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Participative approaches to responsive urban renewal strategies in Ponte City, Johannesburg

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Thesis submitted in twenty-five percent completion of the degree of Master of Management in the field of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

31 March 2015

Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Ponte City as a single, explanatory case study as an example of how social capital has enabled residents, through participation to contribute to an inclusive and well-managed living space. The research used social capital as an analytical framework, premised on it being a driver of civic participation leading to an inclusive and sustainable urban regeneration strategy. Data was collected using focus groups and interviews from residents of Ponte City, and showed that not all social capital bonds automatically supported the emergence of stronger networks of solidarity. Stronger bonding capital kept individuals from linking into a larger social network where engagements were based on trust and reciprocity. Social capital was not the magic solution to the problems of urban decay. Increased levels of bridging and linking social capital encouraged meaningful participation, deeper trust, innovation and more opportunities to collectively address problems, even in the absence of formal inclusive participatory structures. Bridging and linking social capital enabled participation, which gave a sense of agency, which led to feelings of belonging and investment. Residents that expressed a sense of belonging to a particular area were also more likely to continue to invest in social and capital terms. The hierarchical, top-down management style at Ponte City provided residents with a sound building in terms of infrastructure and personal safety, but the exclusionary management alienated many residents from each other and from management, increasing residents' perceived vulnerability.

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in twenty-five percent completion of the degree of Master of Management in the field of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Jacobus Frederick Roets

31 March 2015

Dedication

To my wonderful parents, that fostered my curiosity regarding the unknown.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible thanks to the guidance and support of my supervisor, Murray Cairns. I would not have been able to work full-time while studying had it not been for the incredible support from family and friends. I would like to single out Mia as the one person that supported me every step of the way. Lastly I want to thank the wonderful people I met while conducting the research. The residents of Ponte City allowed me to look into their lives, something that has changed my perspective on so many things.

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Chapter 1. Introduction and background

1.1. Introduction

Almost every city in the world has neighbourhoods and districts that 'wise' locals avoid, and that visitors are warned against. These areas are often described by words such as 'slum' or 'ghetto,' an indication of its distinction from other, more 'functional', neighbourhoods. Social issues are rife: prostitution, illegal gambling, alcoholism, drugs, street crime and organised crime. The physical infrastructure also bears testament to the area's decline: problems with litter, road-surface and pavement decay, vandalism, graffiti and grime. Finally, buildings within these neighbourhoods are under pressure: Offices and retail spaces are often vacant, illegal squatters invade vacant spaces, living spaces are overcrowded, rental yields and property values drop and as a result aging buildings are often not maintained, continuing to deteriorate.

Urban decay affects not only the residents of these neighbourhoods, but also of surrounding neighbourhoods. Urban decay creates perceptions around the 'lack of safety,' it sustains narratives about 'other groupings' that are to blame for decay and it inhibits the growth and mobilisation of social capital. In this scenario more and more residents are compelled to be 'inward-looking.' This tendency to 'close ranks' creates walls around individuals and like-minded groups, limiting interactions across these socially constructed barriers. The result is a degradation of 'social life,' towards further "isolation and community stagnation" (Putnam, 2002: 6).

Cities and property owners are at the same time racing to spend money on infrastructure upgrades and maintenance, trying to revitalize these decayed urban areas. The goal is to make decayed neighbourhoods more attractive for investors while luring back more well-heeled residents and visitors from out of town. In spite of the efforts of property developers and urban re-generation progammes, outsiders often remain wary of venturing into these neighbourhoods. Residents themselves

have a love/hate relationship with their neighbourhood, often expressing feelings of entrapment in the decayed neighbourhood and dealing with stigma because of where they live. Few people live in these neighbourhoods by choice. Fewer see these spaces as a home.

A young man from a troubled neighbourhood in New York City captures what it means to live in such a decaying neighbourhood. He expresses the grime, the fear, the anger, the stigma and the negativity. Furthermore, he gives us insight in why many do not just 'pack up and leave.' His describes living in a decayed urban neighbourhood; something that many residents in Johannesburg's crowded central business district and surrounding high-rise neighbourhoods will agree with.

> The buildings are filthy in the housing projects. Some people poop and pee in the hallways. And some of the people around here aren't friendly. I don't think it's a sadness or an anger that they feel, but a sort of emptiness. You look around and see a lot of negative things, and you can't help but feel like you're part of something negative, and that maybe you're something negative. Part of me wants to leave. But part of me wants to stay, because I have a lot of family nearby, and I don't want to live far away from them. (Humans of New York, 2015)

1.2. Background

As urbanization picks up speed, so too does the pressure on cities to keep up with infrastructure maintenance and expansion. Urban decay is not a phenomenon that is exclusive to some cities. It is a reality that city planners across the globe have to deal with, with on-going cycles of regeneration, 'gentrification', development, upgrade, renewal in an attempt to reclaim no-go and decayed areas. However, many attempts at urban renewal fail to deliver tangible long-term improvements for residents, property owners and policy makers.

This chapter will guide the reader through Johannesburg's urban journey (with a particular focus on the 1960s to present day), including a focus on how this journey impacted Hillbrow and Berea, two neighbouring high-rise residential areas adjacent to the central business district. Finally, Ponte City, the most prominent apartment building in Johannesburg, and the subject of this case study, will be

historically contextualised. The reader will understand how each decade since 1960 has shaped, changed and impacted Johannesburg, Hillbrow/Berea and finally Ponte City apartments.

1.2.1. Johannesburg: A changing city

Johannesburg, a gold rush settlement, was never supposed to be a permanent city. It quickly grew from a dusty shantytown in 1986 to a more graceful Victorian settlement by the early 20th Century (Chipkin, 1993). Post World War 1 saw Johannesburg change again, as mining returns and renewed optimism lead to the development an Edwardian city, prior to the 1930's depression (Chipkin, 1993). The period after World War 2 saw the consolidation of the apartheid state, with the National Party taking power in 1948 (Chipkin, 1993; Chipkin, 2008). Apartheid, a policy of separate development, was born out of these 1948 events. Apartheid legislation separated races, and severely constrained the free movement of non-white South Africans, to such an extent that black South Africans had to carry passbooks with them at all times, further curtailing their personal freedoms.

Protests against apartheid laws gained momentum, and on the 21st of March 1961, 69 unarmed black civilians were massacred in Sharpeville, a township south of Johannesburg, in what started as a peaceful protest against the passbooks (Chipkin, 2008: 249). Despite widespread condemnation and the banning of political movements advocating for liberation, South Africa moved into an era of incredible prosperity, bolstered by high gold prices. In 1963, the London-based *Financial* Times ran an 18 page article on South Africa, affirming the "confidence and near-invulnerability" of the government (Chipkin, 2008: 249). This lead to a decade of massive foreign capital inflows into South Africa, leading to a 7% growth rate for six consecutive years while launching a "full-blown period of expansion" for Johannesburg in particular (Chipking, 2008: 130). Johannesburg's character changed yet again into a modernist metropolis, as the Edwardian architecture of the 1930s made way for massive new developments, "a vast rebuilding program" (Chipkin, 2008: 134). From 1965 to 1977 more than sixty tower blocks rose in Johannesburg

(Chipkin, 2008: 162). This new, modern Johannesburg echoed the apartheid government's concern with predictability and order, an example to others of how a powerful state can govern, regulate space, raise revenue and meet the needs of the residents of the city (Chipkin, 2008; Silverman & Zack; 2007: 11). Johannesburg was to many the crowning glory of what was possible under 'segregated development,' or apartheid. It was a modernist dream, an ultimate expression in control and management of the movement of capital and citizens.

The Johannesburg inner city "was nearing its zenith in the 1970s" as the final mega-projects topped out (Chipkin, 2008: 294). Many large-scale developments, such as the 50 storey Carlton Centre and the adjacent 30 floor Carlton Hotel launched during a time when financial institutions had ample capital (Chipkin, 2008). However, these developments did not make financial sense, they were merely to project an "image of modernity in an archaic society" (Chipkin, 2008: 145). Property developers started feeling the effects of development oversupply, and the socio-political landscape shifted dramatically in 1976.

The Soweto unrest, and the image of a dead Hector Pieterson focused the world's attention irrevocably on the terrible plight of the majority of South Africa's population in a way that cemented an international backlash; which led to increasing international pressure for change, and crippling economic sanctions against South Africa from the rest of the world. The Soweto uprisings of June 1976 "ruptured forever the vision of an orderly, modern, segregated Johannesburg" (Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray, 2014: 13). The building industry suffered greatly due to this uncertainty; and the "economy witnessed the dramatic collapse of more Property Empires" (Chipkin, 2008: 293).

The apartheid state faced many challenges, an ailing economy, sanctions, social unrest and increased economic and political uncertainty. Gradually apartheid's grip on the country (and Johannesburg) started weakening, and the economy started contracting further during the 1980s (Dinath, 2014: 235).

Being stuck in economic and political limbo, little or no investment was made from the end of the 1970s towards the latter part of the 1990s, with bulk infrastructure, public transport and buildings slowly deteriorating. A short-lived boom from 1978 to 1982 when the gold price topped 850USD an ounce, leading to a massive spend on mega-projects as the government wanted to believe that the economy had turned for the better (Chipkin, 2008: 293). These dreams of proving that South Africa was a "normal state with a rich Eurocentric centre" came crashing down in 1983, when the gold price dropped dramatically (Chipkin, 2008: 293). This led to a protracted economic crisis that lasted until the mid-1990s (Chipkin, 2008: 293).

In 1986 the Pass Laws were scrapped, followed in 1990 with the dismantling of apartheid and the 1991 scrapping of the Group Areas Act (the latter concerned with keeping races segregated by neighbourhood) (Chipkin, 2008: 407). Despite the economic malaise, the population of the inner-city kept on increasing, together with a continued 'greying' of the city, as black residents of Johannesburg (and other parts of South Africa) started moving into spaces that were previously exclusively reserved for whites (Dinath, 2014; Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014). The poor 'reclaimed' Johannesburg, mostly by illegal, informal and unregulated means (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 13), leading to unstable social connections, inadequate living conditions and laying a foundation for further exploitation as actions were outside of the formal legal framework.

The 'greying' of the commercial hub had an impact on future developments in Johannesburg. Decentralisation became a strategy for property developers from the 1970s and through the 1980s as a way to escape high land costs; with new economic nodes being developed around new mega-malls like Sandton, Eastgate and Rosebank (Chipkin, 2008: 190). White suburbanites grew weary of mass transport; the large new shopping malls were convenient in terms of parking and accessibility by car (Chipkin, 2008: 190). High street shopping areas like the prestigious Eloff Street failed to compete with the larger and modern temples of

consumerism (Chipkin, 2008: 249). Sandton City opened its doors to the public in 1973, at the same time as the Carlton Centre opened (Chipkin, 2008: 250). The impressive Carlton Centre consisted of a 200 room hotel (30 storeys), a 50-storey office tower and parking for 1200 cars (Chipkin, 2008). However, not even its New York architectural credentials (Skidmore & Owens) could compete with Sandton City's ease of access (Chipkin, 2008: 260).

The Johannesburg central business district and surrounding neighbourhoods suffered greatly from accelerating capital exodus during the 1980s and 1990s, as urban sprawl created new spaces for business to expand and invest, leaving previously occupied buildings vacant and giving slumlords an opportunity to 'take over' vacant spaces to accommodate new arrivals to the city (Brodie, 2008; Chipkin, 2008; Dinath, 2014; Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014; Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray, 2014). The last big retail store, John Orr's, closed down in 1982, with a developer noting in 1987 that 'department stores' were 'dead ducks,' consumers wanted shopping spaces that were "regional and not in the central city" (Chipkin, 2008: 260).

Between 1996 and 2001 the population of the inner-city increased by 35 per cent, and between 2001 and 2011 it increased by a further 21 per cent (Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014: 58). Greater Johannesburg saw an increase of 68,4 per cent in overall population between 1996 and 2011, while foreign citizenship increased to 12.7 per cent in 2011, compared to only 2.8 per cent in 1996 (Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray, 2014: 7). This massive increase in population, the use of space and the services far exceeded what the Johannesburg central business district was designed for (Dinath, 2014: 235). As the inner-city population soared, so did the rate of the urban decay and the capital flight, leading to an alarming downward spiral that started in the 1970s, gathered speed in the 1980s while the real damage only hit home in the mid-1990s (Zack & Silverman, 2009).

The Johannesburg central business district was dealt a triple blow. Firstly, the physical infrastructure was failing due to lack of maintenance and limited infrastructure expansion. Secondly, corporate businesses relocated offices to the

perceived safety predictability and comfort of surrounding suburbs, leaving many office buildings and once opulent hotels vacant (Brodie, 2008; Chipkin, 2008; Dinath, 2014). The final blow was the fact that limited post-apartheid resources had to be reallocated to neighbourhoods that were previously by-passed in terms of infrastructure investments, like Soweto and Alexandra (Brodie, 2008; Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014; Zack & Silverman, 2009).

In the late 1990s the first steps were taken to deal with the decay which translated into multi-million Rand infrastructure upgrades, new public/private investments and urban renewal areas; all mostly reactionary and short-term interventions seeking to deal with the unpredictability of the central business district, while not understanding the underlying causes for the decay (Dinath, 2014: 239). By 2005 the city had moved beyond the crippling liquidity challenge it faced in 1997, when the city struggled to enforce by-laws, manage urban spaces that were in constant flux and struggled to raise revenue due to a billing crisis (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 44). The relative stability of the early 2000s lead to renewed promises to regenerate and 'reclaim' decayed urban areas (Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray, 2014: 7). This increased 'investment spend' gathered speed as South Africa readied itself for the 2010 Soccer World Cup. Urban planning after 2005 sought to deal with so-called 'wicked problems,' through redevelopment approaches that aimed to be sensitive to the local context, integrate the socio-political framework of the overall city and focused on area-based interventions, yet the success of these redevelopment approaches is doubted by many urban scholars (Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray, 2014: 23). The critique of these approaches will be dealt with in more detail in chapter two.

If Johannesburg was during the 1960s the crowning glory of economic South Africa, the high-rise, modernist neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Berea were the jewels in this crown.

1.2.2. Hillbrow and Berea: Welcome to South Africa!

Hillbrow and neighbouring Berea were proclaimed in 1894 and 1893 respectively as a low-rise, working class residential district, a fashionable neighbourhood, known for detached homes and proximity to transport and job opportunities (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 15; Van Rensburg, 1986: 57). Even in the 19th Century Hillbrow and Berea was seen as a 'transit camp to suburbia' (Clay, 1984, cited by Silverman & Zack, 2007: 15).

By the 1920s the areas appeal lead to renewed interest in housing close to the city centre, and many detached homes gave way to speculative three to four floor buildings (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 15). By 1947 the height restrictions were lifted and speculators followed suit, turning Hillbrow into a testing ground for new modernist ideas around housing, with eight to ten floor modernist blocks being constructed (Chipkin, 2008; Silverman & Zack, 2007: 15). The post-World War Two manufacturing boom saw Europeans moving to Johannesburg, as more jobs became available (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 15). Hillbrow and Berea remained the preferred 'ports of entry' for the new influx of immigrants into South Africa (Winkler, 2014). Telford (1969: 72-73) describes Hillbrow as a quiet residential suburb that transmogrified into "the most densely populated area in Africa," favoured by European immigrants. Hillbrow became a bohemian and cosmopolitan enclave, a place where new arrivals to South Africa could connect with memories of home and find an affordable, short-term place to stay while finding their footing in the city (Chipkin, 2008; Telford, 1969: 72).

Due to this growing popularity, by the early 1960 most houses gave way to high-rise apartments during the growth period, and South Africa's white population increased by 50 per cent from 1963 to 1972 (Brodie, 2008: 160). As noted earlier this was the first entry point into South Africa for most immigrants, as it was close the airport and offered affordable places to rent, including short-term leases (Brodie, 2008). This massive influx of people made Hillbrow one of the most-densely populated square kilometres in the world by 1986 (Brodie, 2008; Chipkin, 2008;

Silverman, 2014; Van Rensburg, 1986: 81). Property speculators again followed suit, and during the 1960s and 1970s countless large apartment blocks were added to the cityscape (Brodie, 2008; Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014; Silverman, 2014). By the 1960s Berea was identified for massive development, and the last big apartment buildings rose during the late 1960s (Silverman & Zack, 2007:16). This optimism culminated in the gigantism of the 1970s, when new buildings easily reached 30 to 50 floors into the sky (Brodie, 2008: 161; Chipkin, 2008: 404).

1.2.3. Times are changing: The malaise of the 1970s and the impact on Hillbrow and Berea

The surge of foreign investment dried up by the mid-1970s as the oil crisis hit, the political situation worsened and sanctions started to bite (Brodie, 2008; Silverman, 2014).

For the first time in two decades, Hillbrow property developers and owners had to contend with the fact that speculative developments, together with an ailing economy lead to an oversupply in rental stock (Brodie, 2008; Chipkin, 2008: 408; Silverman & Zack, 2007). Property owners now sat with a conundrum. There were not enough white tenants (who were, by the rules of the Group Areas Act, the people allowed to live in the area) to fill up apartments (Chipkin, 2008: 408). The wave of immigration had not only stopped, but there was a massive counter wave of emigration as the political and economic situation worsened, especially after the Soweto riots of 1976 (Brodie, 2008; Harrison, Gotz,Todes & Wray, 2014; Silverman, 2014). The black-market solution was to allow people of different race groups to occupy empty apartments, flouting stringent apartheid legislation around demarcated neighbourhoods for particular races (Dinath, 2014; Brodie, 2008). Allowing non-white residents to move into an area demarcated for whites was illegal, but landlords looked the other way, interested only in filling vacant properties (Dinath, 2014; Silverman, 2014).

In spite of constant crackdowns on illegal residents, the so-called 'non-white' population continued to increase. By the mid-1980s a centenary celebration

publication describes Hillbrow as a 'melting pot,' a place with amazing restaurants and nightlife, but it also describes a darker side, a Hillbrow where 'black children' roam the street at night, a wild place with alcohol, drugs and loose morals (Van Rensburg, 1986). Non-whites that could afford to rent apartments found Hillbrow and surrounds to be attractive. It was definitely less unstable than the non-white townships (where violent riots and military repression became more common), and it was closer to places of work (Brodie, 2008; Brown, 2014, Dinath, 2014).

Because non-white tenants were illegal, rents were exploitative and subletting and overcrowding became common (Brodie, 2008; Silverman, 2014). These 'illegal' residents did not have any rights to complain about bad management and maintenance issues, land owners grew increasingly distant and absent and with this illicit activities and crime increased, negatively impacting the quality of life of residents in the area (Silverman & Zack, 2007:18). Buildings, many of them poor quality speculative stock, started feeling the effects of overcrowding and a lack of maintenance – as did the general streetscape (Chipkin, 2008: 408). Illegal activities increased. Drugs-use and prostitution became rife. Despite the increase in criminality, Hillbrow was still seen as the bastion of liberalism, a nirvana in a sea of authoritarian legislation (Brodie, 2008). Hillbrow, unlike the rest of South Africa, continued to evade the heavy hand of the police. This added to the area's multi-cultural appeal, an oasis for liberal citizens, new immigrants and visitors to South Africa under apartheid (Brodie, 2008; Danith, 2014; Winkler, 2014). Hillbrow remained a sought after area, close to the city centre in terms of economic opportunities, while it also provided countless opportunities for entertainment. At the same time it became a blot on the map of apartheid planners, as it became more and more difficult to enforce strict apartheid by-laws.

By the mid-1980s the apartheid government chose to ignore Hillbrow, instead of dealing with it (Brodie, 2008). It was declared a 'grey' area, effectively meaning that it was an area tainted by multi-racialism (Chipkin, 2008: 408). Occupancy numbers increased and lower-income residents started moving into the

area, which resulted in an increase in slum-lording (Brodie, 2008). The downward spiral was now in full swing.

The floodgates opened as apartheid's grip crumbled. In 1985 Hillbrow was 70 per cent white, by 1991 it was only 30 per cent white (Brodie, 2008: 164). A 1991 study revealed the extent of the landlord's neglect; 35 per cent of residents lived in "overcrowded or slum conditions" (Brodie, 2008: 164). Strict apartheid by-laws and policing were now a thing of the past, and with the lifting of the Group Areas Act in 1991 control became nearly impossible (Brodie, 2008: 164). Waves of hopeful people flocked into the 'city of gold' looking for economic opportunities, not only from rural South Africa, but also from the rest of the continent. Many building owners gave up, seeing their investments as a liability, impossible to control given this new quasi-legal tsunami of humanity. The lack of on-going building management opened up space for the seedy underworld to take control (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 13). Unmanaged buildings were hi-jacked by criminal syndicates, meaning that tenants were still paying rent to the syndicate, but no money was spent on paying for utilities or upkeep. Water and electricity connections were cut due to non-payment, resulting in illegal connections (Brodie, 2008; Silverman & Zack, 2007). Lifts stopped working. Scrap-metal thieves stripped many buildings of everything that could be sold, leaving behind only an empty shell. Raw sewage flooded the basements of abandoned buildings.

Hillbrow and Berea, once fashionable places where the upwardly mobile chose to live, now became a no-go area for the affluent residents of Johannesburg.

> As legend has it, Hillbrow is one of the deepest circles of Dante's hell, a chaotic swirl of drug dealers and murderers that any visitor would be lucky to escape. A post-apocalyptic Wild West that leaves hardened police pale with fear. People might even compare it to a war zone. (Nessman, 2002: 194, cited in Winkler, 2008)

> Most of them don't like it there; they hate the place. Everybody is on their way out of Hillbrow. (Moele, 2006: 62)

Hillbrow's population doubled from 1991 to 2011, indicating that it still remained a popular 'port of entry' for foreign nationals (Winkler, 2014: 487).

However, it also became a marginalised space, a space where the 'unwanted' could gather a "domain to which few want to belong, or in which few are able to establish their roots" (Winkler, 2014: 487). The social facilities in Hillbrow had also been negatively impacted during the urban decay, over-crowding and crime (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 41). This negatively impacted social capital, as residents chose to stay indoors due to fear of crime, social facilities were rendered inaccessible or defunct and transience further impacted the development of trust (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 44). As crime-rates soared, ordinary Hillbrow residents chose to stay in their apartments, rather than venturing outside (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 18). The vibrant street cafés, bookstores, clubs, hotels, all closed down one by one, as the situation got progressively worse. The impact of crime and decay on Hillbrow remains pronounced today. Dealing with a heterogeneous, transient population in a space where residents do not trust each other to a large extent lead to ethnic and cultural grouping.

