the area with most of the visitors again congregating at Arts on Main with a few breaching the Maboneng boundaries across Main Street on the corner of Main Street and Berea. The movement within Maboneng exhibits a stark contrast between Maboneng visitors who visit the area particularly for its restaurants/markets/stores and those who pass through it to reach other destinations that they perhaps find more relatable, such as the Carlton Centre, Park Station and other public transport modes or their respective homes. The movement also demonstrates that although Maboneng is striving to become a mixed use, sustainable and walkable community there is something vital that is lacking as the precinct does not operate on a 24 hours a day, 7 days a week basis as most successful neighbourhoods do. Therefore it makes the precinct superficial as it does not function as a normal neighbourhood that is part of a typical Central Business District should. Saturdays and Mondays are vastly empty, much the same as Sundays are in Braamfontein; with most stores and restaurants closed. This reveals that there is only one major component, seen in Market on Main and Neighbourgoods, that keeps the community thriving with life. This is despite the fact that many people pass through the area to reach other destinations. The through-flow is an outstanding opportunity to allow for the precinct to operate on a 24 hours a day, 7 days a week basis, but people merely pass through as the precinct offers nothing for them. Goods and services in the area are too expensive and, as Reddy points out, they appear apathetic towards the area as they cannot relate to it. Therefore the problem is not a lack of people but rather a lack of difference and vitality and opportunity within the area - factors that are vital for inclusivity.

New developments such as a park and school in the near future (Maboneng 2.0, 2013) will hopefully challenge some of the exclusivity issues. Maboneng is a big step in the right direction – especially in contrast to 44 Stanley or Melrose Arch but there are many exclusive qualities that deem them very similar. Maboneng craves a space that is fully democratic and not for profitable gain

as well as services and infrastructure provisions that breach the boundaries of the Precinct into the surrounding communities.

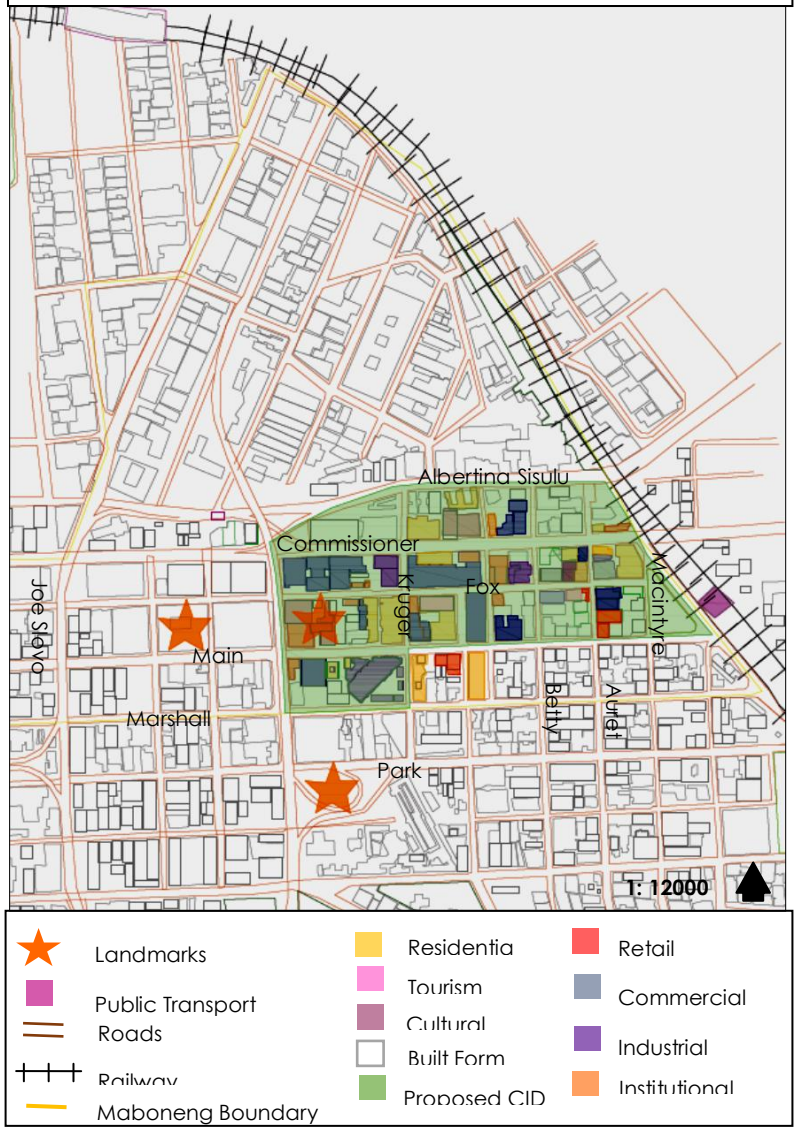
5.7 Policy-related aspects are dealt with in the following section. The managerial aspects of the precinct are analysed according to public private partnerships, cultural representation and inclusion of surrounding communities as well as the policy-related regeneration relationships.

5.8 Central Improvement District

The Maboneng Precinct is proposing a CID. As discussed in the literature review, CIDs are contested is some instances as they can be a form of exclusion and privatisation. The Maboneng CID proposal claims that CID implementation will increase property values (almost triple their value) and reduce security and management costs to a third of their current price. It also states that it will improve safety of the people and businesses (through more security and surveillance) as well as improve the quality of life WITHIN THE CID boundaries. The Precinct is advocating for CID development as it will "Help Jozi become a 1st World City" (Maboneng Precinct, CID, 2014). To some extent this is disturbing as increased property prices, as is well known, usually precedes gentrification. The term '1st World' has also been contested as to who can define what a '1st World City' must look like? Is it one that functions without informality? One without 'otherness?' More importantly, where would this 'otherness' be displaced to? When asked about the proposed Maboneng CID, inner city ward councilor, Tyrell Meyers, stated; "*CIDs are the right way. But I feel that we are missing so much more. The implementation part of it needs to be tweaked quite a bit. Firstly, I think the precinct is too small in this layout [– pointing to map].*" The CID will only cater for people and businesses within its boundaries and as can be seen in Map 6.1, the proposed CID only covers the main Maboneng Precinct developments and will not encompass areas that lie directly outside of the precinct that are in desperate need of maintenance and upgrading. A CID is a form of privatisation as it can regulate behavior in its public spaces, such as the street. Therefore it can regulate people who move through the area as

well as people who work in the area, such as informal traders. Therefore, the proposed CID is yet another example of exclusive development purely for the further development and improvement of the quality of life for middle and higher income groups. The CID has positive qualities such as better management, outsourced services and upgraded spaces but their implementation needs to be re-assessed as, currently, it is causing the exclusion of lower income groups from accessing services, security and quality spaces. "*When there's investment it should be the local area and the local community that gains the most. If they are not gaining, then what is the purpose?"(Meyers Interview)*. Without the CID implementation, the Precinct is already deeply regulated as to who can and who cannot enter as well as who has access to the services and goods it provides. When asked about Maboneng's unique design qualities, Thireshen Govender, an urban designer working in Maboneng states that; "*The most obvious one is open streets. That it is accessible. But bear in mind that that is kind of conditional because it is semi-privatised. Because the security guards here will tell you and*

Map 5.11 Maboneng Proposed CID in relation to concentrated development



can control some of the behaviour around here." Currently it seems private interests are trumping public interests in Maboneng.

5.9 Community needs

Interviews with various proponents have uncovered the existing community needs. Mr. Tyrell Meyers, an inner city ward councilor claims that the suburbs experience more issues surrounding crime and drug abuse whereas the inner city's main issues concern job creation and education. "*Look, they do need job creation. But job creation that is labour intensive. Because the problem in South Africa is that we require, well we do require skills, but we also need to look at creating jobs that are labour intensive, that don't require skills, because you have a gap in the education systems of South Africa where you have the haves and the have-nots. And the have-nots obviously don't have access to proper formal education."* Thus there is a need for institutes that provide skills training as well as creation of jobs that do not require skills. Skills development will allow for people to market themselves and create their own jobs. "*Get them to do forms of work that requires them to use their hands because you find that they have loads of talent, and the income that they can get will also put them into upskilling their education. Get them on basic courses so that they can start upskilling themselves and with a little bit of money they can make something of themselves."* Alice Cabaret (Urban Strategist for Propertuity and Director at GRIND Studios) discovered that; not only is there a need for more jobs, but people who seem to have potential business ideas do not have the tools to empower themselves and express those ideas successfully. GRIND has followed up and implemented a method to help people construct very simple business plans as well as offer financial help and business advice to small start-up businesses in the community such as 'Shap Braai' and 'Curiocity' backpackers - both run by local residents. She also claims that approximately 4000 jobs have been created by Maboneng since 2009 with between 65-70% of those jobs having benefitted the existing community directly. She strongly believes that, to truly help a community develop, there has to be provision of economic

opportunities but, that the existing communities have to, themselves, be onboard and take advantage of the benefits and opportunities offered: "*So if you ask me what I think is the best way to integrate community – it is economic development. Providing jobs and job opportunities and not only jobs in cleaning and security and stuff but also jobs and opportunities for entrepreneurs like Shap Braai, like Curiocity where people could start their businesses.*"

The area was, and still is to some extent, industrial. Meyers explains that many of the existing factories have people living in them in abject poverty and that those people do not necessarily have access to the benefits of the precinct. "*I definitely believe there are people living in these buildings around here that are part of the disadvantaged communities that are not getting access to the benefits of this area" (Meyers Interview)*. There is thus some displacement that does take place despite the industrial grain of the neighbourhood. The newly converted factories and industrial spaces may have displaced those they once housed. The increasing prices of goods, services and property in the area will also cause displacement of residents as well as smaller businesses that cannot compete with bigger businesses and higher rents. However, gentrification is a very complex and contested issue and is not the focus of this research report although I do acknowledge its presence as a consequence of exclusion and socially unjust spaces.

The precinct is located amongst degraded and poverty-stricken neighbourhoods such as Doornfontein and Troyeville and as Maboneng and the CIDs within the inner city are upgrading and improving their immediately occupied space, the surrounding communities are becoming more dilapidated and spiraling even further into decay to the point that vast contrasts are visible from across the road; or from a luxurious rooftop venue: "*You can just go across this road to see the poverty.*" Or one can, "*Just go across that side of Marshall Street. It looks like a warzone" (Meyers Interview)*. This stark contrast between the have and have-nots, I believe, reinforces spatial and economic inequalities and allows for cultural intolerance - as well as this fear of 'the other'- to breed,

predictably so, as there is no integration between people from different backgrounds.

