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Implications of urban branding to local economic development in the inner city of Johannesburg

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CHAPTER ONE: IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN BRANDING TO LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG.

1.1 Background Statement about Branding and Local Economic Development

> "Places have long felt a need to differentiate themselves from each other, to assert their individuality in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological objectives. The conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically-designed place identity and promote it to identified markets, whether external or internal is almost as old as civic government itself." (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 506)

The 'Empire's great gold centre' and the 'financial and economic hub of Sub-Saharan Africa' were labels Johannesburg was using during the 19th century (Rogerson, 1996; Bremner, 2000). The 20th century saw Johannesburg being referred to as the 'little New York' and some referred to the city as 'Southern Africa's transport hub and shopping centre' (De Kiewiet, 1942; CDE, 2002). Most importantly in the 21st century it has been noted that slogans such as 'World-class city' and lately 'World-class African city' have been used to sell the city of Johannesburg to investors, tourists, students and skilled workers (Beaverstock and Taylor, 1999; Rogerson, 2004). Such slogans have been instrumental in repositioning and re-imaging the city of Johannesburg at local and global levels. Names of artists like Mirriam Makeba, Ntemi Piliso, Gwigwi Mrwebi, Gerard Sekoto, Dolly Rathebe, as well as monuments such as the Nelson Mandela Bridge, Brenda Fassie's statue (next to Bassline in Newtown) and that of Kippies Moeketsi (Kippies Restaurant in Newtown) are used to change perceptions of the urban places in the city.

The adoption of slogans, "visual images," sports and cultural events, and designs is used internationally in order to differentiate places so as to attract business and create a "new entrepreneurial mode of local economic development in which image promotion" is central (Hannigan, 2003: 353; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Gold and Gold, 2008). This notion of mobilising culture and aesthetics for the promotion of an area is called place, urban or city branding (McCarthy, 2006). Internationally, city branding is historically employed by cities experiencing the decline of manufacturing as an engine of economic growth (Richards and Wilson, 2004). Commensurately, Newtown and the Central Business District (CBD) are following this trend in order to forge a new spatial distinction.

While the notion of urban branding is widespread, in South Africa it remains unexplored. Rogerson's article on '*Image Enhancement and Local Economic Development in Johannesburg'* and Van der Westhuizen article titled '*Beyond Mandelamania*"? *Imaging, Branding and Marketing South Africa*' remains the few materials that come close to mentioning branding.

1.2 Problem of Separating Branding and Local Economic Development

While Local Economic Development (LED) and place branding are not new concepts and have been largely explored at various scales such as national, provincial and local levels, no study has directly explored the implications of urban branding to LED in Johannesburg, and in particular the inner city. Branding is largely seen as a private affair in which the corporate business is involved while local economic development is placed within the mandate of the government (Johns and Mattsson, 2005). The chasm between the two has left open the space of cultural planning which according to Deborah Mills is often omitted from the planning processes (Mills, 2004). The lack of cultural planning leaves branding of places as an uncoordinated affair that sometimes undermines people's cultures, language and history and leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation for profit.

In the inner city of Johannesburg and in particular Newtown, a lot of places, organisations, businesses and spaces have been branded using African names and slogans in order to enhance their images but largely to catch the attention of the rising middle-class which is known for their high consumption levels. This act is termed Afro-branding in this research. Places like Newtown and companies such as Cell C have Afro-branded themselves by using celebrities like Mirriam Makeba, Ntemi Piliso, Kippies Moeketsi and artists like Zola[1] in streets and adverts, respectively. It is also noted that in the post-1994 South Africa, Afro-branding is used as part of rhetoric to inform companies' brand identity while other entities use it "as part of their poignant illustration of their sympathies and association with the new political class" (Sihlongonyane, 2008: 115).

The use of powerful names such as Mandela's in branding of spaces in Newtown and Sandton serves to legitimise the process of appropriation of spaces no matter how unfair the process may be. This is problematic because a name such as Mandela's if used to brand spaces, is usually so powerful as to silence dissent voices.

[1] Zola is a well known Kwaito artist and an actor from Zola in Soweto. He is viewed by many as the champion of Soweto youngsters.

The moment the name Mandela Bridge in Newtown or Mandela Square in Sandton is mentioned, his credentials are evoked and people forget about probing the criteria that was used in choosing particular names to brand spaces and projects. Questioning the process and the criteria under which Mandela's name was chosen instead of other names would be seen as an insult and disrespect for the struggle hero.

While acknowledging that many factors are at play, it has been noted that the setting of the branded spaces creates exclusionary spaces that prevent the majority of people from enjoying images reflecting their cultures. Sihlongonyane (2008: 301) presents a case where people were relocated in Alexandra in order to make way for the Mandela museum and he notes that because of the wider cultural and political significance Mandela commands, none of the displaced residents contested the relocation. In Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, any unacceptable behaviour or practice on the property or place branded with Mandela's name is prohibited and punishable if caught.

Security personnel is deployed in Main Street Precinct in the inner city, Mandela Square in Sandton, Newtown Cultural Precinct and Braamfontein, amongst other places to guard against informal trading, photographing, vandalising of property, illegal trading and other uses of the space or property without permission from the owners of the property. Big corporations such as Liberty Life are in charge of the statue and the premises where Mandela statue - a public figure - is erected. The problem with this is that a supposedly public figure continues to attract visitors and the Mandela Square is thriving in terms of tourism and shopping partly because of this statue but some sections of the society such as the poor, street kids, and informal traders are prohibited from conducting their business and even accessing the place.

The irony arising from Afro-branded places, properties and spaces is that while they are portrayed as welcoming and accessible to everyone, it is only certain people, events, slogans, names and forms of behaviors which are targeted for certain spaces. Businesses which do not meet the criteria and standards set, people not falling in the category targeted, and informal traders, find themselves excluded and discriminated against from using such spaces. The branding of Johannesburg as the 'World-class African City' to raise its profile and competitive edge, has resulted in the forced removal and evictions of people in derelict buildings to make way for private investors operating under the banner of city regeneration through the Better Buildings Programme. The Better Buildings Programme was conceptualised by the Economic Development Unit, the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) (Garson, 2004; Davie, 2006).

The latter programme is an attempt by the City of Johannesburg to reverse the decline of infrastructure through a number of project packages in the city. It is noted that visible artifacts that boost and enhance the image of a place are mostly accompanied by the presence of security personnel, all kinds of surveillance, signs, street furniture, artwork and slogans such as those propagated by cellphone network companies like Cell C and MTN. The slogans such as 'I love Jozi' by Cell C and MTN's 'NGOKU' (Ngoku is a Xhosa word meaning Now!! famously used during political struggles to demand services or action immediately) – see Figure 1.1 below - are a trend of "fashionable slogans" meant to manipulate the potential consumers' perceptions and mental images of the city, respectively (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). The notion behind the use of such slogans is that they have potential to appeal to the community of the inner city as they evoke memories of socially cohesive society forged during the struggle against apartheid. What would have been a demand for justice ('NGOKU') during the struggle is being turned into a sound demand for MTN products. The problem is that while such branding processes generate profit for the corporate sector and elevate the names of companies concerned, their relation to local economic development programmes remain questionable.



Figure 1.1: MTN advert with the slogan 'NGOKU' and the image used by cell C to influence perceptions of Joburg.[2]

The statues of both Mandela and Hector Pieterson are displayed in Sandton and Maponya Mall respectively, with no trickling down effects for places where they once lived in Alexandra and Orlando West in Soweto or their families especially those closely associated with the heat of the struggle. The people's icon statue in Mandela Square is now under the private ownership of Liberty Life. The dominance of profit-motivated corporate business in the branding of places deprives poor people, informal traders, individual artists, and

[2] The Cell C image is a product of Sihlongonyane M. F. (2008) from his PhD thesis titled 'Invisible Urbanism in Johannesburg: A Scourge for Urban Planning?'

local resident's space to participate in the decision-making processes of place branding. The large sum of money (R13 million) invested by the private sector in Main Street as opposed to R2 million invested by the public sector (Davie, 2005) gives the former sector leverage to produce spatial configurations of their choice.

Sihlongonyane (2008) affirms that Afro-branded places, restaurants, and other spaces are often marked by the presence of upper and middle-classes with social lifestyles indicating a remarkable pattern of consumption which is exorbitant and too ostentatious for the poor. He continues to argue that there are numerous Afro-branded restaurants which sell African food brands at fashionable places and with highly ridiculous prices. Certain segments of the population such as the poor find themselves left out from accessing such services on the basis of affordability. The problem about this is the manner in which it is considered to be normal for public places to be branded (with the help of local authorities) in an undemocratic manner by excluding people on the basis of price (Chang, 2000). This is in contradiction with the African concept of Ubuntu which is forged in the branding of the city (Rwelamila *et al*, 1999). Displacement and alienation of people is not in line with African values and the objectives of the post-apartheid trajectory of ensuring access to all. The main challenge with branding is the sustainability of the brand especially at times when a celebrity whose name has been used to brand that particular entity engages in a scandalous behaviour. Continuing to associate with the celebrity's tarnished image is likely to have bad implications for the place or the brand. The Nelson Mandela Children Fund withdrew the invitation to a charity fundraising event hosted by a famous golf player called Gary Player because of his association with the ruling junta notorious for murderous dictatorship (McGreal, 2007).

1.3 Research Question of the Study

The main purpose of this research is to explore the implications of urban branding to Local Economic Development (LED) in the inner city of Johannesburg. The main focus is accompanied by sub-questions. These questions include: What is the inner city? What is urban branding? Is branding the same as place marketing? What is LED? Are there any development organisations or authorities involved in the branding and LED in the inner city? What are the evolutionary trends of LED and branding? Who are the main beneficiaries of branding and LED? What inspires the use of African names and language in the branding processes? What branding initiatives or strategies are used to retain or attract business in the inner city of Johannesburg? In what way are these initiatives considered LED initiatives?

1.4 Methods of the Research

This research explores two case studies to respond to these questions. It uses interviews, photographs, internet research, books, journals, the city of Johannesburg council publications and maps in order to answer the main research question and sub-questions.

1.4.1 Case Studies - Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts

This research made use of Main Street and the Newtown Cultural Precincts as case studies. The reason for choosing these case studies is because Newtown presents a manifestation of city branding, which is characterised by the naming of streets after celebrities and the use of struggle memories for branding in Johannesburg, particularly the inner city (see Figure 1.2 below). Newtown is an epitome of cultural quarters around South Africa. It is located in the western sector of the Johannesburg city centre, covering an area that stretches from the marshalling yards and railway lines to the north, the M2 motor-way in the south. The Mary Fitzgerald Square lies to the north of Jeppe Street and further to the north is the Africana Museum, West Street in the east and Quinn Street in the west. Newtown prides itself with its history, culture and a number of creative industries which have a potential to attract major inward investments (City of Johannesburg, 2008). It is characterised as a mixed-use area. It is a home to the famous Market Theatre, Oriental Plaza, numerous African-themed restaurants, Kaya FM radio station, Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA); and development agencies such as Blue IQ and the famous R120 million Mandela Bridge which link Newtown to Braamfontein [see Figure 3.5]. Newtown is presented as a Cultural Precinct and has seen the renaming of streets and the proliferation of Afro-branded restaurants such as Shivava Café, Gramadoelas, Sophiatown and Moyo; book shops such as Xarra; and museums such as Afro-nova, amongst others. The area presents itself differently from the surrounding areas such as Braamfontein, Melville and Rosebank. Newtown is within easy reach from the University of the Witwatersrand.

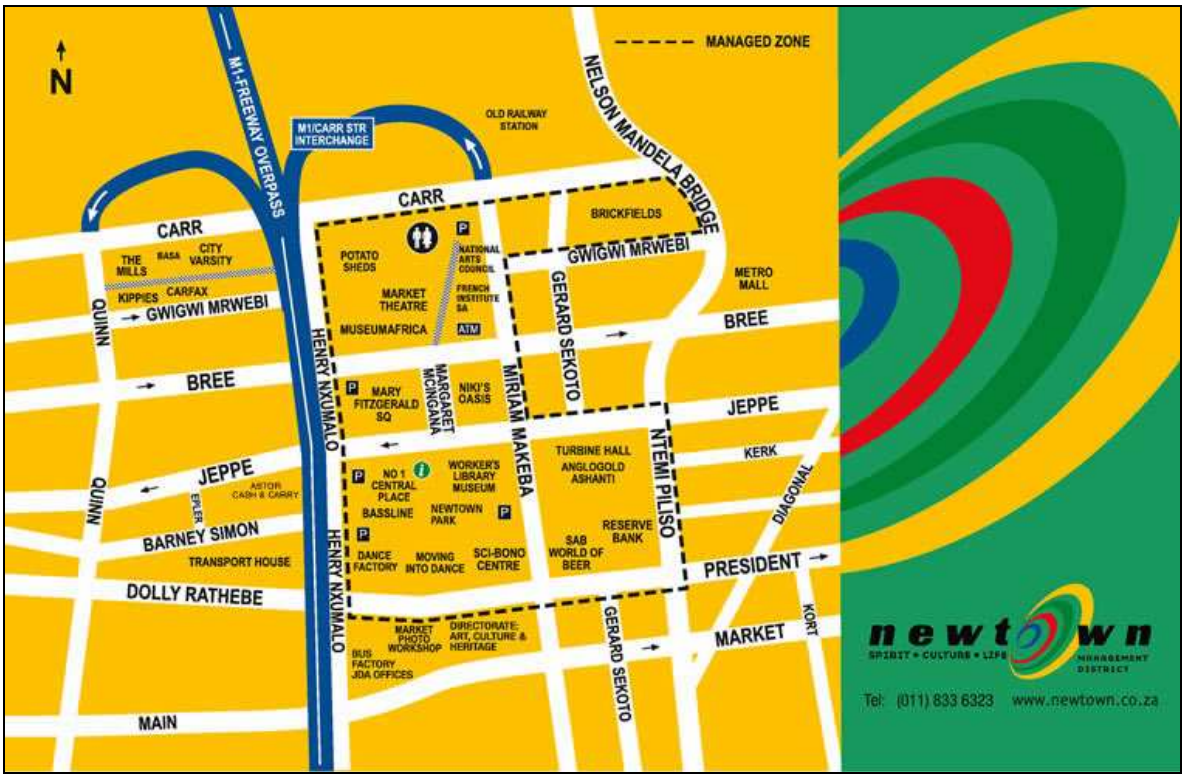


Figure 1.2: Newtown 'Cultural Quarter' (in dotted lines) with the new street names in the inner city of Johannesburg.[3]

The Main Street Precinct which prides itself with a plethora of mining houses and historical mining artifacts dotting the recently refurbished eight blocks is also located in the city of Johannesburg. A range of afro-branded and internationally-themed restaurants such as Nino's, Coffee House, Picasso, and Cappello's are also found in the repaved facilities of the Main Street Precinct with all sorts of artwork and surveillance systems. The R13 Million investment by the private sector and R2 million contributions by the city of Johannesburg along with the use of historical and cultural material to brand the Main Street Precinct makes this a fascinating case study the street for the purpose of this research (Davie, 2005).

1.4.2 Interviews and Justification for the Study

The researcher conducted the interviews personally to the residents of Newtown, development professionals, restaurants operators, workers, customers and informal traders. This helped to ensure that those interviewed get clarity about the interview questions wherever needed and the interviewer recorded everything that might be necessary for the purpose of this research.

[3] Map Retrieved May 17, 2008, from http://www.newtown.co.za/images/map/newtown_map.jpg

Interviews included two officers from the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and one officer from the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP). The CJP is a section 21 company established in January 1998 and it is responsible for managing the Main Street Precinct and other improvement districts in the inner city of Johannesburg (Fraser, undated).

Three officials from the city of Johannesburg were also interviewed during their preferred times. The political head of planning and the CEO of JDA were also interviewed in order to extract empirical evidence of LED and branding initiatives used to retain or attract businesses, residents, workers and tourists in the inner city, respectively. Interviewing these officials helped to shed light on the development organisations and authorities involved in the branding and LED initiatives in the inner city, and information on individuals, images, groups and events that are used to brand the inner city. One official from the city of Johannesburg's Economic Development Unit was also interviewed. This helped to clarify the kind of local economic development initiatives taking place in the inner city and whether they are linked with urban branding.

A total of four managers of restaurants such as Shivava Café, Sophiatown plus two workers from Gramadoelas and Nino's restaurants were interviewed. These interviews provided answers on the reasons why they chose to locate in Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts. What inspires the use of African names and languages in their brands; who uses their service and how the use of such names helps generate income? About six residents of the Newtown residential flats such as Brickfields, Legae and Phumulani Gardens, two informal traders, and one customer were interviewed. This helped to provide the research with perceptions of Main Street and Newtown, the products they sell and their perceptions of art shops and Afro-branded restaurants. Most of the officials of organisations in Newtown that were interviewed were also customers of these restaurants and this helped to get their perceptions of Afro-branded restaurants and perceptions of the area.

Such interviews were important because restaurants were chosen as one of the significant sector to focus on in this research. Restaurants, especially the Afro-branded ones, represent the highest degree of cultural manipulation and consumption. The production and sanitisation of (struggle) memories, to use Sharon Zukin's (1995) argument, attract 'normal users' such as the (rising black) middle-class in order to normalise places. An interview with one Kaya FM official was also conducted since the radio station is a crucial entity in communicating the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts brands.

A total of two interviews from the Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) which is located in the Newtown Cultural Precinct became crucial in answering the reasons why people visit the inner city, the most visited places and the nature of perceptions of Newtown and the city of Johannesburg.

1.4.3 Library and Internet Research

A variety of libraries such as the Architecture, Main and Earth libraries of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg Central Library which belongs to the city of Johannesburg, became very handy in accessing numerous key documents, books, journals and other material on planning in the inner city and South Africa. Most of the books relates to the production of space and marketing the city. Journals included material on image enhancement; impact of cultural and sport events on the image of the city; destination branding; cultural branding; city branding; reinventing the city; CID's and cultural quarters. LED material included books and journals on planning LED in South Africa and abroad; assessment of LED in South Africa; and theories of LED such as the Attraction theory; Competitive Advantage model; the Neo-classical Economic theory amongst others. Internet research included the exploring of websites of the CJP, GTA, Blue IQ, JDA, Department of Arts and Culture, the city of Johannesburg and Newtown Improvement District.

1.4.4 Observations and Photographs

Photographs were used in order to present tangible evidence in terms of images relevant to this research. Photographs highlight the textual claims as well as observations and serves to animate the story through its visual reification by recording signs and memories in space. Photographs can also be useful for data analysis as they are useful in reminding the researcher of the scene.

1.5 Rationale

This research was necessary for reasons such as its potential to bring forth the notion of urban branding processes in Johannesburg by critically analysing urban branding processes and exploring its implications for Local Economic Development (LED) in the inner city of Johannesburg. Critically looking at urban branding and marketing of the inner city using celebrities, events, names, cultural and historical material in relation to LED in the inner city of Johannesburg shed more light on the production and appropriation of public space in the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precinct.

This research explored the chasm between urban branding and LED and noted that the absence of cultural planning leaves the exploitation of people's cultures in the hands of the private sector without any trickling-down effects for the people whose cultures are used.

1.6 Key Concepts of Research

This research engaged a range of key concepts such as local economic development; branding; urban branding; corporate branding; Afro-branding; sustainability of brands; African; place marketing; African city; world-class city; black middle-class; and experience economy.

1.7 An Evolution of Urban Branding and Local Economic Development

In exploring the implications of urban branding to LED, the literature review adopted an evolutionary approach. This approach is designated an evolutionary approach in this research because the thesis explored the implications of urban branding for LED through stages of their historical evolution. These stages helped to focus on both growth and development of urban branding and LED from inception to date. This approach is also a comparative one in that it compares the emergence and the evolution of both urban branding and LED. In organising the structure for this evolutionary approach the thesis used the following questions:

	Branding	Local Economic Development
When?	1990's	1970's
Why?	Image/perceptions	Investment
Who?	Corporate	Public
How?	Narratives	Policy tools, strategy, plan
Whom?	Civic pride, customer security	Local economic development

Table 1.1: The structure of the evolutionary approach

This approach is intended to reveal the emergence of both branding and local economic development; the reasons behind their emergence; which institutions and agents were behind branding and LED processes; and lastly, for whom is branding and LED carried-out for. The evolutionary approach helped us to comprehend and appreciate the origins and developments of both branding and LED in South Africa and abroad.

Various definitions of both concepts and their implementation were explored as well. This research also reveal why the two are often seen to be apart and as processes of different institutions.

The question of 'when' helps to clarify the time of the emergence of both urban branding and LED in South Africa and abroad. The appreciation of branding places in academia is alleged to have emerged in the 1990's and it is widely regarded as a recent phenomenon which is dominated by practitioners (Morgan, 2005). In South Africa, the notion of urban branding can be traced as far as the late years of apartheid when the city of Johannesburg was "constructed to conform to images of Western modernity" and later "transformed into little New York" (Bremner, 2000:186). The notion of LED emerged in the North and its emergence in South Africa drew a lot from the western experience and was closely intertwined with the country's transformation to democracy in the 1990's (Simon, 2005; Nel and Rogerson, 2005). Both urban branding and LED are creative-focused initiatives largely practiced in European countries at local and national levels.

The question of 'why' helped to highlight the reasons behind the emergence of both urban branding and LED. On one side, LED in the North emerged as a result of the resurgence of liberalisation and privatisation with curtailed role of the state which resulted in the worsening socio-economic conditions for many poor people. On the other side, LED in South Africa emerged as a result of the existence of pressing issues inherited from the apartheid government (Rogerson and Nel, 2005).

The question of 'who' helps to identify the key agents behind the decision-making of urban branding and LED processes. In South Africa local government has been tasked with the implementation of LED and branding (Nel and Rogerson, 2005). In their definition of LED, Zaaijer and Sara (1993) reveal that community based groups and the private sector are amongst the actors behind LED. Urban branding is a creative–focused initiative that is widely regarded as a recent phenomenon that is dominated by practitioners (Morgan, 2005). Writing in 2005, Hankinson supports that branding is the domain of the private sector largely because it is a complex phenomenon that often require large budgets and if practiced by planners they are either not aware of it or they employ only selective aspects of branding such as urban renewal and attraction of investments (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005).

The question of 'how' helps to clarify the processes of both urban branding and LED. This part of the research is about technicalities of these processes. On one side, branding processes are known for involving the use of monuments, slogans, struggle memories, celebrities, statues, African and internationally-themed

restaurants, designs, sports and cultural events in order to differentiate places (Chang, 2000; Greenberg, 2003; Hannigan, 2003; Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2005; Hankinson, 2005; Pike, 2005; McCarthy, 2006; Gold and Gold, 2008). On the other side, LED processes involve the stimulation or the maintenance of business activity in an area; the use partnership arrangements with the private sector to generate new jobs and induce economic activity; urban attractiveness and place marketing (Zaaijer and Sara, 1993; Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002; Abrahams, 2005).