> Common geographical origins, belonging to a particular sub-culture or religious institutions helped overcome the isolation of many flat dwellers. (Morris, cited in Chipkin, 2008: 409)

Hillbrow remains a first port-of-call for many immigrants (legal and illegal) to South Africa at present. European arrivals have since migrated to suburban enclaves like Norwood, Greenside, Senderwood and Bedfordview. Where the Hillbrow of the 1960s is often romanticised, descriptions are still apt today, ranging from a space filled with "vice-dens, drug parlours, and gambling dives" (Telford, 1969: 72) to the 'wild frontier' where crime and grime is a growing concern (Van Rensburg, 1986)

It is in this context of growing instability that a new building, a 'bridge to heaven' opened its doors in 1975. Ponte City's elaborate opening ceremony could not hide the growing anxiety regarding the future of South Africa. It remains a bold architectural statement on one of the highest ridges in Johannesburg. However, its fortunes were closely linked to those of the Johannesburg central business district, Hillbrow, Berea and the surrounding neighbourhoods.

1.2.4. Ponte City: from triumph to turmoil

It was to be a building unlike any other on the African continent. Planned during the rosy heights of 'apartheid-era confidence,' a time during which housing demand was so high that new apartments would be let even before the buildings were completed (Silverman, 2014). Ponte City took six years to build, and opened as political and economic uncertainty caused the South African property market to collapse. (Bloom, 2013; Gorelik, 2014; Silverman, 2014). Built on the Berea Ridge to be a magnificent testament to Johannesburg and Hillbrow/Berea's economic power and optimism, it soared 54 floors (173 meters) into the sky, making it the tallest residential apartment building in the Southern Hemisphere at the time, an ultimate expression of the architectural 'gigantism' favoured during the time (Bremner, 2014; Brodie, 2008; Chipkin, 2008; Silverman, 2014: 3).

The name, Ponte City, reveals the idealism behind the development. Ponte, translating as bridge in Latin, was meant to represent a link between earthly aspirations and the heavenly possibilities, a bridge between earth and heaven (Gorelik, 2014). The building housed 464 apartments, all fully furnished to cater for the influx of young professionals from all over the world (Bremner, 2014). Six penthouses each spread over three floors, with Jacuzzis, saunas and amazing views of Johannesburg (Gorelik, 2014). The building also had a bowling alley, tennis courts, swimming pools and 54 shops housed in a small shopping centre with restaurants and hi-end retail outlets (Bremner, 2014; Gorelik, 2014; Vladislavić, 2014).

Sadly, Ponte City was never the success it was envisioned to be. It sheer size meant that apartments were hard to fill. However, it remained a vibrant housing space within the central districts of Johannesburg. During the mid-1980s the body corporate tried to ensure that the building kept running, and that all residents abided by the rules and regulations set by the association (Brown, 2014). For many political exiles back in South Africa, it represented a space where they could live in, and overlook, the economic powerhouse of Africa where they were discouraged

from living just because of the colour of their skin and/or their political persuasions (Brown, 2014).

The area around Ponte City continued to deteriorate as Hillbrow and Berea suffered from deepening urban decay. This opulent tower might have been constructed in such a way to be a fortress, a mini-city that provided refuge from the surrounding area, but it could not escape this urban dystopia unfolding around it (Brodie, 2008). In spite of all efforts, Ponte City became a monument to the decay of Hillbrow by the mid-1990s (Vladislavić, 2014; Zvomuya, 2014). Its once luxurious and upmarket apartments were left with no power or water. None of the lifts were working. The bottom floors were completely stripped and gutted, with entrenched prostitution and drug rings controlling the open space. The vast parking lot became a place to buy, and use, your drug of choice. It became was so notorious that not even the police would go into the building.

In 1996 an American architect visited Johannesburg, declaring Ponte City "a lousy apartment building, but a perfect prison." (Vladislavić, 2014: 9). In February 1998 it was proposed that the entire block be converted to a high-rise prison (Bloom, 2013; Vladislavić, 2014). Johannesburg residents initially joked that this was a great solution, since only criminals lived in the building. Criticism against the plan gained momentum, with architect Henning Rassmus stating that "it sucked" at a symbolic level (Vladislavić, 2014: 10). The proposal was turned down.

By 2001 Kempston Group[1] decided that critical maintenance and security upgrades had to be done to stabilize the building (Bauer, 2012). Its spectacular and imposing central core that opened 54 floors to the sky was buried several floors deep in garbage – from human and animal remains to sewage and other bits of urban detritus (discovered during a massive clean-up drive in 2002) (Bauer, 2012). The clean-up had the desired effect for the property owners.

[1] The Kempston Group has its headquarters in East London, dealing mostly with transport. It has a growing property portfolio, with Ponte City being its largest (in terms of size) building. www.kempston.co.za

By 2005 the building boasted sustained high occupancy rates of more than 90% (Bauer, 2012; Bloom, 2013). Two property developers with lofty aspirations bought the building in 2006 to turn it into glamorous apartments once again, completely gutting floors 11 to 34 and moving 1500 residents out, hoping that the *New Ponte* would appeal to the professional working class (Bauer, 2012; Slobig, 2014). This scheme failed in 2008 as its launch happened at the onset of the global economic recession (Bauer, 2008). Kempston Group took back control of Ponte City, a building that was now little more than a concrete shell after the evictions of 2007 to make way for *New Ponte* (Vladislavić, 2014). In 2009 mass renovations again started at Ponte City. Apartments were completely refurbished, electrical wiring was replaced, water pipes, brand-new lifts installed; the whole building was refitted, in line with Kempston's vision of making it attractive and affordable (Gorelik, 2014).

Today Ponte City is fully let, with a waiting list for new tenants (the first time in its history). The building houses 1800 residents, with the number climbing to almost 3000 when children are included in the figure (Bauer, 2012; Zvomuya, 2014: 5). The shopping centre at the ground floor has re-opened. The swimming pool invites residents to use it again. Security is tight, something residents appreciate in a neighbourhood that has not shaken off its tough character (Gorelik, 2014). A team of cleaners works around the clock. The central core is mostly clean, as is the piazza surrounding the base. From a vertical slum, Ponte City now again offers some of the most sought-after apartments in Hillbrow/Berea.

Ponte City has been given a new lease on life. The flashing neon sign on the top of the building can be seen from almost anywhere in Johannesburg, yet for decades many Johannesburg residents tried to ignore the reality that it represented – much like the unfinished Ryogyong Hotel in Pyongyang, North Korea[2]. Today, its

[2] The Ryogyong Hotel was supposed to be the largest and tallest hotel in the world. Its construction was never completed, and the 330m concrete shell can be seen from any point in Pyongyang. Residents (and the government), uncomfortable with the failure it represented, chose to ignore it instead. It was erased from postcards and tourist guides. It became a large and invisible white elephant. In 2009 the recladding of the structure in a glass façade started. It remains doubtful whether the structure will ever be used, but it is at least more attractive.

flashing red neon sign is still visible. But now, unlike the terrible past, it has become a sign of something else. Ponte City is a narrative of hope and restoration, set within a sea of decay and despair (Cook, 2014; Gorelik, 2014).

Interestingly, Ponte City is acting as a bridge again, maybe not between heaven and earth, but as a bridge between Hillbrow residents from diverse backgrounds and between Hillbrow residents and residents from the suburbs. A community organisation was launched in Ponte City in October 2012, called *Dlala Nje* (translated as Just Play in Zulu). This organisation aims to change perceptions about Hillbrow and Ponte City, providing a safe space for young children in the surrounding area to engage, do homework and play. *Dlala Nje*'s services to the young residents include art classes, music, internet access, sports activities (swimming, basketball and yoga) and community events. *Dlala Nje* focuses on the engaging young residents within the area, and their services are provided free of charge. Furthermore, they conduct guided tours of Ponte City and Hillbrow to those that live in the suburbs or visit from abroad (Zvomuya, 2014: 5). The guided tours fund the non-profit component, a business model developed around the fact that Ponte City remained interesting (and mostly inaccessible) for visitors to Johannesburg, and residents of the predominantly white suburbs. The immersion tours offered a chance for visitors to experience Hillbrow, to see it in a different light and potentially leave with a changed perspective regarding this notorious part of Johannesburg. The immersion tours attracted a lot of attention in the local and international media, not only for *Dlala Nje* but also for Ponte City. Two years after opening, their influence had grown to such an extent that activities and events included children from the surrounding buildings. *Dlala Nje* also managed to focus attention on Ponte City, as their tours made what was previously a no-go area accessible to curious outsiders.

Hillbrow and Berea, many would argue, had depleted social capital. This poverty in terms of social capital contributed to the proliferation of social ills in the area; as ordinary residents failed to collectively express social capital. Putnam describes an area that has expanding social capital as one that is (1) economically

more efficient; (2) has less crime; (3) has healthier residents and (4) better governance (2002:6).

Ponte City, by all accounts, seems to be a building where social capital flourishes, where residents feel a sense of belonging, an inclusive space and ultimately a connective space, a bridge between different communities of practice. "There is a community within a community," which is always open to the regular newcomers (Zvomuya, 2014: 7). Ponte City is a social experiment, a space where working class residents and a small number of professionals and even white middle-class residents live together (Zvomuya, 2014: 8).

1.3. Understanding the context of Ponte City

Ponte City is located in Berea, adjacent to Hillbrow. The surrounding neighbourhoods are all considered to be high-density neighbourhoods, and most of them suffer from urban decay. Ponte City is the tallest building in the area and serves as a beacon to those that live in Berea, Bellevue, Doornfontein, Hillbrow and Yeoville. For respondents, in spite of improvements, the area still remained largely unsafe, and they referred to the urban decay in the area during focus group and individual interview discussions. The lack of perceived and real safety impacted the formation and expression of social capital within the area. Due to security concerns, residents were more likely to 'stick with' the people and structures that they knew, instead of reaching out beyond these networks. Ponte City's location within an area associated with crime and urban decay led to the exclusion of groups that were seen to be to blame for the decay.

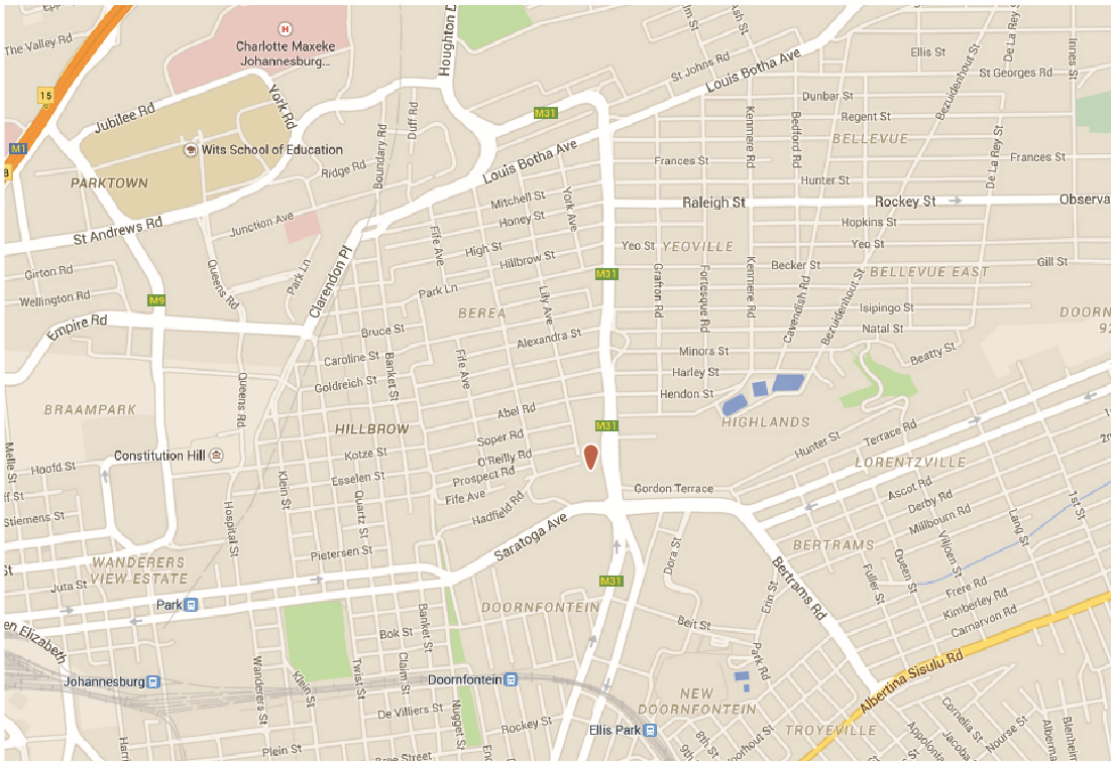

Figure 1: Ponte City in relation to the surrounding area

As noted earlier, Ponte City was described as an 'island' of perceived safety within a more chaotic area. Some respondents noted how Ponte City was different from the surrounding area. To them, Ponte City was safe and organized, the surrounding area was unsafe and according to some, even scary. In contrast to this exclusion from the surrounding area, the reopened shopping centre within Ponte City attracted residents from neighbouring buildings. This created opportunities for the emergence of bridging and linking social capital with social agents from the surrounding areas, as Ponte City was acting as a meeting space for individuals from various backgrounds. However Ponte City can only be accessed through a security station from one main entrance in Lily Avenue, which acted as a barrier to bridging and linking social capital formation. For respondents, Ponte City was not like Hillbrow, and its tenants were not like the tenants of other buildings in Hillbrow, which was seen as a good thing, however Ponte City's location and walling off from the surrounding area negatively impacted the development of links.

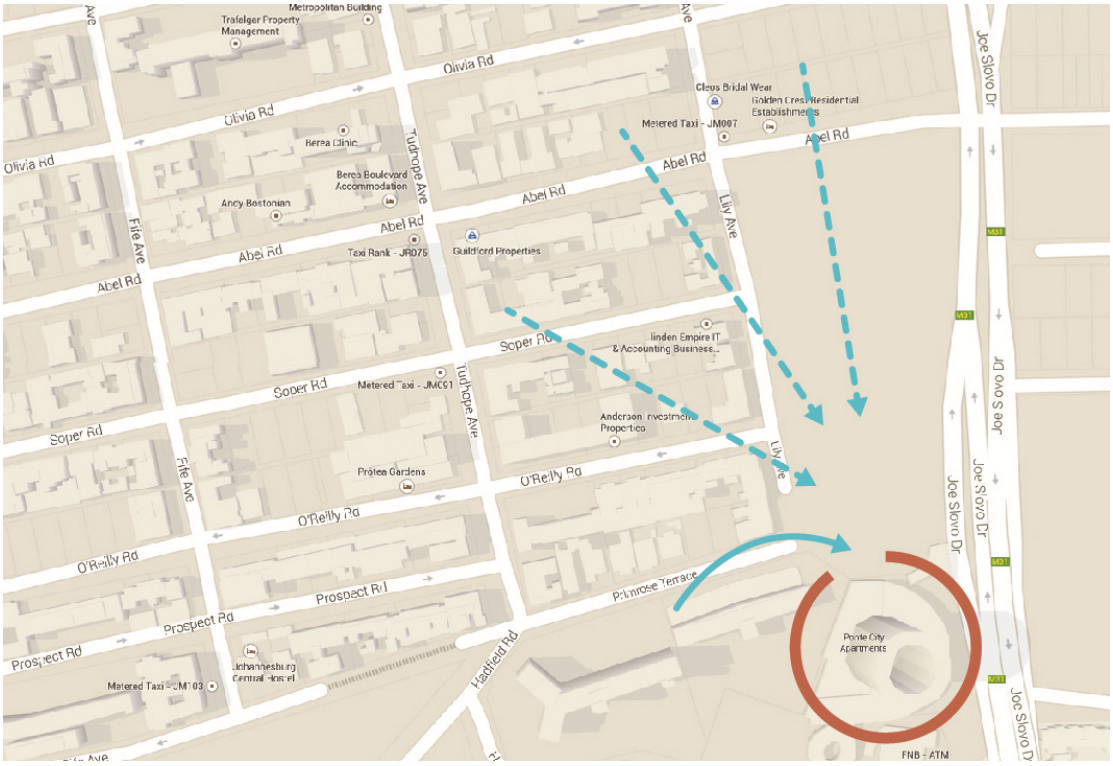

Figure 2: Flow of visitors to Ponte City

In spite of this, Ponte City had many visitors from the surrounding area. Residents from buildings in Primrose Terrace, Lily Ave and O'Reilly Road were the most common visitors to Ponte City, due to the proximity. This was also where most participants in the *Dlala Nje* programme hailed from. Connective communal spaces negated the barriers to social capital formation to some extent, allowing residents to get to know not only each other, but also residents from the surrounding areas. Some respondents noted how this larger community fostered perceptions of greater personal safety and belonging. One respondent stated that Berea, where Ponte City is located, was more like a location, or community, compared to Hillbrow.

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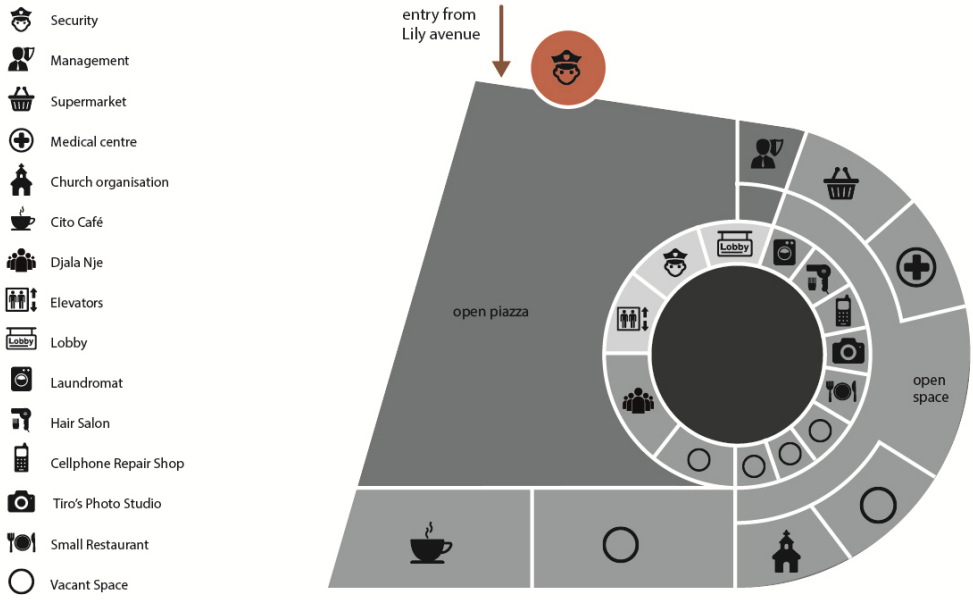

Figure 3: Ponte City ground floor plan

Ponte City's base consists of numerous communal and retail spaces. Some of these spaces acted as connective spaces, like the *Dlala* Nje shop, Cito Café, other retail spaces and the clinic. These areas connected residents to each other, and also to residents of the surrounding area. As noted earlier these connective spaces created opportunities for bridging and linking social capital to emerge. The management and security acted as barriers to connectivity. For example, a Christmas event that was to include children from the surrounding area was negatively impacted when management banned all children under-twelve from visiting Ponte City the day before the event. Management did not allow Nigerians to be residents in the building, based on the assumption that they were drug-dealers and criminals. In spite of this Cito Café was owned and run by a Nigerian. An outcome of defining 'unwanted elements,' was that management contributed to stronger bonding social capital to develop amongst similar individuals and groups, which represents bonds that are more reactive and exclusionary.

1.4. Problem Statement

Ponte City is seen as a model for urban regeneration and urban management against decay. Once a vertical slum, the building has turned a corner. It is fully let, the building owners are enjoying a return on their investment and residents live in apartments that are viewed as safe and affordable. Media reports and ad hoc discussions with residents indicate that Ponte City encapsulates a vibrant community of residents, a space where there is expanding social capital, allowing for connections to develop amongst residents and building management, ultimately making it an attractive place to live (Cook, 2014; Gorelik, 2014; Putnam, 2002). Furthermore, community initiatives have been launched by residents of Ponte City, creating safe spaces for young residents to meet, do homework and participate in various social activities, places where 'networks of solidarity' emerge to deal with common issues (Putnam, 1992: 171; Putnam, 2002: 4).

Looking at these reports, it would seem that Ponte City has strong social capital, especially when compared to the area around it. Social capital, it is argued, strengthens networks of reciprocity and trust, leading to the mobilisation of more (and different) types of capital, ultimately resulting in community development (Mitchell-Brown, 2013; Putnam, 2002: 6). The argument is that this mobilisation of social capital, and its expression translates into more inclusion and participation, ultimately leading to more attractive living spaces.

This expansion of social capital allows for linkages to develop: connecting Ponte City residents to each other, to residents of the Hillbrow/Berea neighbourhood, to residents of other neighbourhoods in Johannesburg (and the world), to building management and ultimately the building owners. Even though Ponte City seems to be a shining example of good urban regeneration it is located within a very decayed, high-density neighbourhood within Johannesburg.

Urban degeneration is driven by multiple interlinked problems, making regeneration programmes difficult to manage. Currently the preferred approach to

urban regeneration has a strong corporate focus, building on the lessons learned from the period where management was largely absent (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 18). This corporate managerial approach focuses almost exclusively on the return on investment, in an economic sense, limiting social capital formation or actively opposing social capital formation in some cases (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 30).

A lot of research deals with best practices in terms of managing urban regeneration from a capital investment and private/public partnership approach. However, few studies explore how social capital enables inclusive and participative urban regeneration. Social capital formation and expansion allows for the development of connections amongst residents within the building, residents with outsiders and residents with building management. These connections create a sense of belonging to a space while also leading to 'investment' from the residents, be it capital or emotional (Silverman & Zack, 2007: 30). For example, while corporate paradigms consider economic return of investment as an important indicator, it fails to acknowledge how active residency contributes to the attractiveness to a particular residential building or area as a long-term space to stay, a space where residents are happier because of their increasing social connectedness (Putnam, 2002: 8; Silverman & Zack, 2007: 30).

While strong-handed, top-down management approaches to urban regeneration deal with some of the worst aspects of urban decay, without connective social capital residents will still perceive the area as degraded, they will see themselves as individual actors and/or perceive management in a negative way. This means that residents are hesitant to see themselves as part of the larger community, failing to invest both in economic and social levels. High levels of transience further limit the fostering/ and expansion of social capital.

Urban degeneration and its negative impact on social capital are problems that policy makers face at present, and as urbanisation picks up speed it will become even more pronounced. In Johannesburg urban renewal is still mostly dealt with as a physical intervention, with little or no focus social capital as a potential driver to

deal with poverty and civic alienation (Siyangwana & Mayekiso, 2011). Furthermore, residents of the most blighted neighbourhoods are often treated more like problems that need to be fixed, and not as important assets that must be included in discussions and strategy around regeneration (Bremner, 2000).

The conceptual framework in this research is premised on social capital as a driver of civic participation leading to an inclusive and sustainable urban regeneration strategy. A detailed and comprehensive urban regeneration program seeks not only to deal with the effects of urban regeneration, but also its underlying causes. The literature review discusses the bridge between social capital and civic participation, providing a typographical analysis. A comprehensive urban management strategy acknowledges political and socio-economic realities, while building on existing social capital to maximise resources needed for sustainable regeneration (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Mitchell-Brown, 2013).