There is insufficient green and recreational space and activity in the area which contributes to a growing street-children issue; school children tend to loiter after school and partake in crime due to boredom and a perceived lack of purpose. Education is also another concern in the area, as are services and amenities such as schools and clinics.





Photo 5.39 and 5.40 Curiocity and Shap Braai respectively. Both businesses started by community members.



Photo 5.41 People living on the outskirts in undignified conditions.



Photo 5.42 Most of the community still remain in harsh conditions on the peripheries of the development.

Photo 5.44 and Photo 5.45 Unmaintained and poor quality spaces just down the road from Maboneng.



Photo 5.43 Recyclers living on the rooftop of an abandoned building opposite GRIND studios.





5.10 Community Participation and Representation

Reddy (2011) discussed the fact that a cultural quarter needs to include community participation and represent other cultural stories in order to be inclusive. Personalisation is also a form of identity and control and the sense of having participated in the construction and development of your own environment. This seems to be lacking in and around Maboneng. Reddy has already pointed out that many of her interviewees were apathetic towards Arts on Main. The interviewees interviewed for this research report claim that,

although Maboneng does not 'bother' them or inhabit their space: *"I got here in 2009 so that place does not bother me. I don't feel like I was moved away or moved out of there,"* it also fails to offer them anything and they seem to have a sense of un-belonging there: *"Yes, I feel uncomfortable because the place itself it is for white people."* Another interviewee on the street stated, *"No I don't go there, but yes I know Maboneng. Ag, but there is nothing for me there and I never come to this side of Joburg."* The majority of people asked on the street around the Maboneng area were not familiar with the development. However, this was strange as many of them work in or visit the area regularly. This speaks volumes for the impressions and attitudes people have towards the development and seeing it as 'something not for them'. *"I think if you take a deeper look at the surrounding communities they still remain outside of the peripheral of the district" (Meyers Interview).* GRIND has arranged a variety of workshops to counteract this, allow for community participation and realise that it is necessary for communities to be involved in projects throughout the development course and not only in the initial stages. Cabaret claims that this process is an ongoing but difficult one as often community members themselves are too nervous or unsure to participate: *"So I think yes, integrating the vision of the people into the 2020 vision and do workshops. But it's constant work; it doesn't mean when you do workshops it's over. A lot of developers are also happy with that but we are not. We like organizing workshops every two months, I would say. And it's not that easy, because even if you go to people, invite them to come, it is only a certain type that will come." (Cabaret Interview)* Meyers states that for an inclusive community one must: *"get them involved; make them feel part of something. Then they are more likely to help improve the area and then that actually starts benefitting everyone. You can't have a situation where you still have the haves and the have-nots." (Meyers Interview)* Maboneng does incorporate some African identity such as the selling of Ethiopian cuisine or drum lessons. It still seems, however, to be missing a true African flavor; where it has been described as similar to spaces found in London, Paris and New York – not so much

Africa. What is missing? And is this what is hindering the participation of inner city communities?

Of course we have to ask ourselves: what communities are we talking about and has Maboneng turned its back on all communities or only a select few whilst opening itself up to others? Govender speaks about an a-geographic community that shares similar backgrounds or patronage etc. and one that, due to the rules and gateways of Maboneng, will cross borders (local or international) in order to participate in the Maboneng community and ultimately the Johannesburg city. *"It gives these people access and rights to pass in here which they would not have done ten years ago." (Govender Interview)* He also claims that Maboneng is community oriented and one just has to visit on a weekend in order to see and experience it. This does not necessarily mean he agrees with it or thinks it is right to open or close itself to others. But the fact that it does is worrying. It cannot claim to engage with the inner city if it does not do so; especially if it closes itself to actual inner city communities that far predate its existence and have learnt to evolve with the city through its hardships. It also then cannot claim to offer a Johannesburg experience if 'real Johannesburg' resides on its outskirts. *"If we take Maboneng, this little area of Maboneng, and the new stuff that has come up in the last 7 years – the galleries and all of that stuff - immediately I'll tell you: the Jeppe men's hostel, the recycling, the taxi stuff, the clothing manufacturers - all of that, just look around you, all of these things… Are any of these things represented in here? No. So economically and culturally I can clearly say to you, no." (Govender Interview)* Despite some inclusive physical design qualities such as permeability and accessibility, it seems as if the Maboneng Precinct could never be a community-owned neighbourhood that allows for community interests to lead development within it - over and above private interests. It seems silly and unfortunate that a single author can arrive and impose his single idea onto a neighbourhood and develop it according to his standards and be able to regulate the public spaces within it. This will inhibit its inclusivity no matter the amount of community workshops and community visions arranged as it will ultimately be

the single author who decides whether to implement development, or whether a more profitable option should take preference.





Photo 5.46 Ethiopian coffee on sale at Maverick's corner at an original pre-Maboneng coffee shop.

Photo 5.47 Ethiopian coffee at Market on Main.



Photo 5.48 A truly African market and experience at the Mai Mai market down the road.



Photo 5.49 Salsa rooftop dancing at Market on Main.





Photo 5.50 African drumming lessons at Maverick's corner and Photo 5.51 On the sidewalks in the Precinct.

5.11 Public-Private Partnerships

"I think it is unfair to expect Maboneng, with its interest, to serve the needs of all of our bigger socio-economic issues. I think it's unreasonable to ask that of it. I think it's behaving in a predictable way; I'm seeing missed opportunities by other developers and the state to respond and partner with this thing. Eight years ago Maboneng was pulling stuff together and the state, I feel, should have eyed certain things, opportunities, made certain deals and work together. Instead they let it go and now they criticize and jump on the bandwagon and so." (Govender Interview) The above paragraphs have introduced the role of the community and the developer to some extent. What is the role of the state in

developments such as these? What about other stakeholders? In order to avoid exclusion and a sort of dictatorship over public space, everyone needs to contribute and partake in the dialogue concerning the space. As said in the above statement by Govender, it is not the responsibility of the private sector alone to carry the burdens and social obligations of our society. There should exist a partnership with other businesses as well as the government in the area and adherence to policy as well as community members/representatives in order to develop an inclusive and all-encompassing community that is respected and contributed towards by all. This, as stated by Meyers, could be achieved through education and the sharing of knowledge between stakeholders. Cabaret agrees in her statement: *"When you talk about community engagement it is a collaborative process. It is not the responsibility of only one stakeholder. It is not City of Johannesburg that has to do community development, it is not Propertuity that has to do community development or the community only that has to do community development. It must be an integrated way and everybody must collaborate to make this happen. It is too big a challenge to rely on one person or developer." (Cabaret Interview)* Meyers believes that both the public and private sector are not taking adequate responsibility, *"I don't think government is taking its fair share of social responsibility seriously. Government is a stakeholder and government should set the pace. I do believe also that private sectors are not playing their role as much as they should but that is when government needs to actually crack the whip." (Meyers Interview)* He also believes that people need to *"play their cards," (Meyers Interview)* partaking and contributing to the dialogue and partnership as society has become too dependent on government. He claims that playing the role for the private sector is *"part of their corporate social investment." (Meyers Interview)*

Specifically in relation to the development of Maboneng, the precinct had a very successful partnership with the Johannesburg Development Agency. *"We are trying to work as closely as we can; we had a very successful Public Private Partnership with the JDA where we funded 30% of this partnership and it was a seven million*

rand upgrade of public spaces. Not only in front of Propertuity buildings but in a wider area. So it means the buildings in the community also benefited from this. So Propertuity actually contributed to public spaces renewal – which is not that simple for any property developer. A lot of the property developers that I met in Johannesburg are completely against the fact for paying for public spaces as they consider it as the municipality's role. But we do it to prove that we are willing to co-operate." (Cabaret Interview) She further stated that their partnership with the municipality, however, is meager and this is due to working according to different time-frames and frameworks – making it difficult to collaborate together on specific projects. It is also unclear as to what is required of the private sector and other stakeholders in order to integrate with the municipality. *"There are so many projects, for which we have designs, we have everything ready, we have the funding ready, we have everything and the municipality just doesn't give the go-ahead or just simply answer." (Cabaret Interview)* Govender supports this statement in that many projects and proposals never move forward into implementation due to covered political and economic interests and that it "lands up on an I-Pad as a drawing but without any consequence." (Govender Interview)

5.12 A Sense of Exclusion

It is not only physical walls and barriers that prohibit movement and participation. It is a sense of un-belonging, non-relatable, underlying conditionality that governs the area. It is not only the security guards that watch you as you walk by, judging your clothes and behavior, or the waiters that have a quiet word with an 'undesirable' in the coffee shop, after which the 'undesirable' leaves. It is the dress code, the tone of voice, the access to a mobile device that can 'snapscan.' It is the accommodation prices and the type of goods sold that can speak louder than a security guard might shout. There exist subtle hints as to who is welcome and who will be accepted in this small specific society of Maboneng. Some of its members may become curious and breach its borders into the 'unknown' whereas others remove themselves completely – even from the street –

where they enjoy cocktails and wheatgrass in an entrance-fee rooftop venue. It has become almost a thrilling trend to re-engage with the 'toxic' inner city and one where people feel they can boast about their new urban experiences to others who dare not tread that far as of yet. These same people might feel as if they are experiencing the real Johannesburg within their little safe-guarded cocoon. Unfortunately, when speaking to bystanders on the outside of this cocoon, one realises this subtle–but vast contrast between what is real and meaningful and what is superficial and merely a response to the market forces. Interviews with informal traders have substantiated these claims when asked why they do not trade in the Maboneng area. Many of them were unaware of whether they are allowed to trade there, however when asked if they had the choice, this was their response: "*The kinds of goods that I sell do not look like that. The people there look different; they have a look so I will not fit in.*" (Fruit and Vegetable lady Interview) *"It is a different 'class' of people and rent is expensive" (Fruit and Veg Lady Interview), "The things that I sell is very different from the things that are sold there so maybe people will not by from me*." (Patrick Interview) When asked about whether people from Maboneng support them, some surprisingly said yes and mentioned a few examples: "*I do not feel uncomfortable. I have people who live in Maboneng that come here to buy my Atchar and then they only pay me at the end of the month. We have a good relationship. I do not need to go where the people go, they know me and my atchar so they come to me*." *(Florence Interview) "But there are lots of times where the people who make movies and TV here – because they always come here - so sometimes they come into my shop to buy things. I like that." (Rita Mama Ghana* Interview) Others disagree and say that some people from the Maboneng area are exploitative or 'high' and just like to take photos of them, "*the rich people come to use the space but we don't like it because they (exploit) us," (Florence Interview)* "*but there are these people that come that are 'high' and like to come take photos of us.*" (Florence Interview) Mama Ghana seemed to have quite a positive perception of Maboneng and continued to say that she liked the new development however the rent is still too

expensive so she would remain on the peripheries of it: "*since this place opened the tsotsis have gone down... So they [Security guards] help me so it is good I like that place. I want to have a shop there, it would be nice, but I went to the office to go ask and the rent is very very high.*"



Photo 5.52 Informal trading takes place on the development boundaries





Photo 5.53 and 5.54 Patrick (and friend) and Florence standing proudly at their trading stalls located opposite the development.







