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Exploring Change in South Africa: The Case of Newtown Cultural Precinct.

Cleo Acola Tryphina Mbetse

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in Development Planning

Johannesburg, 2010

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Masters of Science in Urban and Regional Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

.....

(Signature of Candidate) Cleo Mbetse

..... day of ..... year.....

Abstract

What is urban change and how does one begin to understand this concept in space? The premise of this research is to understand the use of space and how space changes over time by looking at the three perspectives of space; spatial practice, spaces of representation and representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991) within the Newtown cultural precinct. More importantly from a planning point of view, one wants to really explore the concept of space and the perspectives around how space is perceived versus how space is translated and used. In essence, looking beyond the physical but really engaging with perspectives and concepts around space, looking at Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the triad of space, and how urban change in a cultural precinct can be understood from this point of view.

What is also important is not merely understanding space and peoples' perspectives in space, but rather finding a way for planning to better understand the nature of urban change amidst changing perspectives and various influences on space, hence looking at concepts of culture; hybridity and creolisation in an effort to interpret and understand peoples perceptions and actions in space and how these are related to aspects of culture or cultural influence. So then how can planning better plan for urban change in a context where there are differing points of view with regard to how space is conceptualised? Moreover what do these multiple changes reveal about the use of space and its connection to aspects of culture, or rather to aspects of hybridity and creolisation?

In essence the purpose behind this research is to explore these various concepts and perspectives and also to look for meanings of space above and beyond what planning has attempted to do over the years when analysing urban change, hence looking at concepts of hybridity and creolisation to better understand and unpack these perspectives of space and how planners can then begin to plan for a 'better' cultural precinct which is inclusive of all aspects and elements which influence

changes in space, in a sense developing an understanding on how better to deal with the concept of urban change in places like the Newtown cultural precinct.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank GOD Almighty for giving me strength to carry this research to completion.

Furthermore I would like to express my gratitude to my family for supporting me every step of the way. Thank you for your prayers and your sacrifices. To my mother and my father, thank you for the late night trips you made for me, those days are not taken for granted but are noted. Thank you for being my strength always, your support is highly appreciated.

I would like to thank my lecturers for their guidance and support throughout the process of this research; Garth Klein, Dr Aly Karam and Phil Harrison, thank you for your support during this time. I would like to extend my gratitude especially to my supervisor once again; Nqobile Malaza for believing in me and for helping me to refine my ideas and structure this research. Furthermore I would like to thank you for pushing me beyond my limit and always encouraging me to give my best, even when I think I cannot give any more. 'Start again' is something I have come to appreciate because you had my best interests in mind, even though it was hard to hear and even harder to do, it has been worth it at the end to write something which is coherent and reflective of the ideas we threw around during consultation sessions. Without your inputs and constructive criticism, and your time, this research would not have been possible.

To my last surviving classmate Phasha Moshoana with whom I have grown to be great friends, thank you for the constant motivation and support that you have given. The many late nights we faced and the late classes we attended will never be forgotten but a constant reminder of what it took for us to reach the finish line.

To my dearest friends, Zandile Sibiya, Tinyiko Sambo, Sinenhlanhla Dlamini and Indira Shabangu, thank you for the encouragement and the support you constantly gave to me even though you were not physically present, your presence and support has been felt throughout this research. Zandi my friend, thank you for the 'second supervision' and constantly checking on me when I was down, for pulling me back up and motivating me to reach the end, I hope next year I can be to you what you have been to me during this research.

To my soul mate and best friend, Lekwalo Magagane, thank you for being there during those early morning hours when I looked frustratingly to you for help. For the constant support you gave me, for taking time to read my ideas even though this is a foreign subject to you, the long drives you made from Rustenburg to comfort me when I was crumbling beneath this research, I appreciate it all.

To my editor; Lesley, who again has had to take on a great amount of work in a short space of time, thank you. Moreover for taking time from your busy schedule to make this moment possible for me, I appreciate it.

And to all who have contributed towards this research, I express my profound gratitude.

This material is based on work supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF), South Africa. Any opinion, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and therefore the NRF does not accept any liability in regard thereto

Thank you

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

> "Johannesburg is an ever-changing movie that no one has quite managed to produce. It is a screenplay in progress. Like movie directors, leaders are thrown up out of the soil of the surrounding area to try and bring a sense of order to what Johannesburg is" (Matshikiza, 2004: 482).

It is inevitable that change will take place in cities, and much like this change, it is also inevitable that change will not be welcomed by all users of the city, neither will it be perceived in the same manner as intended, however planning, in its quest to order and change, tends to undermine the relationship between space and people. Zukin in Keith (2005) argues for the relationship between the interaction of people and space, placing emphasis on the cultural diversity of places in which she terms these places as 'culture capitals' of cities. Her argument places emphasis on the relationship between people and space. The importance is in understanding how people throughout their daily routines in the space, interact with the space. Moreover, the primary emphasis is in trying to establish what is understood from the relationship between people and space when they interact with one another, what aspects are revealed about a space through the people who use the space, and what aspects of the people are revealed through the space as they move, use and interact with it. Zukin (2005) directs one's thinking towards the role of planning in the context of culture, and how culture ought to be looked at in terms of its relevance and its influence on spaces that are planned.

As such what has been highlighted is the importance of grasping the relationship between planner/designer, user and the city. That is, finding the common ground between all three perspectives in which the changing nature of the city can be better understood. As Matshikiza (2004) suggests, the city is a hard concept to grasp or to truly understand; as it is not a one dimensional aspect, one cannot anticipate being able to understand the city merely through the designers' lens, rather one needs to

apply a more sophisticated lens in which the city can be viewed in a different light apart from the conformative way in which it has previously been viewed. Furthermore, planning in the urban Africa context is a challenging platform in which planners have to work; there are many elements such as culture which cannot be ignored, which influence the changing nature of cities today. Moreover the importance of planning for the ever changing nature of the urban African context comes into play. Questions of what is African and African culture are brought to mind when dealing with such a context. Expressions such as urban change, perspectives and representations of space, urban African morphology and culture are crucial to comprehend where the nature of urban change is concerned.

1.2 Motivation for the research

The interest in such a topic grew from the desire to get a better understanding of what it means to plan the African context and to be a planner in the African context. Through reading Simone (2004) 'People as infrastructure' it is clear that planning the African context has its own challenges which are different to other cities in other parts of the world. What is interesting is analysing what these context specific challenges are and their importance to planners working within these contexts. What Simone (2004) highlights here, is the importance of people and their networks in shaping the way the city operates and to a certain extent shaping the way that the city looks over time. This brought to mind the importance of people and the manner in which they interact with space. Moreover it highlighted the concept of the 'city of a 1,000 designers' (Crane, 1964), where one could understand not only the role of the planner in the city, but also the planning role in relation to other designers and shapers within the city. Therefore there was a need on one's part to examine the way in which people interact with space and how space responds. Newtown is the chosen case study to undertake this research report, because it is appropriate to use when looking at issues surrounding culture and change over time as well as trying

to understand how the 'African city' element fits in with culture and change and moreover what can planners learn from this.

> "Many of the decisions that produce urban space are made within the state, but many more of them are made outside it…it is those who live in the city who contribute to the body of urban lived experience and lived space" (Purcell, 2002: 102).

Essentially, the importance of the research lies in unpacking and analysing the dialectic relationship that exists between space, people and planners and how this fundamentally influences the nature of urban change, furthermore what can be learnt from a planning perspective when examining these relationships.

The goal however is to somehow discover an approach other than the conformative way of tackling spatial issues within the city. The purpose is to present planning using a different lens to view the situation – particularly in the Newtown area – that will assist in planning for urban change, hence improve the way in which planners plan for urban change.

1.3 Problem statement

One may question the importance of enquiring about the nature of urban change and the uses of space within Newtown. The fact is that planning as a profession is centred on the use of space and understanding the different elements which shape and change it; hence the central problem in this case is centred on perspectives of space. The issue then, is that the dialectic relationship between space, planners/designers and users is misunderstood and often spaces change use over time in the opposite direction to what the planners and designers may have intended. Furthermore it highlights the problem that more ought to be done for urban planning to better plan for urban change. The underlying problem is planning

for an urban African context and what this means in understanding urban change. How then does one begin to plan for urban change under the banner of what is characterised as being African? As mentioned in Section 1.2 African cities have challenges which are exclusively unique to the context in which they exist, however planners often fail to fully uncover these challenges and truly understand the nature in which they exist, hence designs are often context insensitive, failing to deal with the socio-cultural roots of what is actually happening instead rather looking more at the aesthetics and design qualities of a space. This is echoed by Bremner (2004) in the following quotation:

Bremner (2004: 529) argues that "Kliptown's motley creolized community of outsiders and their meandering narratives have, yet again, been displaced. They have been rendered invisible by architecture anxious to redeem a space that has been shaped historically by its outsider status, its dislocation, and its fluidity".

The point that Bremner (2004) is making here is that, spaces are physically changed in order to suit or satisfy the needs of a certain group, however in this satisfaction certain aspects which are crucial to understanding the connection between the physical and the social are disregarded when it comes to urban change in the African context. Beyond that, what she is saying is that spaces are often being redesigned to exclude some people, creating enclaves. Although many of these spaces are not gated, the fact is that people who previously had the option of using some of these spaces can no longer do so when these spaces are redesigned. This also highlights the fact that often when such spaces are redesigned, they rarely speak to the context; in a sense they are context insensitive and are unaware of the users and the perspectives they may have with regard to the space.

Therefore the issue is that when planners and designers shape spaces, they often tend to take certain aspects into consideration while leaving out some of the most crucial elements which play an important role in the shaping of spaces.

> "deworldment is the encompassing of all worlds in one… deworldment is where landscapes and activities are aestheticised and objectified for the exchange value they are expected to generate" (Chang and Huang, 2008: 230, 231).

What Chang and Huang (2008) are highlighting is the importance of looking at things from a holistic perspective, taking into consideration not only that which one thinks is important but learning to read spaces, people and the context in which they exist. Furthermore in terms of context sensitivity, what is highlighted is the importance of planning from an African perspective. African problems can only be understood and corrected when looked at from an African perspective. Therefore more often than not, planning attempts to recreate ideas or implement ideas based on theories which do not fit the African context; this is echoed by Yiftachel (2006) below:

> "It is high time to conceptualise from the 'South-East' (the wide range of non-western, non-northern societies), and create meso-level theories which would genuinely engage with the framing realities of various south-eastern regions" (Yiftachel, 2006: 212).

It is precisely these aspects which make the study of urban change and perspectives on space valuable to planners working particularly in the South African perspective.

1.4 Clarifying the main concepts of the research

In order to understand the basis of the research, it is important that one unpacks and clarifies the concepts which inform the research report. The purpose of the research however is to uncover and develop a new way of understanding and approaching urban change, hence it is crucial that the main concepts are clarified to present a better picture of the direction the research aims to take. The main

research concepts thus draw from Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space, focusing on his concept of the triad, in which he grapples with the idea of urban perspectives and representations. Hence this section is a succinct introduction to those particular concepts in terms of how they are analysed and assembled as applicable to the research. However the purpose of clarifying these concepts is not simply to re-iterate the ideas of Lefebvre (1991), or any of the theorists who speak to issues of space, but rather to highlight new perspectives of urban change.

1.4.1 The changing social production of space

But what then is urban change and how does one begin to understand its connection to the production of space? Lefebvre (1991) argues that the production of space as the ability of space to change or rather adjust itself to different uses over time. However he makes reference to the fact that spaces are susceptible to change either by designers and planners, or through the users of the space and these he presents as factors which influence spatial changes. Therefore the production of space deals with what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as the triad; looking particularly at the representations of space versus the way it is perceived or conceived. Essentially the social production of space deals with the idea of spatial representation based on the user's social perspective of space, thus looking at the elements which influence the way a user would use or perceive space, such as culture, networks and lifestyle.

Simone and Abouhani (2005) follow on by arguing that the city is a platform for urban change, embedded within socio-cultural interactions that shape or mould the city. They highlight the importance of ephemeral networks and social interactions of people and places in the city in its process of urban change.

1.4.2 Developing dialectical perceptions of urban spaces and their uses

If dialectic is taken as meaning "disputation or debate, especially intended to resolve difference between two views rather than to establish one of them as true", Collins English Dictionary (1991), then 'developing dialectical perceptions of urban spaces and their uses' is about looking beyond the concept of the triad and the production of space and rather looking at the relationship between the perceptions of space and intended use of space or how spaces are being used. In essence looking at the way people perceive space and the way that they use space versus the 'form and function' of that particular space. Hence as the dictionary extract suggests, it is about resolving the dispute or rather bridging the gap between use of space and perceptions of space and finding a platform where the two can meet. This concept speaks more to the physical such as hybridity which suggest a different way, rather than the obvious way of looking and understanding the uses of space and perceptions of space.

1.4.3 Disconnection between the designers and users of space

This leads one onto the next aspect which forms the basis of the theoretical framework. The conceptual framework is concerned with the relationship between planner/designer and the user. In essence it places the triad into perspective, trying to understand what role the perspective or perceptions of both the user and the planner play in shaping the city. Thus examining whether space should be looked at from the perspective of the planner and shaped according to what the planner thinks best suits that space, or rather as Lefebvre (1991) argues, that space has three dimensions to it and the planner or perspective of the planner (which he terms representations of space) is not central but rather forms a part of the conceptual triad, in which he argues that all three parts are equally influential. However there is the tendency to ignore the other two parts by designers and

planners who regard their perspective more important with regard to shaping space.

Therefore this research is not merely concerned with looking at space from one perspective and ultimately examining urban change from one point of view, rather both the perspectives of the user and the planner should be considered when trying to understand the nature of urban change in spaces of the city, moreover neither should the element of space as its own producer of change be ignored, a concept in the triad which Lefebvre (1991) terms as spatial practice.

Essentially both the user and the planner influence and perceive a space differently, and places are multi dimensional in their character because of the many elements which shape and characterise them. Therefore in order to truly embark on this exploration of the nature of change, and to truly understand and ultimately develop a way to plan for urban change, one ought to examine these perspectives in terms of what elements characterise them and how these can and do influence the direction in which space changes.

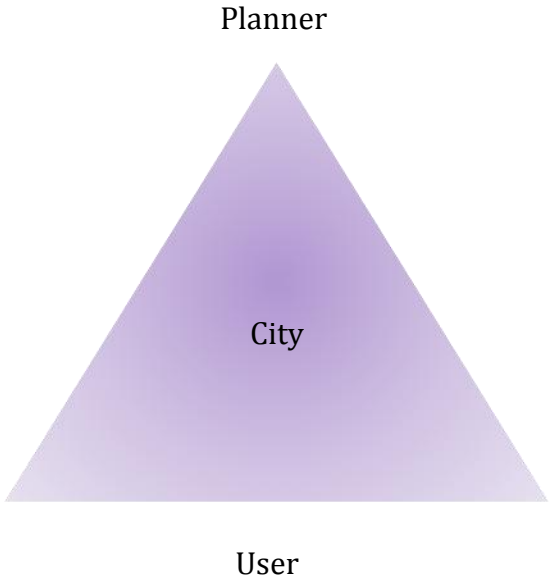


Figure 1.4.3 (a): Conceptual diagram

Figure 1.4.3 (a) places the triad into a conceptual diagram. Essentially what this research is looking at are the perceptions, conceptions and interactions that both the user and the planner have with space in the city, hence understanding the nature of urban change. The purpose is not only to use these perspectives to analyse urban change, but also to understand the concept of the triad more fully. Therefore looking at perspectives from above which are informed by the planner and city officials, versus perspectives from below which are informed by users and residents of the space, and trying to understand where the two perspectives come together and what this means for planning for urban change when the two perspectives come together. In other words what kind of space development does it influence and is that a possible way to resolve the dialectic between the two perspectives? Figure 1.4.3(b) shows these perspectives aside from the conceptual diagram and essentially unpacks what the research aims to do by looking at space through Lefebvre's (1991) triad.

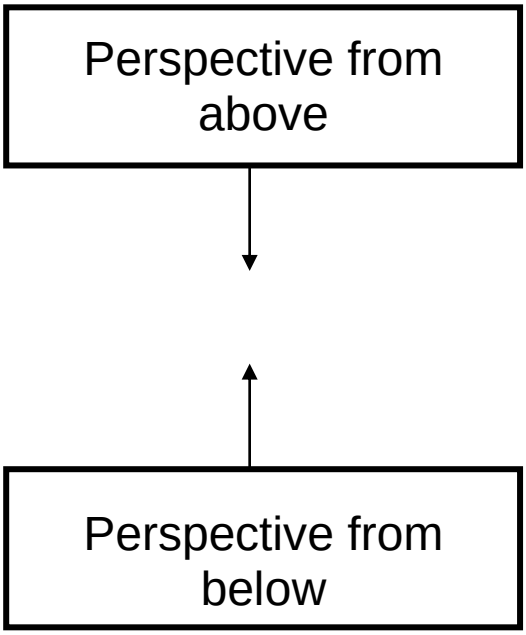


Figure 1.4.3 (b): Elaboration on conceptual diagram

1.4.4 Placing all concepts into context

Essentially the point of this research is not to explore these concepts in isolation but rather to understand them as a whole in order to better inform planning practice and academic sectors with regard to planning for the nature of urban change in the Southern African context. Simone (2004) argues that the city is shaped and moulded by many elements and interactions that take place within the city, some of which are visible while many are invisible. What he argues is that the city is a complex terrain which is laced by culture, interactions, people and the physical aspect of cities. What is important here is to try and unravel this complexity and pick out the elements which best characterise urban change as applicable to the context, hence simultaneously obtaining an understanding of what the 'African city' is about.

Ferguson in Mbembe (2008) argues that African cities are "a matter of highly selective and spatially encapsulated forms of connection combined with widespread disconnection and exclusion" (Ferguson in Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008: 5).

Therefore the significance is to unravel the many layers which inform perspectives and ideas of representations in the African city, to try and reach the point where urban change can be understood in the face of all these elements.

1.5 Aim of the research

The following objectives aim to clarify the core aims of the research by clearly stating these objectives to make it clear for the reader to understand the work and giving clear direction and purpose of what the research ultimately aims to achieve.

The core objectives of the research include: Clarifying and explaining concepts surrounding urban change in urban Africa. It includes looking closely at the production of space, representations and perspectives of space. Therefore exploring

the dialectic that exists between planner, user and the city and examining the nature of urban change in detail in other precinct cases but more importantly in the proposed case study. The purpose of looking at these other precincts is to present to the reader a layout of how precincts are planned and which ones have been successful and how have these been successful, in a sense what makes them a success in comparison to those that are not successful and what can be learnt from these precincts that can assist on in understanding the nature of urban change in the Newtown Cultural Precinct. In essence the research is about translating the conceptual understanding of space by the planner into a particular space, such as Newtown, therefore trying to bring closer the two understandings of space between the planner and the user hence one is proposing a better way to deal with the dialectic that exists between planner and user by using hybridity and creolisation as analysis tools for the case study and suggesting a way forward for dealing with urban change. Moreover it includes understanding the underlying importance of working within the context of urban Southern Africa and therefore placing the research into context in terms of its point for planners and planning for change in places like Newtown.