The research is important as it can guide policy makers to navigate the complexity inherent to urban management and regeneration. It further allows policy makers, housing planners and developers to consider what makes neighbourhoods, developments and buildings attractive for residents. Urban decay negatively impacts social capital, and the research reflects on how social capital can be strengthened and how communities of practice can be connected to overcome issues of exclusion and limited resources.

1.5. Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to explore Ponte City as an example of how social capital has enabled residents to participate, detailing how this contributed to an inclusive and well-managed living space for residents.

The research also critiques dominant existing approaches to urban regeneration that focus exclusively on government or business interventions and investments to counter urban decay.

1.6. Research Questions

How is participation being facilitated by social capital, contributing to the creation of an inclusive and well-managed living space?

How is residents' social capital expressed?

To what extent is participation seen as contributing to lasting sustainability of the building by current management of Ponte City?

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to describe and expand on current research and thinking on the importance of social capital to drive more inclusive, participatory and comprehensive urban renewal strategies. To access research documents, the Wits Database was used. Search strings included urban regeneration, urban management, urban governance, communities, social capital, urban renewal theory, community building, place-making and participation. The reference sections of many of the articles sourced through the key word search directed further reading to expand on the literature, and follow threads.

Although a lot of research has moved away from the traditional government and state-centric approaches that dominated the urban regeneration discussion from the 1960s to the late 1970s (Bingham, 2006; Gaffney, 2001; Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005; Silver & Toews, 2009), a great deal of research still occupies the new public management space, with the latter emerged around the late 1970s, as the failures of the traditional state-centric model became more evident (Silver & Toews, 2009).

The new public management approach sees government (be it local or national) as concerned with policy direction and the market as the real driver of change (Peters, 2009; Pierre, 2009; Silver & Toews, 2009; Stoker, 1998). However, there is also an existing body of research exploring the social capital, roles of citizens, communities, and civic associations in dealing with the complex and diverse problems that face densely populated urban neighbourhoods, as no actor can effectively deal with these 'wicked' problems on their own (Kooiman, 1993 as cited by stoker, 1998:22; Kaufman, 2004; Mitchell-Brown, 2013; Putnam, 2002; Silver & Toews, 2009). The literature explored in this chapter does not focus on the South African environment exclusively, as this would limit the understanding of current global themes, approaches and theories regarding social capital and urban governance in urban regeneration.

The literature is structured around two main schools of thought, while also proposing a framework for the analysis of social capital and how it supports participation within an urban context. The first school of thought highlighted is the more traditional approach of **urban management**, a process driven by local government (or similar municipal agencies) that seek to address infrastructure deficits through publically funded interventions, with the argument that strategic public interventions can unleash further privately funded interventions. This approach focuses on the ecological, economic and environmental issues, while little attention is given to the residents that reside within that particular urban space, apart from the fact that they are recipients and of services and infrastructure (Gaffney, 2001; Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005; Silver & Toews, 2009). Critics of this approach note that there is an overt focus on the physical infrastructure within the city as commodities (Fang & Zhang, 2003: 150; Silver & Toews, 2009) at the expense of the socio-political fabric that exists within this space.

Secondly, we find the **new public management** approach, in response to the limitations of the traditional approach. Policy makers are faced with finite financial and human resources, and greater involvement from the private and civil society sector is deemed necessary to maximise outputs. Although this approach allows for, and actively calls for, greater participation, it fails to uncover the various factors that limit active participation (Silver & Toews, 2009). Although social capital formation and inclusion is seen as an important factor in new public management-driven urban renewal strategies; it does not stand at the centre of this particular approach (Silver & Toews, 2009). Therefore, new public management adherents look at ways to manage and even revolutionise the institutional architecture in order to maximise active civic participation, continually attempting to balance the increasingly complex relationship between the state and greater society, but failing to uncover why various social actors are not participating in the processes (Hibbit & Jones, 2008; Hyden, 2006; Pierre, 2009; Silver & Toews, 2009; Stoker, 1998).

The limitations in the above approaches are that they fail to take into account the variety of factors that limit participation (beyond access to resources). Some actors will dominate the complex inter-relationship as described by new public management (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Silver & Toews, 2009; Silverman & Zack, 2007: 14; Stoker, 198) and the neoliberal undertones of new public management results in a focus that tends to be more on outcomes, rather than the actual process (Hyden, 2006; Pierre, 2009). Furthermore, both the traditional approaches and new public management also fall short in that the residents of these distressed urban communities are often seen as resource-poor and problematic, and in this way existing exclusionary socio-historical narratives remain with residents not having any opportunity to invest in the area that they live (Chipkin, 2005; Nienhuis, Silverman & Zack, 2007: 14; Van Dijk and De Roo, 2011). Because of this, participatory approaches that do not take cultural-or socio-political realities into account fail to involve the broader resident population in targeted urban areas (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Silverman & Zack, 2007: 14).

Finally, these approaches continue to 'act on' the communities, rather than 'acting with' them, resulting in a continuum of current patterns of marginalisation, benefiting those that have most power already (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Silver & Toews, 2009). Residents, even those that are active within social networks, find themselves unable to contribute to discussions and propose solutions (Chipkin, 2005). This lack of 'creative agency' can be expressed in ways that policy makers tend to see as a sign of lacking social capital. Despite social capital potentially being present within a space, the socio-political structuring of that particular space can affect how communities express social capital (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014; Roux, 2014).

2.2. Urban Management: Governing against Decay

One reason why traditional strategies in managing urban decay remain prevalent is because it is entrenched in the civilising narrative that permeates all aspects of our modern understanding of the city, placing the planning expert in a central position to provide order to a chaotic and under-developed environment

(Scott, 1998; Silverman & Zack, 2007: 14). Imposing order on chaotic human settlements by developing a grid pattern allows the city planner to manage, control and administrate all aspects of human interaction, as if the planner has a view from above (Dinath, 2014; Scott, 1998: 57).

Tackling urban decay follows the same approach, if city planners can bring back order to the current state of disorder; the situation can be managed and bettered, as with was the example with Beijing's inner-city rejuvenation drive of the 1990s, the Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment program (Dinath, 2014; Fang & Zhang, 2003). Urban decay is seen as the physical degradation to infrastructure investments in a particular zone of the city due to the limited maintenance and on-going investment (Akrout-Yaïche, 2002; Gaffney, 2001: 59; Ho, Yau, Law, Poon, Yip & Liusman, 2012: 125; Silver & Toews, 2009). This is a 'bricks and mortar' approach, the physical infrastructure is the main concern, with little consideration of the socio-political realities within a particular space (Danith, 2014; Silver & Toews, 2009).

To address decay, it is important that policy makers focus on delivering policy that will address the infrastructure backlogs and physical decay (Akrout-Yaïche, 2002; Silver & Toews, 2009) and by focusing on physical infrastructure one can turn the tide against the urban blight (Gaffney, 2001; Fang & Zhang, 2003).

> The municipality's impulse to fix, order and clean up the inner city, as though it could be scrubbed clean and polished bit by bit until it is all 'sorted out,' has been frustrated by the myriad expressions of insurgent urbanism, quotidian survival tactics and strategies collide in inner-city streets and buildings on a daily basis. (Dinath, 2014: 244)

Taking stock of an area's physical assets also allows the urban management experts to identify avenues that will support the unlocking of investment potential within that space (Gaffney, 2001: 63). This is a technocratic and bureaucratic endeavour with a focus on order, predictability (Scott, 1998), rule-making and law-enforcement, where urban planners are experts that can expect a good return on

their investment, as further private re-investment should follow once the regeneration efforts take effect (Bingham, 2006: 815; Gaffney, 2001; Silver & Toews, 2006; Silver & Zack, 2007).

The main tenet of this approach is that through targeted physical regeneration one can attract increased economic investment, change the negative perceptions that are held of a deprived neighbourhood and an outcome of this will be a change in the quality of life for the neighbourhood's residents (Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005; Silverman & Zack, 2007). The residents are seen as passive recipients of services, as long as the logic of order and control is carefully implemented in a scientific and empirical way, things will turn for the better (Karam & Rubin, 2014; Scott, 1998: 60). The focus, accordingly, is to address areas where infrastructure is most depleted while managing and maintaining new infrastructure investments that will theoretically lead to sustained private investment (Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005); while no attention is paid to poverty relief in targeted areas, as infrastructure developments are seen as the main strategy in alleviating poverty (Silver & Toews, 2009).

Critics of this approach argue that its overt economic focus ignores the different components (beyond economics) that constitute a city (Danith, 2014; Fang & Zhang, 2003). This approach makes sense from an administrative point of view, but it does not take into account how residents of a particular neighbourhood inter-relate or use the spaces contained within the locality. As such it remains planning from above, devoid from the realities on the ground (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Karam & Rubin, 2014; Scott, 1998). Critics argue that the sustainable neighbourhood is more than just a collection of maintained buildings, pavements, streets and parks; it must provide an individual with a sense of belonging and responsibility (Bingham, 2006). A sustainable neighbourhood is a place where residents want to live and work, a place that meets the needs of its inhabitants, and has the potential to meet the needs of a future generation (Bingham, 2006; Rogerson, Sadler, Wong & Green, 2010: 506). The traditional approach fails to take into account that cities are socio-

political constructs as well, so beyond being well-run it should also be safe, inclusive and provide inhabitants with equal opportunities to satisfy human needs, and opportunities to solve problems collectively (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Ganassi-Agger, 1979; Rogerson, Sadler, Wong & Green, 2010). Furthermore, as an approach it fails to deal with poverty (Silver & Toews, 2009).

The allure of the traditional approach with its overt focus on infrastructure is that it can easily be quantified in terms of resources invested and physical assets created. Again critics argue that it is much more difficult to rate the health of a particular neighbourhood from a social perspective, especially if the focus in on the monetary value of investment in the area (Martin, McCann & Purcell, 2003: 117). In keeping with this, they ask whether the infrastructure developments meet the needs of the community, especially in cases where regeneration has displaced already marginalised inhabitants as individuals with more material resources move in to reinvigorated areas (Bardos, 2013). Where the status quo already favours those that are most connected to the policy machinery (Martin, McCann & Purcell, 2003), exclusion will most likely be exacerbated, providing opportunities for the elites to collaborate at the expense of the poor (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Ganassi-Agger, 1979).

2.3. The move to urban governance: Participation and urban renewal

The new public management approach highlights that traditional approaches focused too much on the role of the government, adding that the role of government should not necessarily be a the centre, but rather to steer the process of governance (Peters, 2009; Stoker, 1998). In new public management collaboration, consultation and involvement is seen as important. Urban managers are the captains of the policy ship, while the market is the wind that drives continual change (Bingham, 2006; Pierre, 2009; Rogerson, Sadler, Wong & Green, 2010; Stoker, 1998; Teles, 2012). Key to a policy success is the extent to which it is responsive to the target community's needs and as such the goal of the policy maker and city planner is to make the overall policy architecture more inclusive and democratic, not merely a demand and control style of leadership, but rather a

collaborative leadership style (Bingham, 2006; Rogerson, Sadler, Wong & Green, 2010: 505).

Central is the argument that government (local or national) should not be the only actor in dealing with urban renewal, highlighting the expansion of the arena towards private investors (Peters, 2009; Pierre, 2009; Stoker, 1998). Public institutions have more altruistic, long-term motives (thus countering the private institutions focus on profit), while private institutions with a focus on efficiency and cost-saving is of benefit to the public institution (Van Boxmeer & Van Beckhoven, 2005).

According to new public management, a good policy actor should be capacitated in order to reform the local government sphere to link more closely with the recipients of services so that opportunities for collaboration and subsequently social capital formation can be maximised (Rogerson, Sadlier, Wong & Green, 2010: 505; Silver & Toews, 2009; Teles, 2012). As such the regeneration actor learns in his/her engagement with community groups, associations and organisations, leading to better policy outcomes as the regeneration reflects the needs of the residents (Deitrick, 2004: 426; Silver & Toews, 2009). This neoliberal focus on attracting and retaining investment becomes the focus for local policy makers, wanting to ensure that the neighbourhood remains economically competitive and socially attractive (Martin, McCann & Purcell, 2005: 115).

Where the shortfall of the traditional governance model was that it was mostly focused on managing the urban space and not the residents that find themselves within the space, the new governance model focuses more on the relationship between the residents and the space that they inhabit, while uncovering the social and cultural assets that can 'sell' this space to draw new investment into the area (Bingham, 2006; Rogerson, Sadler, Wong & Green, 2010: 513). Dialogue and communication are the cornerstones of this 'collaborative' alternative form of governance and if the initiatives are 'proactive and objective' they can aid social capital formation (Bingham, 2006: 817; Teles, 2012: 20).

A current short-coming of new public management is that while social capital is valued, they fail to acknowledge that multiple stakeholders negotiate for space in this 'zone of collaboration', and as such government will lead in some areas, while other actors can lead in other areas, making it a contested space (Silver & Toews, 2009; Stoker, 1998). So while proponents of new public management laud the importance of social capital, they fail to acknowledge that power relations dictate that the most marginal actors in this play will face the largest hardships in terms of 'collaborating' (Ganassi-Agger, 1979). As with the master planners of yore, there is a reductionist drive to view organic, often chaotic space filled with multiple communities as 'one homogenous community', for the sake of organisation (Silver & Toews, 2009; Stoker, 1998; Teles, 2012: 21). New public management practitioners acknowledge the importance of social capital and contend that a key focus should be to support the continual expansion of social capital, by making institutional structures more inclusive and democratic (Teles, 2012: 21). It fails however to address why certain social groupings will not sit around the discussion table (Putnam, 2002). A further critique of this notion of institutional design is that it is still made up of individuals with set agendas and preferences, and as such one cannot simply assume that a focus on institutional design will lead to equitable policy implementation (Ganassi-Agger, 1979). The assumption that institutional change through top-down initiatives can support more bottoms-up initiatives to flourish (Teles, 2012) is challenged by those that hold that participatory policies alone are not enough to secure equitable participation and prevent further marginalisation of those that are already marginalised (Ganassi-Agger, 1979).

New public management approaches also put a lot of effort into growing public-private partnerships as a tool to implement urban policy. With this approach, central actors are government (local or national) and the owners of public and private property and developers (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014; Van Boxmeer & Van Beckhoven, 2005). This model does not include residents of buildings, highlighting critique that the approach puts too much power in the hands of those that already

have the most access to resources (Bull & Jones, 2006; Ganassi-Agger, 1979). As noted earlier, the public sphere is responsible for policy direction while the market drives the process. However, public-private partnerships are potentially problematic, especially when they are paternalistic in nature, too focused on short-term gains, driven by convenience or controlled by elites (Diamond & Southern, 2006: 192). In conclusion, we cannot assume that all public-private partnerships will be beneficial to the residents of a particular area as it does not necessarily involve them. Furthermore, we cannot assume that participation is a natural outcome just because the policy architecture promotes participation.

2.4. Urban renewal in Johannesburg

Current literature into provides a framework to analyse current urban renewal strategies in Johannesburg. A successful urban regeneration program is more than just merely cleaning a neighbourhood or upgrading infrastructure (Danith, 2014). A comprehensive strategy will acknowledge political and socio-economic realities (Fang & Zhang, 2003) and give the marginalized residents of particular neighbourhoods a voice, an opportunity to become 'investors' in their neighbourhood as well (Chipkin, 2005). Johannesburg's current strategy is still mostly focused on big infrastructure investments to combat urban blight, with residents of the most degraded neighbourhoods seen as a problem that must be fixed rather than an asset that needs to be developed (Bremner, 2000; Chipkin, 2005; Danith, 2014). This particular model favours those that are already empowered (such as the owners of residential buildings), often at the expense of those that currently live in the particular space (Bremner, 2000; Bull, 2005; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2012). Urban renewal in Johannesburg is still seen as a physical intervention with the focus on gentrification rather than community building (Chipkin, 2005; Dinath, 2014; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2011). This dominant narrative excludes the majority of residents within targeted neighbourhoods and fails to speak to their needs nor lead to inclusive and sustainable development (Chipkin, 2005; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2012: 143).

This means successful urban renewal strategy will be one that (1) connects different communities within the neighbourhood, and connects these communities to the outside, leading to greater and meaningful engagement, (2) manages the delicate balance between the need for efficiency and democracy, (3) supports the development of a more equitable society and (4) fosters a sense of ownership and investment from the residents in a particular area. A successful urban strategy unearths the social capital within a neighbourhood; it shares a narrative of belonging, connection and participation within the space and to spaces on the outside (Mitchell-Brown, 2013; Putnam, 2002; Silverman & Zack, 2007). Especially in a city like Johannesburg, with a history of socio-economic fragmentation and marginalisation, a successful strategy will work against entrenched narratives of social poverty and further exclusion.

2.5. Rediscovering humanity in the urban jungle

The two approaches both acknowledged to a limited extent that residents are important, and that social capital should be supported in any strategy. A framework emerges where supporting and expanding social capital can be seen as the start. The first approach seeks to address the economic deficiencies through an infrastructure rollout and the second approach looks at empowering residents to engage through participatory structures that are designed by government and driven by the market.

The problems faced by 'urban man' are multiple, interlinked and complex; making discussions about urban renewal more challenging, but hopefully also allowing us to uncover creative and holistic initiatives to address urban decay (Danith, 2014; Ganassi-Agger, 1979; Silver & Toews, 2009). Central to this broader understanding of the polis, is to unpack and understand how residents identify with their locality and how they relate to each other, to neighbouring residents, to management, to building owners and to city councils; also how residents, use and view the space that they inhabit, including how their space relates to surrounding spaces (Scott, 1998; Silverman & Zack, 2007:14). A grounded urban regeneration

strategy should thus go beyond merely addressing core physical environmental and economic needs. It should encapsulate the complexity of the human experience within the urban network (Deitrick, 2004; Fang & Zhang, 2003; Ho, Yau, Law, Poon, Yip & Liusman, 2012: 127; Silver & Toews, 2009; Scott, 1998).

Calling a planning process participative gives policy some weight, as it indicates that the process was legitimate and democratic. However, as noted earlier, having space for participation in institutions does not mean that everybody will participate (Bull, 2005; Putnam, 2002: 9; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2011). Lack of participation can be viewed as a lack of social capital. However, the problem is more complex. Social capital might exist, but it is expressed differently within an unequal power-relation framework (Silverman & Zack, 2007). As mentioned earlier, new public management fails to address the issue of an unequal power distribution (Bull, 2005; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2012: 028). One of the key pitfalls identified by those critical of institutionalized participation structures is that it (1) assumes that all communities and groups are identified and (2) that they all have equal access to the participatory platform (Blokland, 2009; Didier, McCann, 2002; Peyroux & Morange, 2012; Putnam, 2002: 9). In fact, ignoring the socio-political milieu in which participation takes places makes policy makers blind to the fact that not all voices are always heard, no matter how participative the forum is (Becher, 2010; Blokland, 2009; Bull & Jones, 2006; McCann, 2002; Putnam, 2008: 9; Silver & Toews, 2009).

New public management holds that policy infrastructure that allows for active broad-based participation will lead to better outcomes; but ultimately fails to address the inherent tension between efficiency and democracy (Bull, 2005; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2012; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2012).

Delivering more services (better outcomes) to deprived areas will not stop the problems of continued alienation and exploitation; a neighbourhood should be structured and included in the larger city-framework in such a way that it creates human-scale experiences, a place where man is a producer and not merely a consumer (Ganassi-Agger, 1979: 199). The outcomes will not be sustainable if the

process is flawed (Blokland, 2009), and the outcome might be detrimental to the residents that live in that particular area through entrenching lack of access, exploitation and marginalisation (Bardas, 2013; Bull, 2005; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2012; Silver & Toews, 2009).

Participatory planning processes are attractive because it promises to involve all stakeholders. In reality policy makers and city planners will find that not all stakeholders are necessarily around the table (McCann, 2002; Putnam, 2002: 9; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2011). Proponents of participatory models will argue that this is a sign that the area has depleted social capital, and as such social capital formation through empowerment should be the focus. Looking at non-participation from this angle obscures the real causes, as disempowerment is not the only reason behind the problem (Nienhuis, Van Dijk & De Roo, 2011; De Souza Briggs, 2008). There must be a drive to understand why particular groups are not participating in the way that was expected.

2.6. Social capital: The critical link

Social capital is described as the 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them' (Putnam, 1992: 171; Putnam, 2002: 3). Social networks matter and have value, as trust between heterogeneous civic actors is expanded, with 'trustworthiness 'acting as the 'lubrication of social life' (Putnam, 2002: 6). There are different types of social capital, and each type is expressed differently (Putnam, 2002). These types of social capital will be discussed in more detail.

The lack of an overall socio-political narrative that binds an individual into a group, or a group into a neighbourhood is seen as one of the main stumbling blocks in terms of ensuring linkages within localities, and linkages to the outside, particularly in highly transient and heterogeneous spaces (Blokland, 2009; Nienhuis, Van Dijk & De Roo, 2011). Insular groups that do not have a strong relationship with the locality (like transient migrants) are often unable to link into larger discussions, as they are mostly focused on securing their particular interests (Bremner, 2000: 191; Harrison, 2002). The transient nature of many urban areas also means that

groups can tend to identify more with their cultural background or religious persuasion (or even gang networks) and not necessarily with the actual neighbourhood (Blokland, 2009; Harrison, 2002; McCann, 2002; Sadouni, 2014). This would mean that the dominant narrative in the neighbourhood will override the voices of all other groups, with the dominant group even claiming to represent the interests of the entire community, as the insular groups fail to raise their agenda in the larger forum (Blokland, 2009; Harrison, 2002; Van Nienhuis, Van Dijk & De Roo, 2011; McCann, 2002; Stoker, 1998, Winkler, 2014).

Narratives can also exclude groups from feeling that they belong to a particular area, as is the case with residents of Yeoville (when faced with a meta-narrative of a vibrant past that was destroyed by those that recently arrived in the area) and the Wooster Square case study (where black residents are marginalized and blamed for ills in the community) (Blokland, 2009; Harrison, 2002; Sadouni, 2014; Roux, 2014; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2011). Another factor of this exclusionary narrative is that residents never see themselves as permanent and participating members of the neighbourhood, meaning that they fail to invest in the neighbourhood, both in monetary and social terms (Blokland, 2009; Chipkin, 2005; Maketha & Rubin, 2014; Winkler, 2008: 58).