Photo 5.55, 5.56 and 5.57 Gourmet food and boutique items on sale in Maboneng.



Photo 5.58 More than just a display/brand? Subtle hints of expectation.



Photo 5.59 R90 for a glass bottle promoting the drinking of JHB's tap water. Slightly ironic.





Photo 5.60 and 5.61 Rooftop venues and courtyards allow 'Mabonengers' to easily forget and avoid the deprivation on the street.



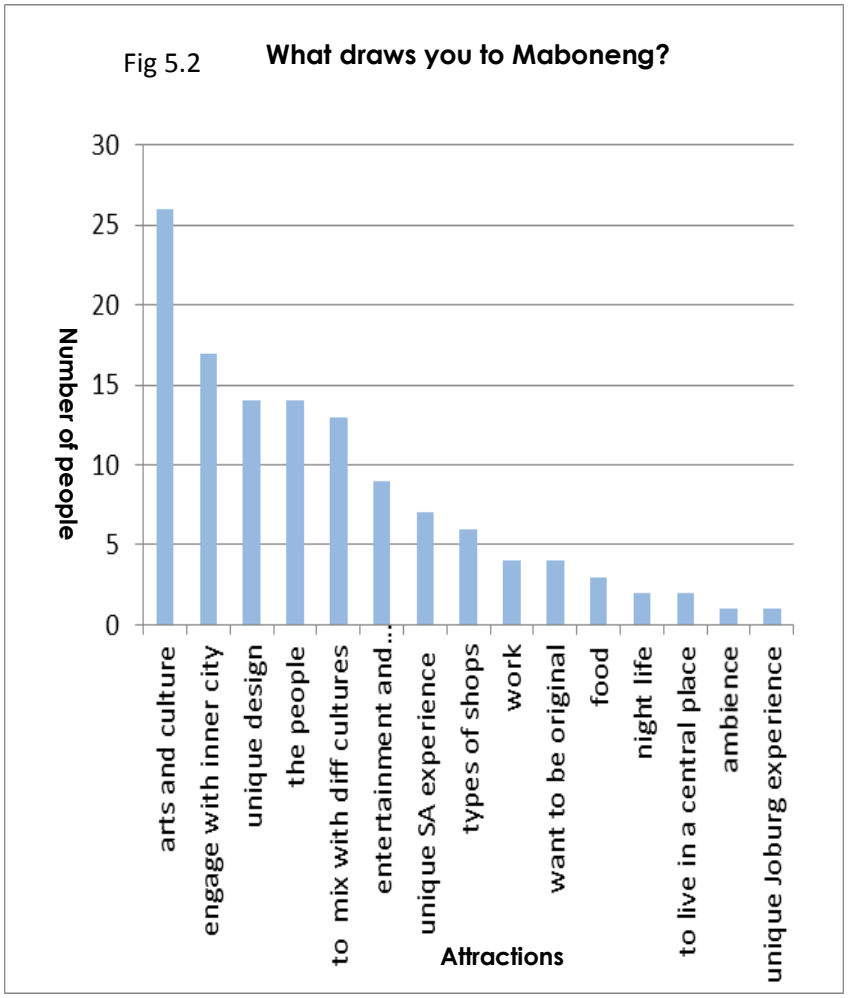
Photo 5.62 and 5.63 Some members are curious to explore 'otherness' lacking in the Precinct.

5.13 Survey questionnaire analysis – People's perceptions and expectation of their environment

A survey questionnaire was composed for a sample of 40 people who visit the Maboneng area. The questionnaires were conducted on different days so as to ensure a wide range of participants.

1. What draws people to Maboneng? Arts and culture, engage with the inner city, unique design, the people, to mix with different cultures and entertainment and events were the most chosen options.

Fig 5.2



2. When is the area most frequented? So as to discover its peaks in activity and the opposing dip in activity.

Fig 5.3 When do you visit most?

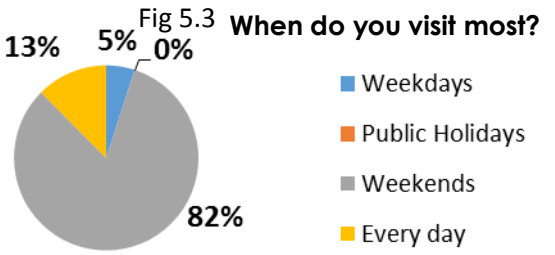
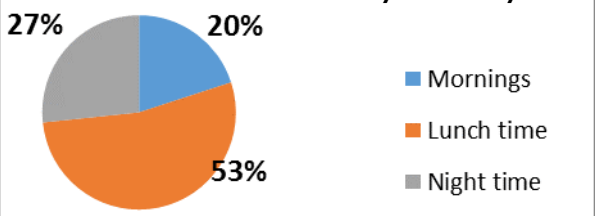


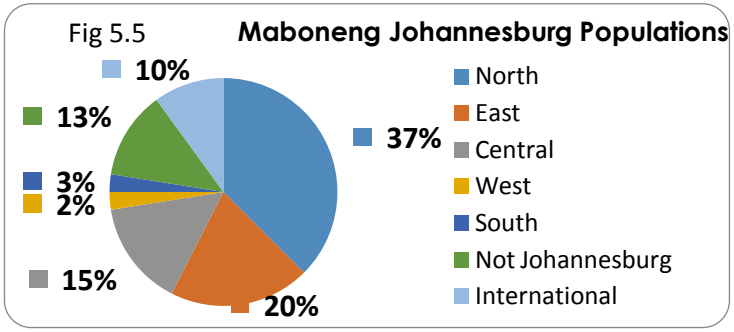
Fig 5.4 What time do you mostly visit?



Weekends are still the most frequently visited days (82%) with low activity during the week (5%). 13% of respondents made up people who live or work in the area. Lunch time is the busiest (53%) with most meetings (business and social) around this time. Mornings and evenings are a little quieter (20% and 27% respectively). This demonstrates that Maboneng does not operate on a 24 hours, 7 days a week basis which could also contribute to crime. This also represents that activities in the precinct need more variety in order to sustain different thresholds at different times and avoid the precinct becoming dormant at stages.

3. Where do most Maboneng visitors come from?

Fig 5.5 Maboneng Johannesburg Populations



Most of the Maboneng frequenters are travelling from the northern suburbs of Johannesburg (37%) with the second largest group travelling from the east (20%). The northern suburbs consist of: Sandton, Randburg, Fourways and Rosebank as their major economic nodes and is also known to be the quadrant of Johannesburg containing the most wealth as well as investment. This

demonstrates that many of the frequenters are from middle to higher income backgrounds/lifestyles.

Map 5.12 Mabonena Johannesburg Populations

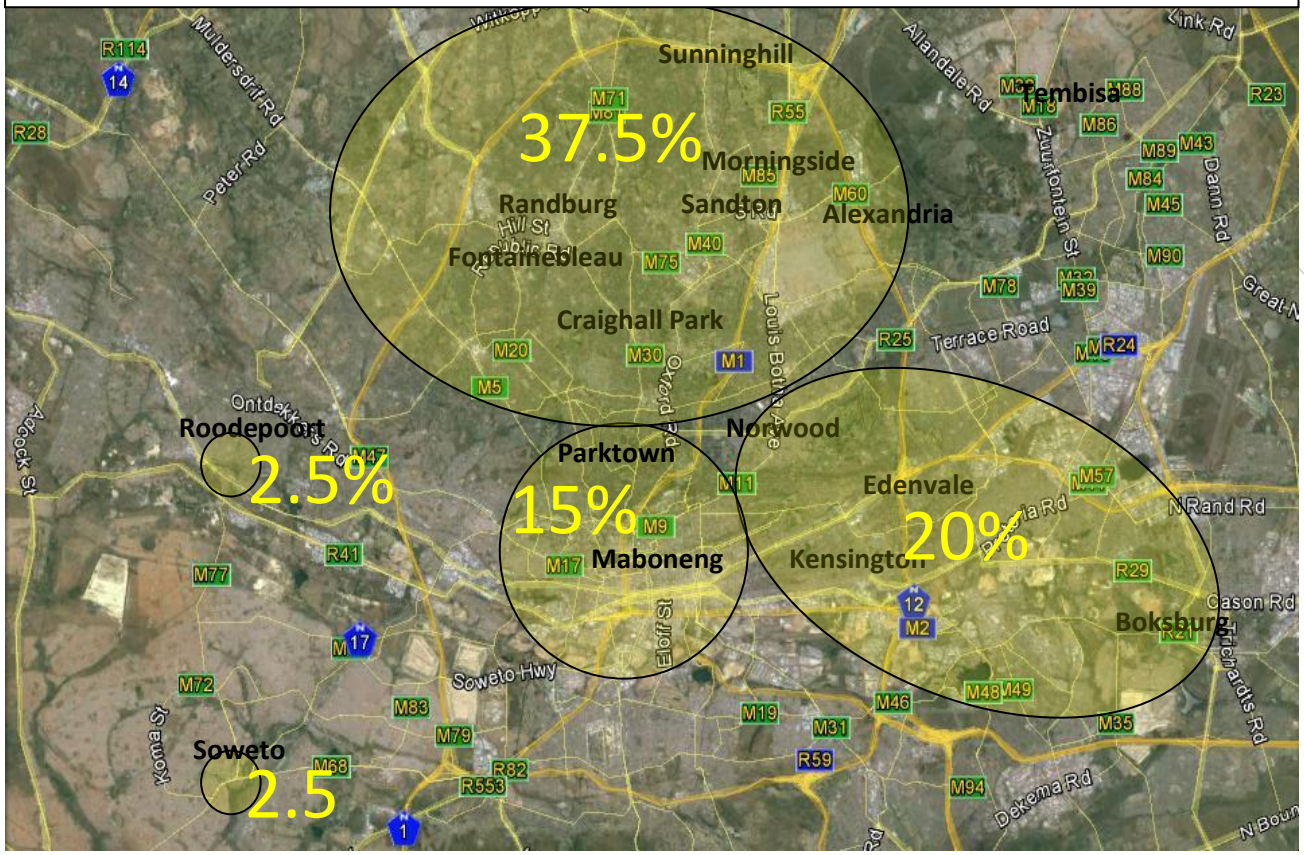
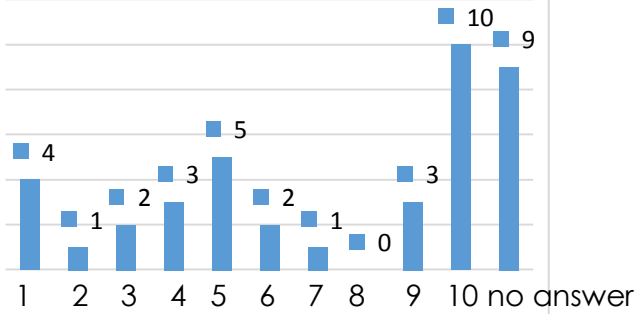


Fig 5.6 Average Annual Income of Maboneng Frequenters



1 Represents R10 000 a year, 10 represents R100 000 a year. The graph depicts that 25% of Maboneng frequenters earn above R100 000 a year with the majority earning over R50 000. This demonstrates a large number of people from higher income groups who visit the area and are able to afford its benefits. The lower numbers include people from lower income areas as well as students, the unemployed or foreigners.