1.6 Research methods

The research will attempt to use a case study-based research methodology to help better understand the nature of urban change and its influential counterparts within the context of what Lefebvre (1991) terms as 'the production of space' in the context of urban Africa – particularly in the Newtown cultural precinct. In doing so, one may be able to develop planning strategies and interventions that can be a positive influence on planning for African cities in the twenty-first century.

The research methodology will comprise conducting the following:

- A theoretical analysis of literature on Lefebvre's 'The Production of Space'

- Case study analysis including photographs taken
- Interviews
- Discourse analysis of policy documents and urban frameworks

The theoretical framework and the interviews conducted will assist one to answer the following main research question:

> How can planners better understand and design for change in contemporary urban African cities?

In order to effectively address the main research question, the following sub questions relating to the main question will be asked:

- How is Newtown seen, perceived and used as conceptualised by planners and articulated by users?
- Has the vision articulated by the space's designers been successfully translated?
- How has the social production of space occurred in Newtown?
- In what ways has Newtown changed over time?
- For whom have the changes/redesign of Newtown been beneficial or disadvantageous?

1.7 Ethical considerations

With regard to ethical considerations one needs to take into account the sensitivity of the research towards the interviewees. Campbell (2002) asserts that planning is about making choices (with and for others) about what makes good, just places. Therefore, judgement is at the heart of what planners do (Campbell, 2002). It is thus

imperative to be considerate when it comes to analyzing people's views and ideas on how they feel about certain places. Political influences and fiscal issues are a big factor to development taking place in practice. One cannot conduct interviews without being aware of these factors. In light of the above one then needs to take into consideration potential sensitivity to such issues, moreover confidentiality and transparency need to be taken into consideration when conducting these interviews.

Furthermore, the purpose of these interviews needs to be clearly communicated to the interviewees, therefore making clear what the aim of the research is and how participation by the interviewees will benefit the research. One also needs to reflect and take into consideration the issue of race when conducting interviews based on such a topic. Some people are sensitive on issues pertaining to urban change, arguing that such issues are purely based on the change in racial scales in government, however the research is based on an explorative approach to reveal or explore what avenues may lie beneath the concept of urban change, while hybridity and creolisation are merely tools used for analysis to explore what may lie beneath the surface. Therefore it is important to be open to all views expressed in this regard. There is no set way of looking at urban change; one ought to consider these views and take them into account as they reveal a different aspect of the complicated contemporary South African city.

1.8 Structure of the research report

The research report from this point forward will be structured in the following way:

Chapter Two will attempt to theoretically conceptualise the concepts of urban change, dialectic perspectives on space, and the production of space based on Lefebvre's (1991) triad. It will attempt to articulate the relationship of the three perspectives discussed in Section 1.4.3 in terms of who is located where in the

conceptual diagram of the triad. The chapter will also attempt to better understand the dynamics of urban change as applicable in the urban African context, by specifically looking at the development of precincts in the South African context.

Chapter Three will look at the Newtown cultural precinct as the chosen case study to examine the concept of urban change, looking at urban frameworks, policies, photographs and interviews conducted with the respective people. It will attempt to lay the information collected in a legible manner so that it is applicable to understanding urban change in Newton and moreover so that the information presented can be clearly analysed and interpreted in terms of the research question

Chapter Four will be the analysis chapter of both chapters two and three, based on the theories provided in Chapter Two. This chapter will go a step further by attempting to use the theories of hybridity and creolisation to analyse the information presented in the case study, so that one can present planning with a different approach to understanding urban change in Newtown. An attempt will be made to answer the research question posed in Section 1.6 with regard to the information gathered at this point.

Chapter Five will conclude and summarise the points made in the research, and provide a reflection of the entire research looking at the challenges and limitations of the research as well as suggesting recommendations for future reference on where the research fell short.

1.9 The way forward

The aspiration is that a deeper understanding of the challenges and nature of urban change will be gained. It is hoped further that the research will inform a better set of tools which planners working in practice and in the academic sectors can utilise as a lens in which to view an approach urban change in the Southern African context.

The ultimate goal is to begin to understand the underlying elements and factors which have an influence on how cities are shaped and transformed, thus gaining a better understanding of what it means to plan a cultural precinct in South Africa.

Chapter Two

2.1 Searching for a theoretical stance

2.1.1 Introduction

In order to fully understand the concept of urban change and tackle the question at hand, it is imperative that one should be clear about the theoretical stance that will be taken, therefore basing the concepts on appropriate planning theory. Substantiating the conceptual framework is essential, as it aids the reader to better understand the perspective being articulated and the direction the research report intends to take. Essentially the purpose of this section is to express in depth the core concepts which frame the research report and thus find a theoretical stance on which to base the research report. The purpose of the chapter is to understand the relationship between representations of space in terms of how space is shaped in relation to how it is perceived and used. Moreover by understanding the dialectic relationship of space one hopes to unravel the connection between urban change in the African context and processes that influence the production of space in such a context, thus revealing the major aspects on which planning should focus in terms of planning for urban change.

The chapter will be structured in the following three ways:

- Unpacking and analysing Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space as well as uncovering the relevance of the conceptual triad in terms of users, planners and the city, and articulating its relevance in understanding the main research objectives.
- Explaining the concept of urban change with regard to Lefebvre's (1991) theory. Placing the argument made on urban change and the production of space in a holistic context of planning the 'African city'. Placing the entire argument into the context of the South African landscape by looking at three precincts and their development between the years 2000 and 2010, therefore

enhancing the explanation of the concept of urban change and ultimately linking the points made to the concept of the triad.

- Tying all the points together, making a connection between Lefebvre's (1991) concepts and the research as a whole. In essence understanding the implications of the theoretical framework in context of the research question, what it means for the research, and which points are most relevant in interpreting and analysing the case study.

2.2 Lefebvre's production of space

Production as defined by the Collins English Dictionary (1991) is "the act of producing any work as a result of literary or artistic effort". This implies that production is a conscious effort in which one makes something different from its original state. Space on the other hand is defined as "the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objects are located" Collins English Dictionary (1991). Therefore in simple technical terms, the definition of the concept of the production of space encompasses a conscious effort to change the original space and make it into something different, or rather it is to interpret space differently from its current state and change it in a way that is now appropriate for its use or fitting for the context.

Shields (1999), argues that Lefebvre's concept of the production of space was concerned mostly with the struggles over the meaning of space and how relations across territories were given cultural meaning. In this sense the production of space directly equates to interpretations, representations and perceptions of places in space. Essentially people interpret and perceive space differently; therefore the way in which they choose to 'produce' or rather change space is directly dependent on these interpretations and perceptions of how they perceive a space to be that imagined or ideal place. Hence the production of space is concerned with the

meaning of these representations in space and the struggle between the way planners/designers choose to interpret and represent space as opposed to the users and residents of that space and the way they interpret and shape space accordingly.

> "These spaces are produced. The 'raw material' from which they are produced is nature. They are products of an activity which involves the economic and technical realms but which extends well beyond them, for these are also political products and strategic spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991: 84).

Therefore what Lefebvre (1991) is concerned with here is the relationship which exists between shapers and users of space but beyond that he is concerned with understanding those underlying attributes which shape and influence the production of space in a certain direction.

2.3 Explaining Lefebvre's triad

> "A building is encountered; it is approached, confronted, related to one's body, moved through, and utilized as a condition for other things. Architecture directs and frames behaviour and movement… consequently basic architectural experiences have a verb form rather than being nouns. I experience myself in the city and the city exists through my embodied experience. The city and my body supplement and define each other" (Pallasmaa in Kostreva, 2010: 1).

A reciprocal relationship exists between the city and its users. Not only do people respond to the way that the city is shaped or the manner in which it changes over time, rather the city also responds to the way people and interact with it. It is shaped accordingly, by what people perceive of it and the manner in which they choose to represent these perceptions. Pallasmaa (2010) echoes this, when she argues that a relationship exists between the city and the body; neither of the two

elements are mutually exclusive to one another, rather they 'supplement and define each other'. In the same way, Lefebvre's (1991) triad is about the dialectic relationship between shapers, users and the city itself. It is concerned with exploring the connection between all three aspects and understanding their relevance in the 'production of space', hence looking beyond the surface of the changes that take place in the city and examining the underlying relationships which exists at the root of all the changes.

2.3.1 Spatial Practice

Spatial practice refers to the everyday use of space, essentially what Lefebvre (1991) argues is the use of space and how space is produced and reproduced on a daily basis. What spatial practice really refers to is the metamorphosis of space, the ability of space to be transformed by external influences and the ability of space to transform itself or rather reproduce itself into different uses over time. In essence space in this sense is not viewed as the object within which activities take place; rather space is personified as the element which responds to interactions and perceptions accordingly. Just as Pallasmaa (2010) argues in Section 2.3, there is a reciprocal relationship between people and the spaces that they use and encounter in the city.

> "What is important in this perspective is the way that material relationships are perceived and how they affect daily living and the functional value of the space" (Frick, 2002: 15).

Frick (2002) echoes this concept of 'spatial practice' when she speaks about the material relationship in referring to the physical aspects of space that changes to accommodate new or alternative uses. Her emphasis on the material relationships highlights how the physical aspect of space is manipulated, shaped and changed to bring about a different environment or to alter the current environment that exists in the space. Essentially as spaces change, people begin to perceive those spaces

much differently than they would before they changed. Therefore spatial practice is not merely concerned with the idea of space as an object; rather it is about space as the personified object which reacts just as much to interactions as people would to changes on it.

2.3.2 Representations of Space

Representation of space refers to the way that space is conceived from above by planners, architects, government plans and developers. This refers to the way they shape and order space in terms of what they think is ideal for that particular space or what image they want a space to portray.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that this idea of representation of space grew from the want to develop spaces and places which were orderly and represented the aesthetic qualities of those who resided in them.

> "Out of this process emerged, then, a new representation of space: the visual perspective shown in the works of painters and given form first by architects and later by geometers. Knowledge emerged from a practice, and elaborated upon it by means of formalization and the application of a logical order" (Lefebvre, 1991: 79).

What Lefebvre (1991) is arguing for is that the way in which places are represented comes from the way people imagine spaces to be, for example people imagine a park to be a space with green trees, grass and flowers and occasionally with a lake at the centre. These are sorts of ideals that one imagines; one tends to attach to spaces through representations.

> "Representations de l'espace are the logic and forms of knowledge, and the ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual depictions of space

> linked to production relations. These are the abstracted theories and philosophies such as the science of planning" Shields (1999: 163).

What Shields is referring to is the concept of 'mental space' that Lefebvre (1991) talks about. He argues that representations of space exist as concepts in the mind before they are actually represented into space; hence they are a mental construct or an abstract of the mind.

What is important to note about this concept of representations of space is that the basis of these concepts or ideas are never taken from the context or from the users of the place, rather representations come from people practising the 'science of planning as suggested by Shields (1999), they are the ones who determine what the space needs, what it should look like and how it should be used. Lefebvre in Shields (1999: 164) echoes this by arguing that, "conceptualised space, the space of scientists… technocratic sub dividers and social engineers… all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived".

2.3.3 Spaces of Representation

Spaces of representation refer to the way that space is perceived by its users and residents. It refers to the meanings and symbolism that they attach to spaces that they use on a daily basis.

> "People's actions measure, impact, and resonate with the urban space. They engage the essential contract of mutual definition with the buildings and streets that surround them. As they traverse the city, their identities are being determined and they are choosing the meanings, acting out the uses, and imagining the fates of the urban context" (Kostreva, 2010: 1).

Kostreva (2010) highlights this concept of 'spaces of representation', by suggesting that as people move around the city and engage with elements and aspects of the

city, they attach meaning to these places and define the city in their own way according to how the city interacts with them.

Shields (1999) views spaces of representation as the part in the triad which forms the social imaginary in which he argues that this social imaginary is the platform in which one conceptualises the problems in space, or rather defines what is not working efficiently in space and thus it becomes the influence for solutions which are thought to be possible and achievable. He further argues that spaces of representation are the actual 'lived space', the terrain in which people realise themselves as the total person through the spaces they live and interact in. Essentially spaces of representation refers to the way people live and show their presence in the space, and it also refers to the small interactions people have and make with the space in which they live. It refers to the personalisation of space, the manner in which people choose to make the space their own or to make it a space that they call home. Soja (1996) argues that what Lefebvre described as lived space is essentially a combination of the real and the imagined. By this he meant it is that space where the conceptions of space in peoples' minds are actually realised in the spaces that they live in; these represent the 'imagined' in the 'real' space.

What Lefebvre (1991) was arguing for is the realisation of the importance of this third space and the influence that it has on the way that spatial practice is performed, or rather the way in which space is changed.

> "Space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'… this is the dominated… space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said… to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs" (Lefebvre in Shields, 1999: 164)

2.4 The triad and its relation to the research

> "A space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things" (Lefebvre, 1991: 83).

For Lefebvre (1991) spaces are not merely objects in which things exist but rather a space constitutes relationships between things, therefore spaces are not simply objects in isolation, rather they exist in a frame in which there are interactions, and relationships are formed between other sets of objects within that frame. The importance of this statement lies in understanding the direction the research aims to take. For Lefebvre (1991) space is conceptualised into three main concepts; production, representations and perspectives. He tries to clarify the meaning of all these different kinds of spaces by defining each concept as part of what he calls the triad. The research takes these three concepts a step further by unpacking the triad: the objective is to try and understand the relationship that exists between what Lefebvre (1991) calls the 'spaces of representation' and 'representations of spaces', and how this fundamentally influences 'spatial practice'.

Harrison in Frick (2002:12) states that for Lefebvre "space is a lived, subjective experience that has as much to do with imagination, perception, social meaning and representation as it has to do with material reality". In the same way that space for Lefebvre is about meaning, the research is concerned with analysing and exploring the meaning of space in relation to urban change. Essentially, how space in its three perspectives can be understood in terms of urban change and whether there is a lens that one can use in order to analyse this better and seek better solutions for planning.

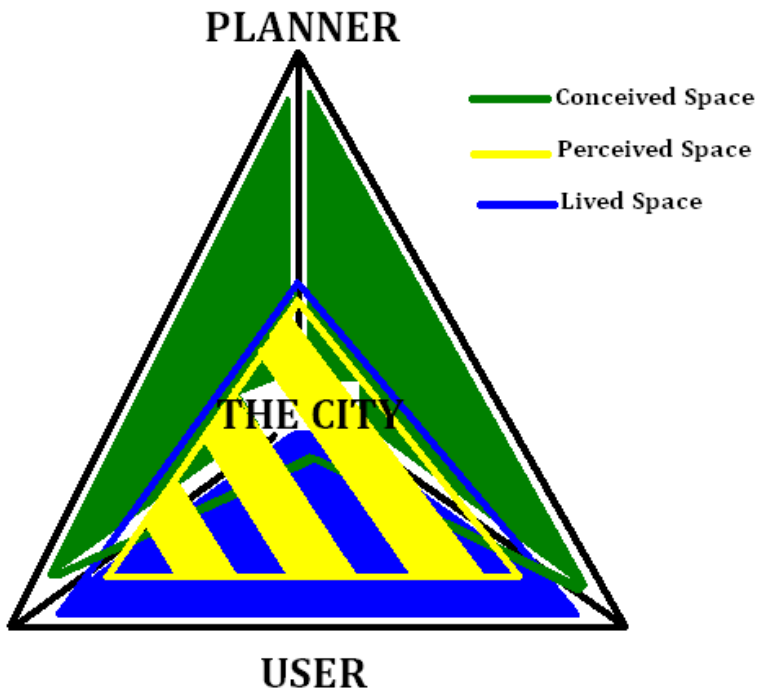


Figure 2.4: Conceptual diagram

The conceptual diagram highlights the dialectic relationship between space and people, where space is not just the giver but the receiver, and often the platform for change in people's routines and behaviours is articulated in space. Moreover it highlights the basis of the relationships which exist when it comes to the transformation of space. There is always a view from the top versus a view from below, both of which have an influence on how space is ultimately shaped. However neither of the two – spaces of representation/lived space and representations of space/conceived space – is understood in unison. There seems to be a conflict between how planners and designers shape spaces in the city versus how people living in the space perceive and conceptualise that space, therefore influencing the manner in which they interact with space or rather change space to make it more accommodating to their needs. This then lies at the core of this research, in essence

trying to understand what happens when the two perspectives come together, if there is ever a point where these two perspectives can function together. How then would it be to understand spatial practice not just as the view from above or just as the view from below?

Purcell (2002:102) argues that "perceived space refers to the relatively objective, concrete space people encounter in the daily environment… conceived space refers to the mental constructions of space, creative ideas about and representations of space… lived space is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person's actual experience of space in everyday life".

The focus then of this conceptual framework is on decoding the concepts as defined by Lefebvre (1991) and Purcell (2002) in order to articulate these into space to provide a better understanding of what really happens in space and what really accounts for clashing changes. The issue is that there is a tendency by planners to assume that the built environment, or rather the practice of shaping space, can ultimately channel or shape human behaviour; they assume that providing the necessary or adequate infrastructure in space makes people change any perceptions they may have had, rather it influences the way in which people will live. However all it creates is a cycle of continuous changes in the city between users and the planner.

Infrastructure is supposedly the driving mechanism or the elements which allow for economic interaction (or any kind of interaction) to take place between the city, its users or its residents. Infrastructure is often viewed as one of the basics that a city requires to be economically viable. However Simone (2004) argues that what keeps the city alive and functioning the way that it does is not the roads that are built or the services taking place within the city, which is not to say that they do not play a role in the functioning of any city, rather when one interprets the activities that take place in the city on a daily basis and looks at the city from a social aspect, one

realises that there is a reciprocal relationship between the city and the people who inhabit the city.

If the city is not shaped solely by infrastructure or design aesthetics and people who live in the city play a role in how the city is shaped, then surely it is important not to simply dismiss the influence of the users as something that is temporary and plays a small role on how urban change takes place. To fully understand the concept of urban change one has to really understand the relationship which exists between planner and user, in essence try to understand where the two meet, if there is ever a platform where they meet, and what urban change will look like when this happens. Will there be consensus in how urban change takes place? Or will planners be still planning for urban change that goes against the views of the users in terms of how space should be utilized? These are the questions that this research hopes to uncover and understand.

The conceptual diagram highlights this exploration. Furthermore what the conceptual diagram tries to highlight is the exploration of the relationship between the user and the city, for there is more to urban change than understanding the dialectic relationship that exists between the user and the planner. The relationship between user and the city exists on its own level and is influenced by its own structures and elements. The way in which people perceive, conceive and choose to interact with space is based on more than their mere existence in the city.