Acknowledging these socio-political and cultural barriers that keep residents and groups from identifying with their neighbourhood, urban renewal strategies must then address dis-identification and disinvestment through “making meaning, making a living and making place” (McCann, 2002: 397; Sirayi, 2008:335). Unlocking a sense of belonging in these neighbourhoods has the potential to encourage residents to look beyond the daily struggles, while reminding them that they can actually contribute and invest in their area (Hibbit, Jones & Meegan, 2010). Similar to the discussion around identity, many groups fail to actively ‘bridge’ to other groups within their particular locality, due to a strong internal focus on preservation (Harrison, 2002; McCann, 2002). In order to ensure survival, groups tend to ‘wall; themselves in, adopting barrier strategies to defend their ground (Harrison, 2002;

Winkler, 2008: 47). Whereas bridges expand the space for collaborative action, barriers fragment social capital and limit the impact and reach of actors within that sphere, while it also puts strain on available resources (Winkler, 2002). As such it is important to not only think about the necessity of residents to 're-identify' with the particular locality, but also with each other and with the surrounding areas, agencies and organisations (Hibbit, Jones & Meegan, 2010).

In many cases there can be a wealth of associational life within a particular neighbourhood, bringing with it the conclusion that the neighbourhood is rich in social capital (Hibbit, Jones & Meegan, 2010). However, organisations, groups and associations that fail to connect with similar groupings inside and outside their neighbourhood and policy institutions will ultimately not be able to communicate its own needs in such a way to affect lasting change, even if there are strong bonding ties within the groups themselves (Hibbit, Jones & Meegan, 2010: 145; Reynolds, 2013: 488).

Strong bonding ties within a particular group can even lead to the creation of a 'comfort zone', a space where the social outcasts of the city come together, thus reinforcing stereotypes (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014; Reynolds, 2013; Winkler, 2014). As such, too much internal focus can entrench further marginalization, as those that are inside fail to link to the outside. What often happens is that groups with stronger linkages are able to leverage more power in participatory frameworks, meaning that they are often more vocal about what is needed for 'the community' (McCann, 2002). This means that groups that are horizontally disconnected and vertically unconnected are unable to raise their concerns in the same way, and in this way public deliberation remains exclusionary, with one group dominating at the expense of another (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014; Blokland, 2009).

2.7. From control to collaboration: The importance of vibrant social capital

Taking into account that the traditional and even the new public management approaches are limited in the sense that fail to reconcile the need for order and administration with the daily needs and lives of residents (Scott, 1998:

56), there must be an alternative. Self-management highlights the importance of allowing humans to be actively involved in decision-making, especially those decisions that will impact the space that they live, while acknowledging that social networks span beyond the physical boundaries of the current political-economy (Bull & Jones, 2006; Ganassi-Agger, 1979). However, as mentioned in earlier sections, existing power relations will impact how inclusive collaboration will be.

A social capital approach to redevelopment will seek to understand "networks, shared norms and trust that shape social interactions and allow co-operations between individuals or groups" (Muir, 2011: 959). The residents of a particular community are not merely a collection of similar individuals. They are seen as potential agents, able to interact with the neighbourhood, each other and outside agents. A neighbourhood is not merely decayed and poor, it is rich in culture, history, narratives and experiences that can add to the overall urban framework. Approaches that fail to acknowledge this can cause immense social and cultural damage (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Silver & Toews, 2009). The focus is to allow residents and groups a forum where they can share their own stories, histories and viewpoints, and in doing so they are introduced to other networks, unleashing potential for the development of bridges and links to other potential agents that includes a larger segment of the diverse community; a move from 'them' towards 'us', a space where marginalized are drawn in to belong (Muir, 2011; Nienhuis, Van Dijk & De Roo, 2011; Sirayi, 2008). Social capital networks should not just be acknowledged and included in policy design discussions, it is important to connect social capital networks.

It is often assumed that high levels of social capital leads to a more inclusive community space, but it is important to understand the different types of social capital, especially in cases where strong social capital could actually foster alienation and growing disconnection from other individuals and groupings.

2.7.1. Bonding social capital

Bonding social capital is most common in spaces where individuals are faced with a fearful and unknown, often chaotic space. For example, many new migrants in a densely populated neighbourhood like Hillbrow are faced with the narratives of otherness, where differences between the 'us' and the 'them' are continually highlighted. During the introduction it was discussed how an increase in crime lead to many residents 'securing' themselves in known spaces, mostly apartments that could be more easily sealed off from the dangers outside. Secondly, increased population density placed severe pressure on social amenities, and in many cases these social services collapsed under the weight of the population pressure. The third constraint on deepening, connective social capital was the fluidity of the neighbourhood, where the population was increasingly heterogeneous. This lead to a fear of 'other,' an easy solution when one wanted someone to blame for the deterioration of the neighbourhood.

In this situation, stronger bonds develop between individuals from a shared historical, cultural or religious background (like the faith-based bonds described by Winkler (2014)). Bonding social capital depends strongly on the emergence of an 'us.' For this reason, high levels of bonding social capital can actually negatively impact social cohesion, instead of ameliorating it (Muir, 2011). Resident's associations, neighbourhood watches and community groups can as such actually negatively impact on the development of collaborative social enterprises – something that Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray (2014) highlight when discussing social cohesion in Johannesburg. Fear of crime has led to many community approaches to make spaces safer, but this has also entrenched the perceived 'otherness.'

Bonding social capital can thus be identified as 'networking' with "members of your close family, members of your extended family, friends, intimates; and neighbours," a tendency which is higher amongst lower socioeconomic groups (Muir, 2011; Putnam, 2002: 11; Stanley, Stanley & Hensher, 2012: 3598).

2.7.2. Bridging and linking social capital

Bridging social capital explores the increased networking that transcends the immediate milieu of the individual. Bridging and linking social capital is more pronounced amongst higher socioeconomic groups and economically active individuals (Muir, 2011). Where bonding social capital is often defined through cultural traditions, bridging capital is less conservative and more outward looking and inclusive (Muir, 2011; Putnam, 2002: 11). Fear of the 'other' is mitigated through a willingness to connect and collaborate (Putnam, 2002: 11). Bridging social capital happens horizontally, not necessarily vertically, and is more inclusive in nature (Putnam, 2002:11). Reciprocity forms the basis of this engagement, social exchanges do not need to be balanced immediately because interactions are based on growing trust (Putnam, 2002: 6). Bridging social capital ties are often less thick than bonding social capital, but is more diverse with multiple connections (Mitchell-Brown, 2013).

Linking social capital includes more varied connections than bridging social capital, including connections on a vertical access between individuals of different socio-economic background and different power hierarchies (such as groupings connecting with the municipality or the state) (Mitchell-Brown, 2013; Muir, 2011: 966). Linking social capital is dense as a result, weaving a tighter tapestry of social interaction and participation (Muir, 2011: 972). Social capital is not the silver bullet for problems of urban decay (Muir, 2011:964). Strong bonding capital and lack of bridging and linking capital can actually further entrench negative stereotypes of 'otherness' within a particular area, while strong bridging capital between elites can entrench the exclusion of less connected groups (Muir, 2011: 964; Putnam, 2002: 8).

2.8. How a community can drive redevelopment

If redevelopment efforts are based on the concerns of the residents of these spaces, it speaks to their physical needs (how they use the space) but also their experiential human needs (Ganassi-Agger, 1979: 127; Ho, Yau, Law, Poon, Yip & Liusman, 2012; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2011). The community is also no longer

seen to be a homogenous entity, it is a diverse and complex ecosystem and as such conflicting demands and inputs are part of the collaborative process (Becher, 2010; Chipkin, 2005; Chaskin, 2008: 72). The community becomes a unit of belonging (socio-historical identity), a unit of production and exchange (political economy), a network of relations and a unit of collective action (Chaskin, 2008: 67).

This approach also highlights the importance of re-igniting grass-root leadership within the distressed urban area. Kotter (2007) reminds us that managers are not automatically leaders. There is no simple distinction between those that lead and those that follow. New conceptualisations regarding governance mean that more stakeholders are participating in the process, where some might lead in one area, while they follow in another area (Denhardt & Campbell, 2006). Leadership of this kind is also transformational, "a process in which leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation put your reference here with page numbers" (Burns, 1978: 20 as cited by Denhardt & Campbell, 2006: 559) while allowing communities to see themselves in a different way, as they learn through sharing and engaging with other leaders (Ayón & Lee, 2009). Public leadership is thus based on public interest and rooted in the values of democracy and true citizenship (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014; Denhardt & Campbell, 2006: 569). It challenges the dominant narrative regarding community resources, reflecting on how people become a resource instead of a drain, while at the same time expecting of leaders to act as bridges between different organisations, associations and groups (Ayón & Lee, 2009).

2.9. Building bridges and linking residents

Investments in decaying urban spaces will offer little return if they fail to address the needs of the residents. Public value is about uncovering the investment that will unlock most value in the public sphere (Bennington, 2009: 233). It should be a collaborative effort, because the uncovering of value is based on relation, negotiation and continual engagement (O'Flynn, 2007: 361). As such urban renewal strategies should seek to understand and uncover how people live, what they do on

a daily basis and what relationship they have with each other and with the surrounding environment (Sirayi, 2008: 339). The successful urban renewal strategy takes into consideration existing bonding social capital, while looking at expanding and supporting the emergence of bridging and ultimately linking social capital (Muir, 2011).

2.10. Concluding remarks

The themes that occur strongly in the literature identifies different constructs involving urban renewal strategies. An overt focus on physical infrastructure will be limited in impact, and not sustainable in the long term. It can even have adverse effects like displacing the residents of a particular area, especially those that are already marginalised (Bardos, 2013; Ganassi-Agger, 1979; McCann, 2002; Silver & Toews, 2009). The focus on the renewal of policy architecture to support and grow social capital shows promise, but ultimately fails to manage the complexities of the urban cultural-political space (Hibbit, Jones & Meegan, 2010; McCann, 2002; Silver & Toews, 2009). Finally, an argument is made that we need to consider the importance of connective social capital in urban regeneration strategies, and understand why participation is limited even when it is promoted by legislation (Bingham, 2006; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2011). The goal is to understand how the multiple diverse communities within a given locality overlap, organize, re-organise, inter-relate and connect (both inside and outside). In doing this we move beyond merely acknowledging that social capital is important. Current urban renewal strategies are mostly limited because (1) residents are seen as the source of the problem, (2) social capital exists in many cases but is fragmented and (3) lack of trust limits opportunities for collaboration and co-creation (Ganassi-Agger, 1979: 205).

A gap in the current knowledge is to understand how re-identification with the locality and expansion of inside/outside bridging supports not merely the development of social capital, but rather the construction of a new meta-narrative for the neighbourhood, a cohesive public commons where residents themselves

become agents of investment through increased participation. As noted above, it is important to extend horizontal links to those 'inside' the neighbourhood, but also to those 'outside' the neighbourhood. In the context of South Africa, many neighbourhoods are marginalized, not only in a socio-historical sense but even more so in terms of physical boundaries. Interventions that cross these boundaries provide real opportunities to have residents re-engage with their neighbourhood, with other neighbourhoods and residents in the city and therefore supporting a more inclusive and comprehensive model in the drive to curtail urban decay.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Conceptual framework, purpose and focus

The conceptual framework in this research is premised on social capital as a driver of civic participation leading to an inclusive and sustainable urban regeneration strategy.

The purpose of this study was to explore Ponte City Apartments as an example of how social capital has enabled residents to participate; contributing to an inclusive and well-managed living space for residents.

The focus of the study was to understand how social capital allowed residents of a particular building (Ponte City apartments) relate to building management, each other and to residents of other buildings/neighbourhoods; and ultimately how this contributes to creating a more inclusive and attractive living space. It was guided by interpretivism with a strong phenomenological approach (Bryman, 2012: 29 - 28). The research looked at one case study in particular, exploring social capital and networks within Ponte City Apartments. This enabled the researcher to look at the particular challenges and successes within the building, and expanding this to the larger context.

The ontological basis for the study was constructionism, as such it is important to consider the perspectives of all participants to the study, including those of the researcher. This supports the notion that reality is socially constructed, through continued inter-personal interactions (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Bryman, 2012: 34).

3.2. Research paradigm

A qualitative research strategy was chosen, as the research explored complex interactions that could not be interpreted through quantification alone. As such the study aimed to be richly descriptive, based on the perspective of the participants within the specific social context (Merriam, 2002: 5; Bryman, 2012). Such an approach allowed a fresh look (Merriam, 1995: 52) at social exclusion and urban

decay, going beyond traditional approaches that look only at infrastructure through a limited understanding of the role of social capital.

3.3. Research Design

A single, explanatory case study design was chosen, with the research focusing on Ponte City. The case study was idiographic in nature, in order to facilitate a comprehensive and detailed understanding that was guided by theory (Levy, 2008:3). This enlarged the range of the findings – resonating with other practitioners and communities regarding their perceptions and experiences in urban management, potentially "facilitating a greater understanding of the phenomenon" of social exclusion and urban regeneration (Tellis, 1997; Baxter & Jack, 2008: 547; Merriam, 2002: 8).

3.4. Data

Multiple embedded units (*Dlala Nje*, ordinary residents and management) participated and were analysed, giving the research a more comprehensive and detailed narrative in terms of this particular case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Initially the researcher hoped to involve the resident's association as well. However, due to strict management and the transient nature of the resident population, the resident's association exists only in name. The unit of analysis was the tenants of Ponte City apartment building in Berea, Johannesburg with the study contained within these particular boundaries (Tellis, 1997; Merriam, 2002: 8).

Primary data collection took different strategic forms, for reasons noted earlier.

1.1.1 Relatively unstructured focus groups (three focus groups; one unsuccessful group)

1.1.2 More structured in-depth interviews with selected focus group participants (maximum four interviews)

1.1.3 In-depth interviews with building management (interviews)

1.1.4 Community leader interviews (*Dlala Nje*)

Theory guided the data collection, and it was for this reason that multiple primary data collection approaches were taken (Tellis, 1997). Multiple primary data collection strategies enabled research to use triangulation to confirm findings, as participants contradict and agree on particular grounds.

3.5. Sampling

Non-probability sampling was used for this study, particularly convenience sampling and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012: 201). This was because the research was guided by theory, and this entailed that a large contingent of the participants needed to be tenants that are actively involved in community structures within the building (as the research posed questions around horizontal ties and vertical connections). Convenience sampling ensured that participants fitted this particular context. Initially the aim was to ensure that not all participants were chosen from the same space, and as such quotas were set on each sub-group. Quotas were not set up to be representative, rather it was to allow the researcher to include a variety of participants in the focus groups, maximising the narrative (Bryman, 2012: 203). The lack of organized civic life within Ponte City made this more difficult. The researcher found that many residents were willing to share experiences, frustrations and ideas. As such, quotas were dropped and replaced by open invitation forums on three separate occasions. Due to the fact that people that openly attend such a session have a particular frustration/story to share, the researcher used *Dlale Nje* to invite residents from their network that would not have attended otherwise. The research included ordinary residents who were not part of any formal structures and those residents that were more actively involved in the Dlala Nje network.

Participants had to fit particular criteria.

1. All participants have to be permanent tenants of Ponte City apartments (a few non-residents joined one of the focus groups – as it was an open forum and the space is used by non-residents regularly).

2. Participants were all older than 16.
3. No quotas were placed on race, gender, nationality or employment status.
4. Quotas were to be placed on level of participation and the organisation that tenants participate through. This was to ensure that participants were not pulled from one context only. Due to the lack of formal networks this became more difficult. However, through working with *Dlala Nje*, management and an informal network within the building, the researcher was able to have a wide spectrum of individuals join the discussions.
5. The researcher completed groundwork within the building prior to the commencing of the focus groups. During this time the selected structures were identified and contacted. When the residents' association turned out to be defunct, this informal network allowed the researcher to still identify and invite a sufficient number of residents from different backgrounds to participate in the study.

The focus was tenants that engaged in two community structures (only one was active though), non-participating tenants and key individuals (including the management team). It is important that the sample selection satisfied these needs, and as such they were purposively selected (Merriam, 2002: 12; Bryman, 2012: 418). Essential criteria were considered, as outlined before. (Merriam, 2002: 12; Gosling, 2007: 615). The two focus groups were limited to ten participants (two groups of ten each), although a third group was added when the first group failed and the second group proved to be popular. Each group was to be composed of four participants from *Dlala Nje* (a community organization within Ponte City), three participants from the Ponte City Resident's Association and three tenants that are not necessarily engaged in community structures (snowball sampling). The sampling criteria fell away due to the non-functioning residents' association. The use of an informal resident's network to invite a wider array of residents ensured that non-participating tenants were also represented in the focus group.

Due to the size and scope of the study, time and cost had to be taken into account. As such, a limited number of groups were conducted. While the focus group method presented the research with a timesaving approach in terms of gathering data, its inherent complexity had to be acknowledged (Farnsworth & Boon, 2010: 605). For this reason, focus group data was triangulated with post-focus group interviews with selected participants and in-depth interviews with key individuals. Even though the focus group composition was more relaxed, the discussion had to be steered more to ensure that particularistic concerns did not overpower the discussion and cut out other voices. The socio-political reality of the space where the case study was conducted had to be taken into account (Hollander, 2004: 604). The dynamics of group interactions during focus groups could limit individual participation and influence the nature and scope of shared information (Fansworth & Boon, 2010: 608; Hollander, 2004: 628). Group composition was managed as far as possible in order to limit overt "contamination of group interaction" (Fansworth & Boon, 2010: 609).

Triangulating information from individually completed questionnaires with focus group data and individual in-depth interviews with selected participants provided the research with a more holistic view of individual and group perceptions (Hollander, 2004: 629; Kawulich, 2004: 104). Each focus group had a maximum of ten participants. Of these, two were selected for individual follow-up interviews (post-focus group). Building management were purposefully not included in the focus group, mainly due to potential political tension due to their inclusion, and increased chances for the focus group to focus more on resident's gripes rather than their actual thoughts regarding social exclusion and urban regeneration.

The researcher declares that Ponte City was selected as a case study because (1) it holds personal interest to the researcher, (2) has a large population to study, (3) is accessible for research and (4) presents an interesting narrative regarding urban management in particular. Maintaining a chain of evidence of all interactions recorded steps taken, further confirming findings (Bryman, 2012: 392; Levy, 2008: 8;

Tellis, 1997,). This research aimed to provide a compelling and detailed account of the particular case study, and as such it is important to confirm and validate findings throughout (Merriam, 1995: 51). Triangulation with literature, interviews and focus groups supported the development of description that is rich, reflective and inclusive (Merriam, 1995: 54).

It was important to manage biases that could potentially influence the study (Merriam, 1995: 55; Merriam, 2002: 5). This was a highly fluid context to study, meaning reliability remained problematic. As such an in-depth, detailed account was necessary to counter this fact (Bryman, 2012: 401; Merriam, 1995: 55). An audit trail provides a detailed account of events, decisions and findings (Merriam, 1995: 56). Care was taken to ensure that participants were selected from a wide variety of backgrounds as far as possible, thus improving external validity (Merriam, 1995: 58). Few of the focus group participants knew each other, which points to the fact that a broad array of residents were involved in the discussions.

A research diary accounted for the influences upon the researcher throughout this exercise, particularly taking note of how he was influenced by the unfolding data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2012: 39). Safety had been carefully considered, given the socio-economic context where research is taking place (Bryman, 2012: 93). There was no reason to believe that the researcher would be exposed to any overt safety risks through conducting the research, as Ponte City has a designated security contingent. Normal precautions was taken with all audio-visual equipment, and photos, videos and sound clips downloaded daily to ensure that critical information could not be lost, should an unforeseen event had taken place. No communities of risk were included in this study, and no sensitive information was asked or shared (Bryman, 2012: 93).

Sessions were captured on video, and all participants were made aware of this prior to the start of the focus groups.

Even though the size and scope of data collection would be carefully managed and contained, further analysis was necessary to make sure that the socio-

political nuances were revealed (Kawulich, 2004: 97). Data analysis did not take place in a linear fashion and happened in parallel with data collection, as this served as a guide for further data collection (Bryman, 2012: 93; Kawulich, 2004: 98 – 97; Merriam, 2002: 14).

3.6. Analysis and coding

The research proposed an analytical framework to analyse social capital and the expression of social capital within Ponte City. Not all social capital bonds automatically supported the emergence of stronger networks of solidarity. Bonding capital, in particular, can negatively affect social cohesion, exaggerating narratives of exclusion and 'otherness.'

Type of Social Capital	Author	Typical connections that can be identified
Bonding social capital	Putnam, 2002 Putnam, 1993 Muir, 2011 Stanley et al, 2012	Connections socially close Groupings are more Homogenous Exclusion of 'others' Safe Space Introspective, focused on a 'safe space' Good for getting by Stronger, but fewer connections
Bridging social capital	Putnam, 2002 Muir, 2011 Stanley et al, 2012 Mitchell-Brown, 2013	More tolerant of difference More cross-cutting and cooperative ties Reaching out to 'outsiders' for help, support and information Connections are weaker, more diverse and numerous
Linking social capital	Muir, 2011 Stanley et al, 2012 Silverman & Zack,	Vertical links (different social strata) Reciprocity in action Everyone contributes in spite of social

	2007 Mitchell-Brown, 2013	standing or perceived power Capacity to leverage resources Connections span the immediate vicinity

Analysis was explanatory in nature (Tellis, 1997). This kept the research within a defined framework (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 551), with propositions arising from the literature; guiding data collection and discussion (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 552). Adequate time was allowed for transcription of data; at least eight hours for a one-hour focus group and six hours for a one-hour in-depth interview (Bryman, 2012: 93). Further strategies to analyse the data was included such as being guided by the overall theoretical framework and the research question (Kawulich, 2004: 100).

Coding formed the foundation of the analytic approach, and as noted earlier this took place in tandem with data collection (Kawulich, 2004: 98). Coding was open, meaning that the data was interrogated throughout, ensuring that all "incidents, events, or other phenomena" were grouped together to form larger categories (Kawulich, 2004: 99). This allowed the research to identify reoccurring themes, further deepening the analysis (Kawulich, 2004: 99). Due to the fact that relations and interactions amongst participants formed an important base for the research, non-verbal communications had to be understood and inductively analysed in order to ensure a deep understanding that remained rooted in the specific context of this case study (Kawulich, 2004: 103). For this particular reason the focus groups were captured on video (using an Iphone5 with stand), so that further analysis could be supported through careful examination. In order to unpack the complex and interwoven interactions and nuances that exist in this context, various analytical techniques were useful, deepening the researcher's understanding and interpretation through data immersion (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008: 109). Furthermore, multiple analytical strategies served as confirmation of findings, since it was not based on single observations (Kawulich, 2004: 106).

The limitations of the research were that not all social actors could be interviewed. Introductory discussions with management took place during September 2013. The purpose of these discussions were to frame the purpose of the research. Attempts to connect with the Kempston Group failed. Management did not want to link the researcher to Kempston Group when initial attempts to include them in the research failed. This failure is a limitation, but it also indicated the disconnect between the building owners and Ponte City. Respondents were not purposefully sampled for inclusion in the focus group discussions. In spite of this focus groups and individual interviews included a broad range of individuals. The cleaning and maintenance staff that lived on Level P1 were acknowledged as residents. However, they were also not included in the study, as it could potentially threaten their livelihood. Many informal discussions unfolded over the course of the study (between October 2013 and January 2015). Where appropriate, reference was included to these discussions, even though the discussions were not recorded.