4. Do you think Maboneng is Inclusive?

Fig 5.7 **Do you think Maboneng is open to people from all backgrounds?**

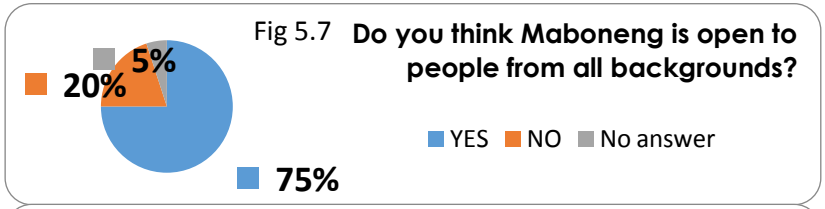
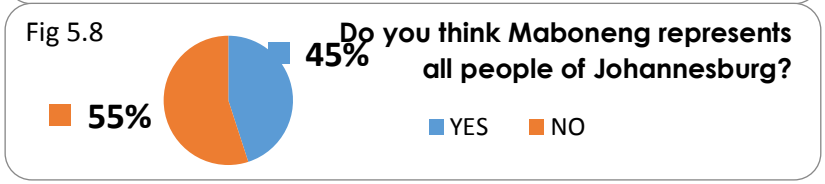


Fig 5.8 **Do you think Maboneng represents all people of Johannesburg?**



The graphs depict that many of the frequenters believe that Maboneng is open to people from all backgrounds (75%). However, there is a great number of people who believe that it is not (20%) or that it is not representative of all people in Johannesburg (55%). This is concerning as one can deduce that people are noticing its missing links to the bigger Johannesburg/South African culture. The two graphs can be read in accordance with the above map which clearly shows that it is a very particular group of people who are able to enjoy the benefits of and access to Maboneng. The responses to why people thought it was open to others ranged from "It's a free country" and, "[t]here is a clear mix of people from various backgrounds." To, "I have just been asked for money by an orphan" and "[t]here is diversity and freedom to express yourself." When asked why it might not be open to other backgrounds, people responded saying: "*The poorer classes cannot afford to come here and buy from the shops*", "*Don't have people who are not part of the stereotype*", "*Teens and snotty/also hipster – other than family Sundays*", "*a bit gentrified – somewhat expensive*" and, "*I think the type of shops/activities that are provided/targeted at middle to upper class people.*"

5. The people are curious but self-aware.

Fig 5.9 **Are you sometimes afraid of travelling to Maboneng?**

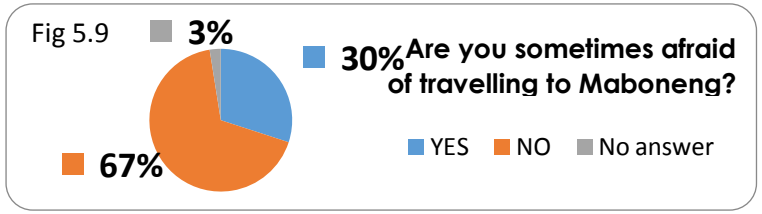


Fig 5.10 **Have you wandered into the surrounding areas?**

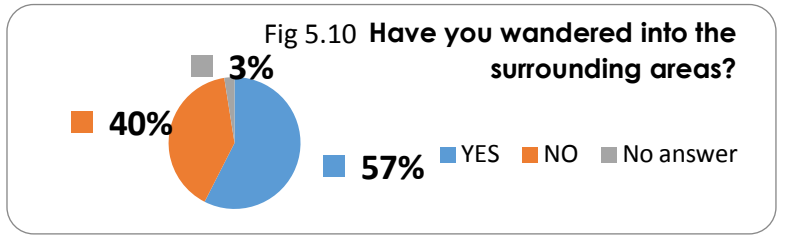


Fig 5.11

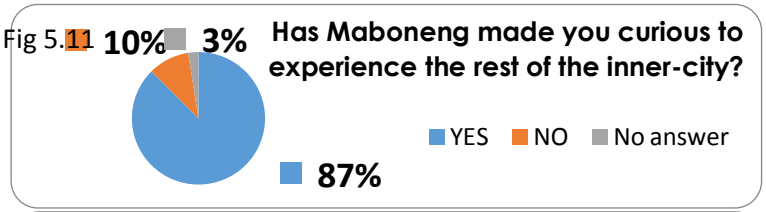
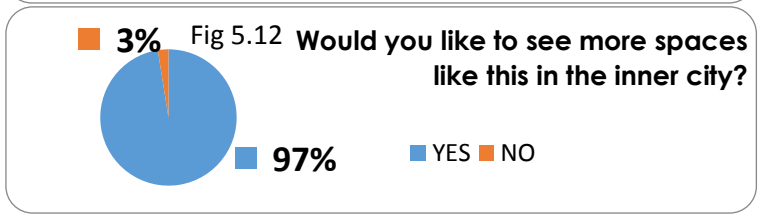


Fig 5.12



30% of people travelling to Maboneng are still afraid to do so. This could be due to the negative perception of the inner city as a place riddled with crime. *"Passing through the other parts of this area scares me", "Only at night if I am driving alone as a woman" and "Because Joburg is dodgy,"* were responses. When asked why people choose not to wander into the surrounding areas (40%) the responses were; *"It is scary", "Crime", "Safety is a concern", "It looks dodgy", "Do not know where it is safe", "Feel protected here – adventurous enough", "Time constraint"* and *"Uncomfortable,"* whereas others stated that they only came to visit the market. These statements substantiate the assumed fears of people travelling to Maboneng. When asked why they had chosen to wander into the surrounding areas (57%) the responses were: *"To see other forms of expressions by other everyday people", "Photo experience", "Groceries", "To see what the culture holds"* and *"Because it is beautiful."* These responses support the notion that the surrounding spaces and communities and cultures are not represented within the Precinct. However, it does show that people are curious (87%) and willing to explore those particular cultures and this could be a long term opportunity for development. A whopping 97% of people want to see the development of more spaces such as Maboneng in the inner city which demonstrates that there is a clear desire to re-engage with the Johannesburg Inner-city. However, it does also demonstrate that people are comfortable with developments such as Maboneng – even though it may be exclusive.

6. What do the people want?

Fig 5.13

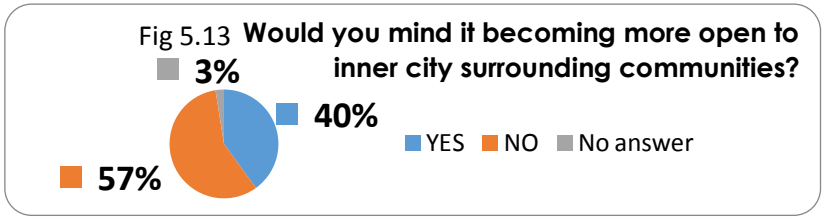
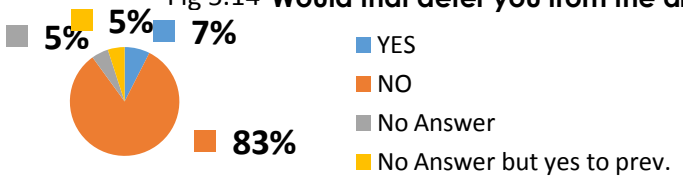


Fig 5.14 **Would that deter you from the area?**



40% of the responses depict an undesirability to include the surrounding communities. This could once again be a result of fear of 'the other' and paranoia that has allowed Johannesburg to divide into gated neighbourhoods. However, in order to redress spatial inequalities, it is important that people integrate with others from different backgrounds and luckily the responses to the second question of: "Would that deter you from the area?" were mostly in the negative (87%). The figures also show that people feel as if they are already separated from the surrounding communities as they feel comfortable in the Maboneng Precinct and do not consider it to be inclusive of the surrounding communities.

7.

Fig 5.15 **Do you think Maboneng creates inequalities between people?**

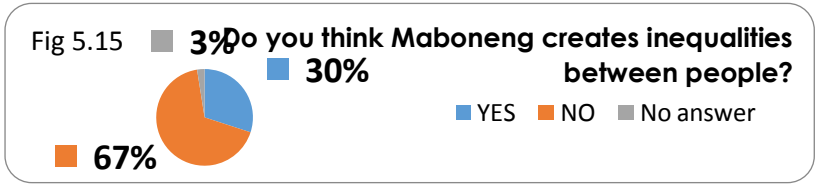
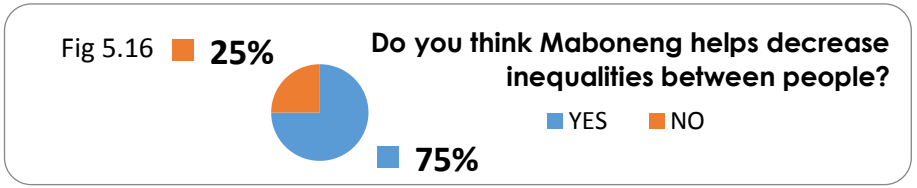


Fig 5.16 **Do you think Maboneng helps decrease inequalities between people?**



75% of frequenters believed that Maboneng does not decrease inequalities between people. This reinforces the fact that many enclave developments further fragment the urban environment – which is unacceptable in a country with such an unjust legacy such as South Africa. New developments should be redressing the spatial implications of Apartheid; not merely focusing on creating more inequality. 67% of respondents believed that Maboneng does not create inequalities but with 75% believing it does not decrease them either, this is concerning. New developments should be held accountable if they do not adhere to the development of a just urban society.