> "People behave in the way that they behave because of the culture they have assimilated. It may be an ethnic culture though it could equally be an organizational or professional culture that influences their reading of and responses to the world. Without an understanding of this, urban place-makers are lost" (Wood and Landry, 2008: 245).

Therefore what the conceptual diagram is proposing is to look beyond the obvious and to look deeply at these dynamic relationships and how they have an influence

on urban change and what planning can learn from perhaps reading the city from below as opposed to reading it from above. What elements could one learn about change and the city from applying a different lens to reading spatial practice?

> Sandercock (2004: 50) argues that "how can a planning strategy claim to be speaking for the community when it systematically ignores 40 percent of that community and when it operates in a professional language that is the equivalent of a foreign language to the community".

The statement made by Sandercock (2004) makes sense in context of this research, in that what Sandercock is arguing is that often the redesigning of spaces is justified by planners as something that is for the benefit of the community, however in most cases the communities are never met in these planning strategies. The city tends to fulfil its own strategies under the banner that it is serving the community. In most cases spaces end up being redesigned without the community's opinions or past any rejections the community may have. The result is that over some time these spaces are not used the way that the planners or designers intended them to be used and instead of urban change or redesign of spaces being a solution to some of the city's ills and challenges, it has made matters worse and caused more problems than those that existed before.

What this research is proposing is the explorative interest in understanding such changes thereby gaining a better understanding in terms of what is happening on the ground in the city. For example, understanding change in terms of why people choose to sell on the sidewalks in places where stands and stalls have been provided, or why certain buildings are used contradictory to their intended purpose, or why places which have been declared cultural precincts or African centres don't fully convey or capture such an image and how such images are defined and described. In essence understanding what is urban change and how knowledge about the dynamic operating structure of the city can equip one to plan better for such contexts.

2.5 Urban change

> "The focus is on notions of urban change on the city as a laboratory of change, rather than simply an embodiment of accommodation, social engineering or the spatial fix of economic growth. It emphasises the resilience and resourcefulness displayed by African cities, qualities drawn upon for local survival, but difficult to mobilize on a larger stage. With this emphasis on the process of change, the ways in which urban life is concretized across the region are thus seen not as history or a series of policies gone wrong; rather… the determination of urban Africans to find their own way" (Simone and Abouhani, 2005: 1).

Urban change as argued by Simone and Abouhani (2005) relates to the way in which the space is constantly used and transformed on a daily basis. They make reference to the concept of urban change in the context of African cities, highlighting the ability of the people to mobilize themselves and transform space through ephemeral networks. What they try to show are aspects of urban change, in a way making sense of the informal activities that currently take place, not as a case of failed urbanization or failed attempts at urban change but rather that it should be looked at as the ability of the people, particularly African urban residents, to improvise and make space work for them.

Therefore it relates to the concept of spaces of representation in which Lefebvre (1991) argues that this is the process by which space is transformed from below, transformation that occurs on a daily basis and plays a crucial role to how 'lived space' is then perceived. Moreover it highlights the importance of spaces of representation as a great influence in commanding urban change and influencing what Lefebvre (1991) calls spatial practice.

Essentially urban change relates closely to the concept of spatial practice in which Lefebvre (1991) argues that space in light of 'spatial practice' should not be seen as

merely the object or platform in which transformation and changes take place, but rather that space has the ability to be a part of the producing and reproducing process of transformation. In much the same way Simone and Abouhani (2005: 1) argue that urban change should be viewed as, 'the city as a laboratory of change, rather than simply an embodiment of accommodation, social engineering or the spatial fix of economic growth'. Hence it is a process which is attached to many other influential parts, which together make up the holistic view of a transformed city. Neither is the city just awaiting change but through daily interactions and perceptions it is allowing itself to be moulded and shaped.

2.5.1 Urban change in the African context

Simone and Abouhani (2005) have highlighted some important elements with regard to the concept of urban change. In the quotation above what they show is the fact that African cities are unique and face different challenges within the context of urban change than what other cities in other parts of the world may face. Of course urban change as a process is not a unique concept to planning as a whole, or to planning in the context of other cities, however the point here is that each context should be understood for its own characteristics and challenges; in a sense the challenges around urban change in an African city should be acknowledged and planning should not only look to abstract design and aesthetic examples and assume that these will erase the problem.

Furthermore what has also been highlighted is the need to actually understand those challenges, finding out what they are and making sense of them in terms of urban change.

Rakodi (2002: 45) argues that "African cities are often seen as threatened by chaos: parasitic on the economy and thus anti-developmental; characterised by excessively rapid demographic growth, sucking the most active and qualified people from the

rural areas; unplanned and sprawling; unhealthy because of the inability of infrastructure providers to keep pace with growth and the exacerbating effects of density on the transmission of infectious disease; and characterised by incompetent and corrupt government structures".

It is not enough to point out the ills which characterise African cities at this point, these are obvious and well known facts in planning within the African context, but what Rakodi (2002) has done is highlighted these ailments, a step further would be to explore and attempt to understand the reasons behind these occurrences. Therefore in Simone's view (2001: 104) asking appropriate questions which help you get to the root of the problem, such as "how do residents with limited means use informality to expand their resources, opportunity and autonomous action? How do they rehearse a capacity to balance increasingly competing needs for social cohesion and access to opportunity? What kinds of sites or venues are put together for these tasks"? This would contribute to understanding the underlying problems which mould or shape cities into what one sees as chaos or informality and why these tend to occur in places which have just been redeveloped or redesigned. The purpose then is to plan better for change in these contexts.

In essence it is about understanding the role of planning in a city where there are not enough formal resources to make a living for everyone moving into the city, rather that alternative ways of making a living are explored by people in the city; it is about understanding the channels and means that people employ to ensure survival in the city, even if these channels are temporary, what benefit all these complexities of 'people as infrastructure' serve to highlight for planners in the city, and how planners might begin to perceive life in the city from the residents point view (Simone, 2004).

In terms of the research one cannot ignore the aspect of working and exploring urban change in the African context; it is not easy to pinpoint reasons behind urban change in this context which is laced with so many aspects, rather exploring urban

change would entail examining the many layers which make African cities what they are today.

> "Yet African cities continue to be places of experimentation for engagement, the terms of which are not exclusively fixed or determined in advance" Simone (2001:22).

In a context where stability is not guaranteed, where people living in the city decide for themselves how the city should be, it is necessary to understand the character of what an 'African city' is to effectively plan for change.

2.5.2 The importance of urban change

One can then question what the importance of urban change is therefore questioning what the fundamental issue about urban change is in relation to planning. The research so far has highlighted that through 'spatial practice' change in the city or rather in space, takes place anyway, whether it is by the influence of the planner or not. Space will transform itself over time to suit the context in which it exists. Moreover people will also play a role and influence the direction in which change in the city will follow. However planning being the study and practice that deals with space and people, is obviously concerned with ensuring that spaces in the city grow, change and develop in a manner which stimulates sustainable growth of the city as a whole. Therefore it is important to understand why change happens and how it happens. It is not enough to look at the concepts of change and attempt to relate them to practice, it is also crucial to look at aspects of change in spaces within the city; how spaces change over time and what elements influence these changes, therefore analysing patterns of change and how these patterns emphasise the importance for planners to really understand urban change.

In truth there is no bad change or good change; change is based on perspectives and how people relate and interact with space, therefore as opposed to being good or

bad change can be progressive in that it is able to translate all perspectives and relate them well into space. Essentially this is the sort of change that one is striving to explore, such that it bridges the gap or divide in the dialectic presented between planner and user. Fundamentally the aim is to design for change that is sustainable, sustainable defined as "the capability of being sustained over time" (Collins English Dictionary, 1991). The goal then is to discover the key to designing and planning for spaces which will serve the function for which they were intended and ultimately satisfy both the user and the planner of the space and which can adapt to change.

2.6 Urban change in precinct development

In the City of Johannesburg website (2007) it is argued that there are certain elements which make for a successful precinct development, but that the most important of all is the public realm. Ultimately the precinct is for the public and will be used by the public, therefore it is important to consider the public in and when planning for change in space.

> "A key element in obtaining a more public transit-suited structure is the focus on the public realm. The public realm is that part of a development or precinct that is devoted to the public and provides free access to the general public. This includes spaces such as pedestrian walkways, urban squares and parks. The public realm is the ultimate expression of urban life which serves multiple functions:
>
> - It builds social relations through repeated contact among inhabitants in multiple overlapping roles and relationships.
> - The public realm is a teacher of social skills and attitudes, whereby people are taught how to relate and behave with a diversity of others; young and old, poor and well-to-do, healthy or disabled.

- In bringing inhabitants together, the public realm contributes to a more democratic way of life and encourages all to share observations and perspectives.
- In terms of public transit, the public realm is important because it accommodates pedestrians, which are the commuters that use public transit" (City of Johannesburg website, 2007:6).

What is outlined here is the importance of considering the user in space when developing or designing space, however where it falls short is the fact that like many other designs, these principles speak to aesthetic and design aspects only, however as discussed in Section 2.5, the planner's perspective or design qualities does not begin to uncover the holistic perspective on urban change, rather what is more pertinent is the ability of the planner or designer to look deeper into this understanding of public realm and actually speak to the users perspective on space. In this case examining urban change is not merely about the end result but how well space is changed to fit the context and work with its surroundings such that it is 'sustainable'. The following explanations of precincts aim to enhance this concept of urban change, in essence relate the concept in space so that the points highlighted about urban change in this section become relevant in practical terms. The chosen precincts paint a very broad picture of how precincts are developed and how they actually work, what is important to note for this research is how urban change can be made a success between planners and users. The precincts were chosen on location, as a way to assess which precincts whether those in the south, north or east work more effectively than the other in terms of urban change and what points can one draw to inform analysis in Newtown cultural precinct.

2.6.1 Greater Ellis Park precinct - Bezuidenhout mixed use precinct

The Bezuidenhout precinct better known as Bez Valley Park, is an area east of central Johannesburg which was characterised as a rundown suburb prior to the

decision to turn it into a mixed use precinct (Property 24 website, 2007). The Draft Precinct Plan for the greater Ellis Park (2005) area argues that the challenges and current land use pattern of the area led to the proposal and development of such a precinct which it outlined as being dominated by manufacturing activity. A few buildings were used for residential accommodation while many of the sites were secured with wire and palisade fencing. This contributed to an unpopulated and unfriendly street environment and a number of buildings in the area were vacant and unattended. On the basis of these challenges there was a need to bring something to the area that would revitalise it and reinforce its part within the greater Ellis Park Precinct. The Draft further outlines the objectives of the mixed use precinct as to:

1. Improve the legibility and the quality of the public environment and the Mixed-use Precinct.
2. Enhance connectivity and accessibility within the precinct and between the precinct and the rest of the city.
3. Establish a public transportation link to the city.
4. Intensify and diversify land uses within the precinct to enhance the potential live/work environment whilst reinforcing the business hub quality.
5. Improve safety and security for residents and visitors.
6. Develop on the existing heritage resources to enhance the character of the environment.
7. Promote the precinct as an alternative and unique live/play/work place and tourism destination for the city.
8. Promote the development of a sustainable and balanced mixed-use node to support economic development and meet the city's 2030 objectives (The Draft Precinct Plan for the greater Ellis Park, 2005).

On the basis of the objectives outlined in The Draft Precinct Plan for the greater Ellis Park precinct (2005) plans to redevelop and redesign the area were made in

accordance with these objectives to change the direction in which the area was headed and to meet the challenges that were perceived in the area.

The City of Johannesburg website (2005) states that,

> "Bezuidenhout has been identified as a mixed-use precinct. Plans for the precinct include hotels, offices, retail space and residential developments. It is located south-east of Miller Street up to Bezuidenhout Avenue, to Bertrams Road and is bounded by the railway line on the south-west and includes part of New Doornfontein and Troyeville. Bezuidenhout Square will be developed into a public square with an information centre and there will be a market for informal traders. Voorhout Street will become the central spine for private developers. Developments for Voorhout Park include a central park, recreational and sporting facilities, public ablutions, lighting, artwork, restaurants, signage, street furniture, gateway elements and paving to accommodate parking during special events. South Park Square will become a public space where visitors will be able to enter the Ellis Park stadium".

In light of the mixed use precinct plans the Property 24 website (2007) further states that,

> "Encouraged by the upgrading of the area's roads and intersections, its railway transportation facilities and pockets of new development as well as its proximity to Wits University, Ismail Essop, principal of Realty 1 International Property Group in Bedfordview and Kensington feels it has the potential to become a cosmopolitan live, work, play and tourist destination".

2.6.2 Moroka Park Precinct

> "We live in two interpenetrating worlds. The first world is the living world, which has been forged by evolution over a period of billions of years. The

> second is the cultural world of cities, farms, rural areas and infrastructure that people have been designing for themselves over the last few millennia. The condition that threatens both worlds – unsustainability – results from a lack of integration between them. In striving for sustainable urban environments, we need to acquire the skills to effectively interweave human activities and natural processes into one integrated system. The Moroka Park Precinct is a series of three parks, Thokoza Park, Moroka Dam and Regina Mundi Park of Remembrance, built over a period of two years beginning in 2002, which demonstrate how this objective can be achieved" (Geldenhuys, 2005: 1).

The idea of creating an integrated system that works was the concept that inspired the development of the precinct to what it is today. From this concept stemmed the notion of introducing a precinct comprised of parks in an area that had rarely had parks before. The City of Johannesburg website (2004) argues that Soweto is township that was developed for black people under the apartheid government. The township is predominantly made up of houses with little recreational space; the objective was to house black people in an area away from the city centre.

Through this they highlight the lack of provision for any formal recreational sites. What Geldenhuys (2005) argues in light of this is that the challenge of developing a park precinct was twofold; an environmental challenge and a social challenge. The social challenge was to promote the important role that parks can play in the uplifting of a community, through this he argues that "as designers concerned about the development of urban parks, it was helpful to remember that what people do not understand, they will not value and what they do not value, they do not embrace" (Geldenhuys, 2005:1). The environmental challenge entailed the rehabilitation of a stream and the de-silting of a dam.

He further highlighted the importance of channelling the perceptions of urban parks by arguing that there was a need to turn over the view of parks from being places of

vandalism and crime to that of parks being perceived as a catalyst for community development and places of recreation and social exchange.

He argues that "the starting point – a principle not to be deviated from – was to involve the community from the outset and to ensure that they stayed involved throughout the process… the community (should) have valuable insights into how the area functions and the design vision should evoke a sense of pride and anticipation in the people who live and work the surrounding area" (Geldenhuys, 2005:2).

The park entailed the integration of the dam and the wetlands, landscaping of the parks to add an aesthetic quality to the area, and play areas to support children in the neighbourhood and thus move children of the streets into a safer environment. It also entailed the addition of artworks through the form of mosaics in the park. Through this they allowed local artists to add personal touches of the kind of artwork they felt would adequately define the space into their own perspectives. The alternative importance for this artwork in the park was that it stemmed directly from the community and carried messages of hope to the rest of the community (Geldenhuys, 2005).

Geldenhuys (2005) argues that the significance of the project was that through the planning and design the project became a catalyst for creating community development and enhancement in order to ensure that the parks became an important component of transforming and enriching the Moroka area. The parks became a benchmark for park development in Soweto, therefore striving to correct the limited amount of formal recreational spaces within Soweto; moreover the project became the reference point for a successful approach to planning for a community.

2.6.3 Sandton Precinct

The purpose of this precinct is to develop the area into a node which makes it possible to facilitate the 'live, work and play' environment that the region is currently striving towards achieving. The strategy emanates from the need to manage growth and development in the area as well as the need to fulfil requirements of communities and investors. The main objectives for the development of this precinct are:

- Sustainable growth and development
- Creating a sense of place and community
- Ensuring management of service provision

(Sandton Development Framework, 2008).

The primary goal is to enhance this utopia of creating a space in the city in which people have the desire to live and which possesses the qualities of a safe suburb, but still has the advantage of feeling like the city. Moreover people can live in these precincts while also working in them, in a sense reducing the amount of travel time to work areas and reducing the number of cars on the road as well as curbing urban pollution to a certain extent. An extension of this precinct is Melrose Arch which aspires to this community lifestyle of live, work and play by ensuring that all services are provided within the precinct and users have access to all services as they would in a 'normal suburb'. Melrose was previously an area that contained some old houses and vacant land in which some informal traders used the space to sell some of the artefacts and crafts that they made.

The Sandton Development Framework (2008) argues that the strategies for achieving these sorts of developments such as the Melrose Arch precinct are to:

- Define and delineate the nodal area
- Support an efficient movement system
- Develop appropriate urban form, land use and urban design guidelines
- Manage and monitor infrastructure and services provision
- Promote communication, coordination and engagement
- Develop a monitoring and evaluation system

Melrose Arch is a mixed use precinct in Melrose Johannesburg. The precinct is estimated to have a total of seven phases which will take up an area of 300,000 square metres (Engineering News, 2000). The Sentinel Mining Industry Retirement Fund commissioned the development of an office park in the early 1990s. The developers envisioned something different from the ordinary mundane office park development and proposed to develop an open mixed-use precinct of offices, restaurants, retail stores, hotels and residential space, using principles of New Urbanism. After Phase One had been completed in Melrose Arch, the office space market became oversaturated and rentals stalled at only a 20% occupancy rate. The property management company Investec was hired to manage the complex and promote the development of a hotel which shifted the marketing of Melrose Arch from office park to urban spectacle (Dirsuweit and Schattauer, 2004).

The Sandton Development Framework argues that the purpose of the development of the greater precinct is not only to ensure alignment to the city's mandates for this area but moreover to ensure that the legitimacy of the city is strengthened by making services more responsive to local needs and situations and assisting in sustainable partnership formulation. Furthermore they argue that the outcomes of this precinct should be to:

- Ensure the involvement and capability of communities and stakeholders
- Focusing service delivery on the end users

- Building trust and commitment
- Managing performance and providing regular feedback to the community

(Sandton Development Framework, 2008).

2.7 The relevance of the precincts to urban change

An inward look and critical examination of the past few years within the Johannesburg Metropolitan council by the City itself has lead to a series of events which have stimulated some of the decisions made to redevelop and redesign certain spaces within the city. These have laid out the paving for urban changes in and around the city, working towards creating a united vision for Johannesburg as 'a world African class city'.

As argued by Fraser (2007) the idea behind many decisions and concepts for urban change in the City, was the fact that for Johannesburg to progress it required growth, and growth could only be achieved when places were redeveloped and redesigned to attract investment and more development, hence the decisions to change urban spaces and to create a vision that could serve as a guideline in which urban change could follow. Moreover the timeline presented serves to show that the three precincts highlighted are not just a product of spontaneous actions by the city, rather there are solid reasons behind why certain spaces are chosen over others to be redesigned and what purpose they aim to serve. However what is not shown here is an intricate or in-depth analysis of this urban change and how it actually takes place, therefore in a sense understanding the relationship between planner and users in each of the cases presented, but what is argued is that urban change does take place and that more needs to be done to manage urban change in a manner that makes it sustainable over time.