Chapter 4. Data

The purpose of this chapter is to present the data that was gathered during the focus group and individual interviews. In Chapter three the methodological approach was discussed, together with the sampling approach.

This chapter discusses the data as the study unfolded. Each focus group and individual interview will be discussed and summarised chronologically, as to deepen the understanding about how data was collected, how data collection impacted on further collection and how the narratives unfolded over the course of a year. Particular individual's stories will be highlighted throughout the discussions, tying them in to the larger narrative and giving the reader a better understanding of dominant themes that emerged.

At the end of the chapter the key themes that emerged from the data will be summarised, leading into the analysis of chapter five.

4.1 First focus group (October 2013)

The first focus group was conducted in October 2013, shortly after the research approval. Potential respondents were identified through informal discussions with the managers and staff of *Dlala Nje*; Facebook discussions with the Ponte resident's association (later found to be defunct) and during the initial meeting with management (to get permission to conduct the research). An open invitation was circulated through these identified individuals and networks, an ad hoc approach that failed. The resident's association was not active and only three respondents arrived for the focus group. *Dlala Nje* remained a valuable 'connector' to individuals and networks within the building, but with the initial focus group not enough information was shared regarding the goals and objectives of the research. As such, *Dlala Nje* and potential respondents were also hesitant about taking in the focus group, as concerns were raised regarding the goals and objectives of the research and respondent confidentiality. Based on this, it was decided to rework the focus group strategy, and spend more time within the building so as to build trust

amongst potential respondents. It was also important to share the goals and objectives of the research with potential respondents.

After the first unsuccessful focus group the researcher spent two nights at Ponte City, staying at a friend's apartment on the 51st floor. During this time various people came to visit and there was opportunity to explain the research and identify strategies to invite larger groups of respondents to the next focus group discussion. The researcher also became aware of the residents' negative perceptions surrounding the building management. A disconnect and lack of trust between residents and building management became apparent. This explained why so many of those that heard about the research expressed concern that taking part would put them at risk.

4.2 Second focus group (25 November 2013)

The reworked strategy to invite potential respondents was successful. Flyers were distributed throughout the building with help from friends that lived in the building and *Dlala Nje*. Nine respondents attended, and the researcher had time to discuss the objective of the study and explain respondent confidentiality. All of the respondents were male. The racial composition of the group reflected the residential profile of the building, one white respondent and eight black respondents. Respondent ages varied, from 20 through to mid-40s, with most respondents being relatively young, and single.

The first question was open and reflective, inviting respondents to reflect on how they perceive Ponte City, and what it was like to live in the building. Responses were positive, with respondents sharing about the amazing views that they enjoy, the facilities within the building and the striking architecture.

> The people that stay outside, they don't have the facilities that we have in here. We are privileged in that way. (Austin)

> Ponte is a nice place, I like the architecture itself. It is unique and stuff. And then, it is beautiful. (Mpho)

Stephan spoke about his experience as a white male moving to Hillbrow from the perceived safety of the suburbs. For him the negative stigma around the area and Ponte City was something he grew up with, yet he found something completely different when he first visited to look at available apartments.

> People in Sandton are terrified of it. I grew up in the suburbs, in Rosebank, not far from Sandton. From very early on people told me, like, Hillbrow/Berea/Yeoville you don't go in there, you are not supposed to be there. I have been here for almost a year now. I came back and looked around, and I was like, why not, you know. It's a nice neighbourhood, it is like a community in the building in particular. It is very nice. (Stephan)

Tiro reported how things have changed in Hillbrow and Berea. The area is getting a lot better, and he enjoyed joining the tours hosted by *Dlala Nje,* getting a chance to interact with outside visitors. This helped him to share some of his experiences with visitors, breaking through the negative stigma associated with the area and Ponte City.

> I have had so many tours, I was doing the tours, so I had so many questions about, uhm… the people I live with.
>
> People assume that we live with Nigerians, and then, there are Nigerians that live here, but then, not everyone is that bad. The people that live here, they are people that we know. So, if someone had to judge, it is painful to me, because it is like you are talking about us, not them.
>
> I found, whenever I go out, like to Kitchener's[3] and stuff. You do meet people there, and they ask you where you live, and you think twice. You think twice, whether you should tell people you live in Hillbrow.
>
> I get that confidence now to tell people that I live in this building. Recently it has been renovated, and it is in the spotlight. Everyone knows this building now, everyone wants to live here. And the fact that we have white people now, that makes it safer, it gives us a

[3] Kitchener's is a popular pub in neighbouring Braamfontein, a few kilometres from Ponte City. Braamfontein has undergone massive gentrification. It is still considered as part of the inner-city neighbourhoods, but it is becoming more and more popular with young people from diverse backgrounds.

> leg to stand on… like I can now tell someone outside that Ponte, it is not as bad as they say it is, understand? I am so confident now, because there are white people that live with us now here, showing that it is as different as they say it is. (Tiro)

Tiro lived in Hillbrow for a long time, and moved to Ponte City in 2009. For him Berea was different from Hillbrow, in that it is friendlier and more like a community. The communal spaces, like *Dlala Nje* and Cito Café provide places where residents of Ponte City the surrounding buildings can meet, relax and get to know each other. Knowing lots of people also makes Tiro feel much safer.

> I lived in Hillbrow most of the times, and then, when I lived there, it is mostly mind your business. And then you don't feel as free…. When I came this side, I realized, Berea is more like a location, cause, to tell you the truth, I know more than a thousand people around here –because now you have Dlala Nje, the game shop there is everything… people meet each other, they make friends they get jobs. That is what is happening here in Ponte. People get to know each other, because of a certain place. There is a home feel around here. (Tiro)

The positive perceptions regarding the building and the area were contrasted with the problems all residents experienced with the current management of the building.

> It is not about where you come from. But all have this one common problem, you understand? They are all fine with the place, it is clean it is cool, we like the view, we like everything. That's the cool thing. Our problem is the office, you understand, the paperwork, the admin, the way they do stuff. This is the one thing that connects us. This common problem is for people, especially those that stay here for 2 years, 3 years. (Mpho)

The researcher did not want to allow particular issues to overshadow other potential topics of discussion, but management was clearly one of the things that people wanted to discuss. Taking this into account, the management discussion was moderated, but allowed to continue. Respondents spoke about the relationship with management, and as one respondent highlighted, this was the one issue that they all agreed on.

One respondent, called Gama, noted how these issues "really depressed" him, in the sense that there was little opportunity to raise issues with management and have them actually listen to your concern and act to resolve it. He was not alone in raising his concerns. All respondents agreed that management did not listen to concerns, nor did they adequately communicate when there were service issues that they had to deal with.

> They won't listen to you, trying to understand what is wrong. They put all the pressure on you, like you are the one who made the mistake. (Gama)

The lack of an intermediate structure between residents and management was also brought up. No resident's association is allowed in the building, because management was against such structures.

> I think the way it is run… I mean there is no building residence association. And the management will not allow there to be one. They kinda run it like a police state. What they say goes. And I mean... they have done a lot of good things I think, but there are a lot of things that are done horribly… You only understand it, pick it up, once you live here (Stephan)

The group's discussion reflected a wide the gap between management and the residents, as no-one felt like they had access to management, or space to raise queries or concerns. There was real fear that speaking out against management would result in eviction, as noted by one respondent.

> They can easily chase you out, as simple as that… it is so scary… I mean, I go down to the office, and I get to meet people, getting chased… just like that! They can tell you to move out now, as in in now! So I mean, whenever you see something like that, would you speak up? No, you are afraid to be chased out… I don't want to move out, because I love Ponte. No, you like living here, so you keep quiet. (Tiro)

Other respondents agreed that speaking up was not a sensible strategy, because of what they have seen, or the stories that they had heard. Another

respondent echoed the sentiment shared, stating that it was simply easier to ignore the issues, and get on with one's life.

At the time the focus groups were conducted, the building management consisted of an older white couple, husband and wife. Their apartment is on the 52nd floor of the building. They lived in Ponte City, but were viewed as unapproachable, strict and unwilling to listen. The residents did not view them as part of the residents.

> Our management is actually old people, old fashioned, they still believe in in apartheid. (Tiro)
>
> They run it like a police state… You only pick it up once you live here. (Stephan)

There was agreement in the room around this statement, with many other respondents echoing that they believed the management hated the residents, and in turn the residents hated them.

> They actually hate people, in the way that they don't want to give a space to understand the point of views. This is how bad it is. People do hate them that way. They treating people like animals… but to give them credit, they are trying their best… trying to treat people equally… equally bad! Someone said to me, why don't we get them in the lift (elevator) and kill them? (Tiro)

The relationship between management and residents were described as one-way and distant. Respondents shared stories of how management refused to listen or understand frustrations. Instead, residents were continually hit with a barrage of rules, many of these rules were not seen as legitimate.

> I kind of, like, understand that, everyone needs rules… but they shouldn't be this stringent, you know… they must be practical as well, why am I not allowed certain things? Why can't they explain the rules to us? (Mpho)
>
> Another thing, a lot of the rules are ridiculous… like twelve year-olds treated as adults. This is completely ridiculous! (Stephan)

Rules do not only frustrate the residents, they have a real impact on their long-term tenure within the building. Some rules go as far as to force people to look for alternative accommodation, as explained by Gama. One such rule was the sub-tenant rule. Up to six adult tenants were allowed in a three-bedroom apartment, a figure that did not include children. However, as soon as a child turned twelve, they had to be counted as adults, as noted by Stephan earlier. This meant that some of the adult tenants had to move out, as children above twelve were now counted as adults.

> I have a niece that is eleven this year; she will be twelve next year. Right now we stay in a three-bedroom flat, we are six, we are allowed to be six. But now we are seven (including her) next year. So next year I have to find a place for her to live with her mom, or someone else – because I can't afford to put her on the rental. She was not paying, but now she needs to start paying. She can't afford it. I can't afford it. Ponte's rules are forcing me to move her out, or pay for her, and I don't have that money. (Gama)

Wellington spoke about the fact that all visitors need to present proof of identification upon entering the building. For many people this was not viable. Hillbrow and Berea was still known for street-crime, and losing your Identification Book or Passport could have serious consequences.

> A lot of us are young, we don't carry our IDs all the time, because if it disappears we are in trouble. (Wellington)

For Nathi, it was important that the rules reflected the needs of the residents, and he noted that rules should always put residents first, as customers. Many of the rules were causing anxiety and frustration for residents, meaning that they were not treated as customers.

> I don't see the point of some rules… tenants are customers, you must first look at the customers' needs at first. People need to be happy. (Nathi)

Gama was extremely frustrated by the fact that rules could not be more flexible for residents. The rules were not enforced consistently, at least that was Gama's perception. He spoke about the fact that the building management had a rule that

stated that no students were allowed to live inside Ponte City. Yet, there were countless students living in the building (Including Tiro). For Gama the issue was not the students living in the building, it was management making rules and then circumventing them, seemingly arbitrarily.

> Sometimes they just say, but they don't do what they say. (Gama)

Respondents agreed that managing a building like Ponte City was challenging, and there was sympathy for the management in this regard. Challenges remained, like people throwing various items out of windows. (The researcher often had to duck falling objects, ranging from disposable nappies to buckets of water). The way in which problems were dealt with frustrated residents, as the solutions were imposed without consultation, often resulting in more arbitrary rules. Stephan spoke about recent measures that were taken regarding making sure that the inner-core remained trash-free. The management welded all of the internal windows shut, to prevent trash from being thrown into the core.

> Their way of dealing with problems. People throw things into the center. And now they weld all the windows shut. It is a ridiculous solution! They don't try to understand the problem. They just do something! (Andrew)

There was also a concept that some nationalities are prone to criminal activities. As such, particular nationalities were singled out, and not allowed to move into the building. Gama shared his thoughts on this, noting that rules like these make residents feel like a homogenous problematic entity, instead of individual customers with specific needs.

> I think it will be better if they treat people like individuals. They have to deal with that person, don't generalize things! We all fall under the same umbrella and that is not good! They don't allow Nigerians in this building, according to what I heard from them. One Nigerian wanted to move in one day I was in the office, and they told him he is not allowed to move in. Maybe the old rule, that Nigerians do bad stuff, and because of that they are not allowed. (Gama)

> Nigerians were the ones selling drugs in the building. They fear that this building will change if 'they' move back. But it is not good to generalise also! (Tiro)

Respondents agreed that many of the rules made Ponte City a safer, more peaceful and a more attractive place to live. However, many of the rules were challenged, because they limited personal freedom, did not make sense in the context of the area or they did not make sense from a legal perspective. Respondents also lamented the fact that management themselves often do not adhere to rules. Respondents agreed on the need for rules to govern a building with so many residents, while the formation and implementation of rules where challenged. One respondent mentioned the impact that this strict and unyielding rule structure had on people's self-esteem and sense of agency.

> I think it is also painful, to find yourself living as an adult, being treated as a student. Somehow there is no respect for older people. (Tiro)

The focus group discussion moved on towards challenges of different cultures, nationalities and races living in one space, after Gama shared a story about a worker in the management office that refused to accept payment after he handed the money over to her with his left hand. The office worker's culture did not allow her to accept money from someone's left hand, and he wanted to know from other respondents why he should adopt her values. Her refusal to accept and make space for what Gama regarded as his cultural practice reinforced the perception that there were distinct and separate ethnic and cultural groupings within the building. This opened up an interesting discussion regarding the different people that reside within the building.

Despite the largely negative story shared by Gama, everyone else shared stories as to how there was a growing identity as residents of Ponte City, regardless of nationality or cultural background. One respondent noted that you could only tell

nationality by someone's food that they were making, as you smelled the food when you walked past their apartment.

> We eat different food… There are some foods that you just can't take the smell… but the thing is… we can't tell the difference, if the person is from Zimbabwe or anywhere there or from overseas. Cause that's how we are now, we are one thing… somehow we can only tell by the food… we forget the culture up until we see the food. (Tiro)

Community organisations and meeting spaces like *Dlala Nje* contributed to the growing solidarity between different nationalities or 'communities.' The games room at *Dlala Nje* was especially attractive to the younger residents in the building, and it was a space where respondents agreed all people, regardless of background were treated fairly and equally.

> Ja, here we get to interact and see. When I come to play here, as a Zulu, I get treated equally. Everything is fair here. This is why I like the place. Everything is fair here; they don't ask you where you are from. (Wellington)

Communal spaces like Cito Café and the shopping centre were also discussed as important connective spaces for residents of Ponte City in particular and Hillbrow/ Berea and Yeoville in general. There were many identified spaces that connected residents and allowed them to meet and know more people. The daily commute in the elevators was another example of a communal space. Restaurants like Cito Café, located in the open piazza opposite *Dlala Nje* were further important social and connective spaces. These connective spaces contributed to respondents' perceptions around knowing who they live with. Respondents spoke about how you recognised the faces, and how it made them feel much safer.

> I see people every day. People start to know each other. You start to know the faces. I see you go in, come out. Everyone knows each other, even if we don't talk. I don't know what apartment, but I know the guy. (Andrew)

> In a space of six months everyone knows you. I have stayed in places like complexes (near Clearwater in the West of Johannesburg) with a bunch of people, including whites, for six

> years. People don't know you, they just see your car driving in and out. Here, they know you. Everyone knows each other here… (Wellington)
>
> The more we meet each other around this whole 'city'…there is a home feel that happens in this city, like a community… it feels much safer to know people from around the whole 'city.' (Tiro)
>
> Once you see faces you recognise. You see them, and you will smile at each other, or just nod, or something like that. And if there is something to discuss, you will talk about it. Once you see faces that you recognise, you smile you greet (Mpho)
>
> I come past them. I know them. I walk past them. They are kinda like family in a way, even if they don't know my name either. (Nathi)

It is interesting to note that at this stage of the interview, terms describing respondents' relationships with each other and other residents in the building were much more positive, in contrast with the management discussion earlier. Where the management discussion resolved around terms like 'them' and 'us,' the respondents used words like 'family,' 'community' and 'home.' Respondents noted that knowing and recognising other Ponte City residents made them feel more connected.

> I don't know where you come from. I don't know what language you speak. But the fact, at this hour, we have this community going on in Ponte. (Wellington)
>
> So I think somehow we still have that community. Ponte is a big city, Ponte is a home. Somehow, people feel welcomed here in a way. People from overseas, they still feel at home here at Ponte, they don't feel like outcasts. So that is just amazing! (Tiro)

The key issues raised during the second focus group pertained to (1) the negative and distant relationship between residents and management; (2) the impact of rule formation and implementation; (3) the emergence of a community identity at Ponte City; (4) the impact of different cultures and traditions and (4) the role of connective communal spaces and organisations that foster a sense of community. Knowing the people they lived with contributed to this sense of community, respondents noted that it made them feel safer, while also contributing to a sense of belonging. In

contrast to this perceived safety, residents shared their fears around speaking up around particular management issues, as eviction due to a bad relationship with management remained a reality.

It is also important to note that not all respondents were as comfortable in joining the discussion, with two participants not sharing anything at all. During focus groups it became apparent that there was a real apprehensiveness in terms of respondents sharing openly and freely. It seemed that the distrust and frustration with an increasingly patriarchal management had stopped some respondents from being able to voice an opinion at all.

4.3 Third focus group (22 January 2014)

The third focus group followed the same approach as the second. Eleven respondents attended this session. Interestingly, the second focus group consisted only of men. The third focus group consisted of seven females and four males. Many respondents reported that they had children and lived with their families. The focus group was more vocal than the second group. Respondents raised issues regarding their perception of management and the building in general. The second focus group spoke a lot about the sense of community at Ponte City, and the value of 'knowing' fellow residents, even if these connections were informal and weak. In contrast to the second focus group, the third focus group did not talk about community as much. For these respondents knowing your neighbours seemed to be less important. They cared about the safety of their children and the impact of perceived negative spaces on them and their children. Few of them saw Ponte City as a long-term place to stay.

Two respondents walked in as the focus group started and decided to join, even though they lived in Ridge Plaza next door. The focus group still welcomed them, calling them 'neighbours,' showing that irrespective of the relative insularity of the family units, outsiders were not always regarded with suspicion.

The first question was again open ended and reflective, asking respondents to share what it meant to live in a building like Ponte City. This time the security was

the first aspect to be discussed. Respondents described Ponte City as "peaceful" (Desdemona) with "tight security," (Annie) "the safest place in Hillbrow."(Annie)

However, Ponte also had a darker side that respondents wanted to talk about. A recent suicide (December 2013) at the building impacted residents, and the discussion quickly turned to this event.

> Suicides are a problem. The problem is with the windows, ne? Because at least if there were bars in front of the windows, ne – because then there won't be suicides. (Annie)

> Ponte is well known for accidents and suicides. We have heard of the suicides. We also hear of the accidents. There are too many children. I don't think it is safe for young kids. (Lentswe, a tenant a Ridge Plaza next door, and frequent visitor to Ponte City)

Annie earlier described Ponte City as the "safest place in Hillbrow." Her reflections on Hillbrow as the dangerous outside indicated the insulated view of living in Ponte City, a relatively safe space in a less safe area. Despite the fact that Ponte City was largely safe from outside criminal influences, Annie's reflection about the vulnerability of children that play in the building unattended had other respondents nodding in agreement.

> I see kids playing around in the corridors. My concern… if the glass breaks, the kids go down with it. There was an incident last year where a five-year old fell from level 16. (Annie)

4.1.1. Between a rock and a hard place: The story of sub-tenants

Respondents brought up the different concerns of tenants versus those of the sub-tenants. Ponte City rented out apartments to main tenants. These tenants in paid rent directly to management. However, some tenants would sub-let apartments to other individuals and in turn charge them rent. Sub-tenants shared the apartments with the main tenants. Hillbrow/Berea has a long history of allowing main tenants to sub-let apartments. This practice led to severe over-crowding of living spaces, and put more strain on the building infrastructure. At Ponte City, the number of sub-tenants were carefully managed, by limiting the number of sub-

tenants allowed per apartment. For example, a three bed-room apartment was allowed to have six adult tenants, or one main tenant and five sub-tenants. This did not include children under the age of twelve. However, as soon as a child turned twelve, they had to be registered as a sub-tenant. This was an example of many of the rules that did not make sense to residents of Ponte City.

Another rule that governed tenant/sub-tenant relations was that if the main tenant was evicted, or moved out of the building, the sub-tenants had to move out of as well. Sub-tenants couldn't move from one apartment to another. They had to move out first and could then re-apply to be a sub-tenant. Sub-tenants had to abide by the rules of the main tenant and the building management. One respondent noted the impact this had on sub-tenants. Annie was a main tenant, and spoke about the frustrations of the sub-tenants that live with her in her apartment.

> I don't have an issue with many of the rules in the building, I am a main tenant. But it is my sub-tenants that complain most about the security in the building, how tight it is. The rules are good for me. But then for sub-tenants, it becomes like living in a prison. (Annie)

4.1.2. On being a sub-tenant

A sub-tenant that joined the focus group shared her experience. Tumi moved into Ponte City in January 2013. Up to November 2013 she did not have any problems. She liked living in Ponte City because "it is nice inside." However, her boyfriend, the main tenant, did not live in Ponte City anymore. Tumi's relationship with management deteriorated since her boyfriend moved out, and she had been threatened with eviction on an on-going basis. Tumi, as a sub-tenant, struggled to interact with management, because of her quasi-legal status within the building. She felt that she was treated even worse than other residents. Tumi had several run-ins with the building management. She was fearful of speaking up, stating that she felt that she could be evicted at any time.

4.1.3. On community

Where the second focus group identified a strong sense of community, this group did not express the same sense of community. The respondents that participated in third focus group included more families, as noted earlier. This bond between family members could reduce respondents' engagements with other individuals in the building.

Desdemona, a single mother from Zimbabwe with two children had been living in Ponte City since 2009. She was also a sub-tenant and agreed with Tumi regarding the rules that constrained their freedom. She was also frustrated that her children could not play safely within the building, felt that management was neglecting their duties in this regard. She described her isolation within the building.

> Sad part… I don't know who my next door neighbour is. You won't go on to ask your neighbour what's going on. You just go on with your life… You don't get involved with your neighbours problems. (Desdemona)

Sandile had lived in Ponte City from 2004 to 2007, after which he moved out to make way for the failed renovation. In 2009 he moved back to Ponte City. He mentioned that he was not in the building a lot, because of work.

> I go to work and come back. I don't have friends. (Sandile)

Sandile expressed frustration with the management, even though he initially said that he didn't have "a lot of problems in the building." He was frustrated because management was rude when it comes to queries about return of deposits for visitors (all visitors pay R30 deposit to visit and this should be returned when they leave) and high electricity bills.

> I tried to speak to the old lady [4] but she doesn't want to listen. (Sandile)

As with the previous focus group, respondents described management as rude, distant and strict. Desdemona shared how her electricity got cut immediately

[4] Many residents referred to the building manager as the 'old lady'

if she failed to pay on time, yet when the building had a power outage nothing was communicated to her. Another respondent noted how management needed to be more connected through sharing information and responding to queries.

> Management is good. Maintenance is good, I don't have any complaints. But communication of issues are bad… the problem is the communication of the mistake (referring to electricity cuts). Maybe if it was communicated in a proper manner… Keep us in the light, don't keep us in the dark… rumours spread! Then people go wild…The tenants should come first. Under good management this will be the right place to be. Well, it is the right place to be… but… (Desmond)

> Management needs to learn how to apologise. When it is me, I apologise if I am late with rent. But you can't hear anything from them… you better find another place to live, go somewhere else. If they are wrong, you don't hear anything from them. (Precious)

Rules were also not perceived to be enforced consistently, something that lead to growing mistrust between residents of different races, and major distrust of management on the whole.

> Colour still speaks for you. If you are black, you are treated black… (Annie)

Jean was from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and lived in his apartment with his wife and children. He also described management is rude, and racist.

> Actually, she makes you feel like we are still black… (Jean)

Respondents also spoke about the continued threat of eviction that many had experienced. Jean asked the group why they cannot work together as a unit to confront management. The response to this question indicated the lack of agency that residents felt.

> They have installed fear in us. How can we choose someone to stand up? They make examples of some people. Tomorrow it might be me, and I won't have anywhere else to go! (Tumi)

> We don't know, and we are scared. Should we go to someone to help us? We don't know. (Precious)

> We are all scared, even when coming here. (Annie

From here the discussion broadened in terms of tenants knowing their rights, understanding contracts that they sign and contacting the 'right people' to help residents.

> But in the contract they can evict you in 1 hour? It is written. They do it if you violate any of the clauses (Precious)
>
> But if you know your story, they can't do anything to you. That is what I believe in. I have a contract, and I can take them on according to the contract. But the contract is flawed, the one that we get from them. We need to understand what we are signing. We have to go through it. We need to read the contract. (Jean)
>
> Here they don't care about violating the clause. If you say something you don't like, you are out. This is where we should take the contract to the right people to help us. (Desdemona)

As with the second focus group, the formation and implementation of rules were noted as key concerns. Respondents felt that rules were passed down from the top, with no opportunity for residents to engage with management and decide together on rules. This was an indication of how a lack of participative space frustrated residents.

> Where there are people there should be rules. But it needs to happen in harmony, between management and the people. (Jean)

Desdemona added that living in Ponte City might give you a nice view, but that the building itself was a prison because of the many rules, the inequality in terms of the application of these rules and the legitimacy of the rules.

> The rule doesn't make sense for us! Rules should speak to the needs that people have in a building, and we don't feel like all of the rules benefit us. It doesn't make the building a better place. They are not relevant to us. The rules don't count! (Desdemona)

Residents faced eviction if they did not abide by the rules. Not so, for management. When services like the elevators failed, or when the building was left without electricity for days on end, there would be no word from management.

> People on top (management) they look at us in a different way, they disrespect us because we are black. We don't have the power to complain. When you go there to ask something. They take it like it is nothing. You don't have to worry, they say. They promise that it will be fixed… but they never act. With the electricity problems they never communicate issues or problems. They don't update us (like with electricity), we understand it isn't their fault, but they don't tell us what is going on. The last time they only gave us a number for city power. Security is the mouth of management, because management is not here on weekends. But the security, as a mouthpiece does not take any initiative. We have to do it all. Why don't they phone City Power, and keep us update us? Why don't they update us? Are we supposed to phone? (Sandile)

> After this, when the electricity comes back? They don't even write a notice to say sorry! If you have not paid on the 8th of the month, you get cut, no negotiations or questions. But when it comes to them, they feel it is OK to keep us uninformed. We feel like they don't consider us! (Precious)

Jean shared his reason for moving into Ponte City with his family. However, the stigma surrounding living in Hillbrow and Berea meant that he did not see it as a space to raise children on the long-term.

> I don't want to be here for more than ten years. (Jean)

Ponte City was described as an island of perceived safety in a sea of uncertainty. But for other respondents the stigma of living in a neighbourhood like Hillbrow remained.

> I told someone I live here, in Ponte. People asked me why I want to raise my kids here. Is this how you want to raise your kids, they ask? (Jean)

For these respondents there were concerns that their children lacked safe spaces to play. One respondent mentioned that the children were exposed to all these bad elements.

> Kids see what happens around them, they learn. Our kids are exposed to these bad elements. (Precious)

There was a sense individuals had to look after themselves, instead of considering everyone in the building. Jean argued that this was as a result of not taking responsibility for one's surroundings, and the trash thrown out of the windows were an expression of this lack of taking responsibility, or acting as a community.

> One of the things that I feel is that as residents we should take responsibility. You cannot even walk here without things falling on you. Maybe we need to be educated. Where you are, you need to make sure that it is clean… We feel like we are individuals. We act as individuals. But this doesn't mean that we should behave improperly. (Jean)

The researcher asked respondents to speak about *Dlala Nje*, expecting parents to note the role that the organisation played within the building, as a designated safe space for young children. However, no one spoke about how its mission to create a safe space for children impacted them. In spite of the concerns raised around safe places for children and positive role models, respondents were largely unaware of what *Dlala Nje* offered their children.

When compared to the second focus group, this focus group had more parents in attendance. The previous focus group shared frustrations regarding management, but expressed a greater sense of community and opportunities. The third focus group discussed particular concerns in more detail, but did not explore a common identity. Respondents mostly saw themselves as individuals, looking after their own concerns.

The main issues raised during this focused group pertained to (1) safe spaces for children to play; (2) the relationship between tenants and sub-tenants and management; (3) the lack of particular amenities (like a crèche or accessible laundry drying facilities); (4) the disconnect and animosity between management and residents; (5) racism and inequality and (6) the legitimacy of rules, especially when it came to sub-tenants.

4.4 Samantha's story (25 July 2014)

Samantha was 28 at the time of the interview. The researcher was introduced to her during a visit to a friend's apartment in the building. She expressed interest in the research, and a date was set for an interview. She recently moved from Europe to Johannesburg. Upon arrival in Johannesburg, she met Daniel, who lived in Ponte City at the time. For her, as an outsider, Hillbrow and Ponte City did not have the same meaning as for other people, especially for South Africans.

> At first I just learned that a room was open, and I thought, cool, I don't have to look for a flat… it was nice, I liked it… I liked the people… so I came here not knowing anything about Ponte or Hillbrow. Only later did I learn what Ponte is seen as.

We discussed the Hillbrow tours (run by *Dlala Nje*), and bringing visitors in from the suburbs. Did these visits change people's perceptions?

> People are still scared. I always hope that people's perceptions can change…

Samantha has not taken part in any of the walking tours, describing them as 'awkward.' She loves the idea, but she notes that the insecurity and fear that the visitors initially bring with them makes her feel uncomfortable and nervous.

> The walking tours are a step in the right direction… at least they are coming now. Hopefully they come now, and then they come back later with other people on their own… but I do worry…they look at people like they are in a zoo… you look in on people doing things. The danger, especially in South Africa, people have to see eye to eye. They need to see each other, like normal people in a neighbourhood. I think too many people see the differences between themselves and the people that live in this area. It's problematic.

Samantha also felt that *Dlala Nje* should focus more on building bridges with the community. She noted how 'uplifting communities' can actually deepen exclusion, as had been the case in other areas where gentrification happens. The marginal residents are the focus of the 'improvement,' but later on the 'improved space' does not have space for them anymore.

Networking between residents also came up as a topic for discussion. Samantha moved down from the 51st floor to the 32nd floor where she was the only white person living on the lower levels. She was still good friends with everyone on the upper levels, but she did note a gap between the white residents and the other residents.

> I… think that for most of the white people in the building there is no real network… there is very limited interaction between the whites and the blacks. The blacks obviously have their friends and family. People also interact more within their own networks… you will see… There is not really interactions between groups or cultures… I think it is a human condition… cultures stick together… I think it is a human thing to do. I don't know if it is really about the insecurity of this place. I think that it is one of the things that can be beautiful about Ponte, is that it can be such a big community… It's like a small town.

As with all previous interviews, the management was highlighted as a big problem area. Samantha described them as aggressive, patronising and racist. She also spoke about her first interaction with the building manager.

> She said to me when I met her the first time: "I have a very good relationship to all of the blacks in the building; they are not different from us. If you respect them, then they respect you."

The distance between the management and the residents also concerned her, Samantha felt that the management were not involved, like they did not see themselves as part of the community. Samantha felt like the management see the residents as different from themselves, in spite of what she told her earlier on. A recent break-in to the management apartment also prompted a lot of discussion within Ponte. Samantha pointed out the irony, the management apartment is the only apartment with a security gate. During the robbery a lot of valuables were stolen, including a gun.

> (She) is really fearing for her life now. They stole her gun. It must be someone from the building, she is petrified… everyone is super happy about the break-in… She treats people like dirt, like animals, not like human beings. People hate her… they really hate her. We hate her!

During the time of the robbery an ominous message was carved into the canvas that protects the walls of the elevators. Samantha took a picture and showed it to me. It reads:

> Magogo[5], if you know what is good for you, you must fokkof[6]!

In the wake of the robbery, a host of new security features, many of them more intrusive, were added. Cameras were installed in the lifts. The canvasses in the elevator were taken down to prevent further vandalism. In the lobby, a new sign was added to ban hoodies, caps or headscarves. The frustration amongst residents rose since the last focus group. According to Samantha it was because of the strict rules, and the way in which they were enforced from the top down with no consultation. There was little space for residents to make a contribution. They were mostly treated as problems.

There were spaces in Ponte City where residents connected, according to Samantha. Cito Café was one such a space, and she wished more people would use it, especially the white residents. For her the fact that these spaces drew in a mixed crowd from all over Hillbrow was important. Samantha believed that her perception of safety in Hillbrow improved due to the fact that she knew so many people.

> So I realised… people recognise us and they know us. The people start to know you… I see the same lady at the same spot every day selling her tomatoes. They protect me. That's why I feel safe here. I know petty crime can happen anywhere… but I also think you need to put yourself out there… Interactions need to be normalised… more people need to walk. If you put yourself out there, you have to take the risk, like a pioneer. Something can always happen to you. Change can only happen if you put yourself out there. If you lock yourself in… that's not the way.

[5] Old lady (Zulu)
[6] Fuck-off (Afrikaans)

4.5 Brian's story (6 September 2014)

Brian decided to move into Ponte City in early 2012. One of his best friends did a newspaper article on Ponte City, and he decided that he wanted to move in. Rents were cheap, the apartments were brand new, spacious and the views were amazing. His friend invited Brian to move with him, and they moved into a two-bedroom apartment on the 51st floor. At the time Brian was working for a big financial management company and Ponte City just seemed like another cool and affordable place to live. Initially the duo wanted to open a shop in the shopping mall, realising that with a population of almost 3 000 individuals they were well placed to make some money. Their plan changed when they became aware of the fact that Ponte City housed around 800 children, with very little space where "children could be children." In light of this, they decided to open *Dlala Nje* in October 2012.

When I spoke to Brian in September, morale between the residents and building management was, as he described it, "at an all-time low." He attributed this to the top down management style, a style where no one else has an opportunity to give input or ask questions.

> It is difficult to manage a building with 3 000 people… but if people are part of the setting of rules and regulations, they feel more part of it. There is a tension between rules, and buying into the system. This building is run with an iron first, very autocratic in its management… if you don't like it, you can move somewhere else…

Beyond the top down management style, he also lamented the inhumane way in which residents are treated.

> We are in a desperate situation. I am even considering flying to East London to speak to the big bosses. What is happening here at the moment is against humanity. I hear things from the office downstairs. I hear how management deals with people that go there. It is categorically wrong… It is getting worse and worse… For *Dlala Nje* it is one of our biggest challenges, the management of the building. It has gone beyond the point of urgent… we don't know what to do.

Things had deteriorated to such an extent that Brian, one of the most powerful advocates for making Ponte a better place, was considering moving out. He would continue to work within Ponte through *Dlala Nje*, but he simply could not deal with the management relationship any more. In August 2014 one of his key staff members and neighbour, Cedric, was evicted on unfair grounds. According to Brian, this was a turning point for him. Management wanted him to fire Cedric as well so that they could ban him from entering the property at all, something that Brian managed to stop by involving Lawyers for Human Rights.

Another issue with management was, as Samantha also noted, their lack of real engagement with the rest of the residents within Ponte City.

> They are not even here at all. They wake up at 3:30 every morning. Management gets into the downstairs office by 4:30, when there is no traffic in the building. They don't arrive when the building wakes up. They are in the lifts (elevators) alone. They stay in their offices the entire day, the whole day… They finish at 4pm and go back up… There is no engagement. On Fridays they go to Bela Bela (in Limpopo) and they only come back late on Sundays. They never interact with anyone in the building on a normal level.

Brian's frustration was evident when he spoke about Kempston Group's (the current owners) lack of interest in Ponte City beyond making money. In the two-and-a-half years that he lived in Ponte City, he never met any representatives from the company that owned the building. For Kempston Group Ponte City was a great investment, bringing in a return beyond what they could have ever hoped for. They only engaged with the building management. As long as apartments are filled to capacity and rent was coming in there were no other concerns.

> The scary thing is that this management is doing a great thing in Kempston Group's eyes, the money is in the bank…

Brian hoped to travel to East London to engage with Kempston Group around the management of Ponte City. He argued that a management team with a vision of a future Ponte could take the building forward. He agreed that the foundations had

been laid during the transformation phase that started in 2009. But now, six years later, there was opportunity to change Ponte City into a housing Icon.

> We are in dire need of new, young, vibrant management that can add value and take this building into a new era. So that we can take this building into a brand new phase.

For Brian an iconic apartment building would allow residents to flourish, to be normal people. Instead, he lamented the fact that residents were not seen as people, but rather rent-paying units. There was, according to Brian, no attempt to consider residents in a broader sense.

> Do you see people living here as people, as families, people that want to have fun? No, they are just machines paying rent. *Dlala Nje* is not a powerful organisation that adds value to the building and the area. It is a shop that needs to be invoiced every month. They have no idea that there is actually an emotional attachment to a being, to a person. Yes, fine, make your money. But at the end of the day people are people just like you. (Brian, individual interview)

Dlala Nje worked tirelessly to change perceptions around Ponte City and Hillbrow, yet this was not seen by building management or acknowledged by the owners. Kempston Group used 2014 events ran by *Dlala Nje* on their website to showcase the property, yet no one contacted Brian to speak about the events or to thank him for the exposure it gave to one of their most important assets. When Michael Subotsky's book on Ponte City was launched at Ponte City in August 2014, the exposure was international[7]. International media houses attended the event, and ran reports on Ponte City afterwards, including CNN, The New York Times and hundreds of representatives from the art world. Brian lamented the fact that building management failed to understand how this exposure, and *Dlala* Nje's work with children, translated into value for them as property owners.

[7] Ponte City was launched in 2014, a collaboration between Subotsky and Waterhouse. It combines "photography, historical archives, found objects and interviews to create a body of work that spans the pre-history of the building, its spectacular decline, and the recent attempts at its transformation." www.goodman-gallery.com/exhibitions/159.

> I wanted to put the building back on the map for them. It's been so difficult, if you don't pay for it, there is no money in the bank and no value. We are very artistic. We believe in the arts. We are creative people. It inspires children; it makes everything fun in life again. The fact that we punt this and it is the ethos of our organisation, and now we have to deal with people that have no idea what this means. It has become our biggest challenge we face, apart from living here.

Brian expanded on his vision for Ponte City. He described a Ponte City that was connected, inclusive and welcoming. A place where the owners would take some of the profits that they made and reinvest it, moving from 'maintenance to actual improvement.'

> Ponte City and Hillbrow can be beacons of hope. Ponte City could be home. I believe Ponte City should be a home, the problem lies in this… Hillbrow is not identified as a home for people…

In conclusion Brian talked about what living in Ponte City, and starting *Dlala Nje*, meant to him.

> This building has changed my life in so many ways. I am now at a position where I am absolutely passionate about what I do, I love waking up in the morning. I have incredible staff that support me. I wouldn't want to be anywhere else, doing anything else. I am glad I left my corporate job.

Sadly, the relationship with management had grown so adversarial that Brian was thinking of moving out. He would remain involved with *Dlala Nje*.

> I would like to leave the building on good terms, because of all of this, what it did for me. I don't want to leave because I hate it. I am in a position now where I am planning my exit out of here, so that I can still come back, still be involved here, so I can still miss the times I spent here instead of being grateful that I got the fuck out of here.

4.6 Cedric's story (9 September 2014)

Cedric had been living in Ponte City since 2011, and he became actively involved in *Dlala Nje* in October 2012, when it opened. He first ran the shop during opening hours, but since then he had taken on more responsibilities, like organising

and conducting tours and assisting children that come in with queries, homework etc. He knew a lot of people in the building, evident in the fact that multiple people stopped by the table to ask questions while the interview was being conducted.

He spoke about the impact that *Dlala Nje* had within the building. Prior to the shop opening there was no place where children could do homework, play or engage. The area that surrounds Ponte City did not allow for children to go outside, it was simply not safe for children. *Dlala Nje* gave them the opportunity to engage and play in a safe place. A place where 'kids can simply be kids.'

> The kids come down to play all the time. I sometimes ask them: 'where would you go and play if it wasn't for *Dlala Nje*?' They answer that there is no other place. At the moment we have different programs… we help with homework, research…we do art activities over weekends. Like seriously, the parents always just appreciate what we do. Most of the parents they come in the morning with the kids, they tell me not to let the kids go out, maybe go and play away. And then they come back late. It is a safe place for the kids… The schoolwork improves, like seriously.

Beyond creating a safe space for children, *Dlala Nje's* funding model was built on organised tours of Ponte City and Hillbrow. These tours had an impact on the visitors, and on those that conduct the tours. Cedric described the impact the tours had on visitors and on him.

> When outsiders travel with us, they see a different place… You know all the bad things people say about Hillbrow, and how bad it was? Hillbrow and Berea are getting better. It is becoming better because of places like *Dlala Nje*.
>
> For me? Like seriously, every weekend I see Hillbrow and Berea as a brand new place! Even if I tell people how it was, it keeps surprising me.

However, Cedric's frequent disagreements with building management cost him dearly. By his own account he was a networker. His interest in electronics meant that he became a cell phone and laptop technician. He did not open his own business, but helped people when they asked him. In 2013 he was evicted for the first time, accused of letting a female visitor in without following procedures.

According to Cedric he saw a man he knew struggling at the access gate. Finger prints are often problematic, so Cedric decided to help the guy by opening for him (Cedric was going to *Dlala Nje*). Only later he was told that the man was earlier evicted and thus not allowed to enter. Cedric was accused of allowing unauthorised female visitors onto the premises, and he had to go to the management office. Cedric was never allowed to tell his side of the story.

> I was hoping to explain… that I was only trying to help. But on Monday, my finger prints were already blocked, I couldn't get in… when I tried to tell (them) that they didn't get the right story… they did not want to hear how it was. I didn't have a chance, not even a word. I was just told to get out of the building.

He left Ponte City, coming back after six months. Why did he come back?

> I came back because I work with *Dlala Nje*. So it is much easier, I have access every day, we can have meetings at any time… And my friends, relatives, I know the people in the building. To me it is a home… Everyone in the building, and I mean everyone, really likes me. And everyone is worried because I didn't stay here anymore.

His final eviction happened in August 2014, after someone managing a technical repair shop in the shopping centre accused him of stealing customers. The shop owner told building management he couldn't pay rent because Cedric was stealing customers. Cedric helped those that brought their stuff to him to fix. He was accused of being dishonest, and immediately evicted. This time Cedric's manager, Brian, was also called in, and told that Cedric could no longer work at *Dlala Nje*. Brian and Cedric sought the assistance of Lawyers for Human Rights, and they assisted. As Brian noted:

> We went to speak to the lawyers to explain the situation. What they (management) did was against the law, they did not give notice of the eviction. They did not follow procedures. The lawyers then phone management to inform them that they were breaking the law… Finally a letter was issued to give him access, and this was sent to the COO of Kempston Group, the management, and the Hillbrow Police Station.

The management's response was aggressive. Cedric was allowed to fetch his belongings, but they 'never wanted to see him on the premises again.' Brian finally resolved the issue to the extent that Cedric could still have access to his work premises. Legally Cedric would have been able to fight the eviction, but he decided to move out. The insecurity of looming evictions impacted on him, as he explained below.

> The moving process is expensive. It doesn't matter if it isn't that far, you lose possessions and some things get broken… These evictions are sad. We don't feel safe. We don't even have time to budget like we want, you budget for savings and stuff, but then you need to think about moving next month, maybe… because they can throw you out.

In spite of not living in Ponte City anymore, Cedric still described it as his home. He moved to Ridge Plaza right next door to Ponte City, so that he could be close to work.

> I don't spend any time there… I spend most of my time at Ponte City, this is where I love to spend my time. I just sleep at the other flat.

When Cedric spoke about Ponte City, one could see why he still sees it as a home.

> We are a community, even though we are different people from different countries. We are one. You can't tell a difference between us, you can't tell who is coming from where. I really, really like that about Ponte. I love it.

4.7 Tiro's story (13 February 2015)

Tiro had lived in Ponte City since 2009. He grew up in Limpopo, and moved to Johannesburg where he studied art. Tiro had seen a lot of changes in the time he lived here. The apartments were gradually upgraded. The building was cleaner and safer than in 2009. The re-opening of the shopping centre was another powerful sign that the building was making a turn for the better.

> I would not want to live anywhere else, I just love Ponte!

Tiro agreed with all other respondents that the management was strict, but he also believed that this is one of the key factors why the building was working so well.

Ponte's improvement in terms of fortunes had unintended consequences, impacting current residents. As the building became more popular, rental prices went up accordingly. For Tiro, this meant that many of his friends had to move, something that he regretted. The tenant/sub-tenant relationship was also problematic, because it further increased the transience within the building.

> So sometimes it is fights like that that happens between the landlords (tenants) and the sub-tenants. You see people moving out. He agreed that sub-tenants also struggle more as they have more rules to adhere to, and far less freedom.

Tiro described how living in Ponte City impacted the development of his professional career. He started as a student engaging with the various active groups within the building, including *Dlala Nje*. As an artist, *Dlala Nje* gave him space to practice his art and engage with visitors from other areas. It was during this time that Michael Subotsky launched a book on Ponte City, using the shopping centre at the base of the building as the official launch space. Tiro grabbed the opportunity, and became involved in the organising of the event. His relationship within key art and photography networks strengthened, and culminated in a massive investment. Knowing Tiro's love of photography and art, individuals invested and helped him open his own photography studio in the shopping centre of the building. Tiro now ran his own business, a complete photography studio that was very popular with Ponte City residents and those from the surrounding areas.

> A lot of stuff happened because I've stayed in Ponte, a lot of things. I don't think it would have happened if I stayed anywhere else. My career started at Ponte, I might say.