8. What improvements could Maboneng make to the precinct?
    - More markets, diverse shops and bars with more shops opening up onto the street

- More safe parking
- More township life and street music
- More weekday and evening activities
- Grocery stores and clinics
- Take away security guards
- Add more security guards
- More expansion and upgrading so surrounding areas become safe to walk around in.
- More space for social interaction
- Better integration of different cultures and religions
- "Nothing, it is perfect!"

Chapter 5 has analysed issues regarding the design and physical exclusionary aspects of the case study. It has provided a critical perspective on issues regarding policy according to aspects such as governance, social justice and cultural representation, economic and community development and public-private partnerships. Chapter 5 has demonstrated the close correlation between design and policy principles in the manner in which they inform each other and overlap in the analysis. The data supports the notion that Maboneng is an enclave that has incorporated (sometimes unintentionally) socially exclusive design and policy principles that enhance spatial and social inequalities, especially within the Inner City context.

Chapter Six

Design and Policy Recommendations

Chapter five has analysed collected data from various sources in a process of triangulation. This process has led to the formulation of recommendations chosen for their suitability as well as generalisability. The recommendations proposed in this chapter are believed to encourage inclusive development by permeating boundaries of social exclusive enclaves through design and policy initiatives.

6.1 Design Proposals

6.1.1 City-wide integration

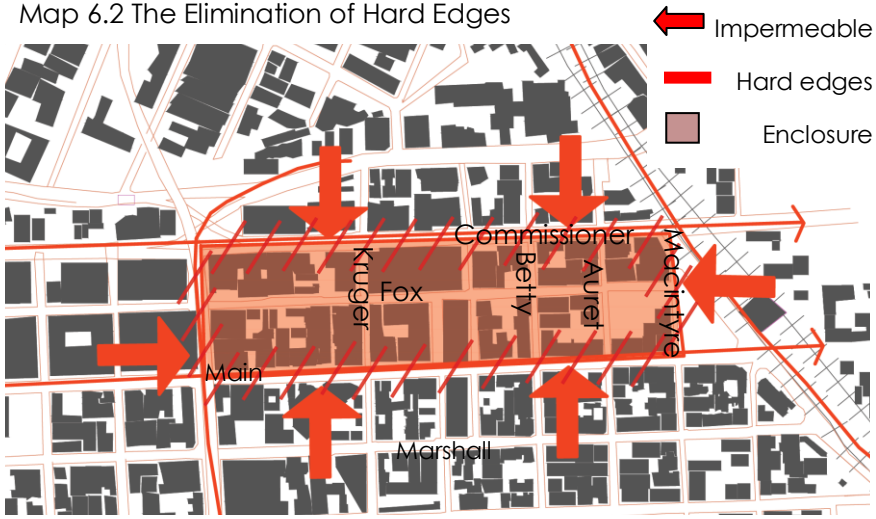
New developments have to encourage inclusivity through implementing inclusive urban design principles. They have to integrate the City vision and developments, for instance other activity nodes i.e. Ellis Park, Newtown, particular markets or as proposed here; a tourism belt connecting all major anchors that

provides a safe, pedestrian and cyclist-friendly alternative route through the city which will incorporate Maboneng.

Map 6.1 City integration



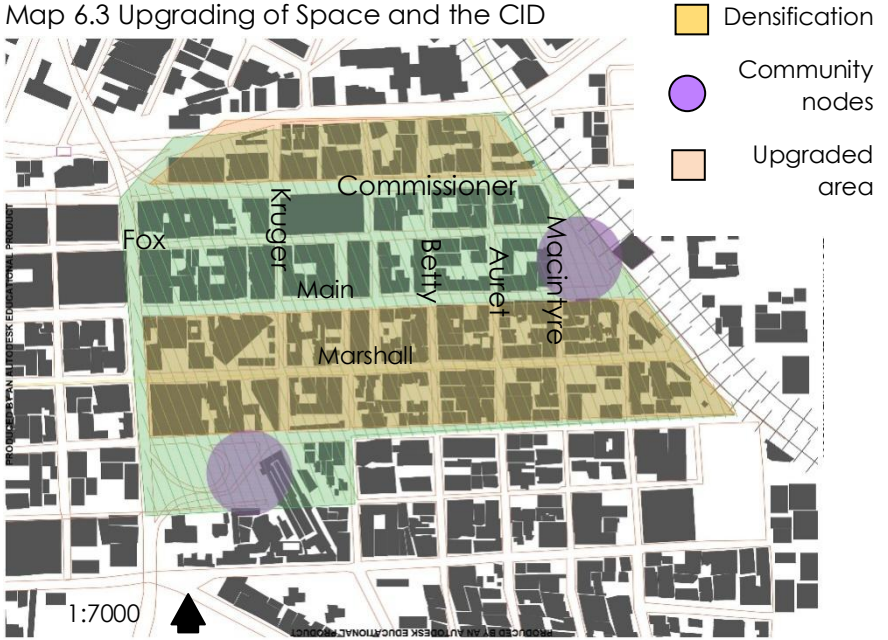
Map 6.2 The Elimination of Hard Edges



6.1.2 Elimination of Hard Edges

In order to encourage inclusivity, all hard edges need to be eliminated or softened. This will increase permeability, accessibility and activity as well as the general inclusion of the surrounding communities and spaces. The hard edges to be softened are: Commissioner Street, Main Street, Macintyre Street and Berea Street. These edges will be breached in terms of upgrading, public space and the renegotiation of vehicular-dominated space.

Map 6.3 Upgrading of Space and the CID



Upgrading of Space and the implementation of a Central Improvement District.

As the Maboneng Precinct has already proposed a CID for the area, it would be wiser to provide recommendations regarding its inclusivity than to oppose its implementation. If you cannot beat them – join them. But influence them in the process. The CID will have to be enlarged so as to reach and include other major landmarks or community spaces such as the Mai Mai Market and

the informal trading area close to the Jeppe train station. The inclusion of these nodes will demonstrate a desire to include the immediate community: the Mai Mai market is a well-known space and traditional healers (that use the space) are often respected community figures. The inclusion of the Mai Mai market will also enhance the fantastic tourism opportunity and status Maboneng has already acquired. The upgrade of the space across Commissioner and Main streets will allow for permeable precinct edges as it will lessen the vast contrast in quality of space between the haves and the have-nots. This will also diminish the fear of the precinct being an area for 'white' or 'rich' people as the upgrading of space shall reach into the space of the community and not only be limited to that of the precinct and its new developments.

Densification will be required so as to adhere to sustainable settlement design principles and reduce costs of travelling/living. Maboneng has already embarked on this mission with its new residential developments however; more inclusive housing needs to be arranged so as to reduce displacement but also allow for other population communities from other parts of Johannesburg and the country to engage with the city and invest within it. The state should subsidise inclusive and affordable housing units within and amongst the larger, less affordable accommodation along Main and Commissioner Streets. Abandoned and neglected buildings could be converted for this purpose as there are many present in the area. This would reduce displacement as it would be the community members themselves who would then be able to live in these buildings. Densification of land uses should occur to encourage compact city development, however, it should not compromise the liveability of the neighbourhood. This can be achieved by having people who own small businesses in the community live above their business space so as to reduce their living and travelling expenses. The rooftop space above industrial buildings currently being used, while still guaranteeing liveability where possible, should be converted into more residential/community/commercial space as many of the buildings are structurally sound and large but only consist of one/two storeys.



Photo 6.1 Live/Work sites where residential space is built on top of retail/commercial/industrial space and usually for small business owners to live above their businesses. (Dominican Republic, 2013)

6.1.3 Permeating the neighbourhood through public space

Smaller block sizes will enhance the permeability of the area. Maboneng has proposed a small strip of green space running parallel to Kruger Street along the storm-water drain (which will be decked for this purpose) to better connect Fox Street and Main Street. Staying with this concept but continuing it through an industrial space that connects Fox Street to Commissioner Street will reduce the size of the two largest blocks in the precinct.

Maboneng is proposing internal pedestrian streets and courtyards (Maboneng 2.0) but in order to make it more inclusive the streets need to remain public space. Thus, Fox Street between Berea and Phillip Street will become fully pedestrianised and will diminish the wall that discontinues Fox Street from the Jeppe Station to the Carlton Centre. Fox Street will become one long street partly pedestrianised in some areas (as it already is) and it will connect anchors such as the Maboneng Precinct, the Carlton Centre and the Newtown Precinct for better and more efficient mobility through the city. Fox street between Berea and Macintyre Street will be a vehicular road in order to maintain a certain level of activity and it will also encompass bicycle lanes that could potentially extend all along Fox Street and through the city. Kruger Street, running perpendicular to Fox Street, will become fully pedestrianised with green recreational space for young children and space for an informal trading market. Pedestrian and cyclist mobility will be enhanced along Kruger Street to Marshall Street and the Mai Mai Market. This is to enhance the tourism experience as well as to incorporate the Mai Mai market into the neighbourhood. Cycling lanes along Fox Street will ensure better and safer cyclist and pedestrian mobility through the city.

Map 6.4 A Walkable, Liveable City



An activity node will be developed along Kruger Street as it intersects Fox Street. The industrial and retail rooftop space along Kruger Street provides opportunity for active recreational space such as club soccer - a good integration activity as there are many young people from different backgrounds - which is mostly an evening activity played when the industrial and retail activity has dwindled. This will encourage weekday evening activity as well as weekend activity so as to ensure a more active neighbourhood on a 24 hour, 7 days a week basis. This is a concept adopted from experience in Manhattan school playgrounds that are being developed on roofs due to a lack of space.