1991: Business in the inner city organised a Strategic Initiative for Central Johannesburg. The purpose of the workshop was to increase concern around issues

of accelerating urban decline. The outcome of the workshop was the establishment of the Central Johannesburg Partnership, an independent, non-profit agency between representatives of Johannesburg's diverse community, the City council and the private sector in an effort to revitalise and develop the central city and the urban economy (Fraser, 2007).

1995: The Provincial Government of Gauteng and the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council called for an inner city summit which would mark the beginning stage and progress towards the formulation of an urban renewal strategy for the City of Johannesburg (Fraser, 2007).

1996: A vision for the inner city of Johannesburg was developed between the City council, provincial government and business and community sectors. The vision which would form the basis of many policy documents that followed was decided as 'Johannesburg the golden heartbeat of Africa' (Fraser, 2007).

1998: local development committees were asked to provide an organised coherent system of inter-governmental programmes and structures to increase development and social service delivery (Fraser, 2007).

1999: A Summit for iGoli 2002 was held to focus on the Metropolitan area as an attempt to resolve the financial crisis that was caused by the uncoordinated institutional structure within the council (Fraser, 2007).

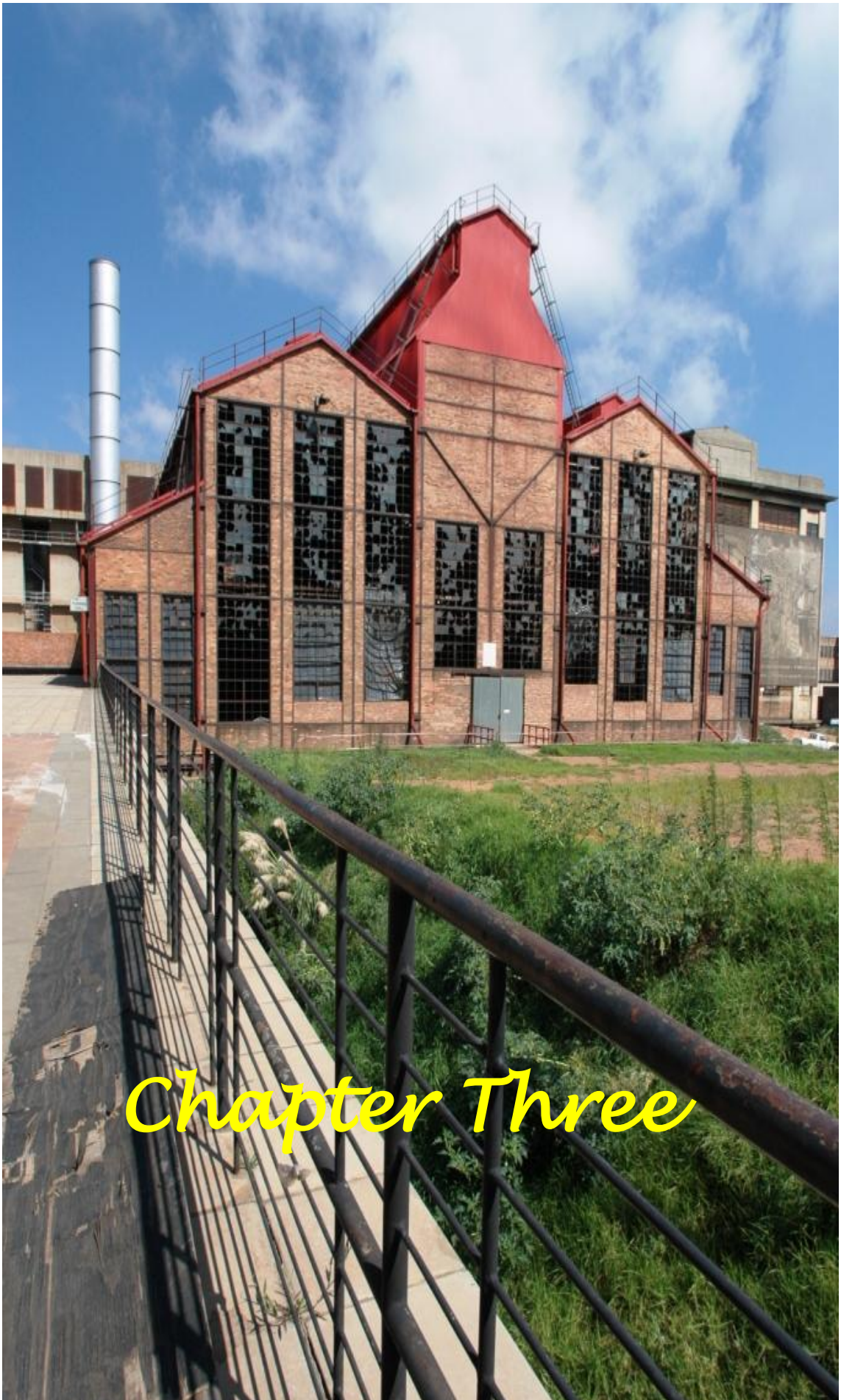
2001: iGoli 2010 was developed which focused on economic change in the city but however proved to be a consultant driven process of research and data collection that proposed no new strategies and never became endorsed by the council (Fraser, 2007).

2002: A long term economic vision for the Metropolitan area was launched known as Joburg 2030. This was based on the idea that the City needed growth in order to progress and to generate a better life for all its citizens (Fraser, 2007).

The process in the development of these precincts has highlighted the dialectic between the planner and the user in a sense that the planner is always deemed as the 'knower' in cases of urban change, and there are few instances in urban change where the role of the planner or designer is reversed or rather where the city is conceptualised through the eyes of the residents and users of the space. The Moroka Park precinct is one example where the development of a precinct is not considered solely as an extension of city renewal projects, rather the life of that precinct is placed into perspective in terms of how the residents may receive the precinct and therefore the planners are taking into consideration the perspectives of the users and how they perceive the space, therefore highlighting that the concept of urban change does not have to be from a one sided perspective; even though it might be mandated for the planner or designer to change space in accordance with policies and decisions made by the City, urban change can still be inclusive and considerate to perspectives of 'lived space'.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of the research and some key examples, pointing out the importance of understanding space in all its forms when trying to understand urban change in the city. The theoretical frameworks draws on Lefebvre's (1991) work and his conceptual understanding of the spatial triad in an attempt to better interpret perspectives and conceptions of space as well as to understand certain changes that occur in space better. What the chapter has done, is lay the groundwork in which one can begin to understand, explore and analyse space and urban change in Newtown cultural precinct.



Chapter Three

3.1 Exploring urban change in Newtown cultural precinct

3.1.1 Introduction

> "A good city is one that works. The trash is picked up, snow is ploughed, pot-holes are filled, streets and sidewalks are cleaned, and calls for emergency help are promptly answered. At the same time a city is a cradle of culture, an organ of memory, the enactment of the human drama, transmitting human achievement and insight from generation to generation" Hudnut in Fraser (2007:1).

Is there ever such a city that is thought to be 'good', or is 'good' just a principle in planning that planner's aspire to achieve but never really quite manage to get right. Rather than it being described as 'good', maybe a city that works is the city that should be sought after because in actual fact what one may see as good may not necessarily be good to the other; rather a city in which all elements work together efficiently, those seen as informal elements working together with the formal elements, while the orderly works together with the spontaneity. The truth is that cities are characterised by a myriad of experiences and elements and perspectives which at times may not seem to look the part or fit into the visions that planners ascribe to cities, however these elements working together as one are the aspects that make up the holistic view of the city today.

Hudnut (2007) argues that cities are more than just the physical, they are made up of much more than the infrastructure that works together in the city; rather as he argues, the city is 'a cradle of culture' implying that cities are embedded within the cultures that the people of the city carry. The cultures are aspects which are part of the elements that shape and characterise cities today, one cannot ignore the aspect of culture as a thing of the past or something which is only prevalent in rural areas away from urban life. The way people behave and associate themselves within space is an act developed from some sort of culture, be it professional culture or general behaviour culture or even culture to which one is said to belong; this culture is what

grooms and shapes behaviours within space and informs perspectives of what the city is or means when it is translated as a part of personal life, or even as part of the greater heritage with which people living in a place identify.

The Heritage Policy Framework of (2006:7) states that "our cultural heritage and physical heritage create a sense of place; promoting local identity in an overall climate of globalization… Johannesburg's heritage creates a unique sense of place and has a critical role to play in the construction of a world class African city as envisioned by council. Key assets from Johannesburg's past provide the makings in cultural terms of a world class African city which is at the same time both cosmopolitan and distinctively African". While the preamble for the Public Art Policy (2008:1) argues that "public art provides a means of celebrating Johannesburg's unique culture, diverse communities and rich history. It offers shared symbols which build social cohesion, contribute to civic pride and help forge a positive identity".

The two policies highlight the importance of culture in shaping and defining the characteristics of a city, they emphasise the importance of looking at the city beyond its physical but instead look at the city from a cultural background and a heritage point of view, looking at those aspects that planners and designers seem to overlook as important features that make cities what they are today. The Public Art Policy highlights art as an important feature of defining a positive identity of the city, suggesting that many of the artworks we see in the city, whether they be graffiti walls or abstract art created through informal channels, are aspects which make the city what it is today, and it is essential for planners and designers to begin to conceptualise visions for the city around such elements rather than trying to ignore the existence of such elements in the city and planning against their existence.

As argued above, the point is not to plan for the 'good' city but rather to plan for the city that is able to incorporate all these elements without compromising others, hence planning for the city that works.

It goes unsaid that culture is therefore an important element in understanding the Newtown cultural precinct. To begin to understand the nature of urban change that took place in Newtown or change that ought to take place, one has to really understand what the elements are which shape and define the space. Even more so what is this culture that planners and designers ascribe to achieving in this space yet have not quite managed to make it work efficiently? Maybe there is a way to find a cultural balance in Newtown which is beyond policy intervention and creating a structured and orderly space which lies within the cultures expressed in the perspectives and interpretations of how the ordinary person tends to conceptualise and use the space in Newtown. Culture goes beyond that which we see and incorporates elements which are unseen but make a difference in the way we tend to look at and view space.

It is therefore essential to begin to read the city through a different lens in order to fully comprehend the meanings of such concepts within cities, to understand what is meant by a cultural precinct or even just a precinct; what kind of space is planning trying to foster when such concepts are spoken of and in reality do these ideas and visions that are planted into spaces through policies actually work or does planning keep planning for change that is aloof to the context in which it exists hence leading to the constant changing of spaces in directions which were not envisioned by designers and planners? Maybe these spontaneous changes have an important message to share in really understanding the nature of urban change in 'cultural precincts' such as Newtown, maybe it is these changes that planning should be analysing and interpreting within space to try and reach the platform in which all the elements of the city work efficiently together.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the concept of urban change within the Newtown cultural precinct, trying to understand what really defines change in space where there are elements of culture and where there are two different perspectives of understanding and interpreting space which operate in this context, therefore

trying to understand perspectives from above versus those below and how these influence changes in space.

3.2 A 'Newtown'- the history behind the cultural precinct

3.2.1 Newtown as a case study

Newtown has been through many transitions over the years, from the old industrial precinct to the current cultural precinct, it exhibits itself as one of the places in the city of Johannesburg to undergo a great amount of urban change, both at the influence of planning intervention and user discretion. As a case study Newtown presents itself as the ideal place to explore Lefebvre's triad, while examining the nature of urban change and gaining a much enlightened view of how perspectives from above can work better with perspectives from below whilst also taking into consideration the concept of an 'African city' in this instance placing this concept into the changing space of a cultural precinct and how this can be translated into urban planning language. Hence Newtown became the ideal space in which to explore the concepts of this research. In this research, the history of Newtown has focused mainly on the past 10-15 years of great changes that have occurred in the precinct. Seeing as the main focus of the research is to explore the nature of urban change, the recapitulation of the history of Newtown has been directed mainly at the great changes that Newtown has undergone, so as to gain a better understanding of this concept of urban change and to try and place Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad into perspective.

3.2.2 Newtown: A brief history

Newtown cultural precinct is bordered by the Kazerne marshalling yards and railway lines to the north, Dolly Rathebe Street to the south, Ntemi Piliso Street on the east and Quinn street to the west. Newtown precinct can be divided into four

precincts; The Market precinct, the Milling precinct, the Electric and workers precinct and the Transport precinct. The Market precinct comprises the Market building which houses Museum Africa and the Market Theatre, while the Milling precinct is made up of the old Premier Milling complex on Quinn Street. The Electric and workers precinct includes the workers compound, turbine hall, the electric workshop, Sci Bono centre and the South African Breweries museum. The transport precinct includes the South African Reserve Bank, the Bus Factory and Transport house which now houses the City of Johannesburg's directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage (Newtown website, 2010).

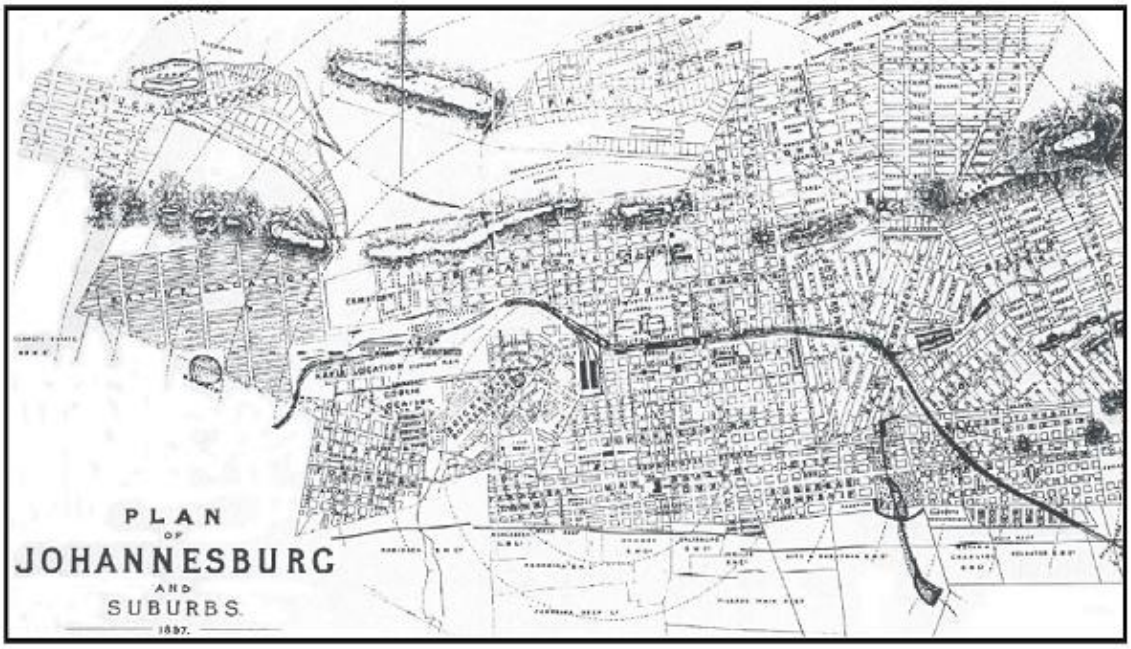


Figure 3.2(a): Plan showing Johannesburg and the old Brickfields area which would later be known as Newtown. Source: © www.newtown.co.za

This area which is now called Newtown was originally known as Brickfields, an area rich in clay where brick-making was the major source of income. The Brickfields area was a focal point of a mixed race grouping residential area. The Brickfields area

was later renamed to Burghersdorp. The population count in 1896 was 7,000 inhabitants of all races. In 1904 the name Newtown was adopted following the clearance of Brickfields and other multi-racial slums in Johannesburg's first forced removals. As a result of racial integration within the Brickfields area which contradicted the apartheid mandate, the South African government decided to intervene and declared Brickfields/Burghersdorp a health hazard affected by the alleged Bubonic plague. Burghersdorp was set alight and burned down. This area became re-planned and renamed as Newtown. Newtown then became the supply centre for the greater Johannesburg area, with a market area that ensured provision of all necessary goods consisting of trading companies, banks, brick companies, a brewery and a fishery (Newtown website, 2010).

The first call for urban change in Newtown came in 1904 when the area was redesigned as a commercial and industrial area in order to maximise the nearby goods yards. Within five months the area was surveyed, re-planned and renamed 'Newtown'. The new commercial area would become the place where vast fortunes in milling, sugar and food merchandising would be made. Krige in Newtown Heritage trail website (2010:5) describes the early days of Newtown as follows, "life in early Newtown was busy and competitive. It was easy to start a business but difficult to stay afloat and make a profit. Newtown became a little sub-culture with its own jokes and special events. Business people who worked and became successful in Newtown were awarded the fictitious 'University of Newtown' certificate given to all the entrepreneurs who learnt the trade on the job".

The destruction of Brickfields and succeeding development of Newtown was an attempt to refashion Johannesburg along modern lines. This involved formalising the townscape, developing infrastructure and strictly enforcing racial segregation.

Chipkin in Newtown Heritage trail website (2010:3) states that, "Thus began Johannesburg's long history of urban renewal, whereby black residents were progressively pushed further to the west onto arid waste sites beyond the town

lands and newly concocted titles replaced old site names erased both from the map and from human consciousness".