The question of 'whom' helps to identify the major beneficiaries of both urban branding and LED processes. Branding is largely dominated by the private practitioners who are mostly interested in profit making. The notion of partnership between the local authorities and the private sector for LED presented by Zaaijer and Sara (1993) in their definition suggests a twist in the beneficiaries of LED. This is because the involvement of business in the LED initiatives is not likely to generate benefits for the poor local people since business is interested in profit generation and less in poverty alleviation.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

Chapter one of the research report encompasses the research topic, background statement and the research questions. This chapter serves as an introduction of this research report and it also highlights key issues and dynamics of urban branding and LED. In tracing the evolution of LED and branding, chapter two of this research comprises of the reviewing of various LED and branding models and concepts. This chapter develops an understanding and appreciation of the origins and developments of both LED and urban branding in South Africa and abroad. Chapter three adopts an evolutionary/historical approach in exploring the implications of branding for LED through stages of their historical evolution. This chapter seeks to connect to chapter two which is theoretical in nature. The main objective of this chapter is to discuss in detail the link and connections between LED and branding with specific focus on South Africa by looking at the specifics of when, why, who, how and for whom. Chapter four encompasses the presentation of a historical account of both case studies to show how the early activities of the past have influenced and defined the current path of development. This chapter presents research findings and analysis. The last chapter (five) of this research consists of the summary of challenges, planning interventions, and the conclusion. It answers the main research question which is the implications of branding on local economic development, and also recommends the use of cultural; planning in order to bridge the chasm between urban branding and LED processes in the city of Johannesburg.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORIES OF LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN BRANDING

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to critically engage various models that contributed to the development of Local Economic Development and Urban Branding approaches. In tracing the evolution of these models, various definitions of what the concepts of local economic development and branding mean will be explored. Theories of local economic development such as the Neo-classical economic model; attraction model; Growth Pole and Growth Centres Model, The Product-Cycle Model, the Flexible Production and Flexible Specialisation, the Learning Regions and Innovative Milieus, the Enterprise Segmentation and Unequal Power Relations, and the Competitive Advantage model will be engaged. With regard to branding, the Brand Orientation model, Corporate branding and concepts like brand equity, brand identity and brand image will also be part of the critical theoretical discussion. This chapter will develop an understanding and appreciation of the origins and developments of both LED and urban branding in South Africa and abroad. Such an exploration will assist in looking at the relationship of LED and branding.

2.2 Defining Local Economic Development

Local Economic Development (LED) is defined as "self-reliance, local-coping, endogenous or bottom-up development" (Nel, 2001). This definition emphasises the locality as the centre of development. Blakely and Bradshaw (2002: xvi) define LED as "the process in which local governments or community-based organisations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment". According to this definition, both local governments and community-based organisations serve as facilitators and implementers of locally-inspired development initiatives. Zaaijer and Sara (1993) add a dimension of partnerships between local authorities and the private sector to the definition of LED. They define LED as basically a process in which local governments and/or community based groups administer their existing assets and enter into partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each-other, to generate new jobs and induce economic activity in an economic area. Rogerson (1996), notes that the issue of partnership with the private sector in major South African cities like Johannesburg is very interesting because it shapes the LED trajectory towards a pro-growth or pro-business trajectory. However, paying attention to business is not likely to generate any benefits for the poor local people because business is interested in profit generation and less in poverty alleviation.

The World Bank, a multilateral institution famous for its support for business-inclined policies, defines LED as "the process by which public, business and nongovernmental sector work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation" (World Bank, 2003: 07). Similarly to Zaaijer and Sara's definition above, the issue of a working partnership between various institutions of the society is very central. The problem with this definition is that it takes away the crucial element of the 'locality' – local people being involved as beneficiaries of LED processes. This definition limits and renders local people as bystanders while a small team of experts driven by a 'mandate' are at the helm of the LED processes (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005). Contrary to the World Bank's generic definition, the UN-HABITAT puts an emphasis on the locality and adds the notion of sustainability in the definition of LED. The UN-HABITAT defines LED as "a participatory process where local people from all sectors work together to stimulate local commercial activity resulting in a resilient and sustainable economy" (Trousdale, 2003: 01). The problem with participatory processes is that they are subject to manipulation by those in power for their political gain.

Irrespective of diverse emphasis in these definitions, the elements of locality, economic growth, bottom-up development and sustainability are important. These elements are fundamental to the understanding of LED in this research and they shall be used as guideposts for the understanding of LED in relation to branding below.

2.3 Defining the Notion of Place Marketing and Urban Branding

Writing in 2005, Guy Julier defined place branding as the practice that pertains to the application of the branding process - similar to the one used to commercial products - to geographical locations. For Jensen (2007) urban branding entails selective storytelling, or attempts to re-imagine the city. He states that it is suggestive storytelling intended at enlightening its recipients to perceive the city in a particular appealing manner. Linked to the notion of urban branding is place marketing, which is defined as a process in which each neighborhood delineates and communicate its exceptional features and competitive advantages effectively in order to distinguish and position itself for its target markets (Guzman, 2005; Julier, 2005).

The notion of urban branding treats places as products and the potential users of places as customers whose perceptions and mental images of that place must be influenced and managed (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005).

However, people like Guy Julier and Marcello Risitano believe that the notion of place branding is problematic when applied to places because places are different from products in that they are not singular products but a collection of various interest groups and activities (Julier, 2005; Risitano, 2005, Hankinson, 2005). Hannigan (2003) brings an important dimension to the discussion of urban branding as a collective. He argues that the notion of branding has three related dimensions to it. The first one being that branding necessitates instant recognition, hence the emphasis on synergies with the sports and entertainment industries and celebrities. Secondly, comfort and certainty are crucial for leisure, and the last dimension is about how branded spaces "provide a point of identification for consumers in an increasingly crowded marketplace" (Hannigan, 2003: 352).

In essence, the notion of urban branding is a strategic marketing tool which involves attraction of inward investments; leisure tourism; bids to host events; attracting residents and shoppers; altering place's images through design and street furniture; using culture, slogans, names and memories to brand places (Chang, 2000; Greenberg, 2003; Hannigan, 2003; Trueman, *et al,* 2004; Hankinson, 2005; Pike, 2005). The following is a set of branding concepts and models used by many cities and countries around the world for the branding of their own spaces and places. These models were adopted from the marketing field during the 1990's (Morgan, 2005) so as to give cities an urge to compete with other cities for resources, investments, skills and tourists amongst other things. Branding, by definition entails the brand orientation model, brand equity, brand identity, corporate branding and these shall be used to compare to LED. From the discussions above one can draw a comparison between LED and branding as shown in the table below.

	Urban Branding	Local Economic Development
When	1990's	1970's
Type of Development	Strategic and marketing	bottom- up development
Key agents	Corporate, cities	local governments or CBO's or NGO's
Beneficiaries	Business, customers	local people
Goal	Civic pride, customer security, image enhancement	jobs, economic growth, local participation

Table 2.1: Key characteristics of both Branding and LED definitions

LED has been subjected to ideological battles between pro-business and pro-poor proponents in South Africa, with each group struggling for it to assume a particular ideological route. Image enhancement, civic pride is central for urban branding as opposed to job-creation, participation and economic growth which are central for LED.

While local people represented by NGO's and CBO's are earmarked as key agents of LED initiatives, cities and businesses are major agents and beneficiaries of branding initiatives. The next sections look at the theoretical understanding of the two concepts. LED draws from a series of theoretical perspectives. While related to each other, each of the themes has developed over the decades with different emphasis depending on the political, economical and social circumstances.

2.4 The Neoclassical Economic Theory

The Neoclassical economics is a strand of economics that began in the late nineteenth century as a challenge to the classical economics of David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill. This strand replaced the individual economic agent by the utility-maximising individual. Both Classical and Neoclassical economics share the similar laissez-faire social philosophies (Boyer and Smith, 2001). The Neoclassical Economic Theory of development purports that if capital can flow freely without restrictions, all economic systems are bound to reach a natural equilibrium and the reasons behind this are that low-wage/cost poor areas offer a higher return on investment as compared to high-wage/cost areas (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002: 57). If this logic holds, this would mean that all local economies would eventually reach a state of equilibrium as previously depressed areas draw investment because of their lower property and labour costs (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002). The Neoclassical Economic Theory lashes government regulation of companies as not being good for the economy in that it disrupts the normal movement of capital. In the United Kingdom, numerous economists deemed that government intervention into urban labour markets would ultimately lead to the transfer of unemployment to other areas during the 1960's (Bovaird, 1992). This theory is a natural extension of neo-classical regional economics and its proponents believe in the capability of the invisible hand of the market to allocate resources accordingly in the economy.

This model concerns itself with matters of unemployment alleviation, industrial linkages and multiplier effects, and developing the export base while exposing incompetent firms to competition (Bovaird, 1992). The belief in the invisible hand of the market to efficiently allocate resources and the minimal government intervention are key attributes of the Neoclassical Economic theory and this suggests that the model has dreadful implications for the role of planning. Normal equilibrium of economies remains idealistic because history has proven that capital flows where there is more incentives than simply cheap labour and property. This may well also depend on the size and the type of the local market and other conditions conducive for businesses to thrive.

Howland (1993) argues that while the notion of equilibrating markets may be aptly relevant to urban economies, the model is incompatible for small and undiversified local economies. It is further argued that the absence of diversification in rural economies renders the Neoclassical Economic Theory irrelevant for the largest, most diverse rural economies.

It is notable for instance that small and remotely located municipalities in South Africa remain economically depressed despite having surplus of cheap labour because of the deliberate policies of the now-defunct apartheid government. This is a contrast to the situation in the six big metropolitan cities which seem to attract a lot of capital despite the higher rates of property and labour. Holupka and Shlay (1993), argue that a collection of local actors and institutions plays a key role in influencing the trajectory of local economic development. This argument is similar to that of the Marxist theory of the city during the 1960's and 1970's. Central in the Marxist approach is the notion of uneven development between countries, cities, towns, social classes and individuals. The model purports that "various forces and class relationships in the political and economic spheres constrain locational decisions" (Holupka and Shlay, 1993: 178). Without a deliberate government intervention to empower the economically depressed areas by mobilising funds and convincing companies to locate in those areas, the economic landscape is not likely to change.

Regulatory mechanisms and policies such as Black Economic Empowerment Act are necessary in an environment where almost ninety percent of the economy is in the hands of white minorities who constitute only 13 per cent of the total population (Mbeki, 1995). Natural endowments and geological conditions such as gold and platinum also have an influence on where capital flows to. In contrast to what the Neo-classical theory anticipates, the six Metropolitan areas in South Africa are far ahead for the small municipal areas to catch-up. The increasing gap between metropolitan areas and small municipal areas is also a mirror image of the gap between the rich and the poor. Without a deliberate intervention to empower the previously disadvantaged, the country might be setting itself up for a skewed distribution of income. This theory therefore emphasise the importance of individuals as economic agents; the free flow of capital without restrictions; the notion of natural equilibrium achieved by the invisible hand of the market as an allocator of resources; and minimal government intervention.

2.5 Growth Pole and Growth Centres Model

The concern about the limitations of the equilibrium models of economics advocated by the Neo-classical theory led to the introduction of the idea of economic Growth Poles by François Perroux in the early 1950's. Central to this model is the assemblage of vibrant and innovating industries – often located in urban areas – that spawns propulsive positive and negative effects down-stream and upstream (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). For example, if an increase in production in one firm encourages production in the firms supplying it, then that industry has backward linkages. Forward linkages happen when the availability of the output of a firm makes possible the production of industries utilising that output.

Negative trickling down effects from the dominant firm can also be equally detrimental for the small firms which depend on it. The vibrant and innovating industries in this model are characterised by typical attributes and developmental effects involving (1) "a high degree of concentration; (2) high income elasticity of demand for their products, which are sold to a national market; (3) strong multiplier and polarisation effects through input linkages; (4) an advanced level of technology and managerial expertise promoting local diffusion through demonstration effects; (5) promotion of a highly developed local infrastructure and service provision; and (6) the spread of 'growth-mindedness' and dynamism through the zone of influence" (Plummer and Taylor, 2001: 222).

According to the Growth Poles model, new technology, large firms and knowledge creation and transfer are central factors for the growth of the local economy. Growth poles and growth centres are places of knowledge, information and disseminators of innovative technology and advancement (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). The National Department of Planning was set up in 1964 in South Africa to co-ordinate the regional development and oversee the implementation of the regional policy termed the National Physical Development Plan (Rogerson, 1998). The largely technocratic plan was to recognise growth poles for metropolitan regions and secondary regions known as growth points. The apartheid government advocated the decentralisation of industries into peripheral areas to make certain that the black people were excluded from employment in the cities (Rogerson, 1998).

Underlying this model is the notion that human resources and capital moves to places where factors of production yield a higher return and eventually move to the countryside once the agglomeration has found its optimum.

German is one example where growth poles were used in the 1960's as an active process to promote less developed regions by supporting and concentrating investment at a central place (Gartner, undated). The reality of Growth poles is that they are often located in urban areas and results in no trickling-down effects for rural areas in the periphery except for the absorption of the rural labour that leaves rural areas with no labour. The mines of Johannesburg poached a lot of labour in rural areas of South Africa and in the neighbouring states in order to feed the cruel apartheid mining system of migrant labour. So it often resulted in shifting employment from one place to the other without creating new ones.

Growth poles can lead to rapid industrial development, the spatial concentration of infrastructure in one area and thus to discrepancies and uneven distribution of development in metropolitan space. In North America, the old dilapidated industrial zones were targeted for the use of performance, exhibition and cultural activities by up-and-coming cultural producers (Brown *et al*, 2000). While declaring a place a quarter, CBD, zone or precincts can stimulate innovation, forward and backward linkages, creativity and enhance the image of a place, it can also lead to the centralisation of development, employment and restriction of other uses which do not conform to the rules and regulations governing the place. The above LED models are confined in urban areas and remain limited in their application in rural settings.

There is a striking parallel between LED and branding that can be noted here. The notion of quarters, precincts, Central Business Districts (CBD) and urban development zones resonates well with the Growth poles model in that they also involve the deliberate attempt to assembly vibrant and innovating entities – often located in urban areas – that spawns propulsive positive and negative effects down-stream and upstream (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). Similarly to Growth poles, zones, precincts, CBD's and quarters can also lead to the recentralisation of certain industries such as museums; private businesses; development and the colonisation of spaces by private interests due to the attractiveness of these spaces.

2.6 Attraction Theory

This discussion leads to the focus on Attraction Theory. This theory is often used by places and communities all over the world to differentiate themselves from their competitors and "gain a competitive advantage over other areas with similar resource endowments" (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002: 65). This approach is based on location theories of economic development widely employed by neighborhoods around the world. Francois Perroux and Gunnar Myrdal are amongst the theorists who engaged the issue of location in the 1950's.

Location theories postulates that firms have a propensity to curtail their overheads by choosing locations that make best use of their prospects to get to the marketplace (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002). Labour costs, education and training facilities, availability of suppliers, communications, sanitation, local government quality and responsiveness, and the cost of energy are some of the variables that communities attempt to manipulate in order to become attractive to firms (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002).
According to the proponents of this theory, communities initiate programmes and adopt policies to alter their image so as to make themselves attractive to investors, companies, tourists, students, skilled workers, and migrants. In this model communities and places are treated as products which can be packaged and through marketing have their prominent features advertised as to attract the attention of the potential investor or entrepreneur. The basic assumption underlying this model is that by offering incentives and subsidies, communities can change their market position with industrialists (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002).

With regard to branding, cities like Manchester and Sheffield discarded the 'smoke-stack' strategy of LED after realising that they were operating in a very competitive environment with other cities. It is argued that city authorities of Manchester and Sheffield have since focused on attracting cultural investors through re-imaging and using cultural industries as part of LED strategies. The development of the Cultural Industry Quarter (CIQ) in Sheffield was a reaction by the city council to the decline of the steel industry which led to the remarkable loss of jobs in the 1980's (Brown, et. al, 2000). The city of Johannesburg is currently using the traditional LED strategies to attract businesses back to the inner city through the Urban Development Zones (UDZ) and strategies which promises incentives for the potential investor (Joburg, 2008). Through the Better Buildings Programme (BBP) the city of Johannesburg offers tax rebate on companies that can buy and renovate the derelict buildings for accommodation and office purposes (Davie, 2006). George Simmel's quote below explains and illustrates the importance of reimaging as a form of capturing the attention of the consumer:

> "where competition no longer operates in matters of usefulness and intrinsic properties, the interest of the buyer has to be aroused by the external stimulus of the object, even in the manner of its presentation" (George Simmel, 1991:122).

Eitel and Spiekermann (2007) have observed that in the scramble for resources, investments, tourists and skilled workers, cities with strong brands are distinguished by the manifestation of emotional content to which the consumer connects straight away. For van den Berg and Braun (1999) there is nothing new about cities making themselves attractive, the only thing notable is that there is now an increased consciousness of the

strategic and professionalised element to such urban branding activities. The Attraction Theory therefore shows the link between LED and branding. It marks the incipient stages of branding in which cities were marketed and branded to promote LED activities.

Aalborg is one of the cities that have taken the initiative to apply the attraction model by engaging in the reconstruction of its image of an industrial city. Eitel and Spiekermann (2007) argues that by actively engaging in the creation of a distinctive brand, cities and countries actively administer the perception of their values, and thus achieve constructive public awareness while counteracting negative connotations. New York City employs attractions such as the "Central Park, the Empire State Building, Greenwich Village, the MET, the Museum of Modern Art, SoHo, The Statue of Liberty, Times Square, The United Nations Building, the New York Public Library, the Guggenheim, the World Trade Center, and Tribeca" as magnets to residents and tourists alike. In Baltimore planners and marketers worked together in reviving a deserted and decaying Inner Habour area of downtown into a thriving Maryland Science Centre and one of the most attractive places in Baltimore (Winfield-Pfefferkorn, 2005: 31).

Paris and San Francisco have used the Eiffel Tower, Notre Dame, the Versailles, home to Louis XIV, The Sun King and the Treasure Island, Alcatraz, Chinatown, Silicon Valley and the Golden Gate Bridge as their major attractions, respectively (Winfield-Pfefferkorn, 2005). The city of Johannesburg had to take an initiative to attract business and residents back to the inner city by shaking-off the bad image of urban decline from the 1970's until the early 1990's and (JDA, undated).

The Attraction model has been criticised for its baseless assumption that such attempts will eventually generate taxes and accelerate economic wealth that will reimburse taxpayers the taxes used for subsidies. In most cases foreign companies hire less local people and most of the jobs are unsustainable and when confronted they threaten to leave for other attractive places with better incentives. Taxpayers become losers as they bear the brunt of unemployment and unsustainable jobs. In the 1950's and 80's City of Ontario engaged in traditional Local Economic Development strategy that focused on attracting firms by emphasising cheap factor inputs, subsidised infrastructure, and subsidies or tax reductions. The strategy helped to reduce the costs and the risks for firms locating in a particular area. The traditional LED strategy was later discarded because building industrial parks and offering all sorts of concessions provided no guarantee in retaining employment and tax bases under threat (Tassonyi, 2005).

2.7 The Product-Cycle Model

While the Attraction Theory was still dominant, other places were experimenting with the Product cycle model. The Product Cycle model is the brainchild of Raymond Vernon who in the 1960's revealed how product development must take place in areas with greater affluence and capital to invest in the process of creating and developing new products, with the support of local markets that can pay high prices for products that have not yet been standardised (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002). As a model that began as a structure to clarify patterns of international trade, the Product-Cycle model's main focus is technological change in the environment of multinational corporations and multinational capital, and the progressive maturing, standardisation, and obsolescence of products (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

Central to the Product-Cycle model are "technological changes and the contention that, after the initial development of a product within an undefined business enterprise context, (1) market conditions and the structure of demand, (2) factor inputs (including capital intensity and critical human inputs), (3) the nature and intensity of competition, and (4) locational suitability, change in a systematic way as the new technology ages" (Plummer and Taylor, 2001: 223). It is further argued that ageing is deemed to enhance the necessity for further capital-intensive production, more specialised equipment, longer production runs and stable production techniques, cheaper, unskilled labour, and lesser inputs of managerial and technical skills (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

Applying the Product-Cycle model in an international trade context, means that as technology matures production become reoriented away from the developed or first world countries towards new bases in developing countries. In a local context, the maturing of technology and production is accompanied by the shift in production to suburban or less central locations. While it may be true that companies shift to suburban areas because of the maturing technology and production, during the 1980's most of the companies in the city of Johannesburg left the inner city because of the urban decay and the unbearable high levels of crime (Rogerson, 1996; Bremner, 2000). In an international trade context, some of multinational corporations are deemed to be more powerful than some government in the developing countries and thus often dictate the conditions on how they should operate. Others argue that there is a deliberate move by developed countries to keep developing countries dependent on primary products exports for their economies while developed countries specialise in the production of manufactured goods (Frank, 1996).

Other arguments dwell on the notion that in the event that multinational companies settle in developing countries they often come with their own managers and only offer less paying and unsustainable jobs to locals.

The events of the 1980's in rural America nevertheless highlight the need for the modification of the product cycle model as the benefits of low-skilled manufacturing and some export-orientated services were found to be momentary (Howland, 1993). Extreme foreign competition from developed countries have reallocated some products from mass, assembly line production towards smaller batch runs, cut for a specific market. It is also argued that this has led to the focus on proliferation of flexible production which in itself leads to the recentralisation of employment. The nature of flexible production often requires the use of specialised machines which replaces low-skilled workers and the need for production to relocate to regions with abundant, low cost, nonunion labour (Howland, 1993). It is notable that in Baltimore, with the development of worldwide free trade agreements in the 1960's, it became far economical to produce heavy manufactured goods such as steel in third world countries and import them into the United States. The recession of 1969-71 introduced a routine pattern of the disappearance of manufacturing jobs which were replaced by much lower-paying positions located in the service industry, when the economy recovered. The economy of Rust Belt[4] areas was shattered as one factory after another was driven out of business and closed down (Winfield-Pfefferkorn, 2005).

An exploitation of labour, human rights and environmental violation are high on the list of multinational companies. In 1995, Ken Saro-Wiwa – an activist for the rights of the Ogoni people in Nigeria – was executed by the General Sani Abacha government because of his radical stance against the blatantly atrocious operations of Shell. It is argued that Shell operated with disregard for the environment and its actions was tantamount to "waging an ecological war" (Welch, 1995: 642). Central to the Product-Cycle model is technological change and the lead brokerage role played by large, powerful corporations in the spread of new technologies (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). The use of high-technology and just-in-time production techniques model perpetrates the recentralisation of manufacturing especially one with poor backward and forward linkages for rural areas (Howland, 1993).

[4] Winfield-Pfefferkorn, J. (2005). The Rust Belt is also known as the Manufacturing Belt which is an area located in the Northeastern and north central United States whose economy was largely depended on manufacturing industries. The term Rust Belt refers to the unused Win and machinery left over to rust as a result of the salt used to de-ice roads during the area's heavy winters.

Such a model can also be seen in the light of creating demand for developing country's manufactured products, prepare better conditions for foreign companies' scramble for the exploitation of cheap labour and justify the flight of companies to the suburbs. It is also relevant to transnational corporations and so supports private sector interests. It seems totally oblivious to local communities. This disregards the importance of local people in LED initiatives engraved in the definitions of LED by espousing business as an integral and autonomous component of development. This model often resonates with the Flexible Production model discussed below.

2.8 Flexible Production and Flexible Specialisation

The Flexible Production and Flexible Specialisation model is a framework for explaining regional economic development and it combines elements of regulation theory (Jessop, 1990), institutionalist economics (Hodgson, 1988), evolutionary economics (Nelson and Winter, 1982), and transaction costs (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). The model is the work of Scott and Storper and it came about around the 1980's. It evolved from the early capitalist system called the putting-out systems which was later replaced by the mills and small enterprises of the mid-nineteenth century that, in turn, gave way to the birth of the Fordist mass production (see Figure 2.1 below) (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). It is argued that Fordism which emphasised regulation is the one that gave way to flexible production characterised by strong vertical integration and the assimilation of producers into tight-knit arrangements in new industrial districts (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). Fordism is a production system that was characterised by routine and repetition as the dominant pattern of action. This meant that there was an opportunity to plan production activities with some degree of confidence and to carry them out at very large scales. The essential materials and inputs used in production could also be acquired according to a prearranged timetable, and could be bought in large volumes (Scott *et al,* undated).