Map 6.5 Concentrated and Socially Cohesive Activity



1:4000

Public Green Recreational Space

Community nodes

Fox Street

Integration of different communities

Concentration/Meeting point of different communities

New enclosure along whole of Fox Street

The rooftop green space adjacent to the club soccer field will be used for community gardening purposes as the area is quite derelict and food security is a concern. A community vegetable garden will allow for integration of people from various backgrounds as the community can learn to sustain it during the week and it can be promoted as a tourist volunteering experience on the weekend when many tourists arrive in the neighbourhood. The produce can be sold at informal trading stalls on Kruger Street as a source of income or be kept by the community members who work there. The first floor of the commercial building on the corner of Fox Street and Kruger Street can be converted into a community centre with a crèche (as the one on the corner of Commissioner and Betty Street has closed down), training institution and small grocery store which would all be opposite the club soccer field, garden and informal trading market. The community centre is

located diagonally opposite Uncle Merv's – which is already a local hangout for many of the Maboneng residents. The crèche and training institution will form part of the community centre and will allow for job creation as well as skill development such as plumbing, woodwork etc. The crèche could make use of the green strip along Kruger Street as a recreational area. The grocery store will be located on the corner of Fox and Betty Street adjacent to the BP garage and opposite Maverick's Corner. The grocery store is a direct response to the need for one in the area as pointed out in the research questionnaires. The grocery store will not be a threat to the surrounding stores as those sell very particular and exclusive products whereas the grocery store is for more affordable groceries that are not easily found in this part of the city due to its industrial nature.

Note that the pedestrianised and public green space is located on the peripheries of the area so as to soften the hard edges of Main and Commissioner Streets and allow for the infiltration of people from the immediate communities into the precinct to make use of its space. There is insufficient public space in the area and public space is key for integration and social mixing, thus by placing the public space on the peripheries it will provide an opportunity for both communities across Main Street and Commissioner Street to integrate with the community along Fox Street. The location of the community recreation centre will enhance this meeting point of communities along the public space strip on Kruger Street. The public space will become points of concentration.



Photo 6.2. The streets should become public space for self-expression and community gathering.



Photo 6.3 Notice boards should be present to educate and inform the community on matters as well as work opportunities.



Photo 6.4. Community gardens in Brooklyn, NY.




Photo 6.5 and 6.6 Mobile informal trading stalls have been adopted in Mozambique as well as the Dominican Republic and will allow for traders to store and transport their goods easily.



Photo 6.7 Organic and affordable fresh produce markets such as this one in Woodstock, CT will encourage community agriculture and provide another source of income.

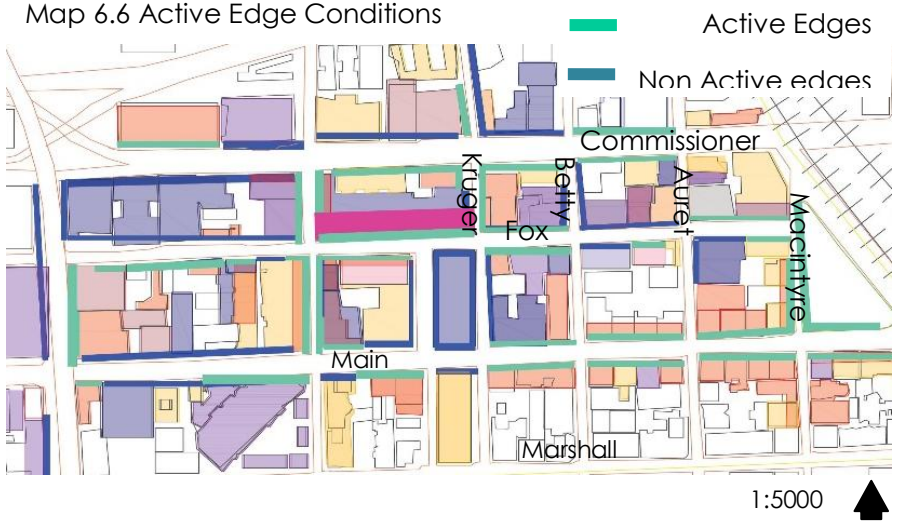


Photo 6.8 The Brixton community centre offers free services and skills training.

6.1.4 Edge conditions

More active edges will be designed both on the street as well as in the building facades with more balconies and porous edges such as windows. On-street active edges will be located in areas that have many non-active edges such as along Berea Street underneath the off-ramp and along Main and Commissioner Street so as to soften those edges and make the precinct seem more inviting and open rather than fortress-like. Courtyards will be down-scaled and opened up onto the street by breaking down the walls especially along Fox Street. The community recreation centre is an opportunity for an active edge as is the club-soccer field. Increased residential land use in the area will heighten surveillance and eyes-on-street at night-time. More and better regulated informal trading and markets will enhance activity within the area and encourage movement along certain routes.

Map 6.6 Active Edge Conditions



The community recreation centre and grocery store will be the first step towards developing more affordable and accessible goods and services thereby counteracting - but not necessarily threatening - the already exclusive products and services on sale in the precinct. This will ensure a wider variety of goods and services on sale which will in turn include more people from different communities. The precinct could then lose its profile of catering for only middle to higher income groups. Different building typologies should be encouraged to provide diversity and interest in the area. Buildings such as those along Main and Commissioner Street should be upgraded. Some of these buildings are abandoned and derelict but provide great opportunity for being utilised for smaller community operated businesses (SMME's), residential units or for libraries. Their facades and architecture is beautiful and very rich in history and should be preserved.



Photo 6.9 and 6.10 Locally owned businesses that provide a sense of community and identity.





Photo 6.11 Interesting store fronts to offer diversity and interest in the area.



Photo 6.12 Different building typologies for preservation and interesting meaningful architecture and spaces.



Photo 6.13 and 6.14 Porous building edges for visibility on the street and opportunity for other activities such as people-watching to occur.

6.1.5 Public Art

Public art should only convey relatable and relevant images/messages that more people in the community could relate to. Public art should represent the broader community as well as specific communities in the area and in particular community leaders. Public art should reflect the businesses, the people and the visions and desires of the community and should be easily understood by all. It should not reflect the personal vision and desires of the artist unless the artist is part of the local community.



Photo 6.15 and 6.16 Personalised store fronts by business owners provide a sense of identity and control as well as freedom for self-expression.



Photo 6.17 Public participative public art should be introduced.



Photo 6.18 Public art should be meaningful to the local community and easily-relatable as well as informative of the different cultures and populations present in the community.

6.2 Policy Proposals

When asked what Thireshen Govender would do differently concerning the Maboneng development, he replied stating he would demonstrate excellence for instance; concentrating development and perfecting a model on a small scale before expanding and diluting it. By demonstrating excellent design and management in one development it allows that development to become a catalyst for others. New developments will have to achieve this yet also consider their role and fit into the greater urban vision to encourage the development of an efficient, accessible, liveable and sustainable urban space. To achieve small scale but integrated development, this Report proposes:

6.2.1 The 5 Year Integrated Development Plan

In order to work closely with policy while sustaining a good public-private partnership, new neighbourhood/precinct/quarter developments have the obligation to set up and provide their own 5 year integrated development plan. New developments that exceed three renovated/regenerated spaces and plan for future expansion have to conduct and formulate an IDP. This might only occur two or three years after the new development has started but its implications not yet felt by the surrounding communities. This is to ensure better co-ordination with municipalities and their IDPs as well as working with the same time-frames and frameworks to better co-ordinate the municipalities, developers, stakeholders and other governmental departments. Each plan would enhance the likelihood of authorisation from the necessary municipal departments for new developments within the greater development once a strategic vision and path of growth can be determined by the municipality. This is a response to the difficult and time-consuming co-ordination processes between the private and public sectors. The development's IDP will also ensure better integration with the IDP of the city and its visions and strategies and will serve as a document to which the development could be held accountable if its performance targets are not met and its obligations not fulfilled. The municipality will review this document before and after five

years. A 5 year plan is proposed as it is sufficient time to formulate a sound strategic vision and to achieve short and medium-term goals as well as establish an engaged citizenship; it is sufficient time to grow the development economically and socially and to change direction if a new, better-suited vision without any majorly differing implications arises – keeping the development process resilient. Five years will better align the development's IDP with that of the municipality in terms of content, goals, visions and time-frames. It is also sufficient time for development and research of a new project/development for the next IDP to be submitted. If new spontaneous projects were to be implemented they would have to be justified according to the development's IDP social and economic goals but will also then allow the municipality to realise the new project within the greater vision of the development rather than have smaller random projects one after the other having to be approved by them.

The development's IDP should include:

- A 5 year vision for its development
- Its strategies to achieve social integration and inclusion through public participation processes and an engaged citizenry
- Its social goals such as job creation, education, training and community economic and social development
- Its sustainability goals for achieving a more walkable, liveable and healthy environment with adherence to the COJ's 'Complete Streets'
- The establishment of a business forum for the area with a database of all buildings and businesses and SMME support
- Fundraising initiatives between the community, stakeholders, private and public sector
- Accessibility to public transport and the integration of transport modes such as cycling, driving and other (rail) in accordance with the city's Integrated Transport Plan
- Upgrading and maintenance of public space in the area
- CID interventions and implementation processes and the particular goals of the CID

- Services to be provided and outsourced
- Informal trading relations
- Particular methods to counteract social, political and economic exclusion
- Urban design elements in physically manifesting its goals in space as well as strategies for spatial integration on a city-wide scale
- Strategies to adhere to the broader Joburg 2040 and COJ IDP vision (World Class African City)
- Strategies to achieve better public-private partnerships

The development's IDP is to better integrate the private with the public, however, it is not the sole obligation of the private sector to fulfill and achieve the social obligations and goals of the city. It falls to the municipality and public sector to provide funding, support and guidance to the private sector and its stakeholders in achieving integrated and inclusive development. It also falls to the community to participate and be incorporated into fundraising initiatives for upgrading of public space, to voice their own needs and visions as well as to uplift the community and co-operate with the various stakeholders in the public and private sectors.

6.2.2 Community development

Community development will consist of social and economic development. The IDP will have to state the strategies involved to achieve these. Public participation processes will have to be instilled from the design to the maintenance and monitoring phase of development. Workshops with the community should be conducted at least three times a year on new or evolving developments to strengthen public participation. Such workshops should include the integrated visions of the community with that of the development and compromises should be made in order to achieve the best outcome for all parties. Other public participation methods such as community fundraising festivals, markets, cultural awareness programmes and community projects will take place to show community co-operation. Integrated business forums for all businesses in the community to engage with each other and stakeholders will also allow for SMME establishment and locally

owned business plans to be heard. Community recreation centres should be established so as to provide a platform for citizen and stakeholder engagement as well as provide a space for training and skills development in the community. Informal trading should be incorporated into and regulated by the development in terms of its own expectations and allocation of space. Smaller informal trader groups will be more easily managed and regulated by developments than on a city-wide scale as informal traders can be held accountable for their allocated space (in terms of cleanliness, maintenance etc). They form a big part of the community due to the types of goods they sell and where they sell them so to incorporate the informal sector would allow for it to grow in a regulated manner and will allow for lower income groups to be absorbed in the economy rather than turn to crime as crime is a key issue within the inner city. The inclusion of the informal sector will also allow for a more inclusive development; open to populations from various economic and cultural backgrounds to mix. Informal traders wishing to trade within the development would have to register with it and with their particular location/market as well as pay a rent fee of no more than R80 per month for a formal storage stall or R30 a month without a formal storage stall. (R70 is the usual rent fee for stalls around the Maboneng area as established by interviewees). Informal traders should not exceed forty members (unless there is a well-established market such as the market in Diagonal Street) as too large a number will compromise the ability to regulate the traders.