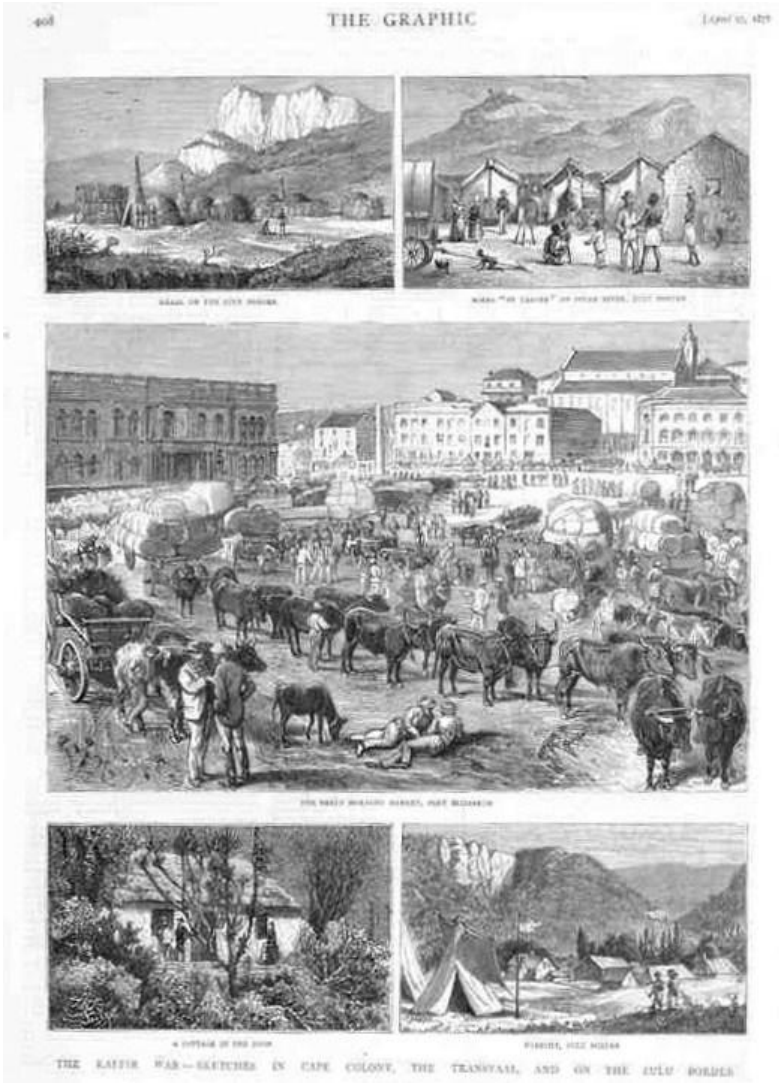


Figure 3.2(b): Centre Image shows painting of the Market Precinct in early Newtown

Source: © www.antiquemapsandprints.com/scans/scans146.html

Chipkin (2010) highlights the beginning of the perspective of making change within the city to benefit the government and not the people who use and occupy the space. This trend has continued in Newtown and other parts of Johannesburg where decisions to redesign spaces are context insensitive and are often masked as servicing the greater public yet they only benefit a small few. This has not only resulted in changes towards how space is used but it has also led to a succession of other changes which would be classified as informal change or informal use of space which does not correspond to the plans or designs that planners had in mind for the space. The question is then, why is urban change in places like Newtown continuing on a tangent that does not respond to what is taking place on the ground and is often nonrepresentational of what the users and residents perceive for the space?

Figure 3.2(c): Arial photograph of Newtown; showing 'Newtown Cultural Precinct' as it is today

Source: © www.joburg.org.za

The next session of urban change in Newtown came about as a result of the decentralisation of commercial activity to suburban areas like Randburg and Sandton. The decline of Newtown started in the mid 20th Century due to the closing down of the Jeppe power station, the closure of the tram lines, the construction of the freeway system and the relocation of the market to City Deep, but more so it was highly influenced by the apartheid racial legislation and the forced removal of communities from the inner city such as Fordsburg, Pageview and Vrededorp, which deprived Newtown of a vibrant community. However the decline in industrial activity led to the development of an artistic community which took advantage of the old buildings and available space which had now been left vacant after decentralisation. From 1970, Newtown became a focal point of cultural activism and the number of artistic production institutions increased to what is now expressed as the cultural precinct (Newtown website, 2010).

3.3 Exploring the concept of urban change

3.3.1 Perspectives from above

> "Newtown will become the creative capital of Johannesburg and South Africa: dynamic, vibrant, sophisticated and cosmopolitan boasting the best cultural offerings in Africa" (Newtown Urban Development Framework, 2003: 6).

That is the vision that the City of Johannesburg had for the development of a cultural precinct. The vision included aspects of vibrancy, dynamism and cosmopolitanism but none of the elements of the vision spoke to the context of Newtown or to the perspectives that the users of the space may have had in fulfilling this idea of a cultural precinct to their satisfaction or rather to the manner in which they interact with the space. The development of a vision or the plans to redesign space did not

account for the fact that there were already people who used the space in Newtown whose visions and views for the space were much more than just being vibrant and sophisticated. Moreover there was something further that could be learnt in developing a cultural vision in a space where culture was already thought to be the main aspect of the nature of how space is perceived and therefore would be utilised.

Hence the inception stage of the design and the plans for Newtown are an important element in understanding the greater concept of urban change in this area. Lefebvre (1991) argues as his fundamental standpoint that the use of space emanates from the perceptions, interactions and translations that people attach to a space, therefore the way in which one conceptualises space will determine how that space is used by that individual and what kind of influences or changes that person may initiate on the space. Hence it is important to deeply understand the decisions or the choices which inform the various perspectives.

The Joburg 2030 policy is the pillar policy used in developments in the City of Johannesburg which aims at economic growth on the basis of effective development plans. The policy argues that in order for the City of Johannesburg to reach the level at which the city is growing economically and attracting development and investment, the City of Johannesburg has to see to it that it ensures a strategic process which aligns development to a particular vision which will ultimately encourage or foster such an environment to which they aspire. (Joburg 2030 policy).

The relevance of this policy to Newtown is that much like any development taking place within the boundaries of the City of Johannesburg, the plans to change and redesign Newtown were not much of an exception, the vision for the cultural precinct was developed around this policy framework in order to create and develop an ultimate unified vision at the end. The Joburg 2030 vision includes striving for a world class city, ensuring that development in the city aspires to being on the level of a world class city and therefore ensuring economic growth for all residents of the city. They further argue that by gearing the city towards a strategy

for economic growth, not only are they ensuring poverty reduction for all the citizens of the city and better economic prospects for their future, but economic growth will also ensure global competitiveness Joburg 2030 policy).

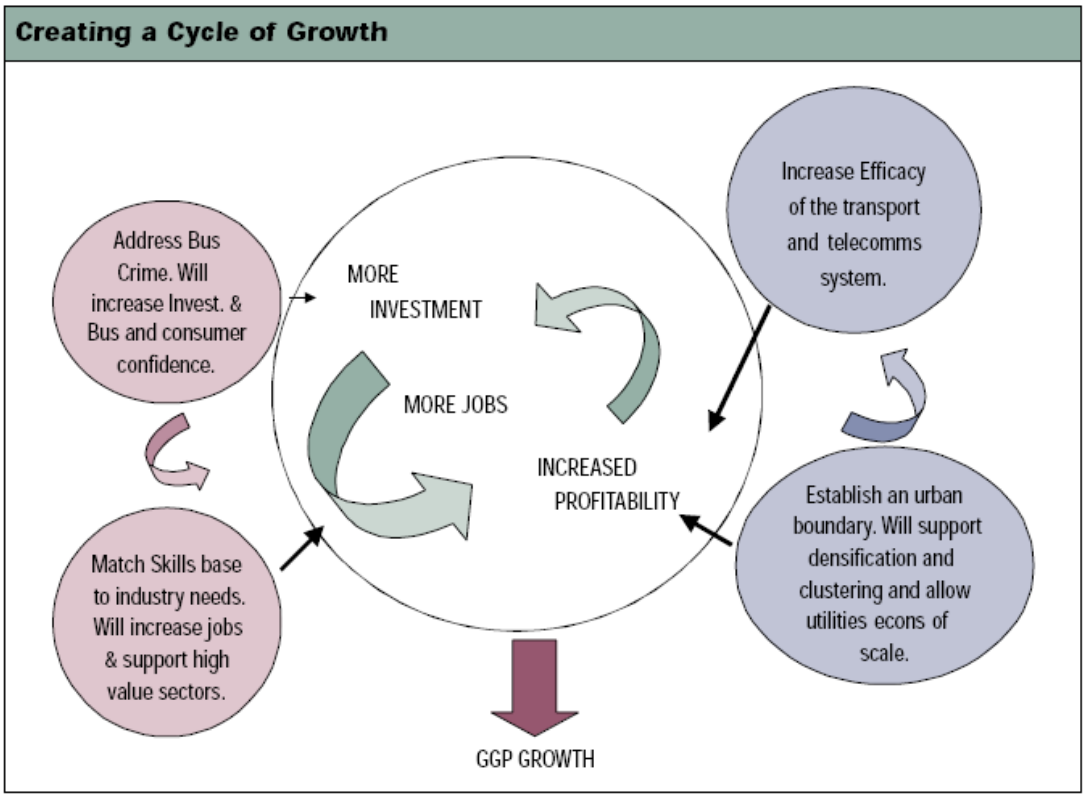


Figure 3.3.1 (a): Diagram showing the strategic development of the prosperous economic city as envisioned by the Joburg 2030 policy. Source: ©Joburg 2030

The diagram above illustrates the strategic objective that the policy is aiming at in terms of economic development. Although there is nothing wrong with aspiring to economic growth and gearing the city to a more economically sustainable one, in the context of understanding decisions behind urban change, more specifically understanding urban change in Newtown cultural precinct, the decision to align change to economic aspects makes it seem as though they are overlooking the purpose of enhancing the development of a cultural precinct, rather they are more

focused on developing a space that is economically self sustainable and profit oriented. The point is that beyond making a profit and developing a sustainable economic base, people still have to live in and interact with the space in ways that they perceive it. Hence economic objectives in this sense seem to defeat the purpose of enhancing the development of a cultural precinct, rather what one is suggesting is that perhaps there should be more than just economic objectives to these overarching policy frameworks which aim to shape and develop spaces such as Newtown. "The precinct definitely needs private developers to invest in the area in order for the development to become economical and sustainable. If private developers invest in Newtown, their infrastructure and developments will complement the infrastructure investment that has already been done by the City of Johannesburg and by Provincial Government" (Celestine Mouton speaking on behalf of JDA, 2010, Interview). The statement from the JDA emphasizes the point that most developments whether masked as cultural precincts or precincts that serve to benefit the greater public are not centred or focused on the people per se, rather the concern is about attracting investment and benefiting the economy, therefore the greater concept or the vision pushed of enhancing culture and creating a space for the people falls short in reality.

> "The Johannesburg City Council, through the Johannesburg Development Agency in partnership with Gauteng Agency Blue IQ, is committed to seeing Newtown thrive. Newtown is one of five tourism developments aimed at inner-city regeneration. Through their investment in development, the JDA aims to attract retail and commercial business back into Newtown. Existing alongside office workers, the JDA also wants to promote restaurants, events and attractions which will give the area a boost from foreign visitors as well as locals… The result is a space where people want to go because it is beautiful, vibrant, clean, safe and friendly" (Newtown Management District Website, 2010: 3).

This highlights the influence of the decisions made on redesigning space in Newtown which are on the basis of urban change, and the direction which the developers had in mind for the space. It reveals aspects of how 'perspectives from above' or rather how planners and designers conceptualise space, specifically the kinds of uses that they perceive for space. The Blue IQ is also an important initiative which has helped frame and achieve the development goals for Newtown set out in the Joburg 2030 policy as well as those set out in by the Urban Development Framework which informed the planners and designers decisions on how to change the space in Newtown.

Rogerson (2004:75) argues that "Blue IQ is an important driving force and dynamic catalyst for funding and promoting strategic investment in Gauteng, the region which constitutes the economic heartland of modern South Africa. More specifically Blue IQ is a multi-billion rand initiative of the Gauteng Provincial Government to invest in economic infrastructure development in identified mega projects in tourism, smart industries and high value-added manufacturing. Blue IQ has a specific focus on the growth sector of technology, high value-added manufacturing, transport and tourism. Blue IQ works in partnership with business, government departments and other organisations (Newtown Management Website, 2010).

In line with the Blue IQ and Joburg 2030 policy, the Newtown Urban Development Framework argues that the development concept for the Newtown cultural precinct plan is focused on the cultural core which includes an interlinked public environment system which aims to integrate the existing activities while also forging linkages between other activities and adjoining areas. It further argues that the new designs for the precinct will accommodate a wide range of uses which have a focus on cultural activities and associated uses such as offices, retail, professional suites, community facilities, entertainment, education and residential. However in contrast to this development concept, the designers for the space in Newtown argue that "the design has got nothing to do with a cultural precinct. The users and

custodians of Newtown are the city, hence design meets the needs specified in the brief" (Paul speaking on behalf of Urban Solutions, 2010, Interview, Interview).

While the Urban Development Framework is arguing to develop Newtown into more of a cultural precinct, the developers took their own direction in developing Newtown which highlights that the dialectic between perspectives of space not only exists between perspectives from below versus those from above but there is tension in how space is represented in terms of perspectives from above, in essence who gets to shape and inform decision-making over space, and often the gap between perspectives from below versus perspectives from above is widened when designers/planners and policy makers are not in agreement over what should happen with the space: how then is it possible for the design to represent the needs or perceptions that users may have for that particular space?

> "The upgrading and redevelopment of Newtown has recently become attractive for private sector investors and developers alike. This renewed interest in a once derelict sector of the city rides largely on the back of improved infrastructure and well considered urban planning. The combination of these factors will see Newtown rising as an attractive area for renovation and upgrade of existing buildings and the large scale development of new commercial, retail and residential properties. Newtown's proximity to the freeway system and the JHB CBD coupled with the availability of now prime development land will see its continued growth into the future. In addition Newtown's status as the art and cultural precinct of JHB will also place it on the international and local tourist map. The introduction of large scale residential accommodation ranging from mid to higher income sectors will create a unique atmosphere where residents will be able to 'live, work and play' within the node" (Green in Newtown Urban Development Strategy, 2010:3).

From a development point of view based on planners/designers and policy makers, the focus on developing and redesigning space tends to look more on the architectural and aesthetic qualities of space forgetting that places are not made merely through designs or interventions by the built environment, moreover the way spaces are designed or changed cannot shape peoples behaviours, there is much more that goes into space than just the perspectives from above. Furthermore to understand urban change means looking beyond the 'planned' that is, the structured concepts over how space should be used, and understanding those aspects which seem insignificant but are in fact a major contributor to the differing changes that spaces take.

Dinath (2006:11) highlights an important point about the purpose and intentions for developing cultural precincts when she argues that "the use of cultural activity as a catalyst to urban regeneration is principally economic in conception and purpose… Urban cultural projects have been aimed at attracting local residents who can spend money on paying for performance and exhibitions. They are also aimed at an external tourist market and often form part of elaborate destination-marketing strategies. Often these cultural urban regeneration projects represent only a very narrow and selective interpretation of culture".

She makes it clear that these developments are targeted and aimed at a specific user group and are therefore developed under such intentions, hence the limited representation of culture as well as the absence of the perspectives by the users.

Lefebvre's (1991) central argument is that space is shaped through interpretations and representations of space (see Figure 2.4). The point he makes is, space is shaped at three different levels, what he points out, is that tension exists between two of these levels: the conceived space versus the lived space. To take this concept a bit further, drawing from the above mentioned it is clear that the dialectic presented is not a simple top-bottom relationship, rather there are many other side factors in tension with each perspective that influence decision making with regard to matters

of space in Newtown. Hence one can not simply unpack urban change in this regard as something which is straight forward rather, examining urban change in Newtown requires more than just the top and bottom perspectives it includes a deeper understanding of what influences each conception of space. The Figure below illustrates simply how urban change is influenced in Newtown.

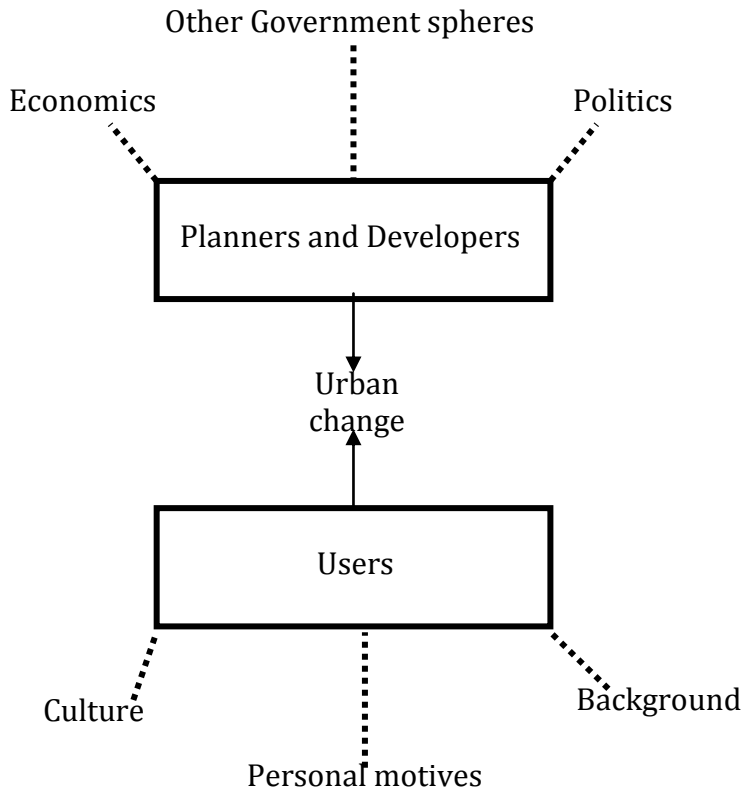


Figure 3.3.1 (b): Conceptual diagram as applicable to the context of Newtown

3.3.2 Perspectives from below

Contrary to what planners and designers may feel in terms of how space should be changed or shaped, users and residents have different perspectives with regard to how they conceptualise space (and therefore how they choose to interact with it),

which may not fall within the structured planning policy for the area or be a part of what designers and planners may have envisioned for the area. However it still represents an important aspect of how space is shaped and influenced over time, moreover for planning it represents a realm which is yet to be fully explored and understood in terms of the dialectic relationship which exists between user and planner.

The concept of a cultural precinct has different meanings for the residents from what it may have for the policies or designers and planners; whereas the latter may include elements of the economy and developing a city that is self sustaining and economically viable and efficient, thus attracting investment and further development in the area, the users of the space perceive a cultural precinct in a different way and hence the uses of space in a cultural precinct by the users may often contradict the uses that the planners and designers may have had for that space.

When an interviewee was asked what a cultural precinct is, her response was "It is a place where our kids who do not have a rural background or do not have old people to teach them about culture can go to, to get a feel of different cultures or to understand what we mean when we speak of Shangaan culture" (Mbetse speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview). While others argued that a cultural precinct is "a place where people come together for cultural and heritage related things" (Paulsen speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview). "I think it's a melting pot of arts, culture and heritage" (Arends speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview). "I think a cultural precinct is a place where arts and culture is explored with live performances in music, dance and drama and art. It is a place where artists exhibit their work and entertain the masses" (Moerene speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

These ideas over what a cultural precinct is reveal the way the users of the space understand the space within Newtown, and therefore the way that many may feel

space should be used is contrary to the plans and designs for the space. Moreover when most of the interviewees were asked about the current context of Newtown after it had been redesigned and upgraded, the first thing that most people said was that the safety and the cleanliness of Newtown had been improved to a great extent, not that it had really lived up to being a cultural precinct or a place which was inviting. Contrary to what they remember about Newtown before it was redesigned and changed, thinking about the cleanliness and the safety of the place only serves to highlight how the space has become somehow abstract and distant from the user or resident; in a sense the space is now merely about aesthetics and visual appropriateness rather than it being a space for the people or a space in which people feel free to express their culture.

It also highlights the planners and the designers deliberate action not to engage more with these users and ask them how they feel about the space. One does not suggest that the space should be filthy or unsafe for people to use but rather on the basis of the recollections that people have on Newtown before it was changed one would expect that they would feel or think of the same things or similar things in terms of Newtown, however this is not the case.

When a participant was asked if the JDA consults with business before they make regeneration initiatives, he commented that "Not to an extent where our input can effect change in Newtown, they make decisions and we have to adapt to them, thus putting us in a very compromising position" (Zak speaking on behalf of Kippies Jazz Club in Newtown Cultural Precinct, 2010, Interview).

In light of this situation, Urban Solutions were asked if the Newtown Cultural Precinct was susceptible to change by the users seeing as the space has been redesigned and the market which was once on Mary Fitzgerald square had now been removed. He answered by saying that "The market was dying anyway. Since the redesign of Newtown it is now a multi-purpose square that can be used for anything. As far as urban change goes, that depends on management, the city is

doing a good job managing uses in public spaces; what goes on in buildings is not our problem as long as public spaces are presented in a certain way" (Paul speaking on behalf of Urban Solutions, 2010, Interview).

If public spaces are designed for the city and not to represent the users and residents of these areas, then in what name are planners and designers changing spaces in urban areas and for whose benefit, if their voices cannot be heard to the extent that they effect change, or if the way they perceive space is never made manifest in reality? Is this then not the reason spaces are planned and changed by designers and planners and a while after that, spaces are 'planned' and changed by users and residents often contradicting the 'official' ideas?

3.3.2.1 Actions speak louder than words: interpreting actions from the users of Newtown

One can not ignore the fact that the users of Newtown have so much to offer developers and planners in terms of how to shape or rather plan for a cultural precinct. Moreover one can not ignore the current status of the country. The fact that South Africa is made up of many cultures including those beyond our borders is an inescapable fact, therefore culture in this sense does not refer to the eleven official ethnic groups of South Africa. Rather there is so much more to be considered in this spectrum called culture, there are many other cultures that developers need to be made aware of when planning for a cultural precinct. More importantly incorporating culture into planning does not mean simply knowing the cultures of the people in the space but rather it is about knowing how people respond to the space on the basis of their cultures. As an example two people with different backgrounds and cultures may have differing uses for a public bench, same object but different interpretations. Hence planning for change in a space like Newtown would entail looking beyond the verbal conversations and the obvious signs but learning to read actions and how people relate to the space and to other people in that space.

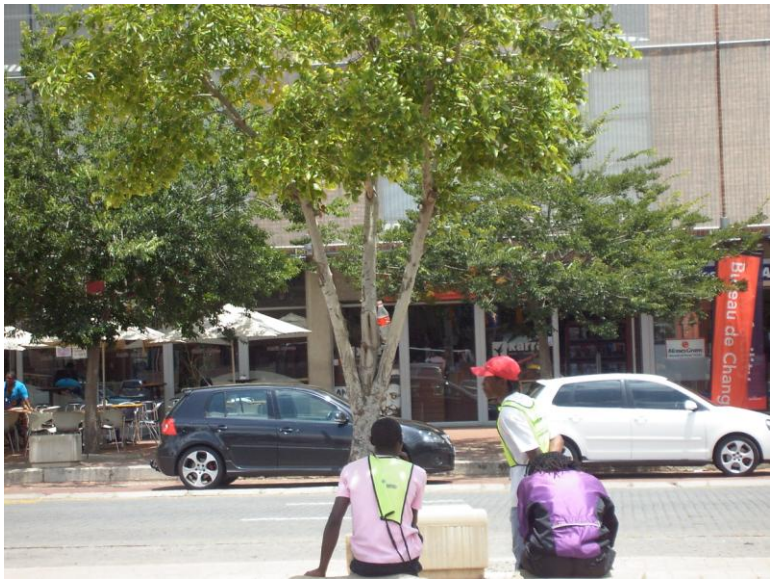


Figure 3.3.2.1(a): picture showing interaction amongst two security guards and a guy who works at the shops along Bree Street in Newtown during Lunch time.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(b): picture showing market traders along passage by Market Theatre, interacting with one another in three different languages, it also shows the way they use the space and what Newtown cultural precinct means to them.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

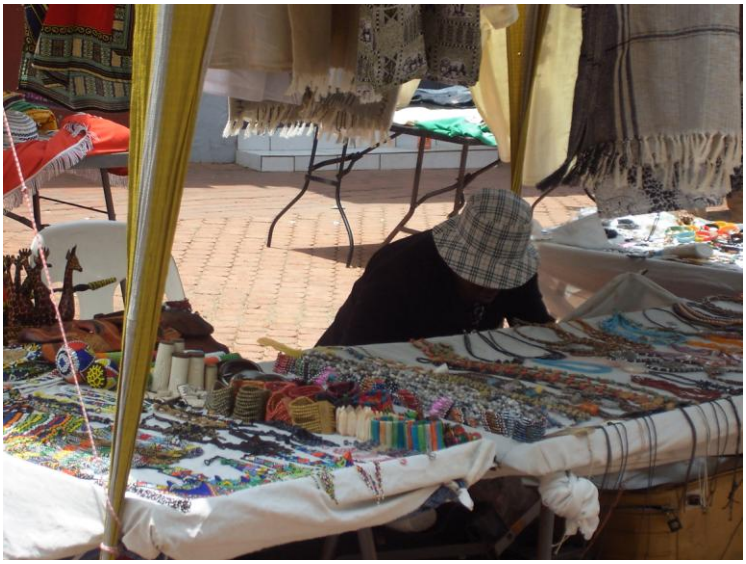


Figure 3.3.2.1(c): picture showing another market trader from Zimbabwe who is less interactive with her surroundings and more focused on making a profit. The use of space for her is primarily to get an income

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(d): picture showing workers of Newtown spending their lunch break looking at crafts being sold at the market. Working in Newtown should be different, lunch breaks should not be spent behind the desk but outdoors and this is what places like the market give to these users.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(e): picture showing young ladies buying clothing at the market who find it to be innovative and price reasonable. Newtown is a place to shop and interact with the people selling as well.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(f): Picture showing a family spending the last day of school holidays on an educational tour of Newtown at SciBono. There are many museums which teach about heritage but less places to go to learn about current culture and South Africa as it is today for the younger generation**.**

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(g): picture showing a group of young girls admiring the graffiti paintings below the M1 and how these spontaneous activities give character to the place and shape it into a cultural precinct.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.3.2.1(h): picture showing the park being used a place to rest, however all activity is concentrated on the other side of Newtown that this part feels isolated and prone to petty crimes, more needs to be done to integrate this side to the rest of Newtown.

Source: © Mbetse 2010

The pictures above illustrate the importance of engaging with the people and their space when trying to understand the nature of urban planning. At times it is not the conversations that took place in participatory planning board meetings that tell what people need in the space, rather it is their actions and the way that they use the space unconsciously on a day to day basis that give a deeper meaning when planning for urban change in a space.

3.4 Examining the conceptual triad in context

The vision for the city from the users perspective and the planners perspective will never be the same since they do not strive for the same objectives in terms of how a city should look, however the question remains whether there will ever be a point where the users and the planners and designers for a particular space ever reach a median where all perspectives are understood and translated well into space?

Lefebvre (1991) in Section 2.3 of this research argues that there are three aspects to space, in which he maintains that all three perspectives have the ability to shape space and change the character of that area, however he does not argue that all three dimensions of space can and do shape space simultaneously; this is what one is looking to explore in Newtown Cultural Precinct – whether these perspectives can work together and if somehow they do work together.

It is clear from both perspectives that there is a gap between the users of space and the planners of space. The reality that this research presents is that planning in the African context has its own challenges and, as noted in Section 2.5, African cities are characterised by many elements which cannot be ignored, furthermore what one has observed is the fact that the city presents itself to these users as a place where dreams and opportunities can be cultivated and achieved, and for people who come from a disadvantaged education background, or even those seeking a platform to make something better of their lives, this makes it a place where this can be realised. Hence areas like Newtown which are characterised by old buildings which provide

affordable rental spaces and are also spaces intended to be a representation of culture and which allow people to freely express themselves and showcase their diversity while celebrating their differences, are spaces that these people tend to use or relocate to. However these spaces are taken away from these people when a certain 'image' of the city is meant to be carried out in that area, either leaving the people on the outskirts of these areas or totally removing them. Interestingly what one has noticed is that after some time has passed people tend to move back into their original spaces and use them in the very way that they conceptualise this space in the city.

Paul argues that the important aspect that planners and designers should account for when designing a cultural precinct is the interactions between people and the streets and buildings which surround them:

> "Architects/planners/designers do not understand the spaces between buildings where people spend most of their time, interaction between streets and buildings, they do not understand what happens in public spaces" (Paul speaking on behalf of Urban Solutions, 2010, Interview).

It is evident that they really do not understand this concept of public space. The square is an empty block which is rarely used; or rather it is only used on occasions where Newtown is hosting a big event; most of the time it serves as parking. In the past people were allowed to sell on the square; it was more inviting and presented itself as more than just a market square but a part of a cultural precinct. More so the concept of culture is also misunderstood; what is thought to be a cultural precinct seems more apparently to just be a block of old buildings revamped and given new life, while what was previously thought to be a chaotic, unorganised and unsafe area had more life to it and cultural happenings that the current context does not have.

Clearly there is an element that planning is missing here, the spaces that are changed by planners and designers become orderly, clean, design-appealing blocks, however the life and the spirit that once flourished in them is missing.

> "A cultural precinct should show diversity that exists, we have 11 official languages and what does that mean in a cultural precinct? We are moving towards accommodating each other. It should have Ubuntu; I would bring back freedom of movement, freedom of using space, freedom of selling in the Newtown cultural precinct" (Mbetse speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

> "Live jazz bands and dance floors big enough to dance the night away" (Arends speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

> "My favourite memory of Newtown is the flea market that was held every weekend, (in what is) now known as the Mary Fitzgerald square, Museum Africa, Market Theatre before its revamp, and the amazing jazz joint, Kippies, which I regularly visited and this is where I had the privilege to see some of our local jazz greats perform, the likes of Bra Hugh Masekela, Oliver Mtukudzi, Jonas Gwanwa and more. I remember the legendary Horror Café with its poetry and Reggae nights, the Electric Workshop where the then happening House and Kwaito DJs would strut their stuff and were supported by the Mega Music Warehouse now known as Bassline. This was the meeting point of arts and culture with music and dance schools like Fuba and the Dance Factory and the Market Theatre providing all the entertainment and training for all the hopefuls who wanted to venture into the arts and drama industries" (Moerene speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

This serves to highlight that cultural precincts are made up of much more than just clean streets and organised public spaces, more so culture itself has much more to it than what the current image or context of Newtown is presenting. However what is

of great significance in all this is that to achieve the kind of culture to which planning is aspiring, the user perspective or rather lived space, needs to be better understood because essentially shaping the built environment alone does not ensure that liveliness or that culture, neither does just looking at culture as a reference point for urban change, rather it is about the relationship which exists between people and space and how they interact with that space. Although this relationship is not fully understood, possibly applying a cultural lens such as hybridity and creolisation can reveal aspects about peoples' relationship with space which planners have either not fully understood, or have overlooked in terms of their redesign of Newtown.

Figure 3.4(a): Diagram showing the market area: arts and craft traders have been moved off the square since its redevelopment and pushed on to the alley near Market theatre. They have limited exposure to the public and small spaces to trade on. Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.4(b): Diagram showing how the square is being used since its days of the market. Urban solutions claim that it's a 'multi-purpose urban square' however is turning the square into a parking bay and the occasional space to hold events considered to be a part of what a cultural precinct should look like? Source: © Mbetse 2010

Figure 3.4(c): Diagram showing the market area and space around market theatre on a weekend night. The area is deserted and not like what it used to be before Newtown's redevelopment. Source: © Mbetse 2010

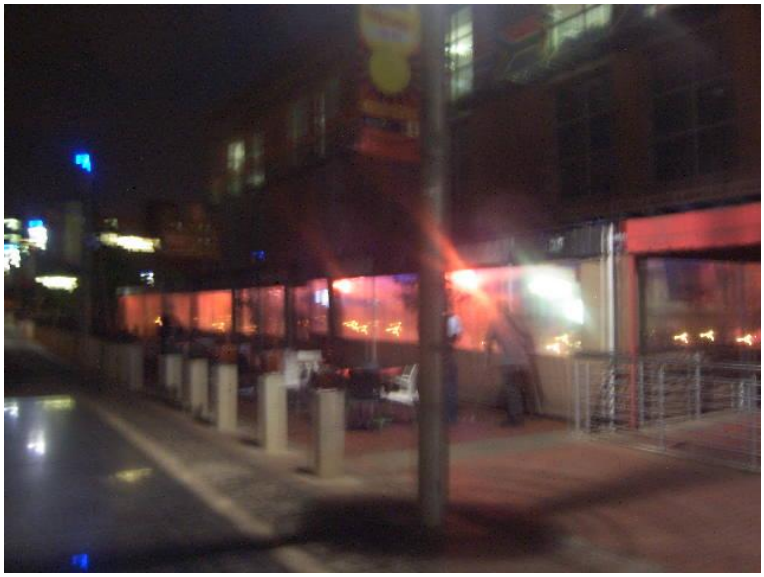


Figure 3.4(d): Diagram showing Kospotong, Sophia Bar Town Lounge and the Relocated Cappello Restaurant. A Weekend night in Newtown cultural precinct and its empty, there is nothing cultural or even people in the area. Is this a sign of urban change not working in the best interest of the users? Source: © Mbetse 2010

How then does one account for change in an 'African' cultural precinct and what does African in this context really mean? In an ever changing city, where nothing is static, it is hard to actually pinpoint to one aspect as being 'African' or something which captures the core of what makes an African cultural precinct. Therefore as Simone (2004) argues that African challenges are unique to the context and to understand African cities and what goes on in them one would have to understand these specific challenges. African in this sense means grappling with the idea that the Market consists of many cultures and people trading from different parts of Africa who are trying to make a living for themselves. African means understanding the neighbouring areas as factors and possible influences to how space may change in Newtown in the future as a result of the influx from people in neighbouring African countries. African means accepting that informality is a from of survival for other people, where government is not able to adequately provide and it is part of daily living. African means understanding the current cultures which make up the character of our country, the unity in soccer, the festivities, and young people on a night out, African is not limited to one definition but is an all encompassing term the describes the country we live in, what we face on a daily basis and how life goes on from day to day.

Figure 3.4(e): Soccer Festivities during the 2010 world cup, all Africans and their cultures are united in an effort to win the cup and gain victory for the continent.

Source: © Museum Africa

Figure 3.4(f): Picture showing Makarapas at Museum Africa. A feature of South African culture.

Source: © Museum Africa

Figure 3.4(g): Picture showing typical scene in Johannesburg, women selling food informally, trying to make an income.

Source: © Museum Africa

Figure 3.4(h): picture showing young people on a night out and having fun at a restaurant.

Source: © Museum Africa

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has given a detailed account of the case study. The chapter explored the concept of urban change within the Newtown precinct by applying Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the triad in attempting to understand space and its various dynamics. More importantly the purpose of this chapter was to understand the nature of urban change in context, therefore unpacking perspectives which influence and have a role to play in terms of the way space changes, and understanding their background and the way that decisions are made which ultimately influence the way in which designers and planners shape spaces. However as noted before, the dialectic between users of space and designers of space still exists, which makes it difficult to understand then what is the way forward in terms of urban change. The chapter also begins to grapple with the idea of 'culture' in terms of hybridity and creolisation as a lens which can be applied to understanding the conceptual triad in space and its influence towards urban change, therefore arguing that there is something more to the concept of culture than it being a distant phenomenon which does not apply to the built environment, rather the concept of culture as being applicable to the concept of urban change should be further explored as a means of bridging the dialectic and planning better for urban change. The chapter also looked what African in the context of Newtown really meant, while it also paid particular attention how users in Newtown used the space and what could be learnt from this in order to inform urban change.

Chapter Four

4.1 Introduction

"Cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow. The key problem was not how to identify them, but how to limit the imagination, as the possibilities were endless. The task of urban planners is to recognize, manage and exploit these resources responsibly. Culture, therefore, should shape the technicalities of urban planning rather than be seen as a marginal add-on to be considered once the important planning questions like housing, transport and land-use have been dealt with" (Landry, 2000:7).

Having considered the ways that perspectives are translated into space and how space is changed and the numbers of elements which influence this change, it is important for planning to truly understand its role in shaping decisions which involve the transformation of space, moreover planning needs to be more aware of not just the context but the (so called) insignificant elements that planners tend to overlook which may assist in understanding and planning better for urban change in spaces such as Newtown.

> "Cultural preferences and priorities are etched into the mindscape of the professional urban experts who determine what the physical fabric of our cities looks like. The look and feel and structure of the places that planners encourage, help design and promote, reflect their assumptions about what they think is appropriate. It is inevitable that planners and designers apply their own cultural filters to their professional work… without a policy mechanism that requires the gaining of cultural literacy, the professions will remain locked in a very narrow understanding of culture and the built environment. Active cultural literacy programmes are needed that help built environment professions understand that every planning and design decision they make has a cultural consequence" (Wood and Landry, 2008: 255-256).

This chapter is concerned with understanding the role of culture as a tool that planners can use in understanding urban change as well as understanding culture in terms of how it is in itself a shaper of space, or an aspect in which one formulates perceptions about the space they use or the space that they shape. The analysis developed in this chapter is based on the concept of 'culture', however is limited to hybridity and creolisation. It is also based on enhancing the theoretical framework; Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad through a cultural lens. However, the chapter seeks to make suggestions, not to prescribe and dictate how planners should go about making decisions with regard to urban change.

4.2 Recapitulating the theoretical framework: production of space and the conceptual triad

Space is not merely an object that simply exists, rather as one has established space responds to changes and is an active agent in changing itself. Lefebvre (1991) argues that the production of space is about the meanings given to space in terms of how people perceive the spaces they use and interact with and therefore what meanings they attach to these spaces. Shields (1999) further argues on the concept of the production of space as an idea concerned with meanings over space and how 'relations across territories are given cultural meaning' (Section 2.2). The point he makes is relative to the point being made in this chapter which is that from the meanings given to space one is able to deduce cultural interpretations of that particular space, which he argues, in essence are what define the space and give it those meanings that planners and designers look for.

From looking at the concept of the production of space, the theoretical framework also goes on to talk about Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad which is directly linked to the concept of the production of space. Where meanings are attached to spaces as one encounters and interacts with space, these meanings are generated from the various perspectives that Lefebvre maps out in his conceptual triad, arguing that if space is in itself an active agent to urban change this then implies that space has the

ability to reproduce itself into different uses over time. This Lefebvre (1991) argued as the concept of 'spatial practice' in which space is personified and responds to perceptions and interactions that take place within it.

The second concept from Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad is the concept of representations of spaces in which Lefebvre (1991) begins to talk of the influence of changes in space from a perspective outside that of the space; a perspective that is imposed on the space by a view from the top. He argues that this concept is the perspective that planners and designers tend to attach to space in order to try and render space or change space to a particular design or according to particular policies. What he does highlight here is that this perspective is developed from what one thinks is the ideal image that the space should reflect; these are then translated into space depicting the aesthetic design qualities that built environment professionals think such spaces should possess or resemble. This concept Lefebvre (1991) defines as representations of space.

The third concept from the conceptual triad is about how space is shaped from below as opposed to being shaped from above. This concept explores the idea of everyday use of space, how people interact with space on a daily basis and how meanings of space are generated through this everyday encounter of space. Lefebvre (1991) defines this concept as spaces of representation or 'lived space' which encompasses the idea that this perspective is understood only from the angle at which one is able to understand the dynamic interactions that take place between people and the space in which they live.

However the purpose of using Lefebvre's (1991) work on the concept of space is not merely to understand the different interactions which happen in space (which is also essential to this research as it forms an aspect of the greater whole), rather the objective of using Lefebvre's (1991) work is to understand the concept of urban change in the context of Newtown. One cannot begin to analyse urban change without understanding the concept of space and the dynamics that work within it.

Therefore the theoretical framework looks at urban change as a concept in terms of its relation to the way in which the space is constantly used and transformed on a daily basis, as well as long term purposes and how this space goes about being transformed or changed.

The points to take forward from the theoretical framework which are important for this chapter are that if production of space (or rather urban space) is about the meanings attached to spaces then these meanings ought to be understood in terms of their impact on the space, more so meanings are generated from much more than just interactions with space but from aspects of how individuals understand and conceptualise themselves within space, therefore the cultures which influence these perspectives. Hence this chapter looks at culture as a tool to analyse urban change.

4.3 Culture as a concept for understanding urban change: creolisation and hybridity

"Learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence" (Sandercock, 2004: 79). What Sandercock argues here is that there are many forms in which knowledge can be expressed, and learning through symbolic and non-verbal evidence is one way of 'knowing' that planners in cultural settings can use to better understand and explore what is going on within these areas. Essentially what she is arguing for is that there are alternative ways of viewing issues around planning in cultural settings, where for example a graffiti wall may mean vandalism for a planner but for the user it may represent freedom of expression or a form of expressing abstract city art, therefore what Sandercock is appealing for is the ability of planners to look beyond the obvious and learn to communicate planning through symbols or rather understand the city and all its changes through non-verbal interpretations.

Simone (2004) takes this a step further by introducing the concept of 'culture 'as a way to understand the many changes that take place in contemporary African cities.

What he argues is that people change and interact with cities differently from what one might understand, and these changes which we classify as being informal or meaningless in terms of urban change are in essence drivers of change. He discusses the concept of 'people as infrastructure' which presents itself as a dual aspect where hybridity in this sense is taken to refer to the physical environment and creolisation is taken to refer to the social environment. What he argues is that both the physical and the social interact with each other to create this concept of 'people as infrastructure' one cannot look at one aspect and neglect the other, rather both aspects are to be taken into consideration when trying to understand these changes in the city.

What is important about Simone's (2004) work is that it lays the groundwork for this chapter in that hybridity is looked at as the analysis tool which speaks to the physical environment of Newtown, and creolisation is that tool which looks at the social aspect, therefore taking into consideration interactions between people and the way they begin to perceive and conceptualise space which directly relates to the way that they respond to the physical environment.

> "The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community. It is the place where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus, with gains in both social effectiveness and significance. The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship: it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifold; here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, and systems of order. Here is where the issues of civilization are focused: here too, ritual passes on occasion into active drama of a fully differentiated and self-conscious society" (Mumford in Dinath, 2006:10).

What Mumford (2006) is arguing for, is for a turn to culture in cities, in essence cities are much more than the built environment and they are laced with social characters which have a role to play in the way cities develop.

Wood and Landry (2008) speak about a concept which they describe as cultural literacy, their argument with regard to this concept is that everything that people do is embedded within culture whether it is an ethnic, professional or an organizational culture, the way people behave can be traced back to some culture. Therefore one cannot ignore the aspect of culture when dealing with spaces that people live in because they respond to these spaces through their cultural associations. They further argue that planners need to be able to decode these structures of culture in order to better understand what is taking place in the city, and once these layers have been uncovered it becomes possible to design physical, social and economic environments which are attuned to the deeper meanings of culture.

> "Cultural literacy is then the ability to read, understand and find the significance of diverse cultures and, as a consequence, to be able to evaluate, compare and decode the varied cultures that are interwoven in a place" (Wood and Landry, 2008:250).

4.3.1 Hybridity

Hybridity, according to the Collins English Dictionary (1991) is defined as an "offspring of a mixed union". Cultural hybridity on the other hand takes into consideration this definition of an 'offspring of a mixed union', but it goes further to define hybridity, or more specifically cultural hybridity as the cultural mixings and crossovers that have become more evident and routine in the globalising world. In a sense hybridity is then about the integration of cultures, where two profoundly different cultures are forced to work in space on the basis of the changing global environment.

Simply defined, hybridity is the mixture produced when two elements are fused together. Sanga (2001: 75) argues that "in terms of culture and contemporary representations of reality, hybridity involves the melange of an incongruous array of genders, classes, nationalities, religions and ethnicities". Therefore hybridity is about a mix of two (or more) different cultures or elements in space.

As mentioned in Section 4.3, with regard to the research this concept of hybridity is related to the concept of the physical built environment. Hybridity in that sense is then about the coming together of two different 'worlds' in a sense. If one uses Simone's (2004) 'people as infrastructure' concept as an example to elaborate and clarify what one means by hybridity referring to the physical environment then the coming together of two different worlds working in space would entail the informal use of space or informal activity in the city, working within the boundaries or rather working together with the formal structures in the city. In essence, informal activity in Simone's (2004) view attaches itself to formal structures in order to prosper and flourish in the city. "Nigerians involved in the array of provisional and frequently illicit trades have taken over the majority of the area's hotels as residential centres" (Simone: 2006:361). He makes an example of this through Nigerians engaged in the drug trade who have taken over hotels as residential premises for people in the city. This highlights what is meant by hybridity in the physical sense.

When taking into consideration the concept of cultural hybridity, it is imperative to consider that cultures do not remain unchanged or uniform over time, rather hybridity introduces the idea that "cultures are constantly evolving historically through unreflective borrowings, mimetic appropriations, exchanges and inventions" (Modood and Werbner, 1997: 4).

This brings to mind the concept of hybridity as an element of urban change: if cultures are constantly changing then this implies that hybridity in the 'physical' sense is subject to change as well, or rather that the coming together of these two

worlds in the physical sense is subject to change depending on the user and their views on space and how they may interact with that particular space.

> "Cultural hybridity is not only dialectically negotiated in intellectual theory; it is actively produced, experienced and portrayed most strikingly in the realm of everyday urbanism. It is upon this everyday exhibition of hybridity that theorists launch their debate. It is therefore this everyday cultural hybridity upon which urban practice may build and reflect" (Dinath, 2006:39).

Dinath (2006) affirms the idea that there is much more to hybridity in the city and its cultural sense than just the mixing of two different elements, rather planning has a lot to learn and grasp from this view of hybridity. Moreover it reflects the idea that hybridity can be applied to the context of the city and is not just a cultural concept which seems far from the idea of planning but as a concept is applicable to the city. This links to what Sandercock (2004) argued about looking beyond the obvious and learning to read the non-verbal in an effort to not only understand the deeper cultural meanings but also to gain an understanding of how urban change in these environments takes place and how it is perceived by the users of space, or rather how users understand their roles in space and therefore how they influence urban change.

4.3.2 Creolisation

Creolisation "is an ongoing process that includes the various cultural brews concocted from the movements of populations… it is a process that sees a group developing a proper lifestyle in the place where one is, different from the one of its place of origin" (Medea, 2002: 127). What is firstly highlighted about creolisation is that it is a process by which people of different cultural backgrounds and lifestyles develop a life in place that is different from their original homes. Once again using Simone (2004), if creolisation is taken to refer to the social it means looking at

creolisation as the process by which people from different backgrounds interact in a place that is different from their place of origin.

In essence creolisation in the social sense refers to people rather than buildings or structures; it refers to the relationships that people have with one another, the hierarchies in these relationships, the way people interact with each other, and for what reasons they interact with each other. These relationships are in fact the bases of the dual relationship between people and people, and people and space, because the way that these relationships take place or the nature in which they exist will influence the way in which people view their surroundings, therefore the manner in which they perceive and conceptualise and ultimately influence the way in which they interact with space and contribute to urban change.

Gotz and Simone (2002) argue that 'becoming' is often about urban residences maintaining multiple relationships with various associations in order to acquire access to various resources that the city has to offer, hence these relationships open the many doors that would have not been opened through formal networking channels. They argue for a level of ephemeral networks which operate in the city, particularly Johannesburg where an array of foreigners come in an effort to make a better life for themselves which opportunities in their countries of origin would not be able to offer. Therefore this is what one means when speaking of creolisation as referring to the social.

> "Creolisation is used primarily to describe new world processes of cultural cross-fertilisation… creolisation as a possible frame for rethinking the ways in which cultural identities are formed… This term brings into focus the ongoing processes of cultural transformations that everyday living in a country of cultural complexity and heterogeneity has produced" (Adhikari, 2009: 23, 26).

This aspect of creolisation serves to highlight it as an ongoing process of transformation. With reference to creolisation as a social aspect this idea then

implies that creolisation is also subject to change, or rather is a part and parcel of change as people move and establish different ephemeral network channels; moreover as new people move into these areas, relationships shift, some of which are refined but nonetheless transformation takes place.

He further argues that "creolisation is understood also as a process of subjection to social norms that nonetheless leaves room for agency. I see this process as producing shifting performances of identity relative to the specific demands that unfamiliar or oppressive cultural categories make on a person's sense of self" (Adhikari, 2009: 29).

Creolisation is then about identity, how one identifies themselves in space or what one identifies with. Adhikari (2009) refers to this concept of identity as 'shifting performance of identity' which implies that these identities in space are not constant. This is what one argued above, that creolisation is subject to urban change much like hybridity, which introduces the idea that culture or cultures are not fixed, rather they change with time, so too does this concept of culture as creolisation in which one is describing identities in space. The identities that people take on and the relationships which they forge through these identities are therefore not fixed in space. Creolisation then in terms of this research, is about the way people interact with one another and how this shapes their perspectives of how they see space and therefore interact with it.

4.4 Hybridity and creolisation: tools to analyze urban change

Therefore what does it mean to look at urban change in Newtown through hybridity and creolisation, or to look at the triad and understand it through aspects of 'culture'? It is not simply about knowing about the concepts of hybridity and creolisation and remembering to use them in the context of urban change. Rather it means planners need to learn to read these signs and symbols in space, understand

the space not from the perspective of a policy or from the perspective of design qualities, but engaging with the space and see space through its hybrid connections, understanding the people in the space from their creolised networks. It is therefore about planning for the context through the context, using the perspectives of the users to understand space.

It must be made clear though that one is not arguing for participation within the boundaries of the research (even though participation is an important aspect to planning and to planning for people); the argument is around the use of culture within planning. It is essential that planning does not overlook the aspect of culture or dismiss the fact that culture has got influence on uses of space. As Wood and Landry (2008) point out, people behave in a certain way according to the cultural background they originate from. Therefore in light of the argument presented about the lens which one is utilising to look at hybridity and creolisation in this research, one can then argue that these cultural influences or backgrounds which shape peoples' behaviour are therefore an influence or a determinant on how people choose to use space.

If, for example, a foreigner in a country is there on the basis to access economic opportunities but does not see themselves as belonging to that space but is just there on a temporary basis, the way in which they will use that space or the channels and networks they will form with people around them will be dependent on the culture which drives them, whether it be personal or ethnic culture or even professional culture, all such are aspects that affect, influence and change space. However it goes beyond temporary residents in space to understanding why people choose to paint certain walls with graffiti over others, why street traders prefer not to use the designated trading spots designed for them, or why design changes in certain areas are not sustainable over the long term and are changed by the user over time.

When most interview participants were asked if change were to take place in Newtown what direction this change should take, as well as if they could bring back anything from the past back into Newtown, what it would be, the response was:

> "The change should be targeted at students and up-and-coming young artists. More schools should be opened in the area and Kippies, the Horror Café and the flea market should be brought back, (for) the fun atmosphere they created" (Moerene speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

> "Fewer clubs and pubs and more art, theatre, galleries and restaurants. I would bring back jazz" (Paulsen speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

> "I think more public awareness is essential, especially now after the world cup when people feel more 'united' and proud to be a South African I would bring back live jazz bands and dance floors big enough to dance the night away" (Arends speaking as a user of Newtown cultural precinct, 2010, Interview).

However in light of what Urban Solutions has argued it seems a distant thought or a bigger gap between users and designers. They argue that change took place for the city because they were the custodians, therefore the design were planned under the intention of satisfying the city. In the honours research one argued that it was clear that developers are therefore the drivers in the direction that change takes place.

> "Capitalism both engenders and constrains demands for state intervention in the sphere of the built environment" (Foglesong in Mbetse, 2009: 67).

Therefore the driving force in development is not the City of Johannesburg but the private sector (Mbetse, 2009).

However planners and planning is that bridge between the developers, the City and the users, although how can it be a successful bridge if there is a gap between

planners and the users and their views regarding space? Hence hybridity and creolisation become that link between the planner and the user such that the users' views and perspectives regarding space are successfully translated into plans for change.

Thus culture and theory serve as a bridge between the dialectic presented earlier in the research, where one argued that the views of the planner and the designer are obviously not understood in the same manner by the user, and neither do planners take time to understand the spaces the people engage with or use, hence there is a dialectic between the two perspectives; spaces of representation and representations of space. One has argued that creolisation could be a lens that is applied to understanding a cultural precinct more and in light of the interviews, it becomes that lens which one utilises to understand why people feel those aspects are missing and why those specific aspects.

4.5 How can planning better understand and design for change in contemporary urban cities?

The argument thus far is to plan for change that is sustainable, change that will not be altered by the users over time but will be accommodative of the users and their perspectives of space. The aim is not to develop spaces in which people change them and make them their own through time; rather it is that space should include both the perspectives of the planner and the user from the onset. The process of going about urban change should be intervened through hybridity and creolisation. It is not to say that development within the Newtown Cultural Precinct is not adequate but if the users in the space do not feel that the space captures what a cultural precinct is, then who are the plans for? If the space will not be used over time because it lacks many of the qualities that characterise a cultural precinct, then urban change in that sense was not successful and something needs to be done to change that.

What remains now is whether the central research question has been answered efficiently by looking at Newtown through the conceptual triad and by using creolisation and hybridity as tools to understand urban change in Newtown. What Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad has highlighted is that there are different levels of space operating in the context of Newtown, therefore understanding the context of Newtown would imply gaining a better understanding on these different levels of space which Lefebvre (1991) speaks about. In answering the research question, it is clear that the question does not simply require a yes or a no answer, rather it requires a reflection of the theoretical framework and the aspects discussed of creolisation and hybridity.

One can argue that the question has been answered to the extent that one uses the understanding and analysis developed from the concepts of hybridity and creolisation in order to tackle or deal with the dialectic or rather gap between the two perspectives of space. Figure 4.5 illustrates this well by showing that there is a gap between the planners of space in Newtown versus the users and as proposed, hybridity and creolisation serve as tools to bring the two perspectives of space closer such that conceptions of space are well translated into space and well received by the users of space.

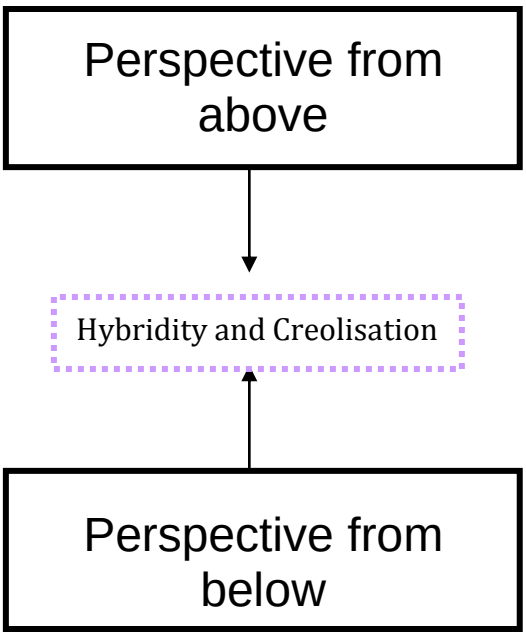


Figure 4.5: Elaboration on conceptual diagram of what should take place.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the concepts of hybridity and creolisation as alternatives of looking at space. Space cannot be understood solely from the perspectives of the planner, rather the current uses and context in a place are pointers and indicators for understanding space through culture. More so what the chapter has highlighted is the difficulty of attempting to bridge the dialectic between the two perspectives; even if one uses the concept of hybridity and creolisation to understand space it's not as simple as just putting it into practice. Issues about space and people are never an easy concept to tackle because everyone has their own perspective of how things should be, however what one is highlighting is the importance of looking beyond the obvious, or rather in Sandercock's (2004) words learning to read the non-verbal through the concepts of creolisation and hybridity in order to better understand space and more importantly to plan better for urban change in places like Newtown Cultural Precinct.

Chapter Five

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the research was to explore the nature of urban change in the Newtown Cultural Precinct while using the concepts of culture as analysis tools, but ultimately one was seeking to understand this concept of urban change and hence better plan for it. The findings in this research report show the complexities associated with interpretations of culture in the city as well as the interpretations of various perspectives in the city and how these get translated into space. However what this has highlighted is the tension that exists between policy prescriptions versus what the users and residents of the space feel should happen in the space. Moreover it has shown how urban change takes place as a mechanism or a tool to satisfy a few people while the rest of the people are left out of the vision for the place. Hence the point of this research is to highlight these shortcomings from a planning perspective and to ensure that planning for urban change becomes more inclusive and integral to the aspect of culture; culture as a way to better plan for change and a way to understand the context of the city.

The purpose of this chapter is to thus conclude the findings of this research and to place into perspective the point of the research and its relevance for planning theory and planning practice: in essence drawing together all the relevant points made in order to fully understand the point of what it is one is trying to grapple with in the context of urban change.

The chapter will be structured as follows:

- A brief review of the research report
- Conceptual triad as a means of analysing space
- Final points on urban change
- The point for planning
- Lessons learned
- Final analysis
- Conclusion

5.2 Brief Review of the research report

The research began with an examination of the concept of space as seen by Lefebvre (1991). What he argued is for the three perspectives of space; that space should not be seen as merely an object in which other things exist, rather it should be seen as more, something which responds and reacts accordingly to interactions. "Spaces can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories" (Hooks in Sandercock, 1995: 77). Hooks highlights the perspective that space can be made real, that there is more to space than just an 'object' that meets the eye. The central issue was exploring and examining the nature of urban change, and how this urban change had been implemented or rather exists in the city with particular focus on the South African context. However one cannot begin to understand urban change without understanding the concept of space; for this reason one looked at theories on space and how space is interpreted and translated into the perspectives and ideas of people.

Taking a stance from Lefebvre and his concept of the production of space is important for the central structure of this research; not only does it serve to highlight how space functions and how one can begin to connect the concept of urban change to the polices and frameworks which govern space in the city, but also the daily happenings and life in the city. This from a broad understanding of how space operates down to the smallest interpretations that help shape the city. Lefebvre's (1991) major point is that the 'use' of all space is not just a random display of how the city operates but how all spaces in the city are perceived, conceptualised and translated into an idea or an image of how the city should feel and look. In essence spaces are framed in a particular way to serve a particular purpose.

Zukin (1995: 15) argues that "for several hundred of years, visual representations of cities have sold urban growth". She further argues that the development of postcards and visual images have sold the idea of the 'ideal' city image. Planners,

developers and designers have tried to translate those images and ideas into space, somehow trying to change the context of the city. Her notion of 'framed spaces' is taken further by Bremner (2004) who argues that spaces are 'reframed' in order to suit or satisfy the needs of a certain group, however this satisfaction doesn't necessarily suit those people who have not been included as part of celebrating this reframing.

By scratching beyond the surface one is able to scrutinise these perspectives of space and to see beyond the conceived, perceived and lived concepts of space. Moreover it brings into focus the concept of culture as an active and influential element in the shaping of space. The main argument with regard to culture is that people respond and act on the basis of some sort of culture but more importantly with reference to this research, Zukin (1995) argues that culture controls the city; what she argues is that it symbolizes who belongs in specific places and who does not, and it plays a role in urban redevelopment strategies which base their premise on historic preservation and local heritage.

What this begins to highlight is the tension that exists between perspectives in space through culture as people come to familiarise themselves with different cultures in space. Furthermore it highlights the significance of culture as an element that shapes space and therefore influences urban change; hence it becomes crucial for planning as a discipline (which is in the business of shaping and understanding spaces in the city) to reflect on this perspectives of culture and to understand how as a tool it can be used to enhance urban change in a more positive direction.

The previous chapter elaborates much further on how culture can be used as an element to shape space and how it needs to be made more of an integral part in examining space in the city. Culture is a very broad concept, hence the research points out from what angle or lens one can look at culture in space. The point however, is not solely to understand culture in space but rather to gain a deeper understanding of space which looks beyond Lefebvre's (1991) simple interpretation

of it and examines how culture can be used to understand the nature of urban change thus lay the paving for the future direction for urban change in the city. It also points out the importance of planning a cultural precinct and how the concept of culture in its fullest form affects space and urban change in the city is important, and what planning needs to do in such cases.

5.3 Conceptual triad as a means of analysing space

It is important then to assess the success and relevance of utilising Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad as a means to analyse space. The triad firstly unpacked the layered concept of space, making it easier for one to understand the dynamics behind space, it allows the planner to be more context sensitive and aware of the different layers or rather perspectives, interpretations and conceptions that take place in space. In terms of Newtown, using the triad has assisted one in understanding what is taking place in Newtown. When looking at space from a one dimensional view it is easy to interpret things from one perspective while neglecting the others and this is what is happening in Newtown. Planners and designers are not knowledgeable enough about space and its different perspectives that they tend to shape space solely from their own perspectives or understanding. The users in this case are given what the planners think they require and not what the planners know that they need. Through the triad one has been able to make clear or to emphasize the importance of bridging the gap between user and planner in order to plan better for urban change. What has also been highlighted is the in depth analysis of the perspectives of space, which gave one the interpretation of seeing 'lived' space from the view point of creolisation and hybridity, therefore stimulating further analysis on the concepts of space and how crucial it is for planners to understand these concepts in order to plan better for change.

5.4 Final points on urban change

It is inevitable that change takes place in the city, however what this research has emphasized is the importance for planners to grasp the concept of urban change in order to plan better for change as well as to understand the spaces in which they work. What the research has highlighted is that urban change needs to be understood from the view point of space and that the two have a reciprocal relationship. Moreover urban change not only lies in the hands of the planners but rather users have the capacity to change the spaces that they live in and their use, however it is the planners duty to engage deeply with these various meanings of change and what they mean in relation to the spaces that planners and designers try to shape.

5.5 Answering the Research question

How can planners better understand and design for change in contemporary urban African cities?

By learning from the users and learning to read the actions that the users give out, planners can not plan a space according to what they think is right when users of the space do not have any input in the manner. More importantly as a reflection from the research, in order to plan for change, planners need to understand the city and its context for what it is, planning against the context only leads to more changes in the future rather planners need to learn to accept the context of the city for what it is and plan around that. "Culture is attached to the politics of society, in the past Market theatre used to show plays of the struggle, there is no struggle anymore and now that has changed, they show plays that people can relate to in the present society" (Manqoba speaking on behalf of Urban Genesis, 2010, Interview).

In the same way planning needs to be attached to the politics of society, the culture of society, change needs to be done in such a way that it is understood in the context and not an abstract idea. The fact that Hillbrow is located within close proximity to Newtown should be an eye opener for planners, that plans can not simply be restrictive and contained in a situation where there are many people who come in looking for employment opportunities and selling craft is normally their first option. Urban change in Newtown can not ignore the surroundings and plan just for culture in its immediate vicinity, but it needs to be more inclusive of cultures as well and inclusive of the ideas that people using the space feel is lacking. One also has to be considerate that change is a process that is constantly evolving, and planning needs to be kept on its toes when planning for such.

5.6 Point for planners: Its relation to planning

It is important then to ask what the point of this research is and what its relevance to current planning work is. In essence how does this research advance the work that is already being carried out in planning literature which looks at urban change? How does culture begin to unravel to planners the nature of urban change and the importance of understanding this concept thoroughly in order to affect better change patterns in the city? Zukin (1995:11) and Healey (1999: 113) argue respectively that:

> "Public culture…is produced by many social encounters that make up daily life in the streets, shops and parks – the spaces in which we experience public life in cities. The right to be in these spaces, to use them in certain ways, to invest them with a sense of ourselves and our communities – to claim them as ours and to be claimed in turn by them – make up a constantly changing public culture".

> "It is these systems of meaning, ways of valuing, and ways of acting that become the cultural underpinnings of everyday life, for people in households, firms and agencies. However, these cultural underpinnings are not fixed and given, although they may be slow to change. They are actively made, remade and transformed in the dynamics of the social relations that intersect in localities".

The point then is that planning ought to find ways to plan for urban change in a manner which is more sustainable, but more so where space is concerned the concept of culture needs to be emphasised in planning in the city. Although some may argue that spaces are changed in a particular way which often overlooks culture or goes beyond Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad, people can always change these spaces and make them their own over time; the question then is should planners be planning spaces that are more likely to be changed by people over time or should they be planning for sustainable change and ensuring that culture is not ignored as an important element to this change?

5.7 Lessons learned

A personal reflection in this regard is that planning tends to be ignorant of the socio-cultural aspects in cities. Planners tend to overlook this aspect as something which has little or no influence in the life of the city, there is a tendency to structure designs and redevelopments of the city ignoring aspects of culture or how people perceive and use the space. The assumption is that the built environment has the capacity to shape peoples' behaviour in space through shaping the space itself, hence the tendency of overlooking aspects which characterise behaviours. Yet these spaces which are redeveloped under such a presumption tend to become lost and isolated spaces or are eventually used differently from their intended use. Moreover polices and frameworks which help to shape space in the city reflect only the visions

which are being pursued by the city in general, yet they ignore those of the users. The city is directing most of its efforts and investments to achieving the objectives of a world class city vision and hence development and designs in space are made to reflect such, thus targeted at tourism and big events, while the local users and residents in the space tend to be ignored by such regeneration programmes.

In all this one still has unanswered questions about whether issues highlighted in Simone's (2004) paper relating to hybridity and creolisation, are issues faced by African cities or whether these are general city issues, and even so how do planners begin to plan for the African context in light of culture, bearing in mind the many issues surrounding the context and what does urban change mean in this regard. Does one plan for change that is much different than what has been suggested or does change need to be approached in a different manner and the cultural lens revised?

What has also been highlighted is the role of the environments in planning for urban change. What both the analysis of the conceptual triad and that of creolisation and hybridity have highlighted is the importance of understanding the context when planning for urban change. Therefore understanding the context would entail engaging with the space as a planner from a user's perspective. However this implies that planners can no longer sit in offices and try and understand the context in which they plan from pictures and information, rather planning for change and engaging with the space would mean planners would have to be a part of the space, understand the lived space from a lived point of view, therefore living in the space as a user and planning for the space from the inside-out and not planning from the outside trying to get in and connect with the space. This may not be a practical idea however it is the most logical idea when trying to understand the dynamics of how space is used and how people live in space; moreover it is efficient for using creolisation and hybridity as tools to go about planning for urban change.

5.7.1 Limitations and reflections of the research

The limitations of undertaking any research that is case study based is the struggle to secure interviews in time to meet the deadline, or securing any interviews for that matter. One could not get an interview with any of the City of Johannesburg's extended branches who were part of the redevelopment of Newtown who played a major part in that process, hence a lack of perspectives coming from their part in the matter of urban change in Newtown.

Change is a long term thing, therefore it becomes a limitation to examine and explore change in terms of what should take place when one can only look at the past and the present as informants of the future. Moreover if culture is taken as changing over time and not static, and people are taken to change and evolve on how they use space or how they perceive space, then it becomes difficult to understand the nature of urban change; in addition it becomes difficult to understand and examine culture as a tool to analyse the context. Although difficult it is still necessary, and somehow planners need to find a way to work around that, even though that has not been expressed in this research it is a gap in which this research cannot engage for the sake of time.

5.8 Final analysis and conclusion

> "Official interpretations are excluding of the rich and complex ever-changing production of meanings and symbols in the everyday spaces of everyday life in the city – that this official 'story' of what culture is in the city and where culture in the city actually serves to 'fix' or arrest a particular 'official' version of culture in the city (often at considerable capital expense), in an effort to package culture as a tourist experience in the city rather than allowing the evolving meanings and symbols being produced in the spaces of everyday life to inform our ideas of what the identity of the city might be" (Dinath, 2006: 157).

Dinath (2006) highlights the gist of the findings in this research report, to wit, that the concept of culture as used in the city serves only to benefit a few people and not everyone, and even more so culture is not used in its holistic perspective but rather cut up and configured as desired by planners and designers of space in the city, and the everyday 'nature' of culture has much more to offer to urban change than this packaged culture which is sold to tourists in spaces like the Newtown cultural precinct.

In all this how does one measure 'culture' or the presence of culture in the Newtown cultural precinct? Dinath (2006) argues that to measure culture or to see its impact in space would entail looking at policies and strategies in the space in which development happens, and ensure that culture is an integral part of these policies and strategies. More so what she further highlights is assessing culture through who benefits in the space from the culture led developments. Do graffiti artists benefit and are their perspectives of space or how they speak to space in the city, understood and translated well into the space, or are those walls in that space repainted as redevelopment takes place? Or does the lady who plaits peoples' hair on the street corner of such areas somehow benefit from this development and change in space, or is she simply moved away? Although one has no way of truly

finding out the extent to which these people benefit from redevelopment or redesign processes or if they would benefit more had space not been changed, one nevertheless proposes that culture is used more in its 'everyday' sense than it has been used in the past and is therefore made an integral part of planning for change in the city.

Planning is still a concept which is growing in the South African context, one hopes that with time, the concepts of change will be better handled and more and more spaces in the city will be reflective of the three perspectives of space, rather than being confined to one idea. Healey (2002) talks about the narrowness of conceptions of the city in urban policies; what she highlights is that visions tend to be limited and confined to particular images and do not consider the broader perspective, hence the need to move away from this kind of conceptualisation of space and move into a direction of understanding the city from a more holistic view.

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Louise Paulsen: Speaking on a Personal Capacity, 09 September 2010.

Manqoba Mkhize : Urban Genesis, 24 November 2010.

Celestine Mouton: JDA, 21 November 2010.

Appendix A

NEWTOWN HERITAGE TRAIL
M1 FREEWAY OVERPASS
Pine Ave
Jennings St
Quinn St
Carr St
Bree St
Jeppe St
Market St
Henry Nxumalo St
Margaret Mcingana St
Miriam Makeba St
Gerard Sekoko St
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Diagonal St
Pritchard St
Kerk St
MANAGED ZONE
Parks
Commercial
Cultural
Restaurants
Residential
Places of Interest
MARKET THEATRE
Market Theatre
Grammofoniks
Market Bar and Bistro
NO1 CENTRAL PLACE
Blue Ro
Craft Rural
Cappello
Gauteng Tourism
Kalafi's
Kaya Fm
Kirkpatrick
Sophiatown
Kama Books
Bitcoin
THE DANCE SPACE
Camp Blue Design
Dance Forum
Vuyani Dance
THE BUS FACTORY
Artist Proof Studio
Drum Café
Imbali
JDA Offices
Market Laboratory
Unity Gallery
ATTRACTIONS
Bassline
Dance Factory
Market Theatre
Museum Africa
SAB World Of Beer
Sci-Bono Discovery Centre
Workers' Museum
TRAINING
Artist Proof Studio
Imbali
Market Laboratory
Market Photo Workshop
Moving Into Dance
SA Roadies
newtown
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Appendix B

Interview questions for Urban Solutions Architects:

1. What was the vision that you had in mind for Newtown?
2. What did the mandate from JDA with regard to developing Newtown?
3. What does cultural precinct really mean and therefore what is a cultural precinct?
4. How has the culture been integrated into space?
5. Do you think that the culturally precinct works as it was intended?
6. If yes, what was the main goal or objective for the cultural precinct?
7. Did the vision include users' perspective and the perspectives that they had for the space?
8. Predevelopment, what kind of a place was Newtown?
9. Do you think that Newtown is susceptible to urban change by the users?
10. Why was the market moved from the square?
11. How successful is the concept of a cultural precinct now that the square does not have a market area on it, in comparison to when there was a market area?
12. Do you think the market area will ever return to the square due to the users' own discretion?
13. Was the design of Newtown taken from a New Urbanism perspective?
14. If yes, what were the elements that you thought were important to draw from with regard to a New Urbanism perspective?
15. If no, is there any particular influence in your design (perhaps another cultural precinct in another country)?
16. What would you say makes Newtown a truly Urban African cultural precinct, or maybe South African precinct?
17. What do you think are the important aspects that designers and planners should take into mind when designing or planning a cultural precinct?

18. What are the things that still need to be improved in Newtown to fully capture the concept of a cultural precinct?

Appendix C

Interview questions for Users of Newtown Cultural Precinct:

1. What do you remember about Newtown as it was, before it was redesigned?

2. What do you think of Newtown today?

3. Did you go to Newtown prior to its redesign and what did you go there for?

4. Would you still go to Newtown today?

5. If yes, why and for what reasons?

6. If no, why not?

7. What do you think is a cultural precinct?

8. Do you think that Newtown is a cultural precinct? Please justify.

9. What do you think a cultural precinct should have or look like?

10. Do you think that the plans to redesign Newtown have done justice to the concept of a cultural precinct?

11. Who do you think has benefitted most from the redesign of the space in Newtown?

12. If change were to take place in Newtown, what direction should this change take?

13. If you could bring back anything from the past back into Newtown, what would that be?

Appendix D

Interview questions for Urban Genesis:

1. What is the role of urban genesis in the redeveloped Newtown Cultural Precinct?
2. Culture is said to be a very flexible term, so how does urban genesis try and not restrict culture and its happenings in the management of Newtown?
3. What is urban genesis's response to managed cultural precincts not authentically portraying what the culture is about while places that are not managed flourish in culture?
4. Do you think the way urban genesis has handled the case of Newtown thus far has been successful and if so please justify?
5. There has been a dialectic presented in this case, in that the planners, developers and architects view space in a particular way while the users and residents have their own perspective of how the space should be used. Particularly because developers are interested in the marketing side of a space and the economics of it while users are more inclined on the feel and use of the space. What is urban genesis's response to this?
6. What is your view of a cultural precinct and what should happen in such a space?
7. Do you think that the cultural precinct works as was intended and is it a successful rendition of the old Newtown?
8. In the management of Newtown, do you think moving the market of the square was the best idea for that space? Is it well managed now and working more efficiently than it was when the market was around?
9. What is Urban genesis's response to users who argue that the former Newtown was livelier and less cold, it was a place that people really

understood what is meant by a cultural precinct versus the now redeveloped Newtown which is rigidly managed?

10. Does urban genesis think that Newtown is susceptible to urban change by the users in the long term?
11. What is urban genesis's response to urban solutions arguing that what goes on inside buildings in Newtown is none of their business that is managements role to make sure that a certain image is portrayed on the outside and what is not adequate is kept managed on the inside?
12. What kind of culture do you think is being portrayed in Newtown currently and is this culture a fair reflection of the diversity that really exist within Newtown and its surroundings?
13. What would you say makes Newtown a truly Urban African cultural precinct or maybe an urban African South African precinct?
14. What do you think are the important aspects that designers, developers and planners should take into mind when designing or planning a cultural precinct?
15. What are the things that still need to be improved on in Newtown to fully capture the concept of a cultural precinct?

Appendix E

Interview questions for the JDA:

1. What is the role of the JDA in the redevelopment of Newtown Cultural Precinct?
2. What was the vision for Newtown prior to its redevelopment?
3. Does the JDA feel that this vision has been fully captured and if so in what sense has it been captured?
4. Did the vision for Newtown include the users perspectives in terms of how they use and live in the space, if so please specify and if not why?
5. What is the JDA's response to urban solutions arguing that the mandate for development was addressed to meet the needs of the City of Johannesburg and not the users needs?
6. Does the JDA think that Newtown is susceptible to urban change by the users in the long run?
7. What is the meaning of a cultural precinct and what exactly was the JDA and developers trying say about this development?
8. Does the JDA feel that this space has worked successfully and in the same way as the intended design?
9. What form of urban change has worked well in this new redevelopment of Newtown that did not work in the previous Newtown?

10. What is the JDA's response to users who argue that the former Newtown was livelier and less cold, it was a place that people really understood what is meant by a cultural precinct versus the now redeveloped Newtown?
11. If culture is taken to encompass 'all' people and the way they live and use the space, why was the market moved of the square? And why is this new cultural precinct not celebrating diversity apart from having a row of restaurants and occasional performance on the square?
12. There has been a dialectic presented in this case, in that the planners, developers and architects view space in a particular way while the users and residents have their own perspective of how the space should be used. Did the JDA make any means to bridge this dialectic when planning for the redevelopment of Newtown and if so how was this achieved?
13. What then is the response from the JDA to users and residents who feel that the JDA gives consultation however they inputs will not effect any change that the JDA has already decided on?
14. What would the JDA say makes Newtown a truly Urban African cultural precinct despite what has been said?
15. What does the JDA think are important aspects that designers and planners should take into mind when designing or planning a cultural precinct?
16. What are the things that still need to be improved on for Newtown to fully capture the concept of a cultural precinct?