For Tiro, one of the most attractive aspects of living in Ponte City was the sense of community, and the interactions that were possible because of this 'community feel.'

> You know, as much as you know so many people around one building, you sort of feel safer around where you stay. So that's one thing that makes me want to stay even more, you know. Because I realise people that stay in the city, they mind their own business most of the time. But Ponte is not like that. It is more of a community than just a building with people and their jobs.

The fact that Ponte City had such a wide variety of people staying in it was also exciting for Tiro. Hillbrow, where white people feared to go for so many years now had white residents again, and this gave Tiro hope.

> Because we know that Hillbrow and the surrounding area is not a place where we see more white people these days because of safety issues. So, I mean, by them coming this side, it changes the perspective of people thinking that this was a horrible place and stuff.

People from the outside were now again interested in visiting Hillbrow and spending time there served as an indication to Tiro how much things had changed. Interacting with those coming from other building and neighbourhoods was important for him, as he believed that this would have more and more people take notice of Ponte City.

> You know, I want this place to be, not this horrible place, or this dangerous place in the middle of Hillbrow… it is quite entertaining and amazing to see people wanting to know more about the building. So it's quite dope!

Samantha was more critical of the *Dlala Nje* tours, where Tiro was far more pragmatic in his approach.

> I think that Dlala Nje, with the tours, it might seem like it is people coming to Hillbrow and look at Hillbrow like a zoo… But it is making a huge impact in terms of people staying around Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea. You know, as I said before, we grow up in the South African way where we were never close to white people. And when we get close, something happens, hope comes up, you know.

He also did not plan to stop networking. He decided to launch a Facebook group that would connect young people within the building, called Ponte

Entertainment. The idea behind this was to share information regarding events, birthdays and parties with young people that resided within the building, to create a 'home feel,' in Tiro's words. Tiro believed that he knew more than half of the people that lived in Ponte City, something that he felt made him feel more at home. For him, it was important that everyone got to experience what if felt like to really come home.

4.2. Key themes that emerge from the data

The data that emerged from the focus groups and individual interviews gave a more contextualised understanding of what it was like to be a resident in Ponte City apartments. Some key issues that were highlighted during interviews were: (1) the negative and distant relationship between residents and management, (2) the negative impact of top-down management approaches on social capital formation and expression, (3) the negative framing of rules, which made a shared social contract less likely to emerge, (4) the vulnerability of tenants regarding threat of eviction and (5) the existence of bonded social capital within isolated social networks. During the interviews it also became apparent that more connective social capital existed. These indications of bridging and linking social capital were expressed during interviews as (1) the emergence of a shared community identity, (2) the role of connective communal spaces and organisations that fostered a sense of community and (3) the way in which linking networks contributed to making particular respondents feel safer and express a greater sense of belonging to the building and the area. Lastly, individuals that were part of broader spanning networks expressed more agency in terms of dealing with the top-down management, and further expressed more likelihood of living in the building for a longer period of time.

Chapter 5. Analysis

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the data presented in chapter four. The key themes that emerge from the data will be discussed in more detail. The first section will deal with the impact of a dominant top-down approach, with agency located in the spheres of ownership and management. Residents' did not express the same levels of agency, and there were limited to no space for inclusive participation.

Next the levels of social capital and the expression of social capital will be analysed for each of the important social agents identified. Management, for example, had lots of power in terms of rulemaking and implementation, but exhibited low levels of social capital in any form, being very isolated from the broader residency. Residents exhibited various levels of social capital. Respondents that were not part of a larger connective social capital framework tended to have stronger bonding social capital with family and friends. These respondents expressed less agency in terms of dealing with the exclusionary effects of a top-down management structure. Respondents that exhibited stronger horizontal bridging and vertical linking capital were more likely to have positive views regarding the future of Ponte City, and their intention of being a part of that future, in spite of the frustrated relationship with management. These respondents were also more likely to reach out to other individuals or groupings for help and support, allowing them to gain more information and leverage more resources in addressing concern.

The findings of the research will also be discussed, where data indicated that the existence of social capital did not immediately translate into productive exchanges of meaningful participation. The management approach did not allow for inclusive participation, limiting the strengthening of links between social agents. The lack an inclusive social contract negatively impacted the development of trust and reciprocity. Due to the lack of trust, social capital emerged most strongly in terms of bonding social capital, which resulted in the exclusion of those deemed to be 'other.' Norms were also framed negatively, further impacting social capital formation,

expansion and meaningful participation. Social capital was not the magic solution to the problems of urban decay. Without access to participatory structures and the social capital needed to participate many residents failed to express a sense of belonging, and were less likely to invest in the space in the long term.

The recommendations are set out towards the end of this chapter. Lasting urban renewal strategies will address the issue of transience, seen as an expression of a limited sense of belonging and investment in a particular space. Secondly, building owners need to consider the broader needs of the residents and to do this they need to understand how residents use and relate to a space. Building management needs to be more responsive and accessible. Tenants need to be treated as customers. Rules and norms need to be positively formulated, meaning that residents agree to, understand and commit to sanctions for transgressions. Contracts must be legal, illegal evictions create anxiety amongst residents, further impacting their ability to adhere to collective norms.

5.1. Ponte City: Where are the residents' voices?

The literature review reflected on the importance of social capital to drive more inclusive, participatory and comprehensive urban renewal strategies. The impact of two dominant managerial approaches to urban renewal strategies on social capital and the expression of social capital (participation) were discussed. **New public management** moved beyond the strict confines of **traditional government-centric** approaches to urban renewal in terms of acknowledging the importance of participation (Bigham, 2006; Gaffney, 2001; Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005; Silver & Toews, 2009). **New public management** approaches involved a broader set of agents, private investors and civil society (Silver & Toews, 2009). The tenet of this approach is that policy makers should leverage on the human and financial resources of the private and civil society sector to maximise outputs (Peters, 2009; Pierre, 2009; Silver & Toews, 2009; Stoker, 1998).

The data revealed that the management structure at Ponte City failed to acknowledge that residents were potential participants and stakeholders, and tenants were seen as rent-paying entities. This connected to the literature, which discussed how urban renewal strategies in Johannesburg were located within a mostly exclusionary **new public management** paradigm (Chipkin, 2005). While the **new public management** approach acknowledged the importance of participation, the participative agency was mostly located amongst building owners, management and some civil society groupings, which resulted in residents being largely excluded from participation. There was an overt focus on the role of private capital to manage current infrastructure and to kick-start lasting urban renewal where building stock had suffered from urban decay. As noted in the literature review, a drawback to this particular framework is that the participation of civil society, or potential civic agents was acknowledged in the policy framework to a certain extent, yet the actual implementation of the policy did not allow the broader spectrum of social agents to impact on the unfolding urban renewal program, while it also failed to uncover the factors that limit active participation (Putnam, 2002; Silver & Toews, 2009). Ponte City's residents, delinked from participative spaces, became passive recipients of services and end-users instead of active pockets of capital that were seen to have the potential to contribute to the overall fabric of the building. The data confirmed this limited understanding of resident agency. Ponte City's tenants were acted upon, rather than included in the management process, further entrenching current patterns of marginalisation that were skewed in favour of those that held most power, in this case building owners and building management (Fang & Zhang, 2003; Silver & Toews, 2009; Silverman & Zack, 2007).

This exclusion from active participation further impacted on the re-emergence of productive social capital within Ponte City where no formalised structure existed for regular and meaningful engagement between the building management and the residents. The fact that residents were largely excluded from a participative framework, coupled with the negative, top-down framing of the social

contract resulted in fragmented social capital formation, mostly within bounded social groupings. The impact of the top-down management approach will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

5.2. How top-down management approaches inhibit social capital

Ponte City was found to be well-managed from an infrastructure perspective, providing safe and affordable living spaces for residents. However, in spite of the dramatic turn-around since 2009, respondents spoke about their increased vulnerability in terms of rental tenure, blamed on a distant and patriarchal relationship with building management. Safety from criminal elements were lauded, but respondents noted how the top-down management style had them concerned about the potential of them being evicted. This sense of vulnerability was particularly acute for the residents that had children and were therefore required to provide a stable environment for their children's growth. For them, the real threat of eviction and what that meant for their children resulted in an increased fear of transgressing the rules, one of which, whether codified or not, seemed to be complaining or speaking out about the unfairness of the management. The focus group noted a particular difference for those people that were single residents and those that had families, and this seemed to be the awareness of knowing the people around them in the building. Those that had families felt more isolated, reported that they didn't know their neighbors, and felt more vulnerable. The likelihood of developing meaningful social capital in a context where residents are 'keeping their noses clean', not challenging the status quo, and keeping to themselves in order to reduce their vulnerability is minimal.

Ponte City was governed through a strict set of rules with severe sanctions, including eviction, for not conforming to the rules. The rule-making process was not participatory, and while respondents noted that rules are important, many of the rules were seen as arbitrary, re-active, and constrictive in terms of personal freedom. Ponte City evictions were also in contradiction of the *Rental Housing Act (1999)* and the *Consumer Protection Act,* as explained in a 2005 COHRE report.

Examples of illegal acts included the evictions without due notice (as in Cedric's case), the blocking of particular nationalities to rent apartments and the treatment of twelve-year old tenants as adults. Respondents also noted that the rules were not enforced fairly and consistently. Some respondents perceived rules to be flexible for some residents, based on race or their relationship with the building management. This lack of consistency further depleted trust between the building management and the residents, and to a certain extent between residents themselves.

The top-down management approach succeeded in making sure that Ponte City functioned well in terms of infrastructure maintenance and safety, but its exclusion of residents from the conversation and its suppression of active participation led to high levels of frustration amongst respondents. Some respondents still managed to link to larger networks where they could exert some agency and leverage resources, while others remained more insular, at best using existing close social networks as support while 'getting by' (Putnam, 2002). The data indicated that bonding social capital was most pronounced in the case of family units within the building, and this bonding social capital had a negative impact on the linking of social agents within the building.

The data showed that a lack of trust and space for inclusive participation translated into limited opportunities for real connective social capital to emerge. Social capital could be identified within Ponte City apartments, as there were various social agents active within the building. The top-down management and lack of real participation impacted social capital expansion negatively, with fewer cross-group connections existing than initially expected. The relationship between management and the residents was so tense during the latter part of the research that very little of the initial positive narrative, that drew the researcher to the case study, seemed to remain. In the coming section some of the key social agents within the Ponte City space will be discussed in more detail. The research will also note the level of social capital and the expression of social capital in terms of participation.

5.3. Who are the agents within Ponte City?

Many approaches focused on social capital and participation acknowledge that civil society and residents are the main civic agents of change. For the purpose of this study, a broad range of social agents were considered, looking at the particular social capital expressed by the social agent and how they interrelated or failed to interrelate with other social agents. The research also explored the depth of connections between different social agents.

The respondents were current Ponte City residents, either tenants or sub-tenants. Two respondents did not live in Ponte City, but visited daily while another respondent worked for *Dlala Nje,* but did not live in the building anymore having been evicted. Although not all of the social agents were interviewed, data collection and researcher observation identified the following main agents: (1) City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality; (2) property owners (Kempston Group); (3) building management; (4) *Dlala Nje* organisation; (5) residents (tenants and sub-tenants); (6) Shop-owners; (7) Employees (security, maintenance and cleaning); (8) Residents of nearby apartment blocks (using the retail and social space); (9) Visitors to Ponte City from other parts of Johannesburg and abroad; (10) Human rights and legal aid groups. Not all of these social agents were discussed in detail, as mentioned when discussing limitations of the research in chapter three. Data on some social agents were limited, as they were not included in the focus group discussions or individual interviews. However, data showed active, albeit at time insular, social life, in spite of the lack of inclusive participative structures.

5.3.1. Kempston Group

The owners of Ponte City apartments have their headquarters in East London in the Eastern Cape Province. Their website includes information on Ponte City (as part of their property portfolio), as well as information on *Dlala Nje*. Ironically, the owners had not communicated with *Dlala Nje* directly since the organisation opened in October 2012. The lack of involvement by the owners of the building was noted in

the data, as respondents felt that many 'improvements' in infrastructure did not speak to their immediate needs. Respondents felt that the owners were out of touch with the real needs of the residents. The water features in the piazza and the mosaics in the entrance lobby were nice, but respondents felt like more urgent needs could be addressed first, such as the lack of safety features for windows, long walks to the laundry lines and the lack of child-care facilities.

Kempston Group was not accessible during the research, and the researcher could liaise with the building management to a limited extent. The owner's distance from the actual building indicated the lack of social capital connections. No informal or weak links could be identified through the course of the study. The owner's main communication happened directly to management.

5.3.2. Ponte City building management team

The management team consisted of a white married couple in their 60s, living on the 52nd floor of the building. Perceptions from residents were that they were mostly concerned with reporting back to Kempston Group regarding the state of their asset, and enforcing rules to make sure that the asset did not depreciate in value.

The management team's engagement with residents and other actors was limited, and mostly one-way (in the form of newsletters and e-mails consisting of instructions or notifications of transgressions). The relationship between management and the tenants hit an all-time low during the latter part of 2014, when the management apartment was burgled and threatening messages were written on the walls of the elevators. During the focus group sessions, respondents talked about killing the managers, and spoke about the insulting confrontational messages that were left in the elevators. An outcome of this was that the management team further insulated themselves. As noted during the interviews, management only travelled in the elevators during off-peak periods to ensure that they limited interaction with residents. Furthermore, they also ensured that they were not in the building over weekends, a time where more residents would be able to access them to discuss issues.

Rules were unilaterally formulated, implemented and enforced by management, with most respondents describing rules as arbitrary, constraining, unfair and even illegal. The strict enforcement of rules did not originate within a participatory framework, or according to an agreed set of norms and further depleted trust and rapport between management and the residents. Norms were negatively framed, and imposed on residents. The negative framing of rules can be seen of an increasingly reactive management attempting to suppress an increasingly frustrated resident population, which led to residents 'acting out' by throwing garbage down the central open central core, and the vandalism of Ponte City common areas. An example of this was the graffiti directed against management in the elevators. Some residents were so frustrated with the lack of access to management that vandalism was often the only way to express dissatisfaction.

An analysis of the newsletter shows a paternalistic approach to rules, with the management presenting as a long-suffering parent, and the residents as naughty children. See Figure 5 below.



PONTE TIMESPONTE CITY'S OFFICIAL NEWSLETTER Issue #

PONTE TIMES
Ponte City's official newsletter

dlala NJE

NOVEMBER 2013 – NEWS LETTER

Sanibonani abahlali basePonte!

Dear Residents

It is almost the end of 2013.

Welcome to all the new tenants in Ponte, hope you going to have a long and happy stay with us. Remember to use your electricity sparingly! PONTE IS FULL! ☺

Our deepest sympathy, with some of our tenants who's relatives passed away, may God wipe the tears from your eyes and ease the pain.

THE RULES AND REGULATION OF PONTE IS THERE TO STAY AND WILL NOT BE CHANGE FOR ANYBODY. IF YOU NOT SURE ABOUT THE RULES AND REGULATIONS PLEASE COME TO THE OFFICE AND GET A COPY.

ALSO REMEMBER NO PARTIES ALLOWED WITHOUT PERMISSION FROM THE OFFICE.

PLEASE REMEMBER NOT TO PARK ON P7 IN FRONT OF THE GATE YOUR CAR WILL BE CLAMPED AND YOU WILL HAVE TO PAY R100 FINE. DON'T PARK IN FRONT OF OUR STORE ROOM, YOU WILL ALSO BE FINED.

As from the 27th October 2013 till the 1st November, Streetwise Professor will be making a movie at Ponte. PLEASE STOP THROWING RUBBISH OUT OF THE WINDOWS.

WE WELD ALL THE WINDOWS FOR A CERTAIN REASON. THEN WE GET PEOPLE THAT CAN'T THINK OR JUST DO IT OUT OF SPITE AND FORCE THE WINDOWS OPEN AGAIN, I THINK THAT IS RIDICULOUS.

ALSO SOME OF THE CHILDREN ie 3911 and 1104, CHILDREN WE CAUGHT COLLECTING BEER BOTTLES TO TAKE TO SCHOOL.

IF WE CATCH THEM AGAIN WITH BOTTLES, THERE WILL BE TROUBLE FOR THE PARENTS.

IF YOU OVERCROWED IN OUR FLAT, LIKE IN A STUDIO IS ONLY 3 PEOPLE THAT INCLUDES CHILDREN, YOUR LEASE WILL NOT BEEN RENEWED AGAIN AND YOU WILL HAVE TO MOVE OUT. LIKE SOME PEOPLE HAVE 5 CHILDREN WITH THE TWO PARENTS THEY 7 IN A STUDIO, BUT THEY DON'T COUNT THE CHILDREN AS HUMAN BEINGS!!!!!!!! WHAT CAN WE SAY?

PONTE MANAGENT

CALLING ALL ARTISTS!!!!

Dlala Nje is hosting an Art Exhibition on the 30th of November and December 1st.

If you think you have what it takes, sign up to exhibit alongside some of the country's best artists!

Fine artists, sculptors, photographers and the like – ALL ARE WELCOME!!!

Everybody wants to chill and enjoy the ice cool water, but we need to make sure it's safe for everyone.

INSPIRATIONAL QUOTE:

"Experience is a hard teacher because she gives the test first, the lesson afterwards."

DANDAVE SUPERMARKET

SHOP SPECIALS!!!!

- Dandave Supermarket, please support them
- DANDAVE HAIR SALOON: For all your styling, braids, treatments and curls – enquire at Shop 5A ☺

CITY WASHERS & DRYERS: Open from 7am-6pm for all your laundry requirements.

Greenworld Health & Wealth moved to shop 8C every day at 6pm for a business opportunity.

CITO CAFÉ RESTAURANT PLEASE SUPPORTS THEM.

Shop 4A is now Team 1 Media combined with an internet shop and accounting. Please support them.

Shop 4B is also a new shop under the name Business Opportunities, please contact Kelly at 0823436142

Shop 3 A, a fish shop is also opening on the 1st November 2012.

Figure 4: Ponte City newsletter (November 2013)

Respondents described management as strict, distant, racist and unapproachable. An example of this was the re-active rules implemented after the burglary in the management apartment. These rule further restricted free movement within the building, and did not resonate with residents at all. Immediately after the burglary all hoodies, caps and scarves were banned, so as to make the positive identification of 'unsavory' elements easier. The canvases draped within the elevators to protect elevator walls from damage were also removed after the crude graffiti, aimed at management, was cut into the fabric.

The management team exhibited low levels of social capital, with no connections based on reciprocity, trust, shared norms or space for collaborative action. Engagement with residents were limited, as noted before, with management not spending weekends at the building and structuring office hours in such a way that uncomfortable meetings in the elevators could be avoided. This lack of informal engagement severely impacted the emergence of bridging social capital. Residents saw management as a closed entity and management saw residents as a homogeneous grouping of mostly troublesome 'others'. Management did not trust residents, nor did residents trust management. Management was isolated and unable to see themselves as part of the community.

The lack of trust and isolation is particularly evident from reported conversations that white residents had with management. Black residents were 'othered' by the use of the term 'them' as being a badly behaved but tolerated group of people. The fact that the management was able to discuss the residents in 'othering' terms when speaking to white applicants to the building indicated that they indeed saw whites as 'us' and the other tenants as 'other'. The 'othering' based on race was also evident during the researcher's initial discussion with the management team, and in media reports. Further' othering' of groups were evident in the rules that excluded Nigerians from renting apartments within the building, based on the assumption that Nigerians sold drugs and were criminals.

5.3.3. Dlala Nje

Two individual interviews assessed the state of *Dlala* Nje, its relationship with management as an organisation and the individuals that work for the organisation's relationship with management. The data indicated increasing frustration with regards to management's heavy handed, top-down management style and overt financial focus. During interviews it was expressed that *Dlala Nje* played a critical part in demystifying Ponte City, and for outsiders to see it in a more positive light. In spite of this, management mostly saw them as a rent-paying shop space, with no consideration for the larger impact that their work had on residents and visitors to Ponte City. The individuals that started *Dlala Nje* had not interacted with Kempston Group at all, in spite of the owners highlighting the organisation on their website, as noted earlier.

By late-2014 one of the key agents within *Dlala Nje*, and the building, was evicted without management following legal process. Cedric's eviction impacted *Dlala Nje*, as management tried to force Brian (his employer) to fire him. Brian's refusal to adhere to management's directive had a massive negative impact on his relationship with them. By the end of 2014 Brian was seriously considering moving out of the building because of this.

Despite the bad relationship with management, *Dlala Nje* exhibited examples of bridging and linking social capital, leveraging resources and speaking to influential groups to further their cause. The data indicated that because of this ability to bridge and link to agents outside of their immediate sphere, they were able to curtail the negative impacts of an increasingly aggressive management. This also translated into agency, as individuals and as an organisation. When Cedric was illegally evicted for the second time, Brian and Cedric contacted a legal aid and human rights group to help them combat the eviction. They also managed to involve the local police station. Cedric still decided to move out, mostly because he did not want to spend energy and time on fighting management.

Dlala Nje served as a physical space where residents of Ponte City and the surrounding area could connect, allowing for weak ties to develop between different individuals and groups. The organisation further managed to build rapport with national and international media agencies, large businesses, renowned artists, civil society organisations, the local police station, lawyers and a range of national and international visitors. These connections increased horizontally as well as vertically, enabling them to leverage more resources. Despite the relationship with management, they are still focused on making Ponte City a 'home' for all its residents. Using some of their social networks and support, they were also considering reaching out directly to Kempston Group by travelling to East London, in order to see whether they could raise the plight of the residents directly with the group, while sharing their vision for a better Ponte City. *Dlala Nje* exhibits strong linking capital, in terms of securing vertical links with networks of power outside Ponte City. They were also able to build connections that were able to leverage resource. The ability to bridge to the residents of the building and residents of the surrounding area also indicated stronger social capital in this regard.

Dlala Nje's mission was not understood by all residents. This became apparent during the third focus group. The strong pockets of bonding social capital within the building (amongst families, friends and ethnic groupings) could be a challenge for the organisation. Bridging into these structures would widen and strengthen their existing networks within the building. Their core challenge remained the relationship with management. Hopefully, as this issue is resolved, the focus can re-align towards strengthening networks of solidarity within the building.

Dlala Nje's battle with management is illustrative of a tendency within the building to grow social capital at a bridging level in order for residents to support each other in the face of a pernicious and dictatorial management. *Dlala Nje* had more agency to confront management, due to its ability to leverage resources and ability to form networks with outside social agents, such as human rights organisations and media networks. These linkages allowed the *Dlala Nje* team to

win 'short-term' victories against management, as was the case when Cedric's second eviction was deemed to be illegal. However, they expressed the need for a long-term engagement strategy with the building owners, because they realised that engagement with the management would have limited effect.

5.3.4. Residents: Many communities

This is by far the largest and most diverse grouping. Respondents indicated how the building consisted of various different 'communities.' The top floors were referred to as 'Sandton[8].' The apartments on the upper levels were more luxurious, as they were renovated during the period where Ponte City was being renovated as an upper-class residential address (the failed 2008 renovation). These levels housed the management's apartment, professionals, families and almost all of the white residents in the building (apart from Samantha, living on floor 34). The middle level was called 'Yeoville.' This section had more occupants per apartment, apartments were not as luxurious and many tenants shared apartments with sub-tenants, in order to cover the rent. The cleaning and maintenance staff were located in the bottom section of the building, in the old servant's quarters (built to house the black servants when the building was constructed in the 1970s). This area was referred to as 'Alexandra[9],' and residents saw this area as run-down and filthy. This typology of the different communities in Ponte City showed how isolated particular communities were, and how groups were identified based on where they lived in the building. The individual interview respondents lived on levels 51, 44 and 32, covering the range of 'communities,' within the building. Most of the focus group respondents lived below floors 45.

[8] Sandton is an exclusive suburb in the North of Johannesburg. It is seen as a prestigious address, compared to the less desirable inner city.

[9] Alexandra is a high-density township adjacent to Sandton in Northern Johannesburg. Under apartheid it was a demarcated black township.

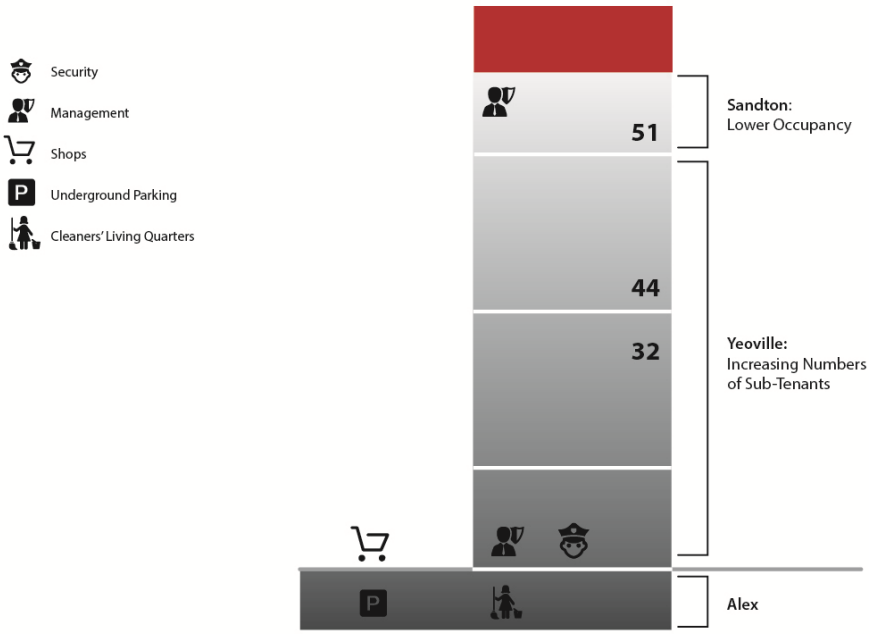

Figure 5: Many communities in one building

During interviews it was found that some individuals had a stronger sense and expression of community, making them much more positive about Ponte City as a place to call home. A large component of respondents did not share this same view, describing Ponte City as a clean and affordable living space but ultimately expressing that they would move somewhere else if they had more money.

The relationship with management was reported to be poor at best, to untenable at worst. Stories of evictions were shared, and tenants were worried about speaking up about issues for fear of being evicted by management. The perceived vulnerability due to on-going evictions left many respondents feeling powerless, with many arguing that it was better to keep quiet rather than risk eviction. Respondents that were sub-tenants expressed frustration in that they had to abide by the rules set by their particular tenant, including the rules set by building management. Beyond the constraints of the rules, sub-tenants were most vulnerable to evictions compared to other groupings. Sub-tenants were not allowed to move to different apartments within the building at any time. This meant that if the main tenant moved out, the sub-tenant had to move as well. This grouping was

particularly vulnerable in terms of rental tenure, and also expressed a lesser sense of belonging and agency compared to other respondents.

The first, unsuccessful focus group highlighted the lack of space for inclusive participation, something that surprised the researcher. Going into the research Ponte City was expected to have more examples of inclusive participation and as a result more connective social capital. There was much less trust within Ponte City than initially thought. Potential respondents were unsure and even afraid to attend the initial focus group. Networks existed, but social capital was mostly isolated in dense pockets of social expression. This resonated with what research in larger Hillbrow reported, where social capital existed but was closely bonded within exclusive and mostly homogeneous communities (Silverman & Zack, 2007; Winkler, 2009).

Comparing data from the second and the third focus group, there were indications that individuals with more ties, even if they were informal and weak (such as greeting people in the elevators), had a more positive perception about living in Ponte City and being part of a larger community. These weak and informal ties allow for the inclusion of 'others' into ones social framework, as expressed when respondents spoke about being 'one community' and not caring what people's backgrounds were. Weak and informal ties could facilitate the development of bridging social capital, where individuals started considering working together on particular issues. Respondents that reported more bridging and linking social capital had a more positive perception of Ponte City, Hillbrow/ Berea and expressed this through a desire to live in the area for a longer period of time. These respondents also held more inclusive views regarding race, ethnicity and nationality.

> We can't tell the difference… that's how we are now, we are on thing… we forget the culture. (Tiro, second focus group)

Those individuals that exhibited stronger bonding social capital (linking only with immediate friends and family) felt more isolated, and acted more as individuals, looking after their own concerns. These respondents noted a greater sense of

impermanence and transience, referring more to their distant 'homes' or their aspirations to move to a better area once they had the resources to do so.

> I don't want to be here for more than ten years (Jean, second focus group)

These individuals were more conservative in their relations to other social actors within the building. In contrast, respondents that exhibited bridging social capital had a much more positive attitude, using words such as 'nice neighbourhood,' 'community' and 'home.'

Data showed the isolation of respondents that had fewer and less expansive networks. These respondents were mostly concerned with the safety of their family and their children. These respondents were more vocal when it came to issues such as faulty electricity bills, elevator maintenance, general cleanliness, safety for children and the proliferation of spaces that could have a negative societal impact (such as Cito Café, seen by a lot of respondents as a pub). However, less agency was visible in these discussions. Solutions were offered, but beyond sharing them during the focus group respondents did not know how to tie proposed solutions into a larger discussion. The sense of isolation was highlighted when respondents started sharing about their fears concerning speaking up. An individual that spoke up against management could become a target for eviction. With no sense of a community social network, few were brave enough to speak up beyond the forum.

> How can we choose someone to stand up? They make examples of some people. Tomorrow it might be me, and I won't have anywhere else to go! (Tumi, second focus group)

> We are all scared, even when coming here. (Annie, second focus group)

Individuals that managed to bridge to other communities of practice had a stronger connection with the locality and expressed that they felt a greater sense of 'belonging.' This was evident throughout the narratives of the second focus group, including individual interviews with Samantha, Cedric, Brian and Tiro. Individuals

that exhibited stronger bridging and linking social capital also had bonding social capital, but in contrast to other respondents it was their ability to transcend the perimeters of bonding social capital to those outside their closed circles that gave them a renewed sense of agency.

> People recognise us and they know us… they protect me. That's why I feel safe here. (Samantha, individual interview)

The ability to bridge to the residents of the surrounding area did not depend on a formal participative space. For someone like Samantha it happened because she had to walk and use public transport. Tiro's shop at Ponte City allowed him to build weak connections throughout the building and the surrounding area. Respondents with more ties to the surrounding area, even weak and informal ties, expressed how this impacted the way they saw the area. The forging of weak and informal ties (such as walking in one's neighbourhood) created greater opportunities for bridging social capital to develop.

Respondents that exhibited strong bonding social capital often struggled to connect with those they saw as different. The inability of management to build meaningful connections was an example of this phenomenon.

The one-way communication from management to residents was excluding residents, keeping them from investing socially in the building, and could be blamed for the way some residents treated the building in terms of litter and vandalism.

> Hillbrow is not being identified as a home for people. You don't act like this in your home – no matter what your background, who you are, how much money you have… I mean, look at the nappies people threw out of the window over there! (Brian, individual interview)

Residents, lacking the perceived agency and space to share concerns and frustrations, could easily start rebelling against rules that they believed to be exclusionary. Anti-social behavior was also more pronounced due to the fact that an inclusive, positively framed social contract was not in place.

The respondents that managed to expand beyond horizontal bridging ties towards vertical linking ties had the most agency, when compared to other social agents. They managed to build networks that transcended social status and were able to leverage resources toward the attainment of their goals. This ability to link to agents vertically and leverage resources empowered them to act and unleashed productive and innovative energy. These respondents exhibited frustration as well, but in addition they exhibited agency to address the challenges in their relationship with the management.

These respondents continued to invest in the building both socially and financially, and were passionate about making it a place where residents could live long-term.

5.4. It is more than just bricks and mortar

Ponte City was identified for this study because it seemed to be a beacon of hope in a severely decayed area, a model for urban regeneration. On one level the fact that the building was safe and relatively well managed compared to other buildings in the area remained a draw-card for all respondents. It was also affordable. Ponte City was an example of exclusionary top-down management, with agency located in the hands of the building owners and management. Kempston Group's turn-around strategy for Ponte City was focused on infrastructure investment and maintenance, but management treated residents like problems, rather than potential allies in the fight against decay (Bremner, 2000; Chipkin, 2005; Danith, 2014). The strong focus on infrastructure investment excluded the residents of Ponte City, failed to peak to their specific needs and excluded them from being part of the solution (Chipkin, 2005; Siyongwana & Mayekiso, 2012: 143).

The management style of the building contributed to the sense of exclusion expressed by residents. Respondents spoke about how the lack of an inclusive rule framework made them feel more vulnerable to eviction. The impact this had on the social capital within the building was dramatic, and visible throughout the course of the study. Residents, unable to link into spaces to discuss frustrations, walled

themselves in. More and more respondents noted that the negative impact only became apparent after one lived in the building for a longer time, also noting that they would think twice before advising someone else to live there. The management style worked well to ensure that a building with almost 3 000 residents functioned, yet it failed to involve the residency as a collective, leading to an individualisation of issues for many of those that resided in the building (Bull, 2005; Didier, Peyroux & Morange, 2012). The lack of agency due to the negative social contract explained the anti-social behavior of some residents, such as throwing used nappies and buckets of water from apartment windows. The social contract that directed norms in the building were not as strongly formulated or inclusive as initially thought, with many respondents expressing that they have no say in how the space was run. This individualisation and isolation could be expressed negatively, as noted earlier regarding anti-social behavior. During the focus group respondents spoke about how it was easy to throw litter out of an apartment window, because no-one would know who did it. Isolation and exclusion breeds anti-social behavior, something that a strong legislative approach alone could not curtail. Respondents were hesitant to speak up during interviews, and it took longer than anticipated to build rapport with the different constituents in the building, indicating the lack of trust and bridging capital.

The lack of formal participatory space, such as a resident's association, was negated by bridging and linking social capital, giving particular individuals the opportunity to leverage support and resources from further afield. However, very few residents were actively engaged in social structures that networked closely.

The barriers to social capital were distrust, power imbalances, the distance between different agents and communication. Through sharing, learning, story-telling (through tours) some residents had managed to discover meaning and a potential space for co-creation. It was this opportunity to co-create that made Ponte City an attractive place to live according to some respondents, giving them the opportunity to impact the community and those around them. For them Ponte City

was not just a place to stay. It gave them opportunities to be involved, to invest and to belong. This allowed them to see Ponte City as a home, a long-term place to call their own.

> Change can only happen if you put yourself out there. (Samantha, individual interview)

> I would not want to live anywhere else, I just love Ponte! (Tiro, individual interview)

5.5. Findings

The following section will expand on the findings that rose out of the data. The purpose of the research was to explore Ponte City as an example of how social capital has enabled residents to participate; and how participation had contributed to a more inclusive and well-managed living space for residents.

The research sought to address particular research questions:

How is participation being facilitated by social capital, contributing to the creation of an inclusive and well-managed living space?

The data indicated that respondents exhibiting bridging and linking social capital were able to participate, despite constraints on participation due to the managerial approach at Ponte City. Respondents with strong bonding ties were less likely to look for alternative ways to participate, and although these groups had social capital, they were 'walled in' compared to the other respondents. Bonding social capital alone did not address issues of exclusion, in fact it reinforced 'othering.'

How is residents' social capital expressed?

Respondents expressed social capital in different ways. Weak and informal social capital ties were expressed through actions like greeting a neighbour in an elevator, or smiling at someone while passing them. Bridging and linking social capital were expressed through linking groups and individuals with other social agents beyond their horizontal or vertical sphere.

To what extent is participation seen as contributing to lasting sustainability of the building by current management of Ponte City?

Respondents with strong bridging and social capital saw themselves as longer-term residents of Ponte City. In contrast, bonding capital helped other respondents to 'get by,' but it failed to connect these respondents into the larger framework. Participation drives shared social contract formation, based on reciprocity and trust. As such, participation is critical in terms of including residents in the drive to regenerate spaces.

The data showed that the existence of social capital within a space did not result in meaningful participation and productive exchanges. In fact, stronger bonding capital, as was found with many of the respondents that had families, or connected mostly with friends from their own social grouping, kept individuals from linking into a larger social network where engagements were based on trust and reciprocity. Trust is necessary for meaningful and productive participation, a lubricant of all social interactions (Putnam, 2002: 6). In the absence of trust, stronger bonds tend to develop between similar groupings and individuals, entrenching the 'otherness' and negatively impacting meaningful participation. Bonding social capital is useful, as Putnam (2002) puts it, for 'getting by'. In the long term these exclusionary bonds keep residents from working together and entrenches stigma and 'otherness.'

In contrast to bonding social capital, respondents that exhibited bridging and linking social capital had a much more positive attitude when it came to the value of participation. These respondents' expressed their social capital in a way that was more tolerant of difference, inclusive and transcended their immediate vicinity. Bridging and linking social capital enabled residents to participate, even where there were no formal spaces for participation. Their ability to link into larger networks left them with more information, more resources and ultimately more trust in the potential of the participative process. Barriers to social capital also frustrated their efforts, but because of meaningful connections and additional participative spaces

they were able to identify different avenues of participation, with advocacy for change becoming a focus. *Dlala Nje* is an example of bridging and linking social capital, in how it enabled the organisation to consider alternative ways of dealing with the oppressive managerial system. Where many respondents felt they had no option but to remain silent, social actors like Brian were actively involved in trying to affect change.

Social capital was not the magic solution to the problems of urban decay. However, increased levels of bridging and linking social capital encouraged meaningful participation, deeper trust, innovation and more opportunities to collectively address problems. Bridging and linking social capital enabled participation, participation gave a sense of agency and agency leads to feelings of belonging and investment. Residents that expressed a sense of belonging to a particular area were more likely to continue to invest in the space.

5.6. Recommendations

Based on the findings discussed in the previous section, a range of policy recommendations can now be introduced. These recommendations are all based on understanding why participation remains important in urban renewal strategies and how to expand the agency of residents within areas suffering from urban decay.

Transience could be seen as an expression of a limited sense of belonging and investment in a particular building or neighbourhood. As such, transient residents will be less likely to participate and more likely to exhibit behaviours that are connected to the collective good. Dominant approaches to urban renewal in Johannesburg and in Ponte City failed to take participation into account, meaning that urban renewal strategies remain reactive instead of responsive. Transience comes at a cost. Short-term residents are less likely to worry about the long-term condition of the building, and as such more maintenance will be needed on an on-going basis. Ponte City is a tall building, and every move puts additional strain on the elevator system. A more stable resident population will lower maintenance cost in the long-term.

The current management team's relationship with residents has deteriorated to such an extent that building owners should consider replacement. Additionally, the strong infrastructure management know-how of the current team could be retained, but an interim resident engagement team could be considered. Buildings are not merely financial assets.

Building owners need to understand how their tenants view and use spaces. Many improvements, especially cosmetic upgrades, were welcomed, but not where residents believed that larger issues needed to be addressed first. This means that building owners need to look into ways to understand their properties, and the concerns of their tenants.

Shop spaces made Ponte City more attractive to residents, as services were located closer to them. For building managers, it is important not to only consider the financial impact of renting out shop space. These spaces form communal areas where residents can meet, relax and interact. Community organisations like *Dlala Nje* provided children in the building with a safe place to learn and play. During informal discussions with a resident that lived in Blaauwberg apartments in Kapteijn Street in Hillbrow, the individual noted how such a communal space for children impacted their building. Vandalism in Blaauwberg dropped dramatically after the facility opened (Nigel Branken, informal discussion, 22 January 2015). As mentioned earlier, not all amenities yields massive financial returns. A community space might not be able to pay the same rent as a pub. In the long-term, the other yields can outweigh loss of rental income.

Building management needs to be more responsive and accessible. Lack of communication leads to frustration and unhappiness amongst tenants, and potentially higher tenant turnover. Transience impacts the social capital within the building, making residents feel less secure and putting pressure on the infrastructure within the building. Residents that stay longer are more likely to express feelings of belonging to an area. This will address issues of anti-social behavior and vandalism, which is an expression of anonymity and frustration.

Tenants need to be treated as customers. Communication to tenants should be constant, respectful and informative.

Rules should not only be made and implemented from the top structures. It is important that tenants agree to the norms that guide their interaction with management and each other. Rules need to be agreed to, understood and sanctions for breaking the rules should be enforced fairly and consistently.

Contracts need to be legal, and where rules are transgressed due process should follow. Illegal evictions and re-active rules create anxiety amongst residence, further impacting their ability to adhere to collective norms. Some buildings in Hillbrow realise that many tenants are renting for the first time. As such, compulsory workshops with residents outlines the roles and responsibilities of tenants and building management. This could also be considered in Ponte City for new tenants.

Creating forums for residents to engage with building owners and management can enhance opportunities for weak and informal connections to develop between residents, and even between the management and residents. Management should be about more than a reductionist view of the vertical placement of social agents on a scale of participation. New conceptualization of governance means that more stakeholders are encouraged to participate in the process, where some might lead in one area and follow in another area (Denhardt & Campbell, 2006). The hierarchical, top-down management style at Ponte City did provide residents with a relatively soundly managed building, but beyond that it alienated residents from each other and from management.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This research set out to explore a single case study, Ponte City apartments, as an example of how social capital has enabled residents to participate; and how participation contributed to a more inclusive and well-managed living space for residents.

The introductory chapter contextualised urban decay and responses to urban decay, first from a global perspective through to the specific context of Ponte City in Johannesburg, South Africa. Johannesburg's historical problem with urban decay was contextualised, including the high-rise neighbourhood where Ponte City is located, Hillbrow/ Berea. Through this deeper understanding of the context of urban decay, the research highlighted the reasons for decay, and also its lasting impact on social capital within the urban space. The conceptual framework was introduced during this chapter, premised on how different types of social capital can drive civic participation leading to an inclusive and sustainable regeneration strategy.

The literature review described and expanded on two main approaches regarding urban renewal strategies, the more **traditional**, government centered approach versus the **new public management** approach. The research noted that urban renewal approaches were still mostly located within these two spheres, with limited meaningful space for participation by other agents. Urban renewal in Johannesburg was discussed as having more of an infrastructure focus, with attention being paid to the needs and most interactions happening amongst those with the most power (government, private investors, building owners and certain civil society groupings). Urban decay, it was argued, had a detrimental effect on social capital in Hillbrow and Berea, as dramatic increases in crime and illegality had residents delinking from those living with them. Social capital is important to set collective norms and build trust between groups. In Hillbrow, the instability of the area lead to stronger bonding social capital (which can entrench exclusion), rather than bridging and linking social capital that can reconnect marginalised community members with each other and agents outside their immediate vicinity. A framework

for analysing the expression of three different types of social capital was also introduced in this chapter, namely bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

Chapter three introduced the qualitative nature of the research, as the research explored complex interactions that could not be interpreted through quantification. The research was described as richly descriptive. The research design was also explained as a single, explanatory case study. Data collection, sampling and analysis were also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four presented the data, providing a deep narrative of the data collection as it unfolded. Each focus group and case study was unpacked separately. Data gathering and analysis instructed further data gathering and deepened analysis. For this reason the data was presented in a timeline, with previous focus group and interview data triangulated with newer data. The linear timeline indicated how the study adapted and evolved over a period of a year.

Chapter five provided an analysis to the data. This chapter looked at how the dominant approach to urban renewal in Johannesburg, and in the specific case of Ponte City, negatively impacted social capital formation and expansion. The key agents in Ponte City (that formed part of the study) were identified and discussed, based on the data collected. The data analysis dealt with the agent, the level of social capital identified and the expression of the social capital, as per the framework presented in chapter two. Based on this, a range of findings were presented, highlighting how urban renewal approaches that focus mainly on infrastructure and financial capital failed to involve residents and include them in the renewal strategy. This approach meant that physical infrastructure had to be maintained continually, but that anti-social behaviour would be difficult to contain due to the fact that many residents only saw their residency as temporary. Compared to this, meaningful participation involved respondents in thinking differently about their neighbourhood, investing in the area socially and even financially (by opening businesses). This investment unlocked a greater sense of belonging. The final section of the chapter made policy recommendations regarding potential ways to

rethink participation and the role of residents in implementing urban renewal strategies. Participation in the process led to the development of more bridging and linking social capital, meaning that residents felt that they had a stake in the development, making the urban renewal strategy more responsive to their needs, and more sustainable in the long-term.

Chapter six presents the conclusion of the research.

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8. Appendix

8.1 Appendix A

Focus Group

Welcome and introduction. Purpose.

Focus Group Discussion

(50 minutes)

Not all questions will be asked. The facilitator would rather gauge the direction of the discussion, using the below questions as a guide to keep the discussion going.

1. What do you think about the video? Do you think it tells your story?
2. What word would you use to describe Ponte City?
3. How do you think people in Sandton describe Ponte City?
4. Some people say living in Ponte City is getting better. Do you agree?
5. If you can tell people in the suburbs about Ponte City, what will you tell them?
6. Do you think the building is managed well? Why?
7. How do you want people outside to see Ponte?
8. Do you like living here? Why? Or Why not?
9. I am aware of the fact that many people on the outside are interested in visiting Ponte City because of its history and architecture.

8.2 Appendix B

In-Depth one-on-one interviews with selected participants, management and community leaders

Welcome and introduction.

This interview will be semi-structured, guided by the participant and following the natural flow of the conversation.

1. How long have you lived in Ponte City?
2. What used to be the biggest problem in the building?
3. Have these problems been addressed? How?
4. Do you think people like living here?
5. How has the building changed since you moved in? Better or worse?
6. Are you aware of community organisations within the building? How many?
7. Are you active in some of these structures? What does being a part of these structures mean to you?
8. What do you think people think about Ponte City? Are they accurate in their thinking?
9. Have you seen outsiders visiting the building (people from the suburbs)?
10. If yes, what do you think this means?