6.2.3 Sustainable development

New developments have to implement bicycle lanes to encourage a cycle-friendly city as well as inspire a cycling generation. The lanes should be located in strategic areas; safely connecting main nodes and points of interest as well as connecting other modes of transport such as the Gautrain, Metrorail, Metro buses and Rea Vaya stations. Access to public transport should be enhanced through the upgrading of stations such as the Jeppe Station with the support of the municipalities and public sector. Public transport integration and the development of a more accessible urban environment will work

in relation to the city's Integrated Public Transport Plan. Sustainable development will also include the incorporation of green design; ranging from green buildings to green public spaces that would provide resources to the community such as community agriculture, rooftop gardens, renewable energy-powered services and porous building facades. All new developments within the larger development have to incorporate a percentage of green design or focused green aspect in it. All new or converted buildings have to be higher or equal to two storeys so as for densification to take place and allow for an environment that incorporates live/work/play in close proximity. Communities and other stakeholders should be engaged in building design so as to offer diversity and interest in the neighbourhood through different building typologies and prevent a single author from developing the neighbourhood.

6.2.4 Upgrade and Maintenance of public space in the area

The community, development and other stakeholders from both the private and public sector will be responsible for the upgrade and upkeep of public space in the area: spaces such as small parks or community gardens, sidewalks and roads. All stakeholders should be incorporated into the upgrading plan and should contribute in ration to their income/annual turnover. Smaller businesses also have to contribute. This ration will form part of their rent/bond and will be deducted annually. Abandoned buildings will be 'confiscated' and sold by the municipality. Poorly maintained buildings will be taxed accordingly so as to discourage their dilapidation and if not improved within 3 years, the buildings will be re-appropriated to more suitable owners/tenants. Upgrade and maintenance of public space for the development of a more walkable and liveable urban environment will work in relation to the integration of public transport and the 'Complete Streets' initiative instilled by the city. Central Improvement Districts, if implemented, will regulate the upgrading and maintenance of public space according to the design elements mentioned in Chapter 5 recommendations. The development has to provide access to services such as water, electricity and waste management. These services may be

outsourced with or without the implementation of a CID and should span further than the space surrounding new or converted buildings.

The IDP will encompass both policy and design aspects in its design and implementation and will include the urban design principles of the development according to active edge conditions, permeability, accessibility, sense of place, liveability, vitality and responsive environments. The designs and the above precedents would have to be included in the IDP document so as to portray the physical design of the new urban development and have the urban design authorised as being inclusive.

Chapter Six provided both design and policy recommendations that are combined into a cohesive document that will encourage inclusive development and allow for the permeation of socially exclusive enclaves. The recommendations are applied to the Maboneng context specifically and include city-wide integration, elimination of hard edges, permeating the boundaries through public space, CID implementation and upgrading of public space that reaches into surrounding communities and incorporates community nodes, active edges and 5 year Integrated Development Plans. Chapter Seven applies the principle of generalisability to the design and policy recommendations, making them applicable to developments in general.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The concluding chapter will combine all the initial thoughts, literature, research methods, research and analysis and recommendations into a cohesive whole as well as provide a personal reflection on the challenges encountered, weaknesses and strengths of the research, learning experiences and the contribution of this research to the field. The recommendations from the design and policy aspects will be combined to formulate one document of recommendations that inform each other.

7.1 Set of Design and Policy Principles to Permeate Socially Exclusive Enclaves

The set of design and policy principles in the following table should be read as a cohesive whole and should be implemented together

as the aspects inform each other. The following set of principles will encourage inclusive urban development and will allow for the permeation of socially exclusive enclaves which will reduce/prevent the fragmentation of the urban landscape caused by unequal development.

Table 7.1 Policy and Design Principles to physically permeate socially exclusive enclaves

Demonstrate excellence	Perfect smaller models and physically manifest them in a small space before expanding to other areas. Use the perfected model as a catalyst for other urban developments
Design Principles	
Integrate into the wider urban context	Maintain linkages within a wider city context by incorporating city activity nodes and public transport to ensure a more efficient and cohesive urban environment
Eliminate Hard Edges	Soften hard edges such as block sizes and heavy vehicular-traffic roads and increase activity on peripheries of development to encourage integration
Incorporate meaningful community nodes	To prove co-operation and inclusion of the communities into the new development upgrades
Develop passive and active public space	Public space for integration and social mixing
Develop public space on edges of the development	To encourage social mixing of different adjacently located communities
Design Active Edge Conditions	Interesting store fronts, more 'eyes on street', porous edges that blur the line between public and private space, potential for 'otherness,' diversity and permeability in the area to occur
Improve access to public transport and integrate modes of transport	Incorporate bicycle lanes (even though city might not), improve pedestrian linkages to public transport, upgrade public transport areas
Incorporate and strengthen informal trading relations	Designate informal trading areas along active strategic routes, develop partnerships between developers and traders
'Green' the development	Green design, renewable energy, green recreational space, rooftop gardens, community gardens, limit carbon emissions in development/construction/post-construction
Apply diversity in terms of building typologies, goods and services, land uses	Lower to higher income goods and services to offer choice, preserve heritage of buildings, diverse land uses for 24 hour activity
Public art by and for the community	Community figures and issues relating to the community, locally owned business shop fronts, participative artwork
Apply sustainable principles	Densification, live/work/play environment, green design, liveability, access to services
Upgrading of public space should breach the boundaries of the development	To display a sense of respect for and inclusion of the larger community. Incorporate community nodes in upgrading plan
Incorporate walkable design principles	Pedestrianisation and cycle-friendly linkages, shade, active edges, lighting and improve pedestrian linkages to major nodes/public spaces/public transport
Develop a community recreation centre	Training institutes and skill development, community representation and platform for engagement
Lower – middle income land uses located on the peripheries of the	I.e. Grocery store – lower to higher income land uses located on seams of development to encourage integration and social mixing of adjacently located

development	communities
Develop personalisation, identity and control	Locally owned businesses, cultural representation in types of shops/goods/markets/festivals
Policy Principles	
5 year IDP	Better public-private partnerships through formulation of a 5 year strategic vision for development/expansion and integration with policies. To better integrate with municipal time frames and frameworks to allow for a faster and more efficient approval process
Inclusive housing	Live/work sites for smaller businesses, more affordable housing amongst student accommodation on seams of development to encourage social mixing. Subsidised housing units for families
Public participation and engaged citizenry	Workshops three times a year on new developments within larger development, meetings with all stakeholders, fundraising initiatives
Public-private Partnership enhancement	All stakeholders should be involved
A strategic vision of development/expansion	A vision demonstrating the path of growth taken to encourage inclusion and evolution of the development. Long-term visions and where they fit into the greater urban context and government support
Social, Sustainable and Economic goals for the area	Job creation, economic development, education, growth and resilience strategies
Integration of other policies: COJ JHB 2040 Vision, Regeneration Charter, Complete Streets, Integrative Public Transport Plan	Improve alignment with visions and goals of other policies
Establishment of a business forum	All businesses (big or small) incorporated and should benefit from tax incentives as well as contribute to public upgrading to benefit from tax incentives
Fundraising initiatives for upgrades	All stakeholders (developers, community and businesses) involved in fundraising for upgrading of public space
Services to be provided and outsourced	Improve access to services and infrastructure
Particular methods to counteract exclusivity	

7. 2 What were the challenges encountered?

Any research would encounter challenges – this research is no exception. Some were personal fears to overcome such as the ability to approach people for survey questionnaire participation, overcoming personal biases and first impressions towards the case study and to remain objective and have personal perceptions challenged and having to accept that. Many of the interviews were a learning experience that allowed for, once again, personal perceptions to be challenged or enhanced. Interviews were particularly difficult as there is a personal fear towards them as was having to conduct a professional interview – something with which I,

the researcher, have had very little experience. Translation of interviews with informal traders and people around the inner city proved difficult as information was lost in translation. I made use of an excellent translator who was able to gain the trust of the interviewees, however, with any translation there exists subjective interpretation though this was minimised by keeping questions very simple and short so as to encourage concise responses. Some interviewees contradicted what was researched in secondary data; therefore it encouraged me to use a wide range of sources to shape an argument. Questionnaire surveys worked on a willing participant basis and required a lot of time and patience with many site visits to complete them and get a range of participants. Site visits were often conducted at odd hours ranging from 09:00 to after midnight on market nights once the market has closed and people have left or at GRIND information sessions taking place usually on Tuesday evenings. Visits were conducted on public holidays, weekdays, week nights and weekends in order to capture the full activity offered in the site. The many site visits incurred a certain cost with some venues requiring entrance fees and interviewees requiring refreshments. However, expenses were kept to a minimum and the major cost was time. There was difficulty in finding the correct balance between the design and policy aspect of this research. The division between policy and design was an obstacle as it does not allow for in-depth projects to be conducted on either. There is still more to uncover on each aspect but for the purpose of an honours research report – and not that of a masters – only what I deemed the most important and relevant research for this report was used and analysed so as to provide a succinct combination of both aspects that inform and reinforce each other as well as provide guidance for other research. The policies were particularly lengthy and often overwhelming as they seemed repetitive and not concise in their arguments whereas I may have been limited in some design aspects of the research due to my lacking architectural background. I experienced difficulty in keeping to deadlines as I personally work best under pressure, however, the pressure only surfaces much later in the research process. It was, therefore,

difficult to construct my own deadlines and adhere to them but time-management skills were fully relied on in those instances.

7. 3 What would this research contribute?