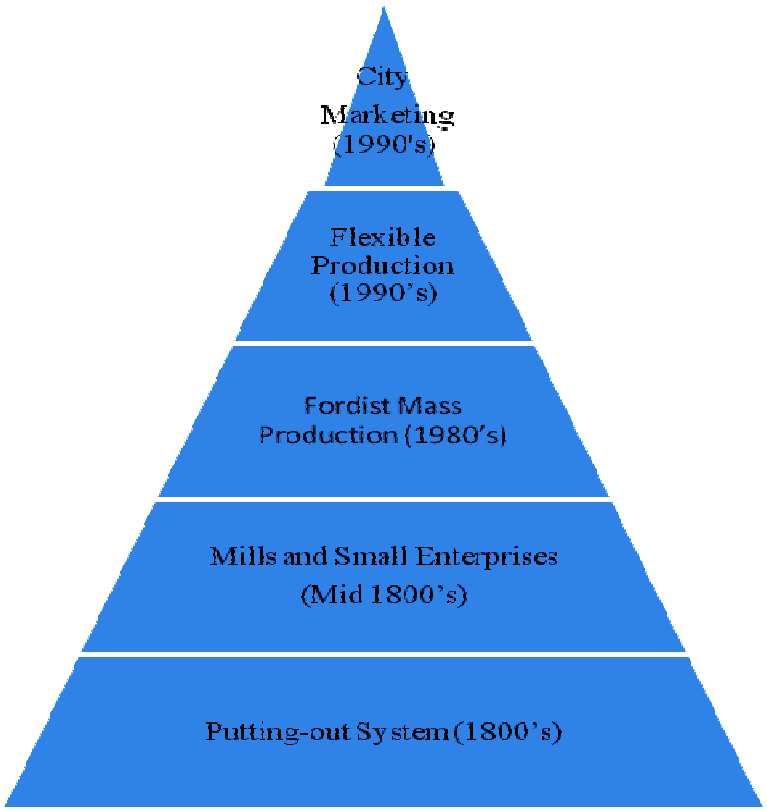


Figure 2.1: The evolutionary process up to City Marketing

It was the economic crises of the early and mid-1970s that created instability in economic environments and thus the adoption of more flexible technologies and organisational patterns by many sectors (Scott, Agnew, Soja, and Storper, undated). Firms in these districts were characterised by: (1) production essentially for the same end-market; (2) embeddedness in a common cultural milieu; (3) relation through stable, informal, cooperative links based on trust and reciprocity; (4) completion on quality rather than price; (5) broad and constantly changing product ranges; (6) the use of latest technologies; (7) support by regional institutions that stimulate permanent innovation; and (8) high specialisation within an extreme division of labor (Plummer and Taylor, 2001: 224). The Silicon Valley specialising in advanced technology, advanced producer and financial service agglomerations of London are good examples of these industries.

Proponents of the Flexibility model purports that the model is technologically motivated and centers on the local assimilation of firms through the trade of goods and information. The local integration of firms also affords local external economies of scale and scope and the minimisation of transaction costs (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

Other examples of clustered flexible production networks includes the films of Hollywood, the banking and financial services of New York, the fashions of Paris, mechanical engineering in Baden-Württemburg and Bavaria, the small-firm craft-based industries of northern Italy, the jewelry industry in Bangkok (Scott *et al*, undated).

According to Gertler (1988), a variety of new products or old products can be produced in innovative ways while flexible machines allows one to quickly change from one operation to another and considerably reduce the downtime between production runs for different products. Flexible workers can also be used to perform a wider variety of tasks while numerous job classifications within individual firms can be reduced. Similarly to what led to the downfall of models like the Putting-out system and Fordism, the flexibility model is also fraught with its own challenges. Antagonist of the model believes that new technology and the process of technical change are no sources of solutions to the realistic ills of society's problems. They believe that the importance of technical change in the productive sphere is exaggerated and the path is unsteady, uncertain, and fraught with difficulties and false promises (Gertler, 1988). Evidence from the studies conducted in Canada reveals that producers are encountering challenges when adopting new technology and in Toronto it was realised that there was a substantial gap between what the new technologies were believed to be capable of and what they actually achieved (Gertler, 1988).

In relation to branding, certain cities are making comebacks even when the industries they were built on have become outmoded. The flexible staffing and flexible working hours that is propounded by the Flexible production and Flexible Specialisation model are also characteristic of the experience economy and have bad ramifications for the future security of workers. This comeback takes a very rare trend in that through branding processes cities generate their revenue and compete through what Pine and Gilmore terms the ‘experience economy’ (Pine and Gilmore, 2002). Experience economy is a new strand of economy that evolved from regarding commodities, goods and services as the central focus of the economy to focusing on the notion of ‘experience’ and the value it endows goods and services (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Unlike when a customer buys a product and receives something tangible and real, cities and businesses relying in an experience economy provides nothing tangible but a set of intangible activities to their customers. Customers and visitors of a city or place are subjected to an intangible memorable experience which they have to pay for (Pine and Gilmore, 2002).

2.9 Learning Regions and Innovative Milieus

The Learning regions and innovative milieus is a combination of two concepts by various authors and it emerged in the early 1990's. Plummer and Taylor (2001) noted that the concepts of 'learning regions' is the invention of Lundvall and Maskell et al in the late 1990's, while the concept of 'innovative milieus' came with Maillat and Maillat and Lecoq in the early 1990's. The innovative milieu is defined as a section of an area that is typified by certain coherence based on general behavioral practice as well as a 'technical culture' – which is a way to distribute information, technical know-how, norms and values - connected to a certain variety of economic activity (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). It is further argued that the following four distinguishable characteristics is what differentiates milieus: (1) a group of actors (firms and institutions) that are relatively autonomous in decision-making and strategy formulation; (2) a specific set of material, immaterial, and institutional elements combining firms, infrastructure, knowledge, know-how, authorities, and legal frameworks; (3) interaction between actors based on cooperation; and lastly, (4) a self-regulating dynamic that leads to learning. Central in the 'learning regions' and 'innovative milieus' model is the spotlight on moderately inert human capital, intensive interconnection between agents, and the shared cultural, psychological and political backgrounds of network participants (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

Similarly to the Flexible production model, technological change and leadership still occupy a very fundamental position but are perceived more in terms of incremental innovation encouraged by the local trade of tacit information. It is also argued that this model is a drastic extension and refinement of the flexible-production, flexible-specialisation model (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). According to Plummer and Taylor (2001: 225), this model also emphasises the place-based roles of information, knowledge, and learning as promoters of local economic growth. Long-term producer and buyer relations, repeated communication, the exchange of information and the trial-and-error problem solving are deemed to be critical for the success of innovative milieus (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

The notion of clusters and innovative milieus also extends to the notion of branding cities as well. Localised learning paradigm is a model that draws from the contemporary model of Learning Regions and Innovative Milieus. This model accentuates the increased significance of comprehending a more casual and locally-based market organisation as opposed to the complex network organisations (Jensen, 2005). A creative milieu would be a place in the form of either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region, that holds the essential prerequisite in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to engender a flow of

ideas and creations. It is further argued that such a milieu serves as a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can function in a flexible environment (Jensen, 2005).

Numerous restaurants in cities around the world rely on staging experiences in order to generate their incomes. The Hard Rock Café in London fuses rock music with food service in order to create a unique dining experience (Pine and Gilmore, 2002). Numerous Afro-branded restaurants – mentioned and explained in chapter one – in Newtown and the inner city of Johannesburg stages a combination of traditional food, Jazz music and artwork with elements of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa for their customers. These experiences are neither real nor tangible but they add value to an ordinary meal or cup of coffee. A restaurant called Gramadoelas in Newtown, sells a simple traditional meal branded after Nelson Mandela because the meal is what the icon ate the last time he visited the restaurant (Interview, 20 August 2008). Staging of experiences can have vast economic consequences for a simple and poor place (Jensen, 2005), which is rich in history and cultural materials. Creating innovative milieus has become means to create competitive advantage for places.

2.10 Competitive Advantage

The competitive-advantage model is the brainchild of Porter and it emerged in the 1990's to emphasise the business enterprise and managerial decision-making. Central in this model is the focus on local factor conditions, demand conditions, related and supporting industries, and firm strategy, structure, and rivalry, while placing less importance on the institutional, political, and cultural components of the commercial environment (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). The model also draws a lot from the 'clustering' approach and its proponents believe that "productivity in a place can be enhanced, according to the competitive advantage model by: (1) local specialisation which affords reduced transaction costs in assembling inputs and human resources; (2) the strength of local demand which brings advantages in interregional trade; (3) greater access to information; (4) complementarities between firms that result from local or locational integration; (5) institutional support, both public and private, turning costly inputs into public and quasi-public goods; and (6) technological leadership built on the ease with which opportunities can be identified locally." (Plummer and Taylor, 2001: 227).

The character of local demand is equally interpreted as endowing places with dynamic advantage while domestic buyer needs and sophistication can sensitise home producers and infuse confidence. The competitive-advantage model purports that dynamic home markets can allow firms to anticipate international demands, and that the size of local demand can act as a reinforcing advantage while specialisation is recognised as a source of potential competitive advantage (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). It should however be noted that while other people are offering the development successes of Japan and high-tech developments of California as solutions to economic problems, developing countries might find it difficult and impossible to replicate the 'Asian miracle' (Ettlinger, 1991). In 2001 the city of Johannesburg had the comparative advantage approach inscribed in the city's long-term plan called iGoli 2010. The plan was an "overarching vision to transform Johannesburg into a globally competitive 'African world-class city'." An underlying attitude in this plan was the conviction that "the competitive and comparative advantage of Johannesburg relative to other cities must be promoted and developed." (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, 2001:147). Notably, Johannesburg emphasise skills development, the development of precincts, CBD's, public private partnerships such CID's, SMME support and international positioning of the city amongst other things, as crucial for positioning the city as an outstanding global competitor (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

2.11 Enterprise Segmentation and Unequal Power Relations

The enterprise-segmentation model is a brainchild of Taylor and Thrift in the 1980's and it purports that relations among companies are asymmetrical in general and this is reflected by the aspects of dominance and subordination. The more resources one controls, the more command they have over decision-making processes as centres of control (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). The more powers a company has over others can easily trigger monopolistic tendencies and unhealthy competition in the market. Growth in the segmentation model comes with the local control of technology which endows particular places with competitive advantage; the impact of large corporations, diminishing growth in localities from which they extract surplus value while enhancing growth in those from which they exercise control growth; and through benefits that originate from the network relationships of the locational integration of smaller firms created by historical processes of embedding (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

Branding has also been susceptible to the same logic of dominance and subordination that is central to the enterprise segmentation and unequal power model.

The 1980's were characterised by brand takeovers as companies felt that buying a brand was a panacea to having a successful brand (Rooney, 1995). It is also noted that this trend contributed to the success of many brands which became very valuable as a result of the takeover. The main challenge with takeovers and acquisitions was that many brands suffered eventually because of the continuous change in management (Rooney, 1995). Companies were driven by the need to stay ahead of their competitors, gain more control powers in the market and create a competitive advantage. While a takeover can be beneficial in the short-term, a sudden change in the guard can make a brand to fail to maintain a clear image in the consumer's mind. The five-year term governing political leadership in South African municipalities can also have an impact in the city's brand due to the perceived political change and the uncertainty generated by that process. A change of guard in the municipality or the city's management structure can lead to the sudden change in the city's brand to being aligned to the goals and strategies of the new political party taking over the leadership of the city.

2.12 Branding Models and Concepts

Anholt (2006) believes that brands of cities are inextricably tied to the histories and fate of places and as noted above, the incipient growth of branding drew from LED activities. Following is a brief discussion of the Brand Orientation Model, corporate branding and concepts such as brand identity, brand image and brand equity.

2.12.1 Brand Orientation Model

The Brand Orientation model is a market approach which was created after it was realised that brands carry out an economic role in the mind of the consumer (Guzman, 2005). The model is an approach in which the practices of the organisation revolves around the conception, development, and protection of brand identity in an enduring dealings with target customers [or consumers] with the aim of realising lasting competitive advantages in the form of brands. According to Guzman (2005) the brand orientation model's focal point is on building up brands in a more dynamic and calculated manner, starting with the brand identity as a strategic platform. It is further argued that creating a clear understanding of the internal brand identity is the starting point of a brand building process. The brand orientation model also consists of internal and external brand building processes. The brand building process focuses on illustrating the rapport between the organisation

and the brand, with the internal purpose of the organisation to live its brands, while the latter focus on building a lasting relationship between the customer and the brand (Guzman, 2005).

It is noted that branding is a skill to fabricate a sustainable, differential (and competitive) advantage by playing on the nature of human beings and exploiting the fact that once consumers get used to certain brands they do not easily compromise and accept replacement brands (Rooney, 1995). This then necessitates the need for politicians and big business leaders of cities to comprehend and appreciate the outlook of their cities and places by visitors, investors, customers, skilled artisans, and potential residents worldwide. It is also important to take a conscious decision to shape the brand of the city in such a way that it stays ahead of those of competitors in pursuit of competitive advantage. Eitel and Spiekermann (2007) confirm that by constructing their own unique brand, cities, regions and places can vigorously administer the perception of their values, and thus achieve constructive public awareness while counteracting any negative connotation.

2.12.2 Corporate Branding

Defined as a brand that represents an organization and reflects its heritage, values, culture, people, and strategy, corporate branding emerged in the 1990's. In this strand of branding, developing the corporate brand involves articulating and aligning three elements which are the strategic vision, organisational culture and corporate image. These elements can only be realised by engaging in an effectual discourse between top management, external stakeholders, and members of the organisational culture (Guzman, 2005). With the advent of the New Public Management (NPM) during the 1980's, public entities adopted the market approaches and more especially the notion of running cities like companies and as brands for profit. The NPM is the "transfer of business and market principles and management techniques from the private into the public sector" (Drechsler, 2005: 01), which surfaced in the 1980's but came into effect in the United Kingdom and New Zealand in the 1990's where it represented public sector reforms. The NPM is founded on a neo-liberal understanding of state and economy and on the premises that all human behavior is always motivated by self-interest and, particularly, profit maximisation (Yamamoto, 2003).This is when most of the cities used the above models like the Brand Orientation model, Brand Equity and even branded themselves like corporate entities.

The city of Bradford was one of the first cities in the North of England to brand itself using its distinctive heritage and a slogan as "Bradford: a surprising place" for tourism purposes (Trueman et al, 2004). In 1970, the State of New York decided to endorse tourism to help counterbalance a slump in the economy, and asked the Ad Agency Wells, Rich and Greene, and graphic artist Milton Glaser to develop a campaign, and the "I Love NY" slogan (Winfield-Pfefferkorn, 2005). The city of Johannesburg is no exception to this. In 2001 the Mayoral Committee employed the services of a company called Interbrand in order to re-define the CITY of Johannesburg as a brand.

This was done after the realisation that protecting and enhancing the City's brand status will play a major role in repositioning the city. Cities across the United States also followed suit and they struck deals such as contracts involving the crowning soft drinks as the "city's" official beverage and placing company logos on tennis courts and ballparks with corporate sponsors in an attempt to increase funds for municipalities (Winfield-Pfefferkorn, 2005).

In the 1990's Johannesburg began to incorporate the market principles and began to operate like a company with a conscious effort to shake-off the 'apartheid city' image it inherited during the reign of the apartheid government. Cost recovery process is one of the market practices which were introduced during the 1990's in the city of Johannesburg. The practice aims to recover the costs associated with providing a service by charging consumers the full cost of providing services such as water and electricity - a practice which is in contrast to the long-standing practice of the state subsidising these services (McDonald, 2002).

Paris is considered as "romance, Milan is style, New York is energy, Washington is power, Tokyo is modernity, Lagos is corruption, Barcelona is culture, and Rio is Fun" (Anholt, 2006:18). Such brands can also be the source of competitive advantage as potential visitors rely on them to make a decision on whether to visit the city. It is further noted that brands are not only limited to visiting decisions but also influence and underpin innumerable decisions some of which have very vital socio-economic and even political consequences (Runyan, 2006). Branding may not be the answer to problems facing cities but it has the potential to reduce the risk consumers and potential investors face when they visit a place they know very little about (Rooney, 1995).

Underlying the notion of branding is the cornerstone of marketing which is customer orientation; thinking about the product, the company and doing business from the consumer's viewpoint (Kavaratzis and

Ashworth, 2005). Applying this logic to urban branding entails viewing how residents as consumers encounter the place they live in, how they make sense of it, which physical, symbolic elements they evaluate in order to make their assessment of the city (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 507).

2.12.3 Brand Awareness, Brand Image and Brand Identity

Brand awareness is when an effort is taken to expose consumers to products knowledge through advertising and promotions in order to raise consciousness of the brand concerned (Pitta and Katsanis (1995). This helps the consumer to immediately recognise the brand as a potential choice when exposed to other similar brand types by competitors. Brand awareness consists of brand recognition and brand recall which is the potential buyer's capability to authenticate preceding exposure to the brand when given a brand as a prompt while the latter is the consumer's skill to retrieve the brand form memory when exposed to the product category, the desires satisfied by the category, purchase or usage situation as prompt (Guzman, 2005). It is noted that instantaneous brand recognition shows the highest level of brand awareness and also shapes the decision to purchase the product. Creating a long lasting memory in the mind of the consumer is regarded as the most important aspect of brand awareness (Pitta and Katsanis (1995). On one side, Brand identity – defined as ethos, values and aims that present a sense of uniqueness distinguishing the brand – and brand image are central in creating long-lasting awareness and for delineating a target market, determining a product's position, and measuring market response (Pitta and Katsanis, 1995: 54). On the other side, Brand image is defined as the perception about a brand as revealed by the brand associations entrenched in consumer's memory. It is often created after brand awareness and it entails creating positive associations of the brand (Keller, 1993). These branding concepts have been very crucial in branding processes of cities as they aim to achieve positive images and high level of awareness of their brands so they can catch the attention of tourists, skilled workers, students, investors and middle-class.

2.12.4 Brand Equity

The Brand Equity which is described as the value a brand name adds to a product was conceptualised by Keller in 1993 and it involves two components which are brand awareness and brand image. Creating the brand image is about creating a set of positive links of the brand in the consumer's mind and this is fundamental for defining the target market, determining a product's position, and determining market response (Pitta and Katsanis, 1995). The brand equity is further defined as the augmentation in the perceived

utility and attractiveness a brand name bestow on a product concerned (Pitta and Katsanis, 1995). For Guzman, high brand equity might lead to a boost in customer response, effective communication campaigns, and greater margins plus less vulnerability to competition (Guzman, 2005). Brand equity is crucial because it augments the possibility of brand choice, leads to brand reliability, solidify brand position, differentiates brand against competition and protects it from other competitive brands (Pitta and Katsanis, 1995).

2.13 Conclusion

Theories discussed in this chapter revolve around the notion of attraction of investment which is hoped that it will generate employment, incomes and alleviate poverty. Models like the neoclassical economic theory, enterprise segmentation and the competitive advantage models are business orientated and focused more on generating profits than on alleviating poverty. The competitive advantage and the flexible production models are reflective of the capitalist elements of competition and flexibility that tends to differentiate itself from the rigidity that is associated with bureaucratic governments. The market element in models of local economic development discussed in this chapter is very dominant and it seems that there is no alternative to it. Technology is also depicted as a panacea towards generating local economic development and this notion serves to create demand for manufactured products and machinery which is largely produced by the developed countries. The enterprise segmentation and unequal power relations model is different in that it assumes a radical approach towards development. Models like the Growth Pole and Growth Centres are very detrimental in the long run. The concentration of industries in one area might be detrimental for other areas and also for the area where they are located in terms of pulling millions of population scrambling for job opportunities to urban areas, causing urbanisation challenges.

Most of the LED models are business-orientated and they lack the balance created by the presence of the pro-poor element. These models are inept in explaining local economic development in places that lack technology, big industries, competition and flexible working conditions. High technology, growth centres and big sophisticated industries may not be conducive for absorbing the abundant and unskilled poor local people. While these models may be appropriate for explaining the situation in urban areas, the reality of rural and poor areas renders these models lacking and wanting. It will later be shown in chapter three how these business-orientated models of local economic development takes away the crucial element of the ‘locality’ and how they deprive local people a chance to be actively involved as participants and beneficiaries of LED processes.

Models of branding borrow a lot from marketing concepts such as product and corporate branding. Through the use of branding processes like leisure tourism; bids to host events; attracting residents and shoppers; altering place's images through design and street furniture; using culture, slogans, names and memories to brand places; and lastly the use of African and internationally-themed restaurants, many people and places stand to benefit economically. This also shows that almost anything and every place can be branded for various reasons including local economic development. It is clear that cities can no longer afford to leave their images and identity to the hands of speculators amid the existence of stiffening competition for scarce resources, investments, and skills amongst other things. If these models are to be beneficial to the locality, there should be a conscious effort from cities to create and fund branding programmes for the development of the local people and the city's economy.

The logic underlying brand equity has showed branding of places has a lot to offer in terms of augmenting the perceived utility, attractiveness of a brand and the value the brand bequeath on a product. Soliciting agreement about the brand of a place is an intricate process that involves engaging a range of stakeholders who may not necessarily agree with the city officials because of their divergent interests and beliefs. Urban branding gestures a shift from the traditional ways of generating earnings for the city through industries and high-tech industries to focusing on using historical material, geological endowments, artwork, socio-political history, natural and historical events such as apartheid in South African cities. Nonetheless, urban branding is not without its challenges as its processes are embedded with notions of exploitation, unequal power relations, skewed access to public spaces, and dominance between the officials and the governed. Some of the concepts and models of branding echo the logic used in the theories of LED such as the attraction, growth poles, milieu models and this will be explained further in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE: EVOLUTION OF URBAN BRANDING AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to connect to the previous theoretical one. The main objective here is to discuss in detail the link and connections between LED and branding with specific focus on South Africa. This approach is designated as an evolutionary approach in this research because the thesis will explore the implications of branding for LED through stages of their historical evolution. These stages will focus on both growth and development of urban branding and LED from inception to date. This approach is also a comparative one in that it compares the emergence and the evolution of both branding and LED. In organising the structure for this evolutionary approach will be the questions of when, why, who, how and whom.

This approach is intended to reveal the emergence of both branding and local economic development; the reasons behind their emergence; which institutions and agents are behind branding and LED processes; and lastly, for whom is branding and LED carried-out for. The evolutionary approach will help us understand the origins and developments of both branding and LED in South Africa and abroad. Various definitions of both concepts were explored in chapter two and the history of their implementation in South Africa and abroad will be the subject of this chapter. It is also in the interest of this research to reveal why the two are often seen to be apart and as processes of different institutions. The question of 'when' helps to clarify the time of the emergence of both urban branding and LED in South Africa and abroad. The question of 'why' serve to highlight the reasons behind the emergence of both urban branding and LED. The question of 'who' suffice to identify the key agents behind the decision-making of urban branding and LED processes. The question of 'how' assist to clarify the processes and technicalities of both urban branding and LED. Lastly, addressing the question of 'who' makes possible to identify the major beneficiaries of both urban branding and LED processes.

3.2 Emergence of Local Economic Development in South Africa

LED in South Africa is largely a 1990's phenomenon which drew a lot from international experiences (Nel and John, 2006) when the country opened its borders to the international community. Rogerson and Nel (2007) argue that LED emerged to the scene of contemporary development in the 1990's. Opening up borders

meant that there were many organisations and people who had interest in shaping the direction the country was to adopt.

Nel and John (2006), argue that consultants and academic researchers relied on the international experience in order influence the direction that LED was to assume in South Africa. The late emergence of LED in the 1990's in South Africa allows for only approximately two decades of literature and few case studies with few success stories of implementation due to challenges which will be outlined and engaged with in due course. Contrary to the recent emergence of LED in South Africa, it is argued that in the North, LED has been "a defined aspect of local government administration for over a century" (Nel, 2001: 1005). This allows for a broad array of material on LED on which informed studies can be conducted on a related topic. Structural adjustment programmes, market liberalisation and globalisation processes combined with national governments' failure to deliver at local level prompted local actors to assume local economic development planning across the South region (Helmsing, 2001; Meyer-Stamer, 2003).

In South Africa, the emergence of LED was triggered by the pressing need to intervene and rejuvenate the apartheid scenery which was fraught with racial inequalities. The emphasis on the need to engage the locals marked a shift away from the Keynesian-inspired policies of the apartheid state which monopolised every single aspect of the South African society and suppressed local initiatives (Nel, 2001). Similar to the Northern countries where LED emerged as a result of the resurgence of liberalisation and privatisation that curtailed the state's role, its emergence in South Africa drew a lot from the western experience and was closely intertwined with the country's transformation to democracy (Simon, 2005; Nel and Rogerson, 2005).

The decentralisation process – which is a processes characterised by bringing government closer to the people through empowering local authorities – is also responsible for the emergence of LED both in South Africa and other developing countries (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005). The shifting of powers to the local government was based on the notion that the former is capable of substantially influencing their local economies. This has not been the case since municipalities have been confronted by problems of unfunded responsibilities, capacity and skills (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005). It is important to note that large municipalities have been an exception to this as they are in a better position to generate revenue and fund a lot of diverse development initiatives (Nel and John, 2006).

3.3 Historical Background of Branding

By contrast, the historical background of branding involves the branding of products with trademarks in order to serve as a guide to quality, attract consumers loyal to the brand and guard against makers of inferior goods (Keller, 1998). It is further argued that historically, the logic of branding involved the formation of mental configurations and helping consumers organise their knowledge about products and services in a way that simplify their decision-making and, in the process provides value to the firm. This is still the case in the modern-day companies but at a more advanced level. Companies today use distinctive labels, packaging, symbols and design in order to draw the attention of the consumer to the product. The American Marketing Association defines the term brand as a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them, with a deliberate attempt to make distinct goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and distinguish them from those of competitors (Guzman, 2005). In essence the brand is what differentiates one product from other similar products and it serves to communicate the quality and features of the particular product to the potential buyers. In other words it is a tool whose purpose is to unveil the concealed qualities of a product which are inaccessible to immediate contact. Branding performs an economic function in the mind of the potential buyer in that it influences the decision-making of the potential buyer of the product concerned (Guzman, 2005). The brand management team is normally responsible for the creation and coordinating of the brand management program.

Unlike product branding, corporate branding is a recent phenomenon that dates back as far as the mid-1990's (Guzman, 2005). It is further noted that corporate brand is a brand that represents an organisation and reflects its heritage, values, culture, people and strategy. This phenomenon operates at an organisational level and it involves the use of the organisation's resources in order to create and promote a corporate image distinct from the organisation's competitors. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is the most recent type of corporate branding practiced by companies (Guzman, 2005). This phenomenon is a strategic tool that entails integration of branding tools and philanthropic responsibilities of the company. Through CSR companies act in unison with community organisations in order to respond to social issues such as youth development which are beyond the firms' economic, technical and legal necessities.

The company concerned transfers resources to the community through a community organisation for community development programs. By engaging in corporate social responsibility, companies get to promote their brands, maintain customer loyalty and achieve a good social standing. In South Africa a mobile cellular

operator called Cell C and UNICEF[5] ambassador, musician and activist by the name of Zola combined their brands in order to raise funds for community development. Cell C donates a fraction of all the revenues generated from calls made from the product branded with the musician to a jointly administered Fund which will disburse these funds to selected social upliftment projects. Some of these upliftment projects include areas such as youth empowerment, education and HIV/AIDS. In Richards Bay, the big six companies such as Richards Bay Minerals, the Richards Bay Coal Terminal, Foskor, Ticor, BHP Billiton and Mondi Kraft are pioneers in employing corporate social investment initiatives such as skills development, education and healthcare in order to achieve local economic development and social objectives (Nel *et al*, 2007).

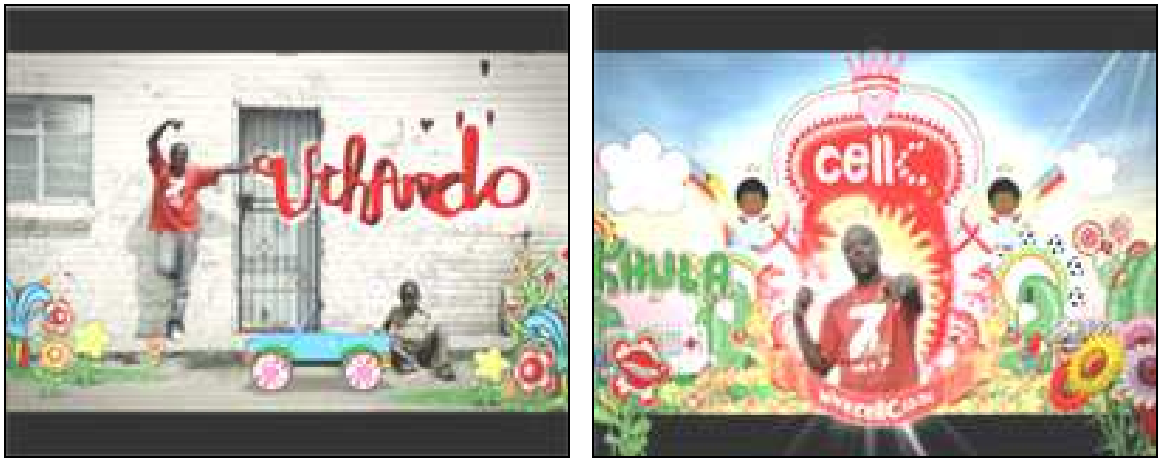


Figure 3.1: Cell C and the Zola brands used for corporate social responsibility.

Having appreciated and outlined the evolution of branding, this paper will now focus on the notion of branding of urban places which is the main focus of this paper and another strand of branding which according to Yvonne Johnston – the CEO of the International Marketing Council of South Africa – is needed for places to be participant in the competition for resources, tourists and investments. The notion of urban branding draws a lot from product and corporate branding that is discussed above in the brief introduction. In his book tilted City, Phil Hubbard believes that urban or place branding is an indication of how marketing language, concepts and logic have infiltrated the realm of urban affairs (Hubbard, 2006). This part of the literature review will also adopt an evolutionary and historical approach in exploring the notion of urban branding and its implications for local economic development through stages of its historical evolution.

This approach is intended to reveal the emergence of urban branding internationally and in South Africa; the reasons behind their emergence; which institutions and agents are responsible for branding processes; and

[5] UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

lastly, for whom is branding carried-out for. The evolutionary approach will help to understand the origins and developments of branding internationally and in South Africa.

3.3.1 Emergence of Urban Branding

Guy Julier's definition above locates the origination of the branding process in the commercial products and the corporate sector. The appreciation of branding places in academia emerged in the 1990's and it is widely regarded as a recent phenomenon which is dominated by practitioners (Morgan, 2005). This is what makes urban branding the domain of the private sector because it is a complex phenomenon that often requires large budgets, and if practiced by planners it is often ad hoc and they are either not aware of it or they employ only selective aspects of branding such as urban renewal and attraction of investments (Hankinson, 2005; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). Urban branding is a creative-focused initiative largely practiced internationally at both local and national levels. In South Africa urban branding can be traced as far as the late years of apartheid when the city of Johannesburg was "constructed to conform to images of Western modernity" and later "transformed into little New York" (Bremner, 2000: 186). Despite the existence of this early evidence, Sihlongonyane (2008) observes that the symbolic or discursive realm is the most under-studied and under-theorised aspect of research in South Africa. He further argues that practices such as city marketing, place making, city-reimaging and city branding, which are fundamental to symbolic manipulation are still mainly seen as part of business practice by planners and they do not form part of planner's immediate imperative agendas.

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) believe branding emerged because of the intensifying competition and the need of places to differentiate themselves from each other and affirm their uniqueness in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological intentions. Writing in 2000, Greenberg indicated that cities engaged in branding because they wanted to build emotional connection between a commodified city and its footloose middle- and upper-class consumers in a manner that the name of the city conjures up a whole series of images and emotions and with them an impression of value. At a national level in South Africa, branding has been used to carve a niche in the international market for products produced in the country and to alter and reposition the country's image internationally through the 'Proudly South African' brand campaign (see Figure 3.2 below).



Figure 3.2: The Proudly South African brand attached to all goods produced in South Africa.[6]

For Sihlongonyane (2008) the branding of South Africa conjures up images of an imagined patriotic South African community united by a common obligation of selling the country abroad. In reality the process of branding is a very problematic one especially at a national level because of the multiplicity of stakeholders with diverging interests and other complexities that comes with treating places as products (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Runyan, 2006). Politicians, residents, business people, potential investors, planners, cultural and heritage people with their conflicting interests all have a stake in the product called space that is branded. The complexity associated with treating places as products should not be seen as an indication of the impossibility to apply the branding to places. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) supports that urban branding is not only possible but there is concrete evidence that it has been consciously and unconsciously practiced by cities ever since cities started competing for trade, prestige, wealth, events and power. Writing in 1998, Keller also concurs that virtually anything including places can be branded. An excerpt from Anholt (2004) also confirms that there is no turning back because branding of places is now here.

> "Place branding is happening. A new field of practice and study is in existence,
> and whatever we chose to call it or whatever we wish to define it,
> there can no longer be any doubt that it is with us" (Anholt, 2004)

[6] Source: Retrieved June 23, 2008 from www.bridgehouse.org.za/print.php?page=24

Gould and Skinner (2007) believe that urban branding emerged in order to counteract the myths and stereotypes that result from the ill-conceived judgments about the country. This means that the absence of urban branding might be detrimental for a place, city or country. Writing a year before Gould and Skinner, Hubbard (2006) noted that branding emerged because there was a need to bestow the city with a recognisable and unswerving identity which people will instantly relate with a particular city. This in turn will attract particular types of investments and consumptions because of the ability of branded places to be magnets for professionals and tourists and outperform unbranded places.

3.3.2 Why Did Urban Branding Emerge?

Similar to the branding of products which emerged as a result of increasing competition between brands and the need to carve a niche in the market for one's products, urban branding also emerged because of the intensifying competition for scarce resources, investments, bid to host events, conferences, recognition, status and tourists (Gold and Gold, 2008). With the flight of manufacturing industries to lower cost locations cities found urban branding as the new economic grail because of the possibility to boost their urban economies and alter the image of their urban places (Hannigan, 2003). In other words urban branding can have good implications for the local economies. For Runyan (2006) most of the tourist dependent cities brand their places partly because visitors' decisions are based on the favourable images produced by a potential destination. For such places branding emerged because of the necessity to publicise what the place have for potential tourists to make their decisions. Other places engaged in branding because of the continuous decline in their local economies and so they can neutralise the urban decay. Internationally, towns embark on branding so they can stand out from other towns in searching for new sources of revenue (Runyan, 2006).

3.4 Key Agents and Institutions at the Helm of LED in South Africa

The LED processes have been influenced by various organisations, institutions and individuals since the 1990's. These actors have had various degrees of influence. The Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the National Treasury are amongst these actors with varying degrees of influence in the LED processes (Rogerson, 2006). According to Nel and John (2006) the DPLG was initially charged with the overseeing of the LED policy development. It is further argued that institutions such as the Urban Foundation, the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) have also featured amongst the

actors who built the foundation of LED in South Africa. It can also be argued that these organisations were very instrumental in swaying LED to different conflicting trajectories motivated by their ideological convictions. The Urban Foundation assumed the market focus; SANCO on other side adopted a populist focus while the government espoused a central position concerning the LED processes (see Table 3.1 below).

Institution/organisation	Involvement	Approach\Ideology
DTI	Policy	Centre
DPLG	Policy overseer	centre left
Urban Foundation	policy influence	Right
Unions	policy influence	Left
Academics (i.e. Patrick Bond)	Policy research and formulation	Left
Municipalities	policy implementation	centre left
SANCO	policy influence	Left

Table 3.1: Institutions and organisations and their role in LED in South Africa

The South African constitution of 1996 have been very key in assigning of various responsibilities to different spheres of government and ensuring that local government is a recognised sphere of government. The Local Government Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000 also played a crucial role in giving municipalities the mandate to proactively initiate and drive development in their localities (Nel and John, 2006). This boosted the clout of the local government to initiate plans and execute its obligations without dictated as a subordinate of the provincial government (Tomlinson, 2003). Amongst these spheres, local government is very central in that it features in almost every aspect of community service and it is in a position to directly influence local conditions as compared to provincial and local government. While Zaaijer and Sara (1993) argues that leadership within LED programmes is not confined to any entity, in South Africa the public sector have assumed directive of the process largely because of the governments need to alter the social and economic scenery inherited from the apartheid government.

Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer (2005) have a different view about the dominance of the public actors in the LED processes. They argue that 'problem-solving orientation' in the LED processes is subjugated by the political logic of power accumulation to further political ambitions by elected executive officials. In turn this has bad implications for the ability of the local government to address local economic development in the post-apartheid era. This is not the only obstacle contributing to the apathy of the key actor in LED processes. Others argue that LED is a strategy used by the central government to shift responsibilities of dealing with unemployment and poverty to local government (Tomlinson, 2003). The local government as a crucial actor

in LED processes has been confronted by a series of 'unfunded responsibilities' regarding LED and this affects their ability to deliver in an effective way (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005).

3.4.1 Dual-pursuit of Local Economic Development in South Africa

The dual-pursuit of LED in South Africa will address the question of how has LED processes been implemented since its inception. A plethora of local organisations played a significant role in laying the foundation and influencing the debate for the emergence and the type of LED that was to be adopted in South Africa (Nel and John, 2006). These authors argue that the SANCO; the Urban Foundation and the RDP Ministry were amongst the formations engaged in the battle for the soul of LED in South Africa. The early history of LED in South Africa is fraught with ideological conflicts between the advocates of pro-poor approaches and those who seemed comfortable with the pro-business route to LED.

Even though local government in South Africa has been tasked with the implementation of LED, its dual nature has made its implementation a daunting task (Nel and Rogerson, 2005). The dual nature of South Africa's LED is characterised by proponents of the 'Developmental-LED' and the 'Non-developmental LED' approaches (Abrahams, 2005). On one hand, proponents of the 'Developmental-LED' views community empowerment initiatives, redistribution of resources, targeting of poverty, and the promotion of local creativity as central local economic development. On the other hand, proponents of the 'Non-developmental LED' views "urban efficiency, urban attractiveness and the offering of incentives to industries and place marketing" as important (Abrahams, 2005).

The dual nature of LED in South Africa is what makes it to be strikingly different from other types of LED internationally (Rogerson and Nel, 2005). What gave birth to the dual nature of LED in South Africa is the fact that post-apartheid South Africa was confronted by the pressing issues inherited under apartheid and had already adopted the neo-liberal trajectory for the country's economic policy (Rogerson and Nel, 2005). The preoccupation with redistribution, poverty alleviation, empowering the poor in order to correct the inequities of the past was dropped when Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was adopted as South Africa's economic policy. The prevailing attitude after the adoption of GEAR was that of pursuing notions of efficiency, fiscal prudence, privatisation, global status, and investment attraction amongst other things. Citizens were now seen as clients and the post-apartheid commitments to wage a battle against racial inequality inherited from the apartheid era was put on hold. This had bad implications for the proponents of pro-poor LED

because anything that differed with the prevailing neo-liberal trajectory was associated with the socialist ideals of the left. The ideological battle for the soul of LED was more discernible in South Africa's major cities than anywhere else in the country. The prevalent perception among local governments who depended on the LED Fund which came from the central government was that they had to use the money for poverty relief and not market-related projects (Nel and John, 2006).

Major cities were not dependent on the LED Fund and yet had the most comprehensive LED strategies and well staffed LED units. By virtue of being in a position to fund their LED departments major cities were at liberty to control and determine how they use their money. Most urban areas initiated "LED activities [which were] in support of building local competitiveness, many launching city improvement programmes and the majority seeking to support the growth potential of the small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) economy" (Rogerson, 2006). For the majority of poor people who had high expectations from the post-apartheid government this meant deferred justice because they were not going to realise their expectations in the near future. The pro-business trajectory adopted mostly by South Africa's major cities is indicative of the unwillingness to tackle the apartheid socio-economic legacy. Justice to the poor was replaced by neo-liberal inclined initiatives of privatisation, outsourcing, cost recovery, efficiency, competitiveness, global standards, and cost-recovery. Cities adopted pro-growth initiatives such as programmes to improve the safety and security; enhancing institutional efficiency; and lastly Business Improvement Districts (BID) amongst others (Rogerson, 2006).

3.5 Key Agents and Institutions behind Urban Branding

The key agents of product and corporate branding are clearly defined and there is no uncertainty on who should assume such responsibilities within a company. The multiplicity of stakeholders and the involvement of public funds in urban branding processes make it a very challenging environment for key actors and institution. Trueman *e. al* (2004) points to the limitations of government officials when it comes to branding of places. They argue that public sector organisations are often slow to address issue of marketing and branding since in the past they have been more concerned with issues of governance rather than issues of branding and marketing places.

Unlike local economic development which is a domain of government officials especially in South Africa, the business community initially monopolised branding and it is only recently that urban branding involves a

range of stakeholders including public officials but it is largely the domain of the corporate sector and consultants. Nigel Morgan – an academic from the University of Wales – confirms that urban branding is a recent phenomenon and a territory which has long been very much dominated by practitioners (Morgan, 2005). This is what makes urban branding the domain of the private sector because it is a complex phenomenon that often involves large public budgets, and if practiced by planners it is often ad hoc and they are either not aware of it or they employ only selective aspects of branding such as urban renewal and attraction of investments (Hankinson, 2005; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). It is however argued that "public planners have long been prone to the adoption, overuse and then consignment to oblivion, of fashionable slogans as a result perhaps of their necessity to convince political decision-makers who place a premium on novelty, succinctness and simplicity" (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 507).

The elusive nature of branding projects especially if it is done through hosting of events, renaming, honouring and sale of historical and struggle memories make the public uneasy when there is lot of vital issues like poverty and unemployment that needs equal attention. When government actors such as planners become oblivious to the crucial needs of inhabitants and tend to focus on modifying the city to service the needs of heritage tourists and potential investors (Chang, 2000) they stand a chance of becoming unpopular. Urban branding is often ad hoc and there are no clearly defined actors especially within the public sphere and this renders urban branding to be susceptible to all kinds of exploitation for private gain. When urban branding happens under ad hoc conditions it is difficult to identify the actors or agents because there is no concerted effort made. With product and corporate branding it is unchallenging to identify branding agents because there is consistent planning to advertise and upgrade the product for better markets.

3.6 The How of Local Economic Development Processes in South Africa

Local economic development is carried out by various departments in all the three spheres of the government. The DPLG does this by setting the policy framework through which LED strategies of municipalities are executed (Nel and John, 2006). Municipalities then establish LED units which are responsible for the LED strategies and as a requirement of the National Framework for LED in South Africa (DPLG, 2006). These strategies should be linked to the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) which according to Tomlinson (2003), is subject to approval by the provincial government. IDP is a five-year planning and implementation instrument devised to strategically bring together various functions and development objectives of municipalities (Pycroft, 1998, 2000). Various cities engage LED activities such as the building of

convention centres; waterfront development programmes; hosting of festivals and mega-sport events; and the establishment of themed routes as part of their LED activities (Rogerson, 2006).

Further LED attempts are in the form of Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) by the Department of Public Works and the Urban Renewal Programmes by the national government. The former focuses on applying "labour-intensive methods to upgrade rural infrastructure and bring on board a large number of the unemployed into employment, while the latter focuses on urban renewal and targeted support for the previously disadvantaged townships under apartheid (Rogerson, 2006). The focus of EPWP on labour-intensive methods is a deliberate attempt by the government to foster development and ensure jobs and benefits for the majority of the poor people and this approach differs from the 'natural equilibrium' of the Neoclassical approach and the endorsement of capital-intensive mechanism espoused by the Product-cycle theory of local economic development (Plummer and Taylor, 2001).

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) - a proponent of neoliberal policies such as GEAR and a key player in the local economic development – influences LED through its responsibilities for Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI), Industrial Development Zones (IDZ), tax holidays, cluster initiatives and support for SMME's development (Bloch, 2000). SDI's are planning interventions devised by the national government aimed at releasing economic potential in selected areas or zones of South Africa by developing infrastructure, implementing marketing and investment strategies, reducing bureaucratic red tape, and encouraging skills training and resource building" (Rogerson, 1998). The Maputo Development Corridor between South Africa and Mozambique, the Lubombo SDI between South Africa and Swaziland; and the Durban Richards Bay Pietermaritzburg focuses on issues of agriculture, forestry, port development, mining, manufacturing, tourism and transport (Sihlongonyane, 2006: 139).

The DTI and the National Treasury, as proponents of GEAR and SDI's, do not envision much of a role for local governments in promoting economic development (Tomlinson, 2003). This is despite the notion that local government is closer to the electorates and at a better position to deliver effectively. It is further argued that regional programmes such as SDI's are prepared by central or provincial government without heed to local government LED initiatives (Tomlinson, 2003). Cities and towns within the SDI's zone benefit from the initiative by aligning their LED plans as to benefit from the SDI while anyone adjacent and outside the latter zone remain disadvantaged. It is further argued that some of the DTI's strategies actively stultify local government when it comes to LED (Tomlinson, 2003). This undermines the 'developmental' role of local

government as engraved in the Constitution with regard to LED and the fundamental nature of local economic development which is about local people and their initiatives. SDI's undermines the "bottom-up approach and participatory principle embraced in the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and in the Local Government White Paper of 1998" since they are often antagonistic to local desires and processes of participatory development (Sihlongonyane, 2006:143).

3.7 The How of Urban Branding Processes

For Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) the logic of urban branding is driven by the assumption that places are just spatially extended products that require special attention as a result of their spatiality. Therefore this means that the logic of product branding can also be applied to places. Below is a table showing different types of branding and their aspects.

Dynamics	*Product Branding*	*Corporate Branding*	*Place Branding*
When	1300 BC	mid 1990's	1970's, 80's
Brand Components	names, logos, symbols	names, logos, symbols	personalities, names, logo's, slogans, monuments, design
Functionary	marketing manager	brand managers	practitioners, consultants
Contributory elements	image, characteristics,	organisations' heritage, values, culture, people & strategy	political, economical, social,
Nature	service, merchandise, artifact	company, organisation	place, country, region, city
Budget	company's budget	corporate coffers	public/taxpayers money
Life-span	short-span	long-span	long-span
Targeted Consumers	customers,	customers, shareholders, investors	tourists, investors, students, locals
Benefits to users	functional & emotional	Functional benefits (shares, dividends)	emotional satisfaction
Benefits to producers	sales & relationship development	image,	economic growth, image
Production	manufactured, factory	Stakeholder engagement	Stakeholder engagement, produced while consumed
Competitors	other products	companies	places, cities, countries
Ownership	sole owner	Shareholders, multiple stakeholders	multiple stakeholders
Complexity	One image for various audience/consumers	One image for investors and shareholders	multifunctional, multiple images

Table 3.2: Various types of branding and their dynamics[7]

[7] Data used to create the table extracted from Guzman (2005). 'A brand Building Literature Review.' Retrieved August 20, 2008, from http://www.brandchannel.com/images/papers/257_A_Brand_Building_Literature_Review.pdf.

3.7.1 Urban Branding – The use of Culture and Events in Johannesburg

Human culture is increasingly becoming subject to commodification supplied through profit-making institutions (Kong, 2000). This epitomises the transformation from focusing on industries to focusing on culture, creativity and innovation as the source of generating wealth. Local culture is an important component of urban branding that requires investments because it helps a place seem attractive not just to tourists but to visitors who might be interested in investing their capital and skills to the local economy. Richard and Wilson (2004) also add that cultural events add life to city and give citizens renewed pride and have surfaced as a means to improve the image of the city. It is argued that branding a place especially through hosting (cultural and sports) events is cheaper than building landmarks and have good implications for local socio-economic and cultural development (Richards and Wilson, 2004).

Hannigan (2003) also concurs that events are now the new economic grail and many countries and cities are counting on events to revitalise their economically depressed areas. It is a matter of showcasing the uniqueness resources of the place. Events can be used to develop the cultural infrastructure of a place and also as a toll for local economic development and a means of augmenting the image of a city. Richards and Wilson (2004) argues that major events have an effect of shaping an image of a place leading to its favourable view as a favourable destination for tourists and investors. This branding initiative clearly has implications for LED. Negative images and events such as the xenophobic attacks and crime can also have negative effects on the image of the country and the decision-making of potential investors and visitors. The upcoming 2010 soccer World Cup in South Africa is already used to brand and market not only the country but the city of Johannesburg as the 'World-class African host city'.

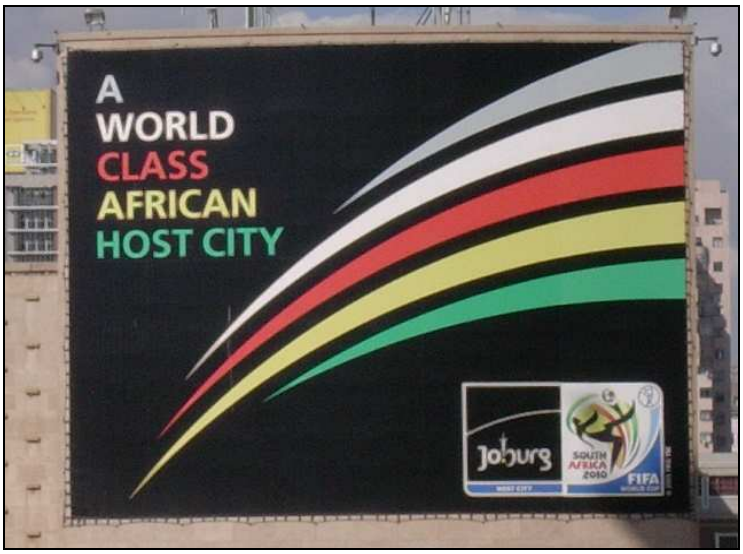


Figure 3.3: Banner in JHB Park Station showing the city as a World Class African Host City

Success in hosting the event will restore confidence, infuse development and generate wealth for the country and the city of Johannesburg (see Figure 3.3). The main challenge about images is that while the success of the events is measured by the number of visitors it attracts, the impact of images is hard to measure (Richards and Wilson, 2004). The economic impact of events is often the primary focus over the environmental, social and cultural impact.

The re-imaging of the inner city of Johannesburg through the exploitation of culture and struggle memories in the 1990's gave birth to the Newtown Cultural Precinct which is the case study of this research. According to Bremner (2000), the staging of cultural events such as the 'Arts Alive Festival' in the Newtown Cultural Precinct was used to distance the city away from racial exclusivity inherited from the apartheid government. John McCarthy problematises the notion of 'quartering' – which in Newtown is used in the form of a cultural quarter in order to enhance the image of a place and attract tourists. He argues that city quartering is always associated with the 'paradox of replication' that may "reduce the very heterogeneity that is a unique selling point for many cities" (McCarthy, 2005: 298). While cultural precincts can contribute to 'place marketing' through image enhancement, they are also capable of yielding uneven benefits and fragmenting the city. This shows again that the use of culture for economic development is more prominent than before (Greenberg, 2003), and has deeper and significant implications for LED.

Brown *et al*, (2000: 438) supports that the cultural or 'creative industries' have "become highly visible and explicitly linked to economic development." The use of culture for economic regeneration is often associated

with places suffering from the decline of industries (Brown et. al, 2000). For Guy Julier (2005), cultural quarters are risky ventures and tend to marginalise local residents. Too much focus on tourists in cultural quarters can alienate local residents and small-scale artists, musicians and informal traders can be forced to move because they can't afford rent (Hannigan, 2003; Runyan, 2006).

3.7.2 Multiple Slogans for the City of Johannesburg

Sihlongonyane (2008:92) notes that slogans are often used in development projects to attract and mobilise support in order to focus public attention on certain issues. According to Kavaratzis *et al* (2005), slogans and logos may be useful practical instruments but they warn that they are not urban branding on their own. Slogans assist in the branding and marketing of places but for some slogans can only make a short-lived difference (Pike, 2005). The matrix of slogans depicted in Figure 3.4 below is part of branding history using slogans in the city of Johannesburg. The emphasis on the 'African' on the recent slogans such as 'World-class African city' and the 'World-class African Host city' is an initiative to mobilise African people behind government initiatives and reassert the African in post-apartheid Johannesburg (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

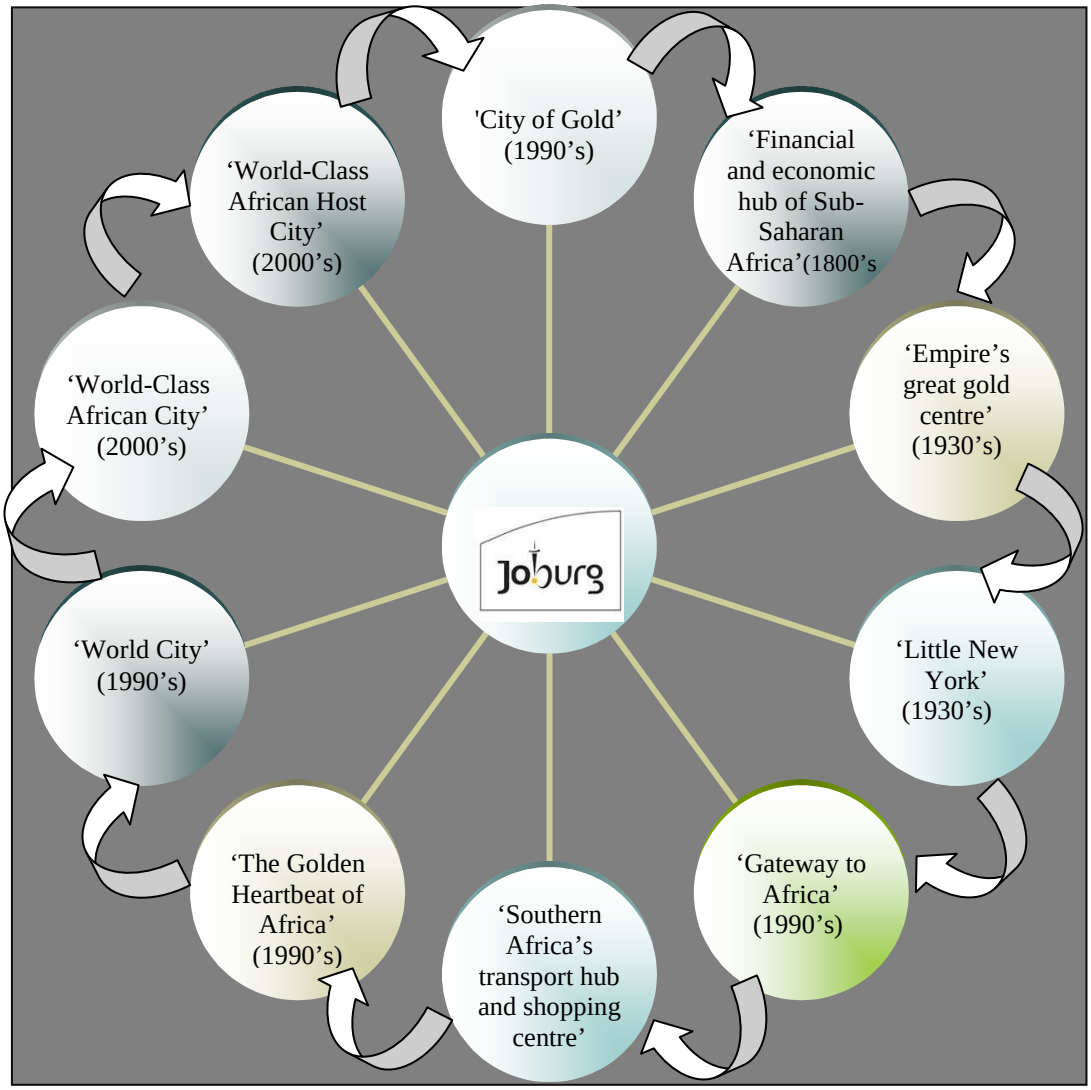


Figure 3.4: City of Johannesburg's multiple identities and slogans overtime.[8]

In the current documents like the 2008/09 Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of the city of Johannesburg, there is still reference to the 'City of Gold' slogan (City of Johannesburg, 2008). In the 1990's, the city was still referred to as the 'New York of Africa' (see Figure 3.4) (Bremner, 2000). The current 'World-class African Host City' exists concurrently with the 'City of Gold' and the 'World-class city' slogans and has been used interchangeably in the city's official documents (City of Johannesburg, 2008). Such slogans have been instrumental in repositioning and re-imaging the city of Johannesburg at local and global levels. This demonstrates that places do not have a stable identity but they have an enormous capability to assume multiple identities simultaneously and can alter its identity numerous times. The city of Johannesburg as illustrated in the above figure shows an interesting example of the adoption of multiple identities.

[8] Data extracted from Bremner, L. (2000). Reinventing the Johannesburg Inner City. Cities, vol. 17, no. 3: 186

3.7.3 Creative Cities: Monuments, Design and Street Furniture

The Newtown Cultural Precinct is one of the places that use monuments such as museums, statues of celebrities and politicians to reposition and delineate themselves from their competitors. The multimillion Mandela Bridge which connects Newtown and Braamfontein in Johannesburg is one example of a monument built to honour South Africa's former president and a world icon. According to Paul Arnott-Job "it was important to complete the bridge just in time for Mandela's birthday" (Interview, 25 August 2008).

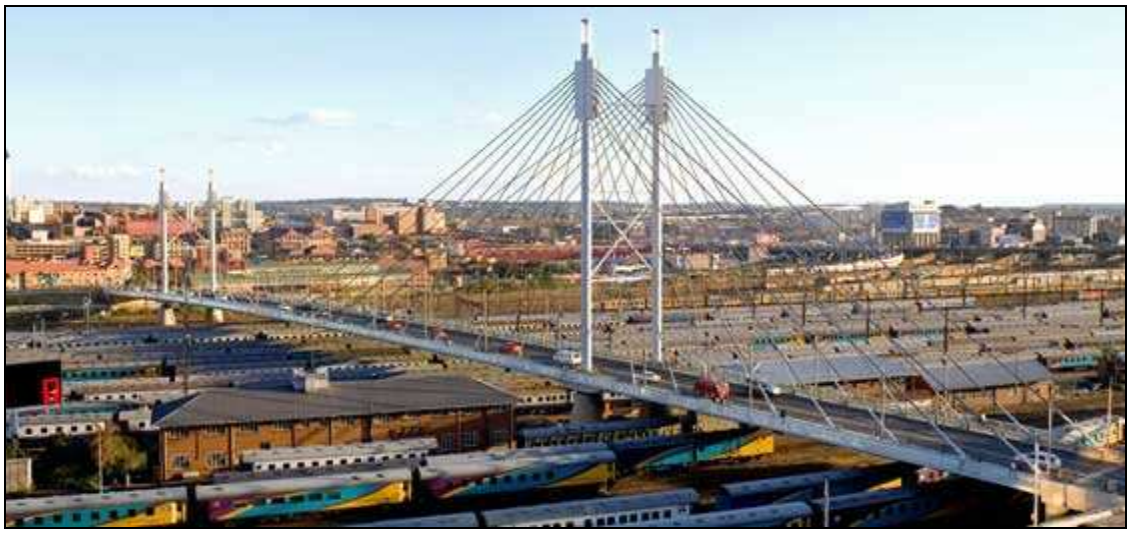


Figure 3.5: The Mandela Bridge between Newtown and Braamfontein.
Source: Davie, (2003)

The Mandela Bridge has been used to brand the city because of the wider cultural and political significance Mandela commands (Davie, 2003). While the bridge provides benefits to motorists and people who walk between Braamfontein and Newtown, the local economic impact of the bridge will be tricky to measure. Street furniture, statues and images serve to reinforce the visual evidence of improvements in the area (Trueman *et al*, 2004). Such visual images are crucial in order to add value and strengthen the brand of a place such as the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts.



Figure 3.6: Street furniture displayed in the Newtown Cultural Precinct

Bell and Jayne (2003) assert that in any post-industrial economy, design is advanced as a vital element of competitiveness. In trying to lure tourists, investors, residents and businesses, places engage in design in order to distinguish themselves from their competitors.

3.7.4 Afro-branding – African and Internationally-themed restaurants and the sale of the struggle memory

The inner city of Johannesburg and in particular Newtown, a lot of places, organisations, businesses and spaces have been branded using African names and slogans in order to enhance their images but largely to attract the rising middle class which is known for their high consumption levels. The naming of businesses, people and streets using African names is part of the trend called Afro-branding in this research. Small businesses, streets, restaurants and galleries in places like Newtown have Afro-branded themselves by using names of celebrities like Mirriam Makeba, Ntemi Piliso, Kippies Moeketsi in streets and adverts, respectively. The notion of Afro-branding is inspired by the ongoing trend of renaming in the post-apartheid South Africa. Afro-branding is used as part of rhetoric to inform companies brand identity while other entities use it "as part of their poignant illustration of their sympathies and association with the new political class" (Sihlongonyane, 2008:115).

Slogans such as 'I love Jozi' by Cell C and MTN's 'NGOKU' (highlighted in chapter one) are "fashionable slogans" meant to manipulate the potential consumer's perceptions and mental images of the city,

respectively (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). The notion behind Afro-branding and the use of such slogans is that they have a potential to appeal to the community of the inner city at large as they invoke memories of socially cohesive society forged during the struggle against apartheid. Afro-branding espouse enormous power to entice all social classes and mobilise across racial groups but more especially it seeks to re-assert the African identity in social, political, economic and spatial sense. A number of Afro-branded restaurants such as Moyo; Gramadoelas; Shivava Café; Sophiatown; distinct bookshops like Xarra; and afro-branded artwork and residences like Legae – Sotho word for home – are part of the exploitation of African languages, cultural names which signify the type of branding in the Newtown Cultural Precinct (refer to Figure 3.7 below).This shows that development planning initiatives are no longer restricted to one profession as politicians, private companies, advertisers; marketing and development consultants enter the realm previously enjoyed by planners.



Figure 3.7: African-themed restaurants located in the Newtown Cultural Precinct

The Newtown Cultural Precinct presents the use of struggle memories which is a unique approach to branding. Restaurants like Sophiatown draws a lot from the struggle against apartheid.

The food that the restaurant sells is accompanied by the artwork and images that invoke memories of the struggle against apartheid in Sophiatown. For Gilmore (2003), such restaurants represent a stage of progression in value depicted by a swing from agrarian economy based on extracting commodities, to an industrial economy founded on manufacturing goods, to a services economy based on delivering services, and now to an experience economy based on staging experiences. Sihlongonyane (2008) argues that the products, goods and services provided are simply experiences packaged in layers of perceptions for the consumer to buy.

For David Harvey (2000), it is an act of cultivating of nostalgia and the production of sanitised memories. Difficulty to regulate labour in cultural industries such as restaurants has led to the proliferation of casual labour or part-time work with no guarantee of full-time work in the future. The mass hiring of foreigners in restaurants while the majority of African people are living under poverty defeats the attempt to alter and boost the socio-economic landscape in post-apartheid South Africa. People should be encouraged to assume ownership of their culture, memories of the struggle and historical materials because this has the potential to contribute to urban economic and physical regeneration of their places (Kong, 2000). If local people feel excluded they might not act as carriers of the brand place and consequently speak ill of the place and not reiterate the values of the brand place (Julier, 2005).

3.7.5 Naming and celebrities

Mark Alleyne explores the notion of the use of celebrities by government authorities in order to achieve certain goals such as approval for their projects (Alleyne, 2005). He argues that the use of celebrities should be subject to scrutiny because the criteria under which they are chosen is often not clear especially to ordinary citizens. He however notes that associating with celebrities can raise one's profile and credibility and can elicit approval for governments' projects. According to Alleyne celebrities have the ability to mobilise across culture, race, ethnicity, business and religious cycles and can also raise money for government projects (Alleyne, 2005). The attaching of celebrity names in Newtown projects (such as the inner city 'Cultural Quarter') has the potential of raising awareness far and wide than one can think because of their fame and the crowd behind them [see Figure 4.3]. Naming of streets and buildings using celebrities and struggle heroes names is not just a political instrument of power and rule but also a powerful means by which space as a commercial resource is appropriated (Sihlongonyane, 2008).



Figure 3.8: Cartoons by Zapiro depicting the renaming and its dynamics

The renaming in branding processes is lauded with issues of identity, power and contestation. According to Sihlongonyane (2008) renaming in branding processes gives places a competitive edge and has become a means for securing contracts. It has also become a necessary thing for the reaffirmation of the African identity. The streets of Newtown have seen the names like Becker Street, Minaar Street and West Street being changed to those of musicians and artists like Mahlathini Street and Gerard Sekoto Street (Davie, 2003). These names reflect an interesting era in the post-apartheid South Africa where the names of celebrities have become central in development of spatial configurations. Jenkins (2007) attests that the changing of names is not smooth but a process that is deeply entrenched with contestations. Those who are against the renaming processes argue that it is a waste of time and a very costly process that is likely to be reversed when another political group comes to power. They argue that this process is tantamount to repeating the mistakes of the past as names will be changed again in future (Jenkins, 2007). Even though the renaming process is contested, in the streets of Newtown it is meaningful as it reflects names of musicians, poets and artists in a space regarded as a Cultural Precinct (see Figure 1.2 in chapter one).

3.8 Local Economic Development for Whom?

Authorities specifically intervene in the economy to engage in LED for various reasons but the fundamental reasons are to develop the local economy to the benefit of the poor sections of society through locally-

inspired development initiatives and partnerships between local authorities and the private sector. Other reasons may be the inducement of economic activities in an economic area that will result in a resilient and sustainable economy that will generate new jobs and ensure poverty alleviation. In South Africa the developmental role of local government inscribed in our Constitution of 1996 has been disrupted by numerous issues. Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer (2005) observed that LED processes in South African local government has been hijacked by power hungry politicians who do not care much about the fulfilling the developmental role but use LED to further their political ambitions.

LED in South Africa has been a subject of contestation between provincial government departments, local municipalities, unions, NGO's and academics (Tomlinson, 2003; Sihlongonyane, 2006). Issues of funding, lack of skills and the know-how have contributed towards derailing efforts to realise and fulfil the developmental role. The dualism that characterise LED in South Africa was induced by the concomitant government intervention to alter the socio-economic landscape inherited from apartheid government and by the adoption of GEAR as the country's macro-economic policy in 1996. Government intervention swayed LED processes towards pro-poor and GEAR strengthened the pro-business dimension of LED (Nel and Rogerson, 2005). Critics argues that despite the legislative backing of documents such as 1994 RDP, the 1996 Constitution, the 1998 Local Government White Paper, and the 2000 Local Government Municipal Systems Act for local government to pursue pro-poor LED, the latter dimension have been continually undermined by the prevailing neo-liberal environment together with the DTI's market-based top-down interventions (Tomlinson, 2003).

3.9 Branding for Whom? - The Pursuit of Profit, Exclusions and the Culture of Consumption in Post-Apartheid Johannesburg

Urban branding can surely be useful development and have good implications for economic growth (Lodge, undated). Conversely, urban branding processes create spatial configurations that seem to benefit the middle-class and private companies from the increased culture of consumption while the poor are continually marginalised and excluded. The blind pursuit of profit using local people's history and struggle memories through processes that lead to the taming of the place to develop naturally, have adverse effects for the development of the local people and the local economy. Branding of spaces using public funds is suppose to benefit the larger public but the majority of the poor people seem to be the most affected because of the mass exploitation of their culture by private companies.

African-themed restaurants offer part-time employment & hires foreigners as compared to locals. Chang (2000) suggests that imposition of brands and themes on places by planners unintentionally freeze the natural identity of a place, cripple its prospective to evolve organically while incarcerating the future of a place to a predetermined narrative. When images and monuments are used it is often difficult to measure their impacts on the local economy.

In Newtown urban branding processes incorporate political and historical images and monuments into economic processes by using immaterial factors such as the investment in struggle identities. This is a cause for concern for Sihlongonyane (2008) because of the danger of branding processes to transform people into tourists of their own cultural history in the market economy. In the Main Street Precinct, despite the investment by the city council in the refurbishment of the street, business practices define and decide the use of spatial configurations in the precinct. People such as the poor, the homeless, beggars and informal traders are excluded from conducting their activities in the precinct and this is enforced through technological surveillance and the presence of security personnel in the area. These forms of exclusions ignore the fact that part of the money used to regenerate the place comes from the coffers of the public.

3.10 Conclusion

Urban branding is dominated by professionals and remains a challenge for government officials but has been seen reflecting itself in LED initiatives through aspects of city marketing and the use of culture over the years. The use of consultants which are not grounded on urban settings and lack institutional memory is not healthy for rejuvenating public participation and ensuring that all stakeholders' inputs are accommodated in the creation of the brand through the consultant. It is even more challenging if the consultant is from a foreign place. The legitimising of projects by using celebrities and politicians who commands great respect in the community and worldwide, suppresses the possibility of contesting the branding process in case there are injustices. LED experiences in South Africa reveal the dominance of officials and institutions (government and business) in conceptualising and implementing initiatives for the people instead of serving as facilitators and encourage mass involvement of local people.

The dual-approach to LED has not been good for the constructive approach towards addressing the most pressing and urgent needs of the majority of poor people. This approach to LED has proven to be ineffective towards the development of the locality in South African cities.

The provincial-municipal power struggle for control of the locality which demonstrates itself in the development of DTI initiatives such as SDI's, have stultified local development by undermining the 'developmental role' of local government engraved in the Constitution, the bottom-up approach and the participatory principle embraced in the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and in the Local Government White Paper of 1998. Aligning the plans of local government with the provincial plans as to get funding can result in difficulty to challenge acts of injustices such as environmental degradation in case they arise out of the projects.

A number of professionals such as marketing and development consultants, designers, advertisers, radio professionals and private companies are now doing planning work. Image enhancement, street furniture, urban debates and design are now part of the urban narrative that defines spaces and the kind of behaviour, people and businesses required in that particular space. CID's in the city of Johannesburg have been implementing planning policies on behalf local government. Areas previously reserved by planners are now the realm of consultants, private individuals, international companies, politicians and celebrities. All these layers of urban branding mentioned above have implications for the local economic development of places. Culture, historical buildings, material and the struggle memory is gaining importance in city planning compared to traditional industries.

CHAPTER FOUR: BRANDING AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MAIN STREET AND NEWTOWN CULTURAL PRECINCTS.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the processes of LED and urban branding in Newtown. Both case studies are located in the inner city of Johannesburg which has been seen by many to be experiencing extensive decline in the economy since the 1970's (Bremner, 2000). According to the Inner City Position Paper (2001), the decline was driven by a process of decentralisation and factors such as crime and grime, congestion, and inadequate facilities. The paper describes the inner city as part of Region F, consisting of the City Centre, often called the Central Business District, the lower density residential areas to the east of the City Centre such as Yeoville, Bertrams, Troyeville, Braamfontein, Jeppestown, the higher density suburbs of Berea and Hillbrow, and the areas of Newtown, Fordsburg and Pageview/Vredorp to the west of Newtown (Inner City Paper, 2001). The reason for choosing the Newtown Cultural Precinct and Main Street Precinct as case studies is because they are both part of the inner city and they both epitomise the city council's conscious effort to boost local economic development and to alter the negative perceptions of urban decay. This chapter starts by mapping-out the history of the case studies to appreciate the evolution of local economic development and branding processes and how they have influenced each other over the time.

4.2 History of Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts

The following is a historical account of both the Main Street and the Newtown Cultural Precincts to show how the activities of the past have influenced and defined the path of development today. The chapter also engages the social, economical and political configurations in both areas.

4.2.1 The Newtown Cultural Precinct

Newtown is an area situated in the western part of the centre of the city of Johannesburg. This area extends from the marshalling yards and railway lines to the north, President Street in the south, West Street in the east and Quinn Street in the west (Joburg, undated). It was originally known as the Brickfields in the 1900's and subsequently called Burghersdorp and later became known as Newtown (Joburg, undated). Newtown earned the name Brickfields because of the large endowments with layers of clay which was used by number

poor people occupying the area to earn a living through brick-making. Sihlongonyane (2008) believes the brick-makers in the area were largely poor people who were unable to get work in the mines. The first informal settlements in the area dates as far back as the late 1800's (Joburg, undated). The dwellers of Burghersdorp lived in shabby and unsanitary conditions and were subjected to the discriminatory and ruthless policies of the apartheid government. Moving people to an area called Klipspruit in Soweto became one of the solutions for the ruling apartheid government at the time (Joburg, undated).

Sihlongonyane (2008) narrates Newtown during the 1950's to the early 1960's as an area characterised by thriving events in terms of industries and various economic activities such as the abattoir and the power station amongst others. He also notes that Newtown was also affected by the relapse of the Johannesburg inner city from the late 1970s onwards and many buildings were left neglected by defecting businesses which found refuge in the leafy suburbs of Johannesburg. Safety concerns and mass violations of traffic laws and land-use regulations that were sparked by the abolition of the racial and discriminatory Influx Control laws induced numerous businesses and potential investors to focus somewhere else rather than the inner city (Abel, 1995). It is further argued that the majority of white residents followed suit as well.

Important historical events (political and economical) have defined the trajectory and the nature of development that both the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct were to assume in the post-apartheid era [see maps in Figure 1.2 and 4.2]. The post-apartheid developments in both Newtown and Main Street reflect the continual digging of nostalgia. The symbolic space in Newtown now called Mary Fitzgerald Square is part of the process of digging and reviving nostalgic memories. Mandy (1984), relates that Mary Fitzgerald emerged as a socialist-inspired champion to many in Newtown because of her contribution in politics at the time when strikes and political confrontations with the government were rife. She is remembered for her heroic moments such as organising a large number of women to lie on the tram tracks in order to prevent scab drivers from manning the trams. She also became the city's first female councillor in South Africa (Ntuli, 2007).

Today the Mary Fitzgerald Square is a thriving centre for various activities such as festivals, company exhibitions, cultural events and promotions captured in Table 4.1 below. For Sfiso Ntuli "the Mary Fitzgerald Square is nothing but a piece of concrete in the centre.

Besides a lone, massive television screen that is mostly watched by security guards working in the area, there is nothing remarkable about the square …" (Ntuli, 2007). This makes one wonder what might have happened to the political engagements and rallies that used to take place in the area. Does this mean that regeneration is always synonymous with exclusions and sanitisation of public spaces?

The area that used to be the source of economic activities such as brick-making and employment for poor people is now occupied by the Brickfields R100-million high- and low-rise housing project built in the early 2000's. The Brickfields housing project is part of a partnership between the city council, banks such as ABSA, mining giants such as Anglo Gold and Anglo American, JP Morgan, and the US Agency for International Development. The project provides accommodation for between 2 500 and 3 000 people and rentals are between R800 a month for a one-bedroom flat and R1500 a month for a townhouse unit (Pincus, 2005). The residence has assumed a life of its own in that "most of the people living [t]here [Brickfields] are of middle-class with good jobs and driving nice and expensive cars," says Tshidi Dikgale [9](Interview, 21 August, 2008). It largely caters for middle-class residents which are far different from the earlier classes that constituted the population that once inhabited Newtown.

Naming the place Brickfields reflects the current trend of commodification of the struggle memory and history of the early residents of Newtown. The private-public partnership between the private sector, foreign governments, aid agency and the city council does not involve the residents who were marginalised by the government of the time and moved to unsanitary conditions in Klipspruit in Soweto. The current residents are largely Black middle-class and this undermines the mixed-race environment that characterised Brickfields in the 1900's.

4.2.2 The Main Street Precinct

The Main Street Precinct is no doubt one of the most important places in the city of Johannesburg in terms of heritage. The precinct runs from corner of Main and Eloff Streets to Main and Ntemi Piliso Streets [see Figure 4.1]. Part of the precinct harbours the famous main Square which with the help of the JDA and the CJP was transformed from Van der Bijl Square into the thriving and buzzing Gandhi Square (Davie, 2005). The Van der Bijl Square was characterised by signs of urban decay as it was home to criminals and the homeless.

[9] Tshidi Dikgale is a young black female working for a prosperous bank in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Davie (2005) relates that the CJP – a Section 21 Company established in 1998 to manage City Improvement Districts (CID) in the inner city of Johannesburg – started the redevelopment of the street.

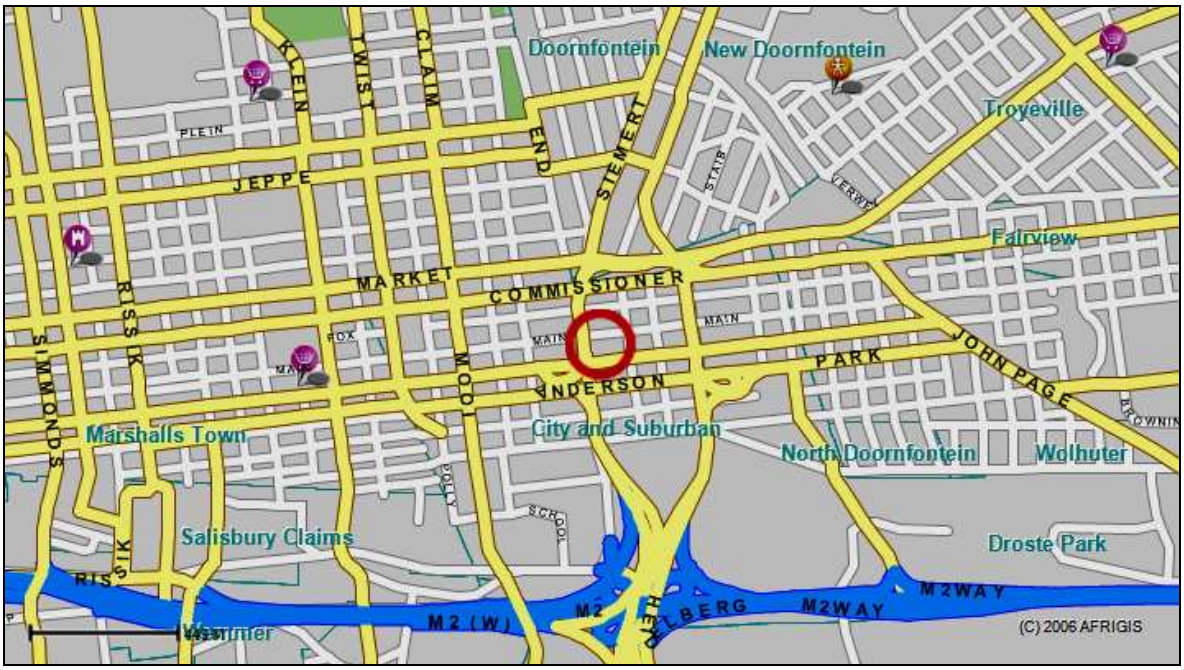


Figure 4.1: Map of the inner city of Johannesburg with Main Street circled in red.

He notes that the city council of Johannesburg provided the initial capital for the refurbishment of the Main Street Precinct and the rest of the funding was raised from property owners in the area. In total, the city council contributed about R2-million and the private sector invested a share of R13-million in the regeneration of Main Street (Davie, 2005). The street was redesigned to limit vehicular access and allow space for broad sidewalks and permit for open air coffee shops and internationally-themed and afro-branded restaurant such as Nino's, Cappello and Shivava Café in Figure 4.2 below.



Figures 4.2: African and Internationally-themed restaurants in the Main Street Precinct

The Main Street Precinct prides itself with lighting which is based on the historic 19th century city light standards and the heritage buildings and materials that relate to the mining industry. The Heritage presents a mining theme which complements the engrossment of mining houses such BHP Billiton, Anglo Platinum, Anglo Gold, Goldfields and the Chamber of Mines which operates in the buildings that line the street (Davie, 2005). Numerous cultural and historical artifacts such as the 120-year-old Langlaagte stamp battery[10], the impala stampede, the mining steel headgear and the replica of the Mapungubwe gold rhino complements the mining houses as they beautifully decorate the street (Davie, 2005).

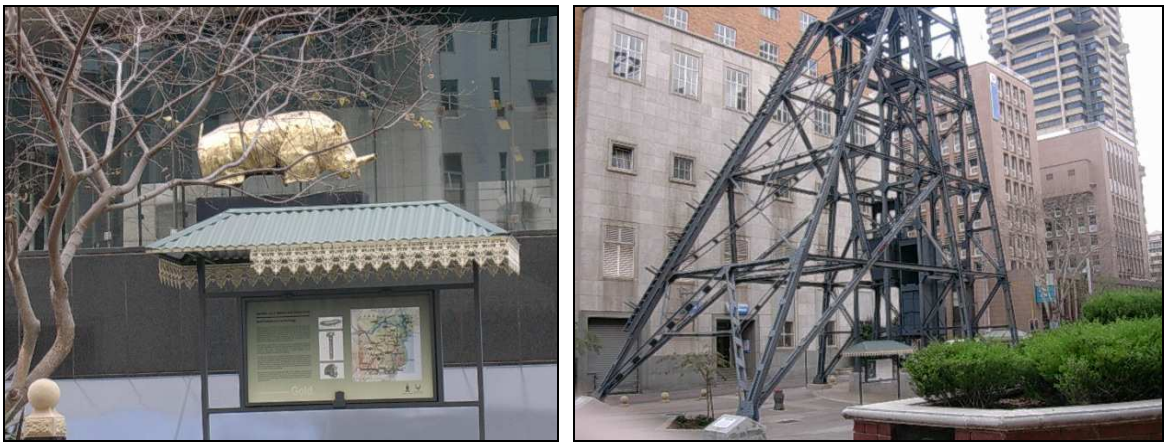


Figure 4.3: The replica of the Mapungubwe gold rhino and the huge mining steel headgear in Main Street.

4.3 Precincts, Quarters and CID's: The Case of Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts

Since the 1990's, Newtown and the Main Street Precinct have been experiencing recurrent physical developments in terms of infrastructure, renaming, street furniture improvements, monumentalisation, graffiti as act of revitalising the city. These LED activities have implications for the branding and repositioning the city of Johannesburg as a 'World-Class African city'. A number of organisations such as the CJP, the Blue IQ[11] and the JDA operating under the Section 21 company regulations have been in the lead of developments in Newtown and Main Street and the city at large. These agencies have been operating as specialists and consultants, implementing branding and local economic development projects on behalf of the city.

[10] The 120-year-old Langlaagte stamp battery is a machine brought to the Witwatersrand in 1886 and used to crush gold-bearing rock extracted from the earth.

[11] Blue IQ is a provincial government initiative designed to unlock the growth potential of key sectors such as Tourism, Manufacturing, logistics and Information and communication Technology. Source: http://www.blueiq.co.za/index.php?pid=411&ct=1&gid=1

This shows and confirms the notion that the public sector is sluggish to address issues of place marketing and branding and often prefers to focus on issues of governance (Trueman *et. al*, 2004). The complicatedness of the projects has confined the city to matters of administration and regulation while companies, consultants and specialists act in collaboration with the private sector to implement CID's, cultural quarters and precincts.

Local economic development in the city of Johannesburg remains the mandate of the Economic Development Unit (EDU) located in Braamfontein while branding processes in the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct – which requires extensive marketing knowledge – remain the responsibility of the private sector, consultants, and specialists from JDA, Blue IQ and CJP and even foreign governments. Table 4.1 below shows numerous sponsors of events which include foreign governments, foreign and local companies such Standard Bank, ABSA, Greek and Chinese embassy which are all involved in the branding of the Newtown Cultural Precinct through various events.

Event	Sponsor	Organisation Type
Annual Chinese New Year Celebrations	Chinese Embassy	Foreign Government
Dipvali Celebrations	Indian Embassy	Foreign Government
Africa Day Celebrations	NEPAD and AU	African Governance Institutions
Greek Festival	Greek Embassy	Foreign Government
South America Festival	Mix of South American missions	Foreign missions
'Stuff for your house' exhibition showcasing SMME's creating home décor arts and crafts.	In partnership with DTI, Tourism Enterprise, Proudly South African and DAC	South African Government departments
Domestic Tourism Exhibition	Self-funding in partnership with SA Tourism, nine provincial tourism authorities and DEAT	South African Government departments
Mary Fitzgerald Square Urban Extreme monthly event showcasing skate-boarding, rock-climbing, BMX, rollerblading, absailing, etc	Play, Red Bull, Nike, Reebok etc	Private companies
Monthly themed Film Festival (e.g. Bollywood, Manga etc)	Various international Governments (e.g. Japan to sponsor Manga Festival)	Foreign governments
Art in a Car Exhibition	Motor Industry Association of South Africa	Private institution
Retail Ready to wear Fashion Week	Coke Light	Private company
Host annual RAPS festival finals	Department of Education	South African Government department

Annual Puppetry Showcase	French Government	Foreign government
Love Life events and promotions	Love-Life	Local youth organisation

Table 4.1: Table showing events and their various sponsors in the Newtown Cultural Precinct
Source: Data extracted from the JDA Greater Newtown Development Business Plan: Version July 2004

Schaller and Modan (2005) acknowledge the positive contributions of CID's and Business Improvement Districts to improving management, competitiveness, strategic repositioning of downtowns, transformation of urban landscapes and reconfiguration of the meaning and uses of public spaces but argues that they recurrently engender contestations over what it means to act like a 'good citizen' and the 'appropriate' use of public space.

Unlike product and corporate branding, public spaces consist of various and sometimes conflicting stakeholders different backgrounds and socio-political beliefs that influence the meaning of good citizen and what is appropriate. Similar to Phil Hubbard's (2006) notion of how the presence of cars in an area produces a city, the sponsoring of events by foreign companies and governments in the Newtown Cultural Precinct influence the spatial configuration and what is appropriate behavior in Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts. While getting more sponsors is good since it reflects some level of international interest in the area, it also increases the number of stakeholders and their notions of what constitute the good and acceptable behavior in business and cultural precincts. This may lead to the difficulty of producing a unified brand experience (Morgan, 2005). Notions of crime prevention, place marketing, paved sidewalks, international, urban design, world-class, and parks tend to dominate precincts and quarters. Management is the main focus as opposed to service delivery (Levy, 2001). The major economic activities in Newtown and Main Street are largely divorced from service delivery issues of the community but are rather customer-orientated and cultural and historical activities seems to be the dominant factor in generating the economy (Levy, 2001).

Clubs	Hospitality	Manufacturing	Creative/commercial Industries	Tourism	Retail
Kippies Carfax Nikkei's Horror Café Bassline Politburo Ministry of sound	Specialized food Hotel and conferencing Restaurants Coffee shops Bars Gramadoelas Shivava Café Moyo Couch and coffee Exhibition display	Crafts Art products Musical instruments Interior decoration products Clothing (linked to Fashion District) Furniture	Advertising Events Management Film Photography Recording Publishing IT Craft Electronics Interior Design Jewellery Supermarket Infrastructural Organisation NGO's	Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) Museum Shop Gift shop Visitors Centre	Books CD shops Dance Fashion Art Props

Table 4.2: Socio-economic activities in Newtown
Source: JDA Greater Newtown Development Business Plan: Version July 2004

Unlike Newtown, the Main Street Precinct local economy is dominated by mining companies and property as opposed to emphasising on cultural activities. The Main Street Precinct is not conducive to the evening entertainment activities partly because of the mining and government offices that are located in the area and the high level of crime in the adjacent areas. Levy (2001), claims that in post-apartheid South Africa City Improvement Districts are being planned to stabilise city centers confronting revolutionary change and White flight. The nature of violence and drunkenness that accompanies the evening entertainment activities can do a disservice to the image of the area and thus reverse the good perceptions that have been achieved so far about the precinct itself.

The Newtown Cultural Precinct encompasses a mixture of night and daytime activities and the latter activities have been very instrumental in generating the evening economy and boosting the possibilities of making Johannesburg a 24-hour city (refer to Table 4.2). Chatterton and Hollands (2002) acknowledge that the expansion of place into a nightlife zone creates a lot of opportunities for the place but also limits opportunities for alternative independent and traditional spaces which can challenge the market-based forms of consumption. They further argue that nightlife economies come in a prepackaged form and as something that happens to people as opposed to something that people participate in. Nightlife economies are dominated by instances of high level of consumption and drunkenness. In other words they create no spaces for individual participation and application of oneself. These instances lead to the creation of 'palaces of drunkenness' and 'consumption destinations' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002).

4.4 The Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts: Presentation of Research Findings and Analysis

This part of Chapter four is a presentation of findings and analysis of both the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct. The open-ended interviews comprises of six residents from the recently refurbished flats of Newtown called Bricksfield, Phumulani and Legae; two officials from the JDA; three officials of the city of Johannesburg – including a Member of the Mayoral Committee; Two art hawkers in the Newtown Cultural Precinct; four managers and supervisors from the four restaurants; one official from the CJP; one official from Kaya FM radio station; and two officials from the GTA.

4.4.1 African Culture: The Dominant Paradigm for Development in Post-apartheid Johannesburg

The Newtown Cultural Precinct is a stimulating place to visit both during the day and at night but like any other places in the city of Johannesburg, can be challenging for a researcher who harbours the bad perceptions of crime and violence which contained in the daily newspapers and other media sources. It is almost towards the end of winter in Johannesburg, the atmosphere and people are preparing for ushering of spring. The main reception of Kaya FM – a local radio station located in the premises of the Newtown Cultural Precinct – is characterised by artwork reflecting an African flare and images of the city landmarks such as the Mandela Bridge and an African woman depicted as an informal trader The furniture in the studios adjacent to the waiting area is a slight contrast to the African flare dominating the studio. Office chairs, tiling, lighting, equipment and the studio furniture resembles that found in a modern corporate environment.

From the waiting area one has a clear view of the famous Mary Fitzgerald Square, an area dedicated to Mary Fitzgerald for her contribution to local politics. A team of men in white and green uniform is preparing a set of big white tents for an annual Jazz event sponsored by Standard Bank. An official working as a researcher for GTA believes that “the Joy of Jazz is one of the most rewarding events that draws a lot of people in Newtown but it draws particular people of middle class” (Interview, 19 August, 2008). This can be problematic in that such events creates exclusionary spaces that prevent the majority of people from enjoying images reflecting their cultures and it is in contrast to the notion of creating spaces that encourages public interaction and participation.

Afro-branded and internationally- themed restaurants are also competing for customers in the same building that the station is operating in. According to Sihlongonyane (2008), places projecting an African flare such as

(afro-branded) places, restaurants, and other spaces are often marked by the presence of upper or middle classes with social lifestyles denoted by an astonishing pattern of consumption which is too expensive and too extravagant for the poor. He continues to argue that there are numerous afro-branded restaurants which sell the African food brands at highly ridiculous prices. Certain segments of the population then find themselves left out from accessing such services on the basis of affordability. "[afro-branded] restaurants offer a unique African experience … but I have a problem with the way they position themselves. They tend to focus more on international standards and their prices tend to be higher for local low-income earners who cannot afford R50 a plate everyday" (Interview, 19 August, 2008). This can lead to the fostering of some elements of paranoid urbanism in which the values of the middle class are well represented and those of lower classes eliminated (Sihlongonyane, 2008).

In the words of Sipho Dube the "emphasis on African names and restaurants is being overdone and price is being used to discriminate against the poor people because they [restaurants] charge the same as restaurants in the suburbs. Their target market is surely not ordinary and low-income citizens depicted in the African images on the walls of restaurants" (Interview, 19 August, 2008). The African flare at the reception of Kaya FM which was noted earlier contradicts the audience profile of the radio station and it is deceiving in that on seeing it one immediately conjures up images of a place that is open to ordinary and poor people. The station "targets mature and sophisticated listener[s]… audience – which is aspirational, ambitious, success-driven and well-educated. [Kaya FM] listeners are goal driven and have got a high level of awareness of their African heritage. Kaya listeners have buying power and form part of the top earning income bracket". The majority (22.7 percent) of the radio station's target audience earns between R6 000 and R9 999 and 19.3 percent earns between R10 000 and R 15 999 and lastly, 18.6 percent earns from R16 000 upwards (Kaya FM, 2008).

This shows that the main focus is on middle-class and it confirms that culture (especially African culture), history and memories are increasingly being used by private businesses not as a panacea to economic ills of the locality but as commodities for self-enrichment. This undermines the collective effort behind the construction of culture and the history of the area and it also reduces culture to an add-on entity as opposed to a dominant pillar of development like the economic, social and environmental pillars (Mills, 2003). For Lael Bethlehem the dominance of Afro-branded restaurants in Newtown "was not a deliberate outcome. That is the nature of the Newtown market. But we are delighted as it celebrates our heritage and links to the idea of

[the Newtown] cultural quarter" (Interview via e-mail, 10 September, 2008). The main concern is that the African culture is so dominant that it will be difficult for other cultures to surface in the near future.

The "theming of places depends on the predominant features of the place like in New York they have the Spanish Quarter, Chinatown … and Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville can be suitable for an African Quarter because of the large population of diverse African nationals" says Lebo Ramoreboli[12] (Interview, 22 August, 2008). Quartering on the basis of culture should accommodate and celebrate all existing cultures in the public space. For Councillor Mathang[13] the dominant African cultural element is not an unintended consequence but "Newtown is a cultural hub and its strength is that it relates to the World-Class African … [city initiative] because the culture that is dominant there is African" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). He further stressed that "When you go there [Newtown] you find u-mzumbe, you see visual public art that link to the African Ubuntu … so it links [to the world-class African initiative] in that we showcase what Africans do and what Africanism is all about" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). The celebration of the dominant culture at the expense of other cultures might lead to some forms of exclusion, superiority for the dominant culture and unequal access to the public space.

The continual reference to the concepts of African experience, culture and Ubuntu in planning interventions and city regeneration plans in the Newtown Cultural Precinct points to the resurgence of the sanitised African themes and names in the form of afro-brands. These developments (including the renaming of streets in Newtown and the inner city) calls into question the belief stressed by Lindsay Bremner (2004) when she argues that the city of Johannesburg dropped the term 'African' in its city initiatives partly because of the troubled associations with the term. In the words of Sibongiseni Tshabalala, "The world-class African initiative binds all of us. We all need to be committed towards the realisation of this initiative" (Interview, 26 August, 2008). According to Councillor Mathang, "the public art in Europe resembles white culture and the public art, vibe and excellence in Newtown builds up to this World-class African city" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). This notion is also shared by Lebo Ramoreboli who said that "the renaming of streets in Newtown using African names reflects the cultural background of the city of Johannesburg" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). Figure 3.2.3 in chapter three also shows that the reference to the term 'African' has never been dropped but has

[12] Lebo Ramoreboli is a programme manager for Inner City and CBD's Economic Development in the Economic Development Unit of the City of Johannesburg.
[13] Councillor Ruby Mathang is a Member of the Mayoral Committee and a councillor of Orlando in the City of Johannesburg. He is responsible for the Development Planning and Urban Management department and he heads Region F.

been used interchangeably by the city in slogans such as 'Gateway of Southern Africa' and The Golden Heartbeat of Africa' in the 19th century to 'World-Class African City' and 'World-Class African Host City' in the 21stCentury (Rogerson, 1996; Beaverstock and Taylor, 1999; Bremner, 2000; Rogerson, 2004). The post-apartheid South Africa has seen the resurgence of the 'African' and this has been necessary for Africans to reassert and distinguish themselves through development initiatives and forge relations with other African countries.

4.4.2 Reversing Crime and Grime through Regeneration: A Frantic Plea to Bring Back White People, Businesses and Residents

Both the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct are located in the inner city of Johannesburg and they never escaped the unfortunate disappearance of local manufacturing, periodic financial crises of local authorities and consequent decay (City of Johannesburg Website, 2008). The post-apartheid regeneration efforts by the city of Johannesburg through JDA, CJP and Blue IQ are part of the initiatives to reverse the urban decay so as to attract businesses, residents and vibrancy back to the inner city. According to Paul Arnott-Job "Graeme Reid [the former CEO of JDA] always wanted to get Anglo-Gold Ashanti to the Turbine Hall in Newtown… he [Graeme] thought that this will be good for the area" (Interview, 25 August, 2008).

The "developments that are happening in Newtown and the need to be closer to people who could not access the station" is one of the major reasons why Kaya FM moved from the leafy suburbs of Rosebank to the Newtown Cultural Precinct, said Sipho Dube[14] (Interview, 19 August, 2008). The "station wanted to be part of the rejuvenation of the city" [and relocating to Newtown has helped to] "change the bad perceptions about the place and the inner city because people of all colours now come and visit the station and we take them for an inner city tour to show them around" (Interview, 19 August, 2008). Indeed the station is very influential in the regeneration of the Newtown Cultural Precinct and it does this through branding initiatives such as advertising, hosting events, debates and talk shows, and changing perceptions through a magazine called 'Afropolitan'. The majority of the residents interviewed in Newtown did not see the significance of the statues or buildings but they mentioned the proximity of transport as a reason why they moved to the

[14] Sipho Dube is a black male in his late thirties and works for Kaya FM as a Marketing and Research Specialist

Newtown flats. Issues of livelihood were their main concern. Daphney Manamela[15] mentioned that "the reason why I moved to Newtown was because it is closer to the Bree taxi rank" where she gets transport to places where she searches for work (Interview, 20 August, 2008).

For Linda "the GTA came to Newtown from Rosebank four years ago. The reasons behind the relocation were to bring information closer to people and be in the heart of the inner city as well. Relocating was also a response to the call to bring back companies to the inner city. Companies like Anglo-Gold Ashanti have since relocated to Newtown" (Interview, 19 August, 2008). The presence of a government department in the Newtown Cultural Precinct can be seen as an attempt to attract normal users of the space and rubber-stamp the regeneration developments. Part of it can be seen as a strategic move to fend-off the bad perceptions of crime and grime while showing that Newtown is as safe as Rosebank where the GTA used to be. These bad perceptions and safety concerns are what might have "prevented my friends from the North from not coming to my farewell party at Cappello," said Fiona Siegenthaler a student from Switzerland (Interview, 29 August, 2008).

4.4.3 The Experience Economy: The New Development Paradigm?

In chapter two it was argued that cities are making comebacks even when the industries they were built on have become obsolete. This comeback takes a very rare trend in that through branding processes they generate their revenue and compete through what Pine and Gilmore termed the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmore, 2002). Experience economy is a new strand of economy that evolved from regarding commodities, goods and services as the central focus of the economy to focusing on the notion of 'experience' and the value it endows goods and services (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Unlike when a customer buys a product and receives something tangible and real, cities and businesses relying in an experience economy provides nothing tangible but a set of intangible activities to their customers. Customers and visitors of a city or place are subjected to an intangible memorable experience which they have to pay for (Pine and Gilmore, 2002).

Numerous restaurants in cities around the world rely on staging experiences in order to generate their incomes. The Hard Rock Café in London fuses rock music with food service in order to create a unique dining experience (Pine and Gilmore, 2002).

[15] Daphney Manamela is a female resident of Phumulani Gardens – a residential area in Newtown.

Numerous Afro-branded restaurants like Sophiatown, Moyo, Shivava Cafe in the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct stages a combination of traditional food, Jazz music and artwork with elements of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa for their customers. Sophiatown is a very stylish restaurant with classic furniture and African artwork that resembles life in Sophiatown in the 1960's decorating the walls. Walking into the restaurant one's attention is invited by Mandela's image which is also part of the artwork decorating the walls of the restaurant.

On seeing the image, a customer can easily associate the restaurant with the cultural and political developments involving the icon. This is a common trend in fashionable restaurants, shops, government and corporate offices. Playing in the background is classical and contemporary Jazz music of Mirriam Makeba, Sello Galane, Jimmy Dludlu, Thandiswa Mazwai, Hugh Masekela and other famous jazz musicians. All traditional food is served in old zinc plates and traditional dishes signifying Sophiatown life in the 1960's. The Sophiatown restaurant is owned by two black brothers in their mid-thirties. Customers sitting outside have an opportunity to view the artwork and street furniture lining the street. Even though most of the customers – both black and white – are clad in casual clothes with few of those in suits, they speak in English and appear to be of middle class The "restaurant serves all races and classes," says Sam, one of the Sophiatown managers in his mid-twenties (Interview, 13 August, 2008). For Nhlanhla "customers of all races come here but it is mostly white, middle-aged and old people who come in this place" (Interview, 20 August, 2008).

Writing in the 1980's, Jean Baudrillard argues that the context around the World War II is characterised by the collapse of the 'binary oppositions' that distinguished between reality and fantasy, concept and precept, real meaning and appearance. It is argued that in the postmodern world, the relation between the sign and reality is disturbed and the signs, words, and codes assume a life of their own without any clear relation to a real world of objects (Seidman, 2004). Baudrillard calls this the era of the 'Simulacrum.' He defines the 'simulacra' as signs that function as replicas of authentic objects or events. He further states that post-modernity is characterised around such simulations which are taken as more real than the truth they are supposed to represent (Thompson, 1992). The simulations in the Sophiatown restaurant also characterise the collapse of the real Sophiatown as the 'simulacra' a life of its own divorced from the real.

The experiences accompanying the sale of food are neither real nor tangible but they add value to an ordinary meal or cup of coffee. In the words of Thulani "these restaurants are not a real thing but they are trying to teach people about life back then in Sophiatown," says Thulani with his Rastafarian accent and attire

(Interview, 20 August, 2008). Shivava Café at the Main Street Precinct has uneasy reference to Shangaan traditional food, poetry and music while one of the traditional dishes in a restaurant called Gramadoelas in Newtown is labeled 'Mandela's favourite dish.' The Brickfields residence in Newtown is a simulation of the early life during the 1900's in Burghersdorp which is now called Newtown. The residence has assumed a life of its own in that "most of the people living here [Brickfields] are of middle-class with good jobs and driving nice and expensive cars," says Tshidi Dikgale [16](Interview, 21 August 2008).

4.4.4 Formalising the Informal: The Privatisation of Public Spaces

The dominance of profit-motivated corporate business in the branding of places deprives the poor people, informal traders, individual and informal artists, and local resident's space to participate in the decision-making processes of place branding. Russell Thomas[17]confirmed that "private owners [in places like the Main Street Precinct] decide on their own to form a CID and then come to us [CJP] so we can manage it for them. We help them by collecting rent from operators, providing cleaners, security and by reporting to council faulty street lights and anything that falls within their responsibility and they pay us a certain levy on services rendered" (Interview, 10 September, 2008). In the case of Main Street Precinct, CID's and the private owners are left to decide and define what constitute the behavior in a public space. It is only those who conform to the rules of the place that are allowed to use the space.

The concern about the mass formalisation of the image of the city displaces the diversity provided by the informality. The informal users of the space find themselves locked out of the places owned by the CID's. People like Fiona Siegenthaler who "enjoy going to downtown because of the vibrancy and diversity [offered by places] packed of people of all colours" (Interview, 29 August, 2008), gets deprived of such when they visit heavily guarded formal places like the Main Street Precinct. For Charles Moyo, "getting a space to work at Gandhi Square for my business proved to be difficult" (Interview, 21 August, 2008). While Shivava Café relocated to Gandhi Square because of "the place is located next to the transport and people can stay until late without fear of missing transport" said a shy Ntsako, who works as one of the managers for Shivava Café at Gandhi Square (Interview, 27 July, 2008).

[16] Tshidi Dikgale is a young black female working for a prosperous bank in the inner city of Johannesburg.
[17] Russell Thomas is the General Manager Operations for Central Johannesburg Partnerships

The irony arising from Afro-branding places, properties and spaces is that while they are portrayed as welcoming and accessible to everyone, it is only certain people, events, slogans, names and forms of behaviors which are targeted for certain spaces. Businesses which do not meet the criteria and standards set, people not falling in the category targeted, informal trading, street vendors find themselves excluded and discriminate against from using such spaces. Thulani - a Rastafarian art-seller who comes from Dobsonville, Soweto – is a victim of the violent operations waged by the city's authorities against the informal traders. He had his artwork taken away by police before he came to the Newtown Cultural Precinct. Newtown "is ok for me and it is a safe place to work in. I came here from downtown Johannesburg running away from the Metro Police who use to chase us around and take our things," says the beleaguered Thulani (Interview, 20 August, 2008).

According to an official working as an Urban Inspector from Region F municipality, "this is the only region in the whole city which has specialists seconded to us. We have about eighty JMPD [Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department] working under the region" (Interview, 26 August, 2008). The police help the region to enforce the city's by-laws by removing illegal informal traders around the city. Our "main goal is to clean the city and take it back to its former glory. If people are not compliant and whatever they are doing is illegal, we will enforce and remove them and it is not our mandate to find them alternative accommodation," states Sibongiseni Tshabalala (Interview, 26 August, 2008). Formalising the informal economic activities in the city remains the prerogative of the authorities. The city's by-laws encourages the formalisation of the informal and this ignores the possibility that it might not be every informal trader who aspires to be formal. According to Lebo Ramoreboli "informal trading creates jobs for individual households but through the SMME and Informal Trading directorate we want "informal traders to graduate to formal trading" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). Informal traders operating within the Newtown Cultural Precinct are expected to "pay R20 everyday whether one made profit or not" retorted the old man, a former waiter and a foreign national from Kenya (Interview, 20 August, 2008). In formalising the informal, planners should be cautious because informal trading caters for the multitude of populations from rural to urban areas and who have and still maintain strong rural linkages. Most of the informal traders are "constant movement" searching for greener pastures and not well-positioned to commit themselves into formal and permanent trading structures (Watson, 2002).

The formalisation of the informal economic activities takes a very selective approach when the city and private businesses use informal African slogans to promote themselves.

The slogans such as 'I love Jozi' by Cell C and MTN's 'NGOKU' (Ngoku is a Xhosa word meaning Now!! famously used during political struggles to demand services or action immediately) are 'fashionable slogans' used to manipulate the potential consumer's perceptions and mental images of the city, respectively (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). The notion behind the use of such informal slogans is that they have a potential to appeal to the community of the inner city at large as they evoke memories of socially cohesive society forged during the struggle against apartheid. What would have been a demand for justice ('NGOKU') during the struggle is being turned into a sound demand for Cell-C products [see Figure 1.1 for the image].

4.4.5 Renaming Streets: A boon or bane for Newtown and the city?

The renaming of streets using African names in the inner city of Johannesburg and South Africa at large has featured prominently in the post-apartheid era and has proved to be an essential ingredient in branding processes. Figure 3.8 in chapter three depicts the renaming process as a contentious cause especially between racial groups who needs redress and those who want to protect their history. As noted in chapter three, Newtown has seen the renaming of some of its streets to those of celebrities, artists and musicians. According to Mark Alleyne celebrities have been used by government authorities in order to achieve certain goals such as the approval for their projects (Alleyne, 2005). He argues that the use of celebrities should be subject to scrutiny because the criteria under which they are chosen is often not clear especially to ordinary citizens. He however notes that associating with celebrities can raise one's profile and credibility and can elicit approval for governments' projects. According to Alleyne celebrities have the ability to mobilise across culture, race, ethnicity, business and religious cycles and can also raise money for government projects (Alleyne, 2005).

The attaching of celebrity names in the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the inner city has the potential of raising awareness far and wider than one can think because of their fame and the crowd behind them. Naming of streets and buildings using celebrities and struggle heroes names is not just a political instrument of power and rule but also a powerful means by which space as a commercial resource is appropriated (Sihlongonyane, 2008). According to Lebo Ramoreboli, "the renaming of streets [using African names] in Newtown is part of the initiative to reflect the cultural background of the city of Johannesburg" (Interview, 22 August, 2008). For Thulani "the changing of street names is good because [the people] are tired of Afrikaans street names in an area dominated by African people" (Interview, 20 August, 2008). Sipho Dube also shares the same sentiment about the changing of street names in the Newtown Cultural Precinct.

"The renaming of streets in Newtown to those of African names of celebrities and musicians complements the image of the radio station [Kaya FM] and it is appropriate because people would not be happy seeing the old and offensive apartheid names on the streets," says Sipho Dube (Interview, 19 August, 2008).

The renaming in branding processes is lauded with issues of identity, power and contestation. According to Sihlongonyane (2008), renaming in branding processes gives places a competitive edge and has become a means for securing contracts. It has also become a necessary thing for the reaffirmation of the African identity. Some of the streets of Newtown have seen the names like Becker Street, Minaar Street and West Street being changed to those of musicians and artists like Gerard Sekoto, Mahlathini Street and Gerard Sekoto Street (refer to Table 4.3 below).

Old Street Name	New Street Name	Personality Type
Avenue Road	Dolly Rathebe Road	Musician
Bezuidenhout Street	Miriam Makeba Street	Musician
Becker Street	Gerard Sekoto Street	Poet
Goch Street	Henry Nxumalo Street	Writer/Journalist
Minaar Street to	Mahlathini Street	Musician
Pim Street	Gwigwi Mrwebi Street	Musician
Park Road	Barney Simon Road	theatre director/actor
Sydenham Street	Noria Mabasa	Musician
West Street	Ntemi Piliso Street	jazz musician
Wolhuter Street	Margaret Mcingana Street	Musician

Table 4.3: Name changes in Newtown streets in the post-apartheid Johannesburg[18].

These names reflect an interesting era in the post-apartheid South Africa where the names of celebrities have become central in development of spatial configurations. The renaming of spaces, streets and places using celebrities is a precarious development pattern especially when the celebrity is still alive.

The main challenge with branding is the sustainability of the brand-name especially at times when a celebrity whose name has been used to brand that particular entity engages in a scandalous behaviour. Continuing to associate with the celebrity's tarnished image is likely to have bad implications for the place or the brand.

[18] Data used to create table was extracted from Davie (2003). *Newtown Streets to get New Arty Names*. Retrieved from http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2003/sept/sep3_streets.stm

The Nelson Mandela Children Fund withdrew the invitation to a charity fundraising event hosted a famous golf player, Gary Player because of his association with the ruling junta notoriously for murderous dictatorship (McGreal, 2007). The "renaming is a costly but necessary thing for the new South Africa," says Sfiso Dlomo (Interview, 21 August, 2008). For Daphney Manamela the renaming of street names "is ok for me but the money involved can be used to create jobs for the unemployed people like me," complained Daphney Manamela as she counts diplomas, a degree and certificates she has collected over years (Interview, 20 August, 2008).

4.5 Conclusion

The branding of Newtown is crucial for the branding of the inner city and the city of Johannesburg at large. Using Hubbard's car analogy, the presence of artists, African and internationally-themed restaurants, artwork vendors, theatres, African inspired Radio station called Kaya FM, residential accommodation, and African street names amongst other things, all contribute to the making of the brand called the Newtown Cultural Quarter (Hubbard, 2006). To whether branded places out-perform unbranded in terms of vitality and business it still remains to be seen. As mentioned in chapter three, how the Nelson Mandela and his Foundation came under local and international pressure when Gary Player – a Golf icon – associated himself with the ruling junta notoriously for murderous dictatorship in Burma (McGreal, 2007), one might argue that the changing of streets names into those of celebrities, musicians and literature artists while they are still alive leaves the Newtown brand in a very precarious and perhaps vulnerable stance in case the celebrity associate with the behavior or practices that are contrary to that of the place or general interest.

While the historical background of Newtown reveals that about 7000 people of all racial groups inhabited the place in 1896 while it was known as Burghersdorp, the current trend is worrying in terms of the dominant culture and the nearby places such as Fordsburg have turned into racial enclaves. Both the Main Street Precinct and the Newtown Cultural Precinct brands do not echo the voices of all racial groups inhabiting the areas. There is a strong emphasis to African culture and not all cultures are accommodated. While anything African in South Africa was viewed with skepticism and often associated with trouble, in the post-apartheid South Africa, especially in Newtown, we see the highest sanitisation of black people's culture for commercialisation. Afro-branding processes and activities occurring in Newtown and the Main Street Precinct denote a dissenting approach to post-apartheid spatial and economic developments that seeks to accommodate the traditional African narratives, the struggle memories and African art that was considered to

be traditional, unhealthy, and unwise. From this discussion it is clear that place brands have the potential to generate economic benefits for cities and can serve as a panacea for local development.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION - ENGAGING CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE THROUGH CULTURAL PLANNING

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to start by highlighting the key challenges emphasised in previous chapters of this research. The logic for the need for cultural planning as a solution towards these challenges will also be provided. It is in the interest of this chapter to present a definition of what cultural planning is, how it works, and how it can facilitate to address the challenges highlighted in the two case studies of this research. Evidence of the application of cultural planning in other countries will also be offered. The following is a brief discussion of the key challenges as found in the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the Main Street Precinct regarding the notions of branding and LED.

5.2 Emerging Key Issues From Previous Chapters

The issues identified in the previous chapters are the following: marginalisation of people's cultures, *ad*hoc planning, issues of inequality, displacement, problem of representation, and appropriation of spaces. It is the position of this chapter that these challenges can be addressed within the realm of cultural planning as it allows for the use of planning theory in a coordinated and integrated manner which considers economic, cultural, social and environmental objectives of the public.

5.2.1 Adhoc Planning: Engendering the Chasm between Urban Branding and LED

In chapter one, it was noted that there is no doubt that both LED and branding have been and are still taking place in the Newtown Cultural and the Main Street Precincts. The main concern was that branding is largely seen as a private affair in which the corporate business is involved while local economic development is placed within the mandate of the government (Johns and Mattsson, 2005). In cases where planners are involved in branding processes, it has been noted that they do so in an *ad*hoc manner that lacks coordination and clearly defined roles. Culture remains marginalised and viewed as an add-on to the city's policy documents for economic development. The chasm between the branding and LED has left open the space for cultural planning which according to Deborah Mills is often omitted from the planning processes of the cities (Mills, 2004). It was noted that the lack of cultural planning leaves branding of places as an

uncoordinated affair that leads to the undermining of people's cultures, language and history, and leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation by private entities for self-enrichment. This challenge is also linked to the second one below.

5.2.2 Exploitation and Exclusions: Commodification of Public Spaces and Resources

It was noted that stakeholders do not enjoy equal attention in both branding and LED processes in the city of Johannesburg. These processes are often dominated by profit-motivated corporate business while poor people, informal traders, individual artists, and local residents are deprived space to participate in the decision-making processes of city branding [see section 1.1 in chapter one]. The spatial configurations that results from these processes are often characterised by exclusionary elements that prevent the majority of people from enjoying images reflecting their collective cultures and memories. While zones, precincts, CBD's and CID's have the potential to stimulate innovation, forward and backward linkages, creativity and enhance the image of a place, it was highlighted that these approaches – which are largely based on the traditional Growth Pole model – can also lead to the uneven distribution of development across places, the recentralisation of development, employment and restriction of other uses which do not conform to the rules and regulations governing the place [see point 2.5 for the Growth Pole theory]. Businesses which do not meet the criteria and standards set, informal traders which do not fall in the category targeted, find themselves excluded and discriminated against from using such spaces.

The notion of quarters, precincts, CID's, CBD's (CBD) and zones resonates well with the Growth Poles model in that it also involves the deliberate attempt to assemble vibrant and innovating entities – often located in urban areas – that spawns propulsive positive and negative effects down-stream and upstream (Plummer and Taylor, 2001). These approaches have been noted for pushing crime, unemployment and pressure on heavy use of the infrastructure to areas that are not protected and heavily regulated. This research also highlighted that cultural quarters are risky ventures and tend to marginalise local residents especially in projects of gentrification. This challenge can be resolved through cultural planning which provides a platform for the recognition of all the stakeholders and their economic, social, environmental and cultural interests.

5.2.3 Strict Surveillance and the Problem of Universal Access in Public Spaces

Closely linked to the above challenge is the notion of strict surveillance enforced in public places. It was noted that this erodes the culture of public participation and engagements in public spaces as access changes to being regulated. Regulation of public spaces has manifested itself in the deployment of security personnel in both the Main Street and the Newtown Cultural Precincts amongst other places, to guard against informal trading, photographing, vandalising of property, illegal trading and other unacceptable uses of the space and property without permission from the owners of the property. Deviant behaviour by offenders which is monitored through traditional and sophisticated means of surveillance is punishable. "I told these [security] guys not to beat-up the offenders but just roughen them [offenders] up," retorted Russell Thomas (Interview, 10 September, 2008).This then sets the rules and regulations on what is acceptable behaviour and who has access to such places and it also destroys the natural growth of the place.



Figure 5.1: Security guards along the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts

The poor people find themselves excluded while planners act in collusion with the private sector by affording private businesses leverage to limit and regulate access to public places. It was also noted that price is instrumental in excluding the poor from such places. While on the field conducting interviews in various restaurants, it was noted that class and race matters in both case studies. In one incident, one of the owners of the restaurant stood up to confront the researcher while he was walking through the door and as asked how he could help him. When the interviewee was asked why the owner behaved in this manner, the waiter related that "most of the customers frequenting the restaurant are white and middle-class and he [owner] has a tendency to behave like this towards the youth, especially blacks" (Interview, 20 August, 2008).

Undemocratic tendencies like these ones in public spaces should be heavily guarded by planners in public spaces because they reproduce and reinforce the racial divide in our society.

5.2.4 African Culture: The Post-Apartheid Rhetoric for Development in Johannesburg?

This paper noted that culture is increasingly becoming significant for development and is subjected to commodification processes supplied through profit-making institutions (Kong, 2000). This epitomises an era where industries are becoming less important as the focus shifts to culture, creativity and innovation as the source of generating wealth for countries, cities, and places. The use of culture, especially African culture in urban branding and regeneration processes has unfortunately been employed in an uncoordinated and hasty manner that render it as an add-on for policy documents and means through which other goals can be achieved. The celebration of the dominant culture at the expense of other cultures might lead to some forms of exclusion, loss of a sense of belonging, superiority for the dominant culture and unequal access to public spaces. The use of culture in the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts by businesses have been overpriced to a point of being unreachable as the majority of the poor are turned into spectators of their collective cultures and struggle memories. While it is undeniable that culture is more vital for development than before, it is also imperative that people's cultures are protected from the mass exploitation for private benefit and this is possible through the realm of cultural planning.

Cultural experiences have become 'tickets' for mobilising the middle-class and they come in prepackaged forms and as something that happens to people as opposed to something that people participate in. Places, restaurants, and other spaces that project an African flare are often marked by the presence of upper or middle classes with social lifestyles denoted by an astonishing pattern of consumption which is too expensive and too extravagant for the poor. The challenge is that this shows that the main focus is on middle-class and it confirms that culture (especially African culture), history and memories are increasingly used by private businesses not as a panacea for economic ills of the locality but as commodities for self-enrichment. Another concern is that the economic aspect of culture heralds other crucial aspects of development such as the social, cultural and environmental objectives.

5.2.5 Branding Spaces through Celebrities: The Unsustainable Approach

While celebrities have an ability to provoke attention and generate interest for public projects, it was noted that naming places and spaces after live celebrities is not a sustainable approach. This is partly because of the possibility that the celebrity whose name has been used to brand that particular entity might engage in a scandalous behaviour in the future. Continuing to associate with the celebrity's tarnished image is likely to have bad implications for the place or the brand. It was highlighted that this was the case with the Nelson Mandela Children Fund when it decided to withdraw the invitation to a charity fundraising event hosted by the famous golf player, Gary Player because of his association with the ruling junta infamous for murderous dictatorship (McGreal, 2007). The attaching of celebrity names in Newtown projects - the inner city's Cultural Precinct) has the potential of raising awareness far and wide than one can think because of their fame and the crowd behind them. Naming of streets and buildings using celebrities and struggle heroes names is not just a political instrument of power and rule but also a powerful means by which space as a commercial resource is appropriated (Sihlongonyane, 2008). It was also noted that through the use of culture, politicians, development and marketing consultants, advertisers and celebrities are entering the realm of planning that was previously enjoyed by planners.

5.3 Defining Cultural Planning

Cultural planning is defined as a strand of planning that entails the use of cultural resources for the integrated development of communities, an action-research approach, and a culturally sensitive approach to urban and regional planning (Gray, 2004). According to Baeker (2002), the major thrust for cultural planning is to create tighter relations between culture and other areas of municipal responsibility such as health promotion, parks, recreation and leisure services, social service delivery, economic development and tourism strategies, sustainability and other strategies. An example of this is the 1993 regional planning process established by the Queensland Government for South East Queensland. The regional planning process accentuates the significance of creating strategic links between "cultural policy and activity and infrastructure development, industry location and development, urban consolidation, human services and community development and land use" (Mills, 2004:06). It is also noted that cultural planning offers an option to urban planning approaches which continually presents planning as a value-free, technical process in charge for managing the urban environment (Baeker, 2002).

For Ghilardi (2001:06), cultural planning means the "strategic and integral planning and use of cultural resources in urban and community development." She notes that this can help urban governments in identifying the cultural resources of a city or locality and to apply them in a strategic approach to accomplish key objectives in areas such as community development, place marketing and industrial development. The definition of cultural planning by the Creative City Network brings into attention a key factor which delineates local government to be at the better position to execute cultural planning. It is related that municipal cultural planning is a course of action of inclusive community consultation and decision-making that assist local government to recognise cultural resources and think strategically about how these resources can help a community to accomplish its ambitions (Creative City Network). For the North South Wales Ministry of Arts (undated: 08), cultural planning is "a strategic process which illuminates and gives significance to the values, material and process dimensions of culture in a community in a manner which informs a council's thinking, policies and programs." Key in these definitions of cultural planning is the strategic use and identification of resources, integration, relations between areas of development, cultural sensitivity, community development, consultation, and locality development which are central to the definitions of LED dealt with in chapter two.

With culture coming to the fore as an essential element of both urban branding and LED, cultural planning seeks to place cultural resources at the centre of policy discussions and formulation in fields ranging from economic development to housing, health, education, social services, tourism, urban planning, architecture, townscape design, and cultural policy itself (Bianchini, 2004: 08). It is however important that cultural planning should not be seen as an attempt to institute planning for arts but rather as a culturally sensitive approach to urban planning and policy (Ghilardi, 2001; Bianchini, 2004). With the ability to cut across various divides between the public, private and voluntary sectors, different institutional concerns, types of knowledge and professional disciplines, this strand of planning can be an effective model for bridging the chasm between urban branding and LED in both Main Street and the Newtown Cultural Precincts. It is also through this strand of planning that creativity and innovation in cultural production is encouraged across all cultures of that particular place.

5.3.1 Why and When did Cultural Planning Emerge?

Mills (2004) relates that cultural planning emerged out of the realisation by policy makers and city planners facing economic decline of their cities, that culture can be used to re-brand a city, attract new investment and skilled personnel, trigger urban renewal and boost retailing and tourism. Cities such as Glasgow, Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, Bradford, Sheffield, Liverpool, Birmingham, Swansea, and Cardiff were amongst the leaders in implementing cultural planning (Mills, 2004:02). On the one hand, cultural planning was a response by arts practitioners, administrators and city managers during the 1980s to the need to justify public expenditure on the arts and to create new tools with which to meet the challenges of urban renewal on the other hand (Mills, 2004). According to Bianchini (2004), discussions in cultural planning have been entertained since the early 1990s in North America, Australia and Europe as a possible alternative to both cultural policy-led urban regeneration strategies and traditional cultural policies.

The central notion that led to the emergence of cultural planning is Jane Jacobs' idea of seeing the city as an "ecosystem composed of physical-economic-ethical processes" interrelating with each other in a natural flow rather than dealing with the city in detached and independent categories at a time (Ghilardi, 2003:16). Employing this approach in Johannesburg might lead to the contraction of the chasm that exists between urban branding and LED processes in Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts. Central to cultural planning is the recognition of a place as a living ecosystem which comprises of diverse resources that requires surveying and acknowledgement by the community at large prior to policy intervention (Ghilardi, 2003). Therefore this avoids the *adhoc* approach to development and the lack of co-ordination towards planning and also prevents the use of offensive cultural and historical material by the private sector for self-enrichment.

5.4 Cultural Planning in Johannesburg: The Case of Main Street and the Newtown Cultural Precincts

If urban branding and LED are to be beneficial to the locality, there should be a conscious and strategic effort from city planners to engage in cultural planning for the development of the local people and their places. Having highlighted that urban branding and LED practices such as city marketing, place-making, city-reimaging and city branding – which are fundamental to symbolic manipulation – are still mainly seen as part of business practices by planners and they do not form part of planner's immediate imperative agendas, this research argues that it is through cultural planning that the gap between branding and LED can be abridged. Having outlined and briefly discussed the key challenges of development, this chapter will now focus on a discussion of cultural planning in Johannesburg. Along the chapters it was mentioned that where culture is used in branding processes, the economic aspect of it is so significant such that the environmental, social and cultural development aspects become insignificant. This is bad for planning in that it results in undesirable circumstances such as exploitation of collective culture for self-enrichment.

Cultural planning seeks to integrate and equally recognise all aspects of development. This chapter will also discuss how divergence and convergence between branding and LED can be addressed through cultural planning.

By examining the implications of branding for local economic development, this thesis serves to highlight that cities and places without resources do not have to solely focus on traditional industries as their source of employment and economic development but can also use their history, memories, historical and cultural events, images, cultural materials and celebrities to bring change; make themselves attractive to investors; generate wealth, create employment; affirm themselves; compete with other places in the global economy for resources, employment and investments. Nevertheless this requires a very focused and integrated planning approach, which is cultural planning. Cultural planning seeks to reverse the trend seen through the LED experiences in South Africa, where local people are rendered as bystanders while a small team of experts driven by a 'mandate' are at the helm of the LED processes (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005). Following is a broad discussion on what is cultural planning and how it can help to address the highlighted divergence and convergence between urban branding and LED in Johannesburg, and more specifically at the Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts.

5.5 The Cultural Plan

A cultural plan must have a clear mandate, objectives, and clear roles for all stakeholders and should be able to be evaluated. The plan must have a budget, an action plan and a cultural framework. The framework which is accompanied by charts, maps, tables, illustrations and other material should be developed after broad community consultation and extensive research. It can then be used as a starting point for the development of a complete cultural plan (the cultural framework plus an action plan and budget) with clearly defined links to council's key strategies and priorities (NSW Ministry of arts, undated). The city of Johannesburg should assume leadership in the development and implementation of the cultural plan because of its regulatory and development powers to implement policies since it also enjoys the skills and experience in community consultation and the comprehension of local values and aspirations necessary for effective local cultural planning. The city also has the essential regulatory and development powers to implement policies. The cultural plan is important for the city of Johannesburg in terms reviving the cultural aspect as an important pillar of development similar to other pillars such as social, environmental and

economical aspects. It is also important for the build-up towards the 2010 soccer world cup and the realisation of the 'World-Class African City' initiative.

An ideal cultural plan should at least demonstrate "a thorough understanding of what matters to a community, its relationships, shared memories, experiences and identity and diverse religious and historic backgrounds; a thorough understanding of the cultural products, assets, resources and infrastructure in a community; a thorough understanding of how people in that community use and interact with local and regional/sub regional cultural products, assets, resources and infrastructure; recognition and support for indigenous cultural development processes and practices; recognition and support for the principle of self-determination for indigenous communities in setting their cultural development priorities; and recognition and support for cultural diversity" (NSW Ministry of arts, undated: 11). As for a shared vision, the cultural plan should reflect and provide evidence of " the meaningful engagement of partners, community organisations and groups in the development and implementation of the plan; early and sustained involvement of indigenous communities with the cultural planning processes; an agreed vision of how people in a community want to relate to each other and to their natural and built environment, and how a community wants to experience its place and its culture; and an agreed upon vision about how to remove the barriers and enhance the opportunities for cultural expression in the community." (NSW Ministry of arts, undated: 11)

The city must adopt a broad and all inclusive definition of what constitutes cultural resources in a particular city for its cultural plan and an integrated development approach. Franco Bianchini's definition of cultural resources includes: "arts and media activities and institutions; the cultures of youth, ethnic minorities and other 'communities of interest'; the heritage, including archaeology, gastronomy, local dialects and rituals; local and external images and perceptions of a city, including the ways in which they change in the course of history and how they can be interpreted by different groups within the population -by, for example, children, particular ethnic communities, and the elderly; the natural and built environment, including public and open spaces; the diversity and quality of leisure, cultural, eating, drinking and entertainment facilities and activities; local milieux and institutions for intellectual and scientific innovation, including universities and private sector research centres; the range of local products and skills in the crafts, manufacturing and services, including local food products, gastronomic and design traditions" (Bianchini, 2004: 07). This definition of cultural resources is grounded on the locality and seeks to redefine arts and culture and render noticeable what has until now continued to be invisible to planners; the cultural concepts which underpin, often implicitly, many public planning policies (Mills, 2003).

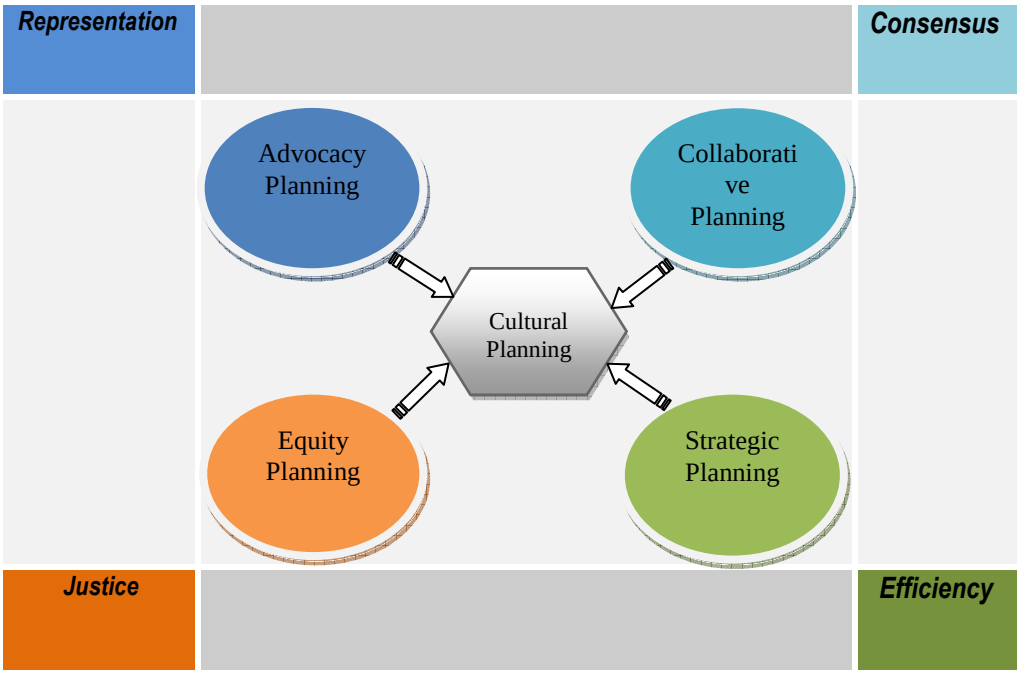


Figure 5.2: Framework for integrating LED and branding

This cultural planning framework seeks to deal with challenges of justice, efficient allocation of resources and responsibilities, rights and representation as mentioned above in this chapter (see Figure 5.2 above). The challenges of this magnitude cannot be addressed by cultural planning alone but needs to be informed by theories of planning such as Advocacy planning, Collaborative planning, Equity planning and Strategic planning in order to realise an integrated approach to such challenges. Advocacy planning is about enhancing representation in the two precincts of the city of Johannesburg (Davidoff, 1965). People such as informal traders (including art vendor), disabled, women, the youth, the homeless, students (especially that they make a substantial percentage of residents in Newtown because of the two universities), residents and foreign nationals can benefit from this approach.

Collaborative planning is about bringing different stakeholders together in order to create common understanding and consensus on divergent issues (Healey, 1993; Innes, 1998; Sandercock, 2003). Equity planning in this framework is about addressing notions of justice and capacitating the marginalised segments of our society (Sandercock, 1998). Strategic planning is about instituting notions of market rationality and achieving efficiency (Bryson, 1995). This theory is suitable for this framework in that it accepts the status quo or the neoliberal environment that the city of Johannesburg and South Africa operates in.

The other forms of planning theories such as advocacy, equity and collaborative planning will seek to mitigate the inefficiencies of neo-liberalism. While there are various approaches of cultural planning this research recommends the following nine-step process towards developing a work plan: 1. Preparation 2 – 3 months; 2. Information-gathering and research 4 – 6 months; 3. Assessment and analysis 2 – 3 months; 4. Organization and consultation Ongoing; 5. Writing the plan 1 – 2 months; 6. Public consultation 2 – 3 months; 7. Finalising and adoption 1 – 2 months; 8. Launch 1 month; 9. Implementation, monitoring and review, ongoing (Creative City Network, undated: 15).

5.5.1 Political Leadership in the Development of a Cultural Plan

Political leadership by the mayor and the Mayoral Committee is crucial for sustained commitment to the cultural planning processes, frameworks and development of "policies which direct planning decisions in ways which are consistent with the cultural, economic, social and environmental outcomes" agreed to with the city's communities (Mills, 2003). The mayor's office can see to it that people who will be put into practice appreciate and understand policy ideas. The plan should cater for "organisational arrangements for policy delivery" and these should incorporate reorganising of the budget and administrative frameworks to guarantee that the scope of the policy is fulfilled, the strategic relations are secured and the mechanisms to deliver an integrated policy are established (Mills, 2003).

Mayoral Committee Members should be tasked with instituting cultural planning in their respective portfolio's and make it a requirement for executive directors to make it part of the performance management evaluations for all departments and their officials. Encouraging all of the city's departments into cultural planning will ensure that the ground is set for an integrated cultural plan that is linked to other aspects of planning such as economic development, transport, land-use management, education, safety and security, environment, city marketing, sports and culture, and urban renewal in order to play a truly effective role in people's lives (Ghilardi, 2001).

5.5.2 Integrating Institutions Through Communicative Planning

A cultural plan for the city of Johannesburg in this chapter seeks to address the challenges of integration, sustainability, exclusion, empowerment, mediation and arbitration, identification of crucial resources, environment, transport and destination management, and planning for social justice.

These challenges cannot be addressed separately as issues of different sectors and departments. An integration of key institutions and entities such as the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA), Newtown Improvement Districts (NID), Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC), Business Arts South Africa (BASA), the National Arts Council (NAC), University of Witwatersrand, University of Johannesburg, Kaya FM, Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition (JICBC), informal traders and community representatives, museums, galleries, libraries, and restaurants would be necessary for an integrated approach to the city challenges. Mills (2003) relates that cities need to develop partnerships with organisations which share a similar commitment to cultural planning processes.

The city's departments are another set of institutions which need to be rallied behind the cultural plan because tackling these challenges requires commitment from all departments towards the implementation of an integrated cultural plan. This does not require the establishment of a new directorate but the services of the Central Strategy Unit (CSU) which is already in place in the city of Johannesburg. This unit provides co-ordination of the city's IDP and various city's departments and entities (City of Johannesburg, 2008). It can thus be tasked with offering strategic support to the city's departments and (see Figure 5.3 below) entities and the coordination of the city's cultural plan.

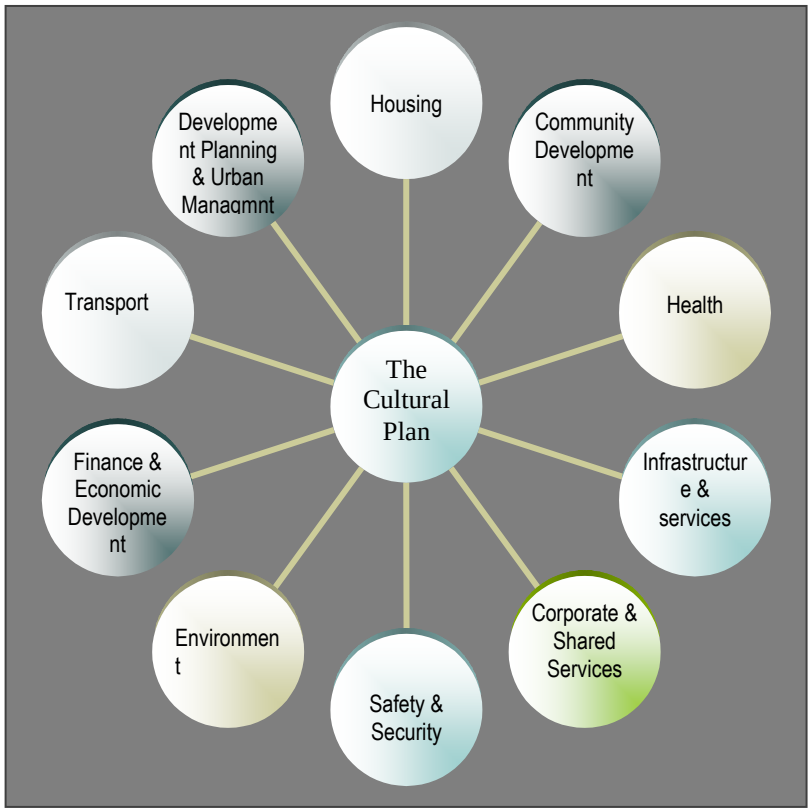


Figure 5.3: Integrating city's departments through cultural planning
Source: Integrated Development Plan 2008/09

This integration can be done through Communicative Planning which is a planning approach that values communication, consultation, storytelling and listening, debate, giving voice to the voiceless, consensus building and participation of all stakeholders in public planning processes (Healey, 1993; Innes, 1998; Sandercock, 2003). Jacobs notes that "vital cities have a marvelous innate abilities for understanding, communicating, contriving and inventing what is required to combat" their challenges (Jacobs, 1961). In addition, it is through debates that planners can deduce from the community the kind of problems that requires immediate attention. Healey argues that knowledge of what people want can only be exhumed through interaction with people who posses it (Healey, 1993). Cultural planning is a vehicle for citizens to imagine their city in particular ways and it encourages people and groups to participate in fashioning the city they desire (Baeker, 2002). Planning based on lack of consultation and assumptions of what people might like and what seems to be good in the eyes of the professionals represents the imposition of an undemocratic and "consciously chosen pattern of development upon the urban terrain" (Fainstein, 2005:122).

5.5.3 Advocacy, Equity and Strategic Planning: Supplementary Roles for Planners

Through equity planning, planners from the Development Planning and Urban Management department must ensure that those stakeholders, who are excluded from branding and LED processes and spaces, enjoy reasonable attention and get the opportunity to appreciate and enjoy images reflecting their collective cultures and memories in the city of Johannesburg. Equity planning is a planning model that "consciously seek to redistribute power, resources, or participation away from local elites and toward the marginalised, the poor and working class residents of the city (Sandercock, 1998). Questions of political economy such as who are the beneficiaries of urban policies and plans are crucial in this approach (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1996). Planners have to create a balance between notions of profit maximisation and rights. This balance will ensure that in cases where collective memories, art and history are used for profit generation, they are not priced beyond the reach of the poor sections of society. This model can be helpful in understanding and addressing elements of inequality in the city of Johannesburg and in particular the two case studies of this research.

Planners also have a role to play as representatives of the excluded segments of the population. Advocacy planning is a model of planning that discards the prescription for planning that renders planners to act exclusively as technicians, but supports that they should be able to partake in the political processes as advocates of government, groups, and individuals' interests concerned with proposing policies for city development (Davidoff, 1965). Using this model in Main Street and Newtown Cultural Precincts will ensure that city planners act as advocates of the poor and marginalised people in decision-making processes regarding branding and appropriation of public spaces.

With the increasing participation of non-planners such as advertisers, marketing and development consultants, media, politicians, artists and celebrities in planning initiatives in the city of Johannesburg, planners must start to consider and appreciate various layers of branding such as events (festivals), honouring, theming, renaming and monumentalisation in the planning processes. This can be done by using the strategic planning model. This approach to planning is defined as a "disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that shape and guide what an organisation is, what it does, and why it does it" (Bryson, 1995). The strategic planning approach can help planners to understand the objectives of the cultural plan, assume a conscious effort to engage in branding and LED planning initiatives, facilitate communication and participation while accommodating conflicting interests and values (Bryson, 1995). This model can also be useful in maintaining a balance between consumption and production of culture by facilitating the planning of a renewed role for libraries, galleries and museums in the city of Johannesburg

and the Newtown Cultural Precinct in particular. Through strategic planning, planners must take into account the cost implications of renaming processes for the private sector and other stakeholders which are likely to bear the costs of changing their business cards and addresses in order to reflect the new names.

The strategic alignment of museums, galleries and libraries through cultural planning can serve as providers of workshops on cultural and historical education in order to avoid the sale of offensive and sensitive memories and statues. These public institutions can be fundamental points in assisting local communities to adjust to new challenges in society; they can also be used as important access points to information and training for local communities, businesses and planners regarding multicultural understanding (Ghilardi, 2001). It is notable that the Fairfield's cultural plan entail broadening the capacity of Fairfield's libraries as learning centres crucial for turning the city into a learning city which can participate successfully in the new knowledge-based economy through the existence of a flexible, creative and innovative workforce (Mills, 2004). The city of Johannesburg's libraries are already well-established and positioned to be developed and turned into centers of learning and promotion of the city as a learning city.

5.6 Conclusion

Cultural planning is a formidable task largely because of the level of political influence and openness to manipulation by the various stakeholders for political, monetary and other reasons. It relies on interpretation and on that which cannot be easily measured, besides it is highly contestable. If done properly, cultural planning can be a good model for the economically-depressed areas which have nothing else to rely on except for their history and cultural materials. It is however crucial to stress that cultural planning is not planning for arts but an integrated approach which seeks to consolidate and strategically reposition cultural resources in order to stimulate development.

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INTERVIEWS:

Charles Moyo, a male resident of Legae Gardens in Newton (Interview, 21 August 2008).

Councillor Ruby Mathang, a Member of the Mayoral Committee and a councillor of Orlando in the City of Johannesburg. He is responsible for the Development Planning and Urban Management department and he heads the Region F municipality (Interview, 22 August 2008).

Daphney Manamela, unemployed African women in her late thirties and a resident of Phumulani Gardens – a residential area in Newtown (Interview, 20 August 2008).

Fiona Siegenthaler, a Female PhD student from Switzerland. (Interview, 29 August 2008).

John Maswanganye, an unemployed African male and a resident of Phumulani Gardens – a residential area in Newtown (Interview, 20 August 2008). (Interview, 20 August 2008).

Lael Bethlehem, the Chief Executive Officer of the Johannesburg Development Agency – a Section 21 company under the ownership of the City of Johannesburg (Responded on 10 September 2008 via e-mail).

Lebo Ramoreboli, a Programme Manager for Inner City and CBD's Economic Development in the Economic Development Unit of the City of Johannesburg located in 66 Jorrisen Street (Interview, 22 August 2008).

Linda, an official working as an information Officer at Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) (Evans, 2001)(Interview, 19 August 2008).

Mpho Teefo, a female resident of Legae Gardens in Newton (Interview, 21 August 2008).

Nhlanhla, an African male in his late thirties and works as a waiter at the restaurant called Gramadoelas in Newtown (Interview, 20 August 2008).

Ntsako, an African male in his late twenties, works as a manager for Shivava Café at Gandhi Square. He was interviewed together with Edward and Bukhosi also working for Shivava Café (Interview, 27 July 2008).

Old man, a former waiter and a foreign national from Kenya, sells artwork next to the building used to be occupied by a restaurant called Kippies (Interview, 20 August 2008).

Paul Arnott-Job, a Senior Development Manager working for the Johannesburg Development Agency (Interview, 25 August 2008).

Russell Thomas, the General Manager Operations working for the Central Johannesburg Partnerships (CJP) (Interview, 10 September 2008).

Sam, an African male in his mid-twenties working as a manager for the restaurant called Sophiatown (Interview, 13 August 2008).

Sfiso Dlomo, a University student at the University of Johannesburg formerly known as Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit and a resident of Brickfields (Interview, 21 August 2008).

Sibongiseni Tshabalala, a Stakeholder Management and Liaison officer also working as an Urban Inspector for the Region F municipality (Interview, 26 August 2008).

Sipho Dube, is a black male in his late thirties and works for Kaya FM as a Marketing and Research Specialist (Interview, 19 August 2008).

Thulani, an African and a Rastafarian art-seller who comes from Dobsonville, Soweto (Interview, 20 August 2008).

Tshidi Dikgale, a young black female in her early twenties working for a prosperous bank in the inner city of Johannesburg. She is a resident of Brickfields (Interview, 21 August 2008).

Tumi, a young African lady working as a researcher for the Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) in Newtown (Interview, 19 August 2008).