My research will contribute to the body of work by having reviewed and reworked the physical design principles that encourage inclusivity and manipulate them according to Johannesburg's context so as to break down social and physical barriers spoken of in the research. Thus this research will provide a local example and context as well as local solutions rather than adopting and applying international models. There exists in other reports extensive emphasis on social and policy reformation however there is no proposal of any physical change – this research proposed new policy as well as physical design change. There seems to be a lack of design policy that provides incentives for inclusive design. This research proposed such incentives. Very little literature has drawn comparisons between social enclaves and their similarities or qualities, both physically and managerially. This research discussed inclusive design principles and how they are manifested in space to overcome exclusive principles found in enclave developments. The inclusive design principles were combined with policy to inform socially just and inclusive development. The research provided a critical perspective on socially exclusive enclave development but has also provided solutions to the key issues raised.

7.4 What are the weaknesses and strengths?

As mentioned before, a weakness in the research is its divided focus on both design and policy aspects that ultimately limited the research conducted on either aspect. However, this is also a great strength as literature reviewed has mostly focused on one aspect only whereas both should be combined so as to inform each other as I believe each aspect cannot stand alone and accomplish socially just inclusive development. Another possible weakness would be the focus on just the one case study that might differ in certain terms to others due to micro-differences. But the research was shaped in such a way as to apply the concept of generalisability in order to guide other developments. The range of sources and methods used in this report provide it with a sturdy

foundation. These sources ranged from secondary data such as policies, magazines, newspapers, Google Earth and Youtube videos to interviews, questionnaires, photography and personal observations. The sources used provided the research with a written as well as a graphic component that was able to graphically depict key issues and ideas which added a vibrant and realistic quality to the report.

7.5 What were the personal lessons learnt?

The research report has provided me with invaluable knowledge and experiences that will be carried forward into my future career. I have learnt how to conduct professional interviews with people in and out of my profession. I have been given the opportunity to talk to people from various backgrounds and discover their needs, fears and desires and then integrate those needs, fears and desires to form cohesive solutions/recommendations as well as learn from them and professionals rather than impose my 'knowledge' and assumptions upon them. This also provided me with the opportunity to take into account different perspectives that might contradict my own. Working on a case study located within the inner city was an invaluable experience as I was able to explore and discover new areas unfamiliar to me such as the Mai Mai market and Jeppe's Town area. This gave me a holistic view on the circumstances and contrasts of the case study and surrounding areas. The report has trained me to conduct a research report and design its layout in addition to develop and shape an argument substantiated by evidence collected by me and others and realise that the research process is cyclical instead of linear where one often has to retrace their steps and initial perceptions in order to discover truth. I am able to analyse information and translate it into a graphic format such as graphs and photographic analyses. The analysis of a case study has also enhanced my critical thinking skills where I am able to ask and answer the question of 'So what?' With the research I have been able to test as well as develop theories and have been able to apply triangulation through the drawing together of various information formats and research methods/tools into a cohesive and comprehensive argument.

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Questionnaire surveys: Random Sample of 40 pedestrians.

Patrick, Florence, Fruit and Veg Lady, (Personal Communication 4 September 2014, 11:00, Maboneng/Jeppestown). Informal traders and random sample of pedestrians.

Mama Ghana (Rita), (Personal Communication 4 September 2014, 13:00) Shopkeeper at second-hand store, Jeppestown.

Interview Questions for Developers and designers of Maboneng: Semi-structured interview. (Alice Cabaret).

1. Why was Maboneng developed in this particular area?

2. What were the main weaknesses and threats to overcome when developing Maboneng?

3. How are you making Maboneng operate on a 7 days a week basis?

4. How does Maboneng adhere to the Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan and Regeneration Charter regulations/vision?

5. Does Maboneng respond to the community needs of the area and in what way?

6. To what extent was public participation processes involved in the development of Maboneng?

7. How does Maboneng incorporate the culture of people who live in the inner city?

8. What community development projects are currently in place?

9. What are the steps taken (physically and managerially) to counteract exclusivity?

Interview Questions for City Officials (Ward Councilor): Semi-structured interview. (Tyrell Meyers).

1. What are the current needs that need to be fulfilled and do you think Maboneng is responding to those needs?

2. Is the Maboneng area considered to be inclusive of the surrounding communities?

3. Are their respective cultures being represented in/by Maboneng?

4. To what extent are the public participation processes involved in the development of Mboneng?

5. Do you believe that Maboneng has caused, and will cause with future developments, displacement of lower income groups in the ward?

6. Do you think Maboneng further enhances or reduces social and spatial inequalities?

7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of public-private partnerships?

Interview questions for designers of Maboneng: Semi-structured interview. (Thireshen Govender).

1. What were the main weaknesses and threats to overcome when designing Maboneng?

2. What are Maboneng's unique physical design and permeability qualities?

3. Why were these specific qualities implemented?

4. What, if any, are the design steps taken to counteract exclusivity?

5. Are the surrounding public and private areas/spaces being upgraded/improved?

6. To what extent does Maboneng incorporate the culture of people who live in the inner city in its design?

7. What design elements were used to integrate Maboneng with the surrounding communities?

8. If you had the chance, what would you do differently?

Interview questions for street traders/organisations: Informal semi-structured interview

1. Do you sell your goods in Maboneng? Why/why not?

2. Do you feel uncomfortable in Maboneng? Do you feel like you are not allowed there? Why?

3. What do you think will happen if you sold there?

4. Why do you think you would not be allowed to sell there?

5. Where do you like to sell your goods and why?

Questions for Non-frequenters: Informal semi-structured Interview

1. Do you go to Maboneng/Jeppestown? Why/why not?

2. Do you feel unwelcome in the area?

3. What is your favourite place in the inner city and why?

4. Do you know people who go to Maboneng?

Questionnaire for Frequenters of Maboneng

1. What draws you to Maboneng? (You may tick more than one)

- ☐ The people
- ☐ Arts and culture
- ☐ You want to be 'original'
- ☐ To mix with different cultures
- ☐ To live in a central place
- ☐ Work
- ☐ Engage with inner city
- ☐ The unique design of the area
- ☐ The types of shops
- ☐ To have a unique South African Experience
- ☐ Night life
- ☐ Entertainment and events

2. When and what time do you usually visit Maboneng?

- ☐ Weekends
- ☐ Everyday
- ☐ Weekdays
- ☐ Public holidays
- ☐ Mornings 08:00 -12:00
- ☐ Lunch time 13:00 -17:00
- ☐ Night time 17:00 - 00:00

3. Rate your annual household income between 1 and 10. **1 being R10000** and **10 being R 1000 000+** _____

4. Do you live in Johannesburg, if so in which neighbourhood? And approximately how far do you travel to Maboneng?

_____

5. Do you think Maboneng is open to everybody from all backgrounds? Why?

☐ YES ☐ NO

_____

_____

_____

6. Would you mind Maboneng becoming more open to the surrounding inner city communities?

☐ YES ☐ NO

7. Would that deter you from this area?

☐ YES ☐ NO

8. Have you wandered into the surrounding streets and shops outside of the Maboneng area? Why/why not?

☐ YES ☐ NO

_____

_____

9. Are you sometimes afraid of travelling to Maboneng?

☐ YES ☐ NO

10. If yes, why?

_____

_____

11. Would you like to see the development of more spaces such as Maboneng in the Inner City?

☐ YES ☐ NO

12. Do you think Maboneng helps decrease inequalities between people?

☐ YES ☐ NO

13. Has Maboneng made you curious to experience the rest of the Inner City?

☐ YES ☐ NO

14. Do you think Maboneng represents all people of Johannesburg?

☐ YES ☐ NO

15. Do you think Maboneng creates inequalities between people?

☐ YES ☐ NO

16. What improvements would you like to see in Maboneng?

_____

_____

_____

Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study

University of the Witwatersrand

Charnelle Kluth Bsc(URP) Hons.

The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng

Description of the research and your participation

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Charnelle Kluth, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The purpose of this research is find out whether new areas such as Maboneng, Braamfontein or Art on Main are targeted at higher income groups and whether lower income groups are unwelcome. The goal of the research is to make these areas better for everyone in the city. Your participation will involve answering questions related to what you think of Maboneng and why you don't/do trade there.

Risks and discomforts and protection of confidentiality

There are no known risks associated with this research. Your identity will stay unknown. Your nickname will be used in the publication.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You can choose if you want to participate and you can say no at any time. You will not be penalized if you do not want to take part.

Contact information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Charnelle Kluth at University of the Witwatersrand at 565762@students.wits.ac.za.

Consent

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature_____ Date:_____

A copy of this consent form should be given to you.

Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study

University of the Witwatersrand

Charnelle Kluth Bsc(URP) Hons.

The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng

Description of the research and your participation

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Charnelle Kluth, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The purpose of this research is to determine whether new inner city urban developments such as Maboneng, Arts on Main and Braamfontein are exclusive in that they (physically and/or managerially) exclude certain groups of people based on factors such as income levels, identity and ethnicity etc. from these areas. The purpose of the research project is to formulate physical design and managerial solutions to counteract this exclusivity. Your participation will involve answering questions related to your personal experiences in Maboneng and your personal choices as to why you choose to visit or avoid the area. Your answers will be anonymous.

Risks and discomforts and protection of confidentiality

There are no known risks associated with this research other than you disclosing your income bracket however as the questionnaires are anonymous this is merely for statistical purposes. Your identity will not be revealed in any publication resulting from this study

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

Contact information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Charnelle Kluth at University of the Witwatersrand at 565762@students.wits.ac.za.

Consent

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature_____ Date:_____

Interviewees: **Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study and Information Sheet**

University of the Witwatersrand

Charnelle Kluth Bsc(URP) Hons.

The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng

Description of the research and your participation

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Charnelle Kluth, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The purpose of this research is determine whether new inner city urban developments such as Maboneng, Arts on Main and Braamfontein are exclusive in that they (physically and/or managerially) exclude certain groups of people based on factors such as income levels, identity and ethnicity etc. from these areas. The purpose of the research project is to formulate physical design and managerial solutions to counteract this exclusivity. Your participation will involve answering questions related to your personal perception of Maboneng and your thoughts on its exclusivity or inclusiveness from a design and management perspective.

Risks and discomforts and protection of confidentiality

There are no known risks associated with this research. Your identity, such as your name and associated organisation, will be revealed in the publication of this study.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

Contact information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Charnelle Kluth at University of the Witwatersrand at 565762@students.wits.ac.za.

Consent

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature_____ Date:_____

A copy of this consent form should be given to you.

RESEARCH ETHICS : Recording of results consent form

The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng

Charnelle Kluth, Bsc (URP) Hons. Student, 072 850 92 87 or charnellekluth@yahoo.com

1. I agree to the interview being audio recorded ☐
2. I agree to my photo being taken for publication purposes ☐
3. I agree to the use of quotes in publications ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Charnelle Kluth		
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature