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RENEGOTIATING SPACE

Arts on Main, 44 Stanley + Johannesburg

DIRK BAHMANN JASON FRENKEL



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Report Series produced by the South African Research Chair in Development Planning and Modelling, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

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DIRK BAHMANN JASON FRENKEL

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Factor 2011



Frenkel 2011

SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

> "If Johannesburg ... is to prosper and provide a place where people can live decently, it must allow people to belong as well as to become, that is, enable people to make connections and associations across space and social groups." **(Tomlinson 2003:83)**

Currently, there is a proliferation of urban, middle class, creative and alternative developments in Johannesburg that are typified by 44 Stanley and Arts on Main. These developments are a relatively new phenomenon in the city and a critical investigation is required as to the reasons for their current popularity, as well as their impact and influences on the city. As 'encoded' texts that reflect the identities and desires of a segment of our society (Van Eeden2005:39), their analysis has the potential to shed light on the intricacies and nuances of the re-development of Johannesburg as a whole.

44 Stanley is an alternative, boutique shopping venue on the urban edge of the city of Johannesburg. It is a walled, post-industrial, low-rise space that consists of a number of interconnected outdoor courtyards of various sizes. The clientele are primarily wealthy, creative people from the Northern Suburbs and the neighbouring universities (University of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand). As such, 44 Stanley is integrally stitched into its immediate urban fabric. It is part of the Milpark district in Braamfontein Werf, which contains a number of spatially isolated, self-contained developments, each owned by separate developers, including residential lofts, offices, film schools and a shopping mall. It was established in 2003 and represented and catered for a desire for northern suburbanites to re-engage with the urban.

THE NORTHERN SUBURBS – To the north of the CBD, these suburbs include the wealthiest areas in Johannesburg. They consist of walled residential estates, shopping malls and commercial centres such as Rosebank, Sandton and Melrose Arch.

Arts on Main, like 44 Stanley, is a walled, post-industrial low-rise space with interlinking courtyards that caters for wealthy, creative people from the northern suburbs. However, its physical distance from its clientele and its proximity to a derelict, low-income urban setting, places it at odds with its immediate environment. Arts on Main was established in 2009 as the pilot project for the Maboneng District on the eastern outskirts of the CBD. The Maboneng District as a whole is controlled and conceptualised by a single developer, who further capitalised on the desire for suburbanites to re-engage with the urban.

Arts on Main and 44 Stanley are sometimes read and promoted as incubators that encourage increased urban social interaction within the socially isolated and fragmented city of Johannesburg; alternatively, they can be read as extensions of suburban fortified enclaves in an urban environment. In this paper, we argue that, while Arts on Main and 44 Stanley may seem to provide an alternative to the mall environments of the suburbs, they function as fortified enclaves that are in many ways very similar to the malls that they profess to provide an alternative to. It is only when looking outside of the boundaries of these enclaves that they have the potential to act as stepping-stones that encourage a greater urban engagement by the middle and upper classes. It is through looking outside of these boundaries that we turn our attention to the Maboneng District.

The Maboneng District contains a number of inter-related, multi-use buildings including apartments, artist studios, galleries, retail, restaurants, office space, an independent cinema, a theatre and a hotel. Unlike the Milpark District, these facilities relate to each other in a manner that creates a cohesive and legible district. Maboneng is a permeable entity that allows and encourages thoroughfare and an engagement with the street. Whereas 44 Stanley, Arts on Main and Milpark accommodate paying customers only, part of Maboneng's character is its relationship to everyday city uses such as hawking, commuting, etc. As such, it forms a discursive relationship with its surrounding environment. In analysing Maboneng, we argue that it does, in fact, encourage a re-negotiation of space and therefore does serve as an incubator that encourages increased social interaction across boundaries

In contrast, we argue that 44 Stanley and Arts on Main function in ways similar to mall environments. Through the works of Jeanne Van Eeden, we demonstrate that traditional mall environments act as a means of identity formation through the act of consumerism. Through interviews with users of 44 Stanley and Arts on Main, we demonstrate that both of these spaces are perceived as diverse, even though the users are fairly homogenous along racial and class lines. Through the work of Fran Tonkiss we explore how the post-industrial architecture and 'edginess' of these spaces creates the illusion of diversity, linking these spaces to a trend in the mass production of the aesthetics of diversity (Tonkiss 2005:87-89). The homogenous nature of these developments leads us to a discussion of the codes of exclusion that are both subtle and overt. Through an analysis of the spatial fabric in and around these spaces we show how those who are deemed 'undesirable' are excluded.

While these spaces do in fact function as fortified enclaves typical of suburban centres, they also provide an opportunity for a shift in urban interaction outside the confines of their walls. While 44 Stanley turns its back on the street and thereby disengages with its context, it does serve as a springboard for other urban developments. We show how 44 Stanley, which exists in an isolated context close to northern suburbs, paved the way for Arts on Main, which is located in a far denser section of the city that is integrally linked to its urban fabric. While Arts on Main also functions as a fortified enclave, it acts as a catalyst for the Maboneng district, which creates an opportunity for a shift in urban perception and interaction.

The Maboneng district is currently activated by two separate developments – Arts on Main and Main Street Life, both of which are located on Fox street but separated by a block of industrial buildings. Main Street Life opens up onto the street and encourages the users of the street into itself through the use of public galleries on all floors as well as a rooftop bar. It further constantly engages with the urban through cultural events and activities that focus and promote the city and urban culture. The developer takes ownership of the street by improving pavements, adding trees and planters and creating spaces that are accessible to both the users of Main Street Life and of the street. Due to limited vehicular access, Fox Street has a slow-moving nature, which attracts urban users commuting to and from Jeppe Station and the city. It also facilitates community-based activities such as a skateboarding initiative for the children living in the area.

As a result of our findings on the nature of the Maboneng district, the paper shifts its focus from inside the enclaves towards an analysis of the interactions that occur in Maboneng. We explore a pilgrimage of sorts that occurs after the Sunday Market, where middle and upper class suburbanites venture onto the

street, through the galleries of Main Street Life and onto the rooftop. We analyse this pilgrimage through the works of Michael De Certeau and demonstrate the importance of the act of walking in 'writing' the city. In addition to the act of walking, we focus on skateboarding as a means of reclaiming space and enabling a re-negotiation of interaction amongst different users, relying on the work of Iain Borden. We also assess issues of security, and, through the work of Jane Jacobs, show how it is achieved through the everyday use of the street. This use by different types of users creates a functional diversity and allows for propinquity, which is absent in the suburbs and the confines of the enclaves.

One of the primary criticisms levelled at 44 Stanley, Arts on Main and Maboneng is that of the displacement of the urban poor due to gentrification. We assess this criticism through a comparison with the gentrification that occurred in SoHo in Manhattan in the 1960's and 70's. , as both 44 Stanley and Arts on Main have been compared to the development of SoHo during that time period. We show that SoHo, as well as 44 Stanley/Milpark/Arts on Main/Maboneng were fairly vacant at their time of inception and therefore resulted in minimal displacement. However, we also argue that, just as the gentrification of SoHo over time created an environment that is inhospitable to those who can't afford to be there (including the artists who pioneered it), the gentrification of spaces in Johannesburg has the unfortunate potential to do the same in the long run. We explore the ambiguities of gentrification by pointing out that Manhattan, currently, has very few properties which are accessible to the urban poor, while Johannesburg has them in abundance. As such, we argue that while Manhattan should strive to create inclusivity through accommodating the urban poor, Johannesburg needs to create it by accommodating the middle and upper classes.

Finally, we turn our attention to the impact of these spaces on Johannesburg as a whole. In addition to pushing the boundaries of urban interactions and acting as catalysts for further development, these spaces offer environments that are conducive to the collaboration of the creative class. Based on an article by Mary Corrigall we argue that, in a post-manufacturing society, the creative class acts as a driver for the economy and cities. It is through accommodating this class that cities facilitate their economic growth.

These particular developments were selected to facilitate a comparative analysis: 44 Stanley is an older, established development that is located on the urban edge, while the more recent Arts on Main is immersed within the city fabric itself (although still not technically within the CBD). 44 Stanley, which was developed in the early 2000's, is a middle and upper class 'urban' retail development in Johannesburg. Currently, it seems to have reached a point of stasis in its evolution and has become a fairly stable entity. Arts on Main, however, which was inspired by 44 Stanley, is contextually dissimilar as it is located in a denser section of the city during a time when the desire by the middle class to re-engage with the city is significantly stronger. Given its relative infancy, it is constantly re-inventing itself in response to its dynamic social context.

We analyse these spaces along social, cultural and economic lines. However, as Lindsay Bremner points out: "Urban writing is a re-subjectivising process and a way of examining social reproduction in a more immediately concrete way than through statistical, economic or socio-political study. Specific spaces in my city… function as 'hieroglyphics' of social reality" (2010:61). We thus also rely on our own wanderings and observations as a means of assessing these developments on a more intimate level. Given the personal nature of such observations, it should be noted that our own social positions, along cultural, racial, economic, educational, age and class lines are inherently written into this study.

METHODOLOGY

Our investigation of these spaces has revealed numerous understandings through the use of interviews, mind maps, spatial mapping, comparative market analysis and critical observation. We have interviewed the users of the developments, business owners, developers, employees, users of the surrounding contexts and local residents in order to obtain a multi-faceted view.

Interviews were conducted with a random sample of participants within and around the developments, along with targeted interviews with key stakeholders. The random sample interviews were conducted with users of the enclaves, users of the surrounding contexts, business owners within the enclaves, business owners in the surrounding contexts and residents in the area. These interviews consisted mostly of open-ended questions, with a few closed quantitative questions. Key questions focused on the relationship between Arts on Main/44 Stanley and traditional malls in the suburbs, the perceived diversity of the enclaves, demographics of the users and how, why and when these spaces are used.

Targeted interviews with key stakeholders were conducted with developers of the enclaves (Brian Greene of 44 Stanley and Jonathan Liebmann of Arts on Main), developers of the surrounding contexts and other major role-players in the areas - including well established artists such as William Kentridge and the founder of the skateboarding initiative, Zean Ferreira. The developer interviews focused on the rationale and strategy behind the developments, their visions for the future of the developments, their relationship to the street and the surrounding communities/environments and their intended users. Other stakeholder interviews focused on their reasons for involvement with the developments, their relationship with the developments and their impressions of them.

In addition to interviews, 'mind maps' were obtained from the users of the enclaves. Without the aid of formal maps, users were asked to draw their route to the enclave, the districts within which the enclaves are located and their understanding of the metropolitan area of Johannesburg as a whole. They were asked to 'fill in the blanks' and show their understanding of the urban fabric beyond what they thought was critical in the initial drawing. They were also asked to map their emotional landscape by demarcating areas that evoked a sense of fear or discomfort versus areas of pleasure or comfort.

We conducted an open-ended thematic analysis of all interviews and mind maps, as well as a statistical analysis of the closed questions. In addition, we relied on our own observations from both within the confines of the enclaves and in their direct and broad contexts. (See appendix for sample interview questions.)

The comparative market analysis was based on property prices obtained by EADS (Estate Agents Data Solutions). We assessed the trends in prices per m^2 for entire plots, as well as for sectional title. This analysis was performed for all of Braamfontein Werf and for a section of City and Suburban that includes the Maboneng district. We included a market analysis for approximately one block in each direction beyond our target areas which we then read in relation to Johannesburg as a whole. The spatial analysis consisted of assessing the physical characteristics and usage patterns for the enclaves themselves, as well as their surrounding fabric. We analysed the architectural components of the areas and assessed how they inform usage patterns. These were observed at different times of the day, week and year.

SECTION 2

JOHANNESBURG – a brief history

In order to explore 44 Stanley and Arts on Main, it is important to understand the history of Johannesburg and how these developments are informed, conform to or challenge the trajectory of that history. As an apartheid city, Johannesburg's landscape and infrastructure was deeply fragmented. Under apartheid, the city was officially organised according to ethnicity, race and class and, as such, the social, cultural and economic interactions were kept to a minimum with tightly-controlled social and public space (Tomlinson 2003:2). Vast spaces of buffer strips were inserted between different social and class groups, which were difficult to traverse. The attempted racial and class segregation forms the foundation of the enclave mentality in Johannesburg. Previous eras of cultural and racial mixing, for example Sophiatown and Fietas, were intentionally eradicated in order to prevent the diversity that often defines an urban environment. While this polarisation was incomplete and forced, it established a social norm that was based on homogeneity. While numerous examples of resistance to this norm exist, there is a culture of homogeneity within enclave environments in both the past and present forms of Johannesburg.

SOPHIATOWN - located 10 km west of the Johannesburg CBD. Its multi-racial population was forcibly removed in the 1950's by the apartheid regime, as it was seen as a threat to adjoining white suburbs. It was re-settled with working class Afrikaners and re-named Triomf (Triumph). Before its demise it was an iconic district with a vibrant cultural life of politics, art, music, shebeens (bars) and gangs.

In the 1960's, there was a gradual but steady exodus from the urban core of the city in favour of the suburbanisation to the North by big business, industry and retail (Garner 2011:10). This would eventually result in the establishment of middle class life almost exclusively in the suburbs. The decline of the urban centre was propelled by a number of complex intertwined factors. Firstly, the construction of the highways increased the mobility offered by private motor vehicles, which resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of cars. The resultant lack of parking and vehicular congestion on Johannesburg's notoriously narrow CBD streets encouraged business to relocate out of the city (Tomlinson 2003:71). Furthermore, the development of new information technology encouraged developers to seek out Greenfield developments where they could easily construct new buildings capable of accommodating the demands of the new technology (Garner 2011:13). Vacancies left by business and the exodus of the white population were filled by a black working class seeking to gain access to centrally located housing. In the 1980's, with increased political insecurity and the exodus of foreign investment with their attendant workforce, places like Hillbrow were no longer able to maintain their existing residential population. In order to fill rentals, landlords accommodated black working class residents (Garner 2011:19). This uncertainty was combined with low property prices that prevented landlords from selling their buildings and recouping costs. Landlords, without the ability to sell their properties or rent them for high

FIETAS - located just west of the city. It was one of the few integrated communities that existed under apartheid until the introduction of the Group Areas Act. It was re-named 'Pageview', declared a 'white' area and all non-whites were forcibly removed. 14th Street was well known for its shops, street traders and atmosphere. Unlike Sophiatown and District 6, Fietas was never completely erased, as remnants and ruins of the old suburb are still evident.

enough amounts to cover their bond costs, started to allow overcrowding. The apartheid government, either through inability or unwillingness, did not enforce the by-laws relating to occupancy limits - thus codifying the overcrowding of the urban flats. As this overcrowding became ubiquitous, the inner city gained a reputation for 'crime and grime' (Garner 2011:19). Anyone who had the means left the city, resulting in a mass exodus from all sectors – residential, retail and office (Tomlinson 2003:27). With this mass exodus, the black working class and the unemployed started flooding into the city to be close to work opportunities and transportation hubs (Garner 2011:18). This resulted in a radical social transformation of the city in terms of usage and population. The retail that remained in the city changed its target market to accommodate the new demographics (Tomlinson 2003:47). "By 1976, the African population at large was more than twice the size of the white population and, given the poor provision of shops and services in the African areas it was clear that the middle- and low-order retailing in the CBD, still the most accessible point on the Witwatersrand, would increasingly constitute the retail node for African People" (Beavon 2004: 205). During this transformation, the image of the city for those able to escape it became one of a virtual no-go zone, principally motivated by stigmatic factors such as crime, grime, and a decaying urban fabric (Tomlinson 2003:28). Today, suburban residents readily admit that they do "not ever go to Town - unless they absolutely have to"(Tomlinson 2003:28)

HILLBROW – Located just north of the CBD Hillbrow is a high-density residential neighbourhood which was inhabited by the white middle classes during the apartheid era, until the 80's. After the mass exodus from the city, it became a melting pot of working class black South Africans and African immigrants.

As major investment moved out of the inner city, it re-established itself in the northern periphery of Parktown, Rosebank, Sandton, Randburg and Midrand. These areas then served as a means of maintaining cultural and class homogeneity. In 1994, with the collapse of the apartheid regime, there was major social transformation with a new political order. This transformation coincided with a dramatic increase in crime, which resulted in the increased fortification of the northern suburbs that created a series of fortified enclaves – both residential and commercial. These enclaves, in a sense, began to represent the 'new' South Africa, as they were defined primarily by class, rather than race. The result of living in these fortified enclaves was increased social isolation and decreased opportunity for propinquity amongst different classes. Ironically, the post-apartheid city experienced a reinforcement of the ideals of the fragmented apartheid city (Tomlinson 2003:2).

The history of Johannesburg has, therefore, been one of a gradual and more rigid segregation on the basis of race, class and space (Tomlinson 2003:2) and an entrenching of the middle class within the suburban lifestyle.

> An examination of development patterns, especially since 1990, leads one to the assertion that not only are racial divisions still firmly entrenched in the spatial order of the metropolis, if anything the location of significant urban facilities, notably shopping centres, offices, cinemas and restaurants are now more concentrated in the dominantly white-occupied 'northern' suburbs than ever before. (SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2005 in Dirsuweit & Wafer 2006:327)

The landscape disintegrated into isolated residential islands with different themes that were dominated by individual ethnic groups and cultures (Tomlinson 2003:68). This suburban lifestyle has resulted in a generation which is entirely unfamiliar with the city centre or an urban culture. The suburbs, which used to be understood as the non-central parts of the metropolis, have increasingly become the dominant cultural landscape in Johannesburg (Nuttall 2008:208). Since 1994 the socio-spatial transformation of the city has been problematic and slow.

TIMELINE

1940's-1950's

Introduction of Grand Apartheid

Height of Sophiatown as a cultural hub

1948 - Nationalist Government comes to power and Grand Apartheid begins

1950 - First Group Areas Act is passed, paving the way for forced removals

1950 - Immorality Amendment Act is passed, making it illegal for people of different races to live together

1954 - Sophiatown renamed 'Triomf'

1959 - Foundation of Randburg from amalgamated suburbs

1960's

City of Johannesburg is in a boom, with massive re-building

Beginning of armed struggle

1960 – Sharpeville Massacre

1963-4 – Rivonia Trial – Nelson Mandela is sentenced to prison

1969 – Sandton is established

1970's

Increased development of infrastructure in the northern suburbs

Global trend towards de-centralization of industrial buildings

1973 – Sandton City Shopping Centre construction completed

1974 – Carlton Centre construction completed

1976 – Soweto Uprising

1976 – Construction of Rosebank Mall begins

1980's

Increased exodus from the inner city by white middle and upper classes

Influx of working class blacks into the city of Johannesburg

1985 - Introduction of economic sanctions against South Africa

1990's

Decline of inner city fabric and services

City develops a reputation for crime and grime

Hijacking of buildings becomes commonplace

1990 – ANC is unbanned and Nelson Mandela is released from prison

1994 – First democratic elections

1997 – 'Triomf' reverts back to 'Sophiatown'

1999 – Gandhi Square construction completed

2000's

Beginning of service delivery protests

Beginning of urban rejuvenation and development of City Improvement Districts

2000 – Montecasino established in Fourways

2001 – Founding of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

2001 – Melrose Arch Phase I completed

2003 – 44 Stanley and adjacent developments founded

2003 – Nelson Mandela Bridge built, improving the connection between the city and Braamfontein

2007 – Alexander Theatre re-opens in Braamfontein

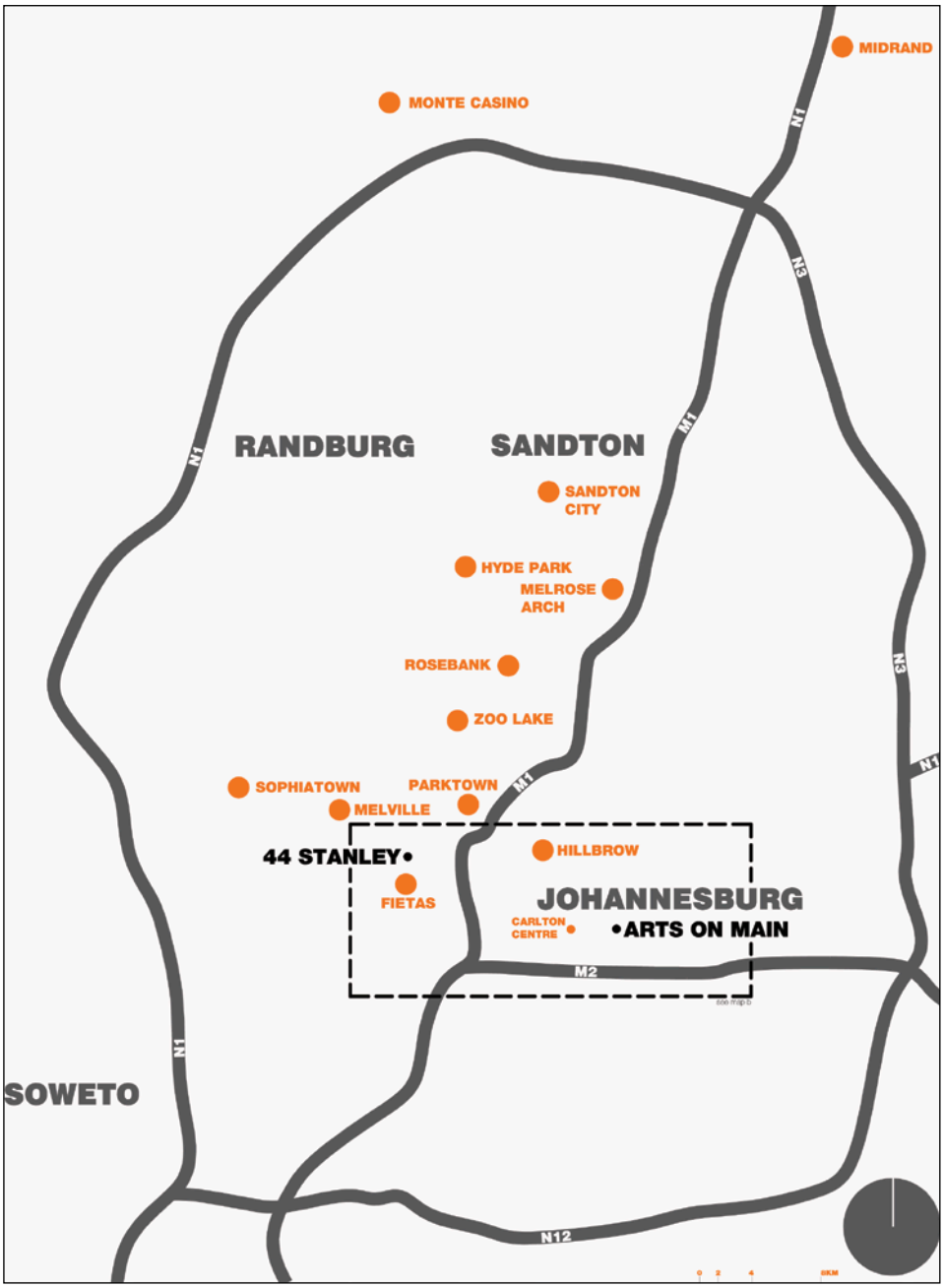
2009 – Arts on Main and Maboneng founded

2010 – World Cup comes to South Africa

2010 – Gautrain phase I is launched

2010 – 70 Juta Street and Randlords in Braamfontein are launched

MAPS



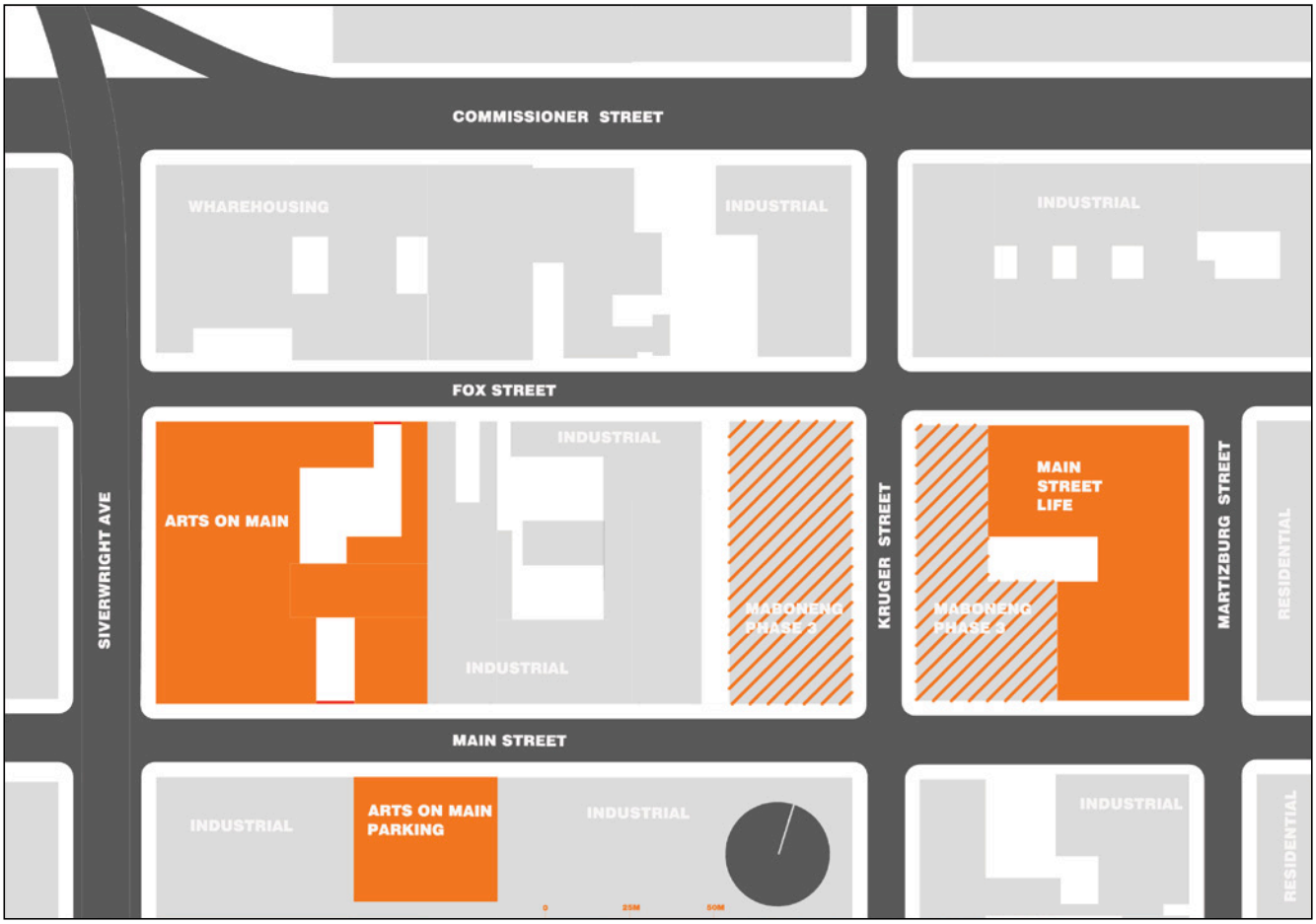
MAP A - greater Johannesburg



MAP B - context



MAP C - Milpark



MAP D - Maboneng

SECTION 3

FORTIFIED ENCLAVES

As a result of the northward exodus, generations of young South Africans began to understand the suburbs as the 'city' of Johannesburg (Tomlinson 2003:25). The suburbs, however, lack the opportunity for spontaneous, regular and informal interaction or even propinquity with 'other'. "...One of the consequences of living in cities segregated by enclaves is that while heterogeneous contacts diminish, social differences are more rigidly perceived, and proximity to people from different groups is considered dangerous, thus emphasizing (sic) inequality and distance" (Caldeira 1999:104). This lack of opportunity for chance encounters is further enforced by the domination of the automobile. Each enclave is specifically defined and the links between enclaves are essentially non-existent. Life in the suburbs occurs in different enclaves and the act of getting from one enclave to the next is done though the enclave of the car.

While the fortification of the northern suburbs is born out of the legacy of apartheid, it is hardly specific to Johannesburg or South Africa.

> "In the last few decades, the proliferation of fortified enclaves has created a new model of spatial segregation and transformed the quality of public life in many cities around the world...In the 1990's the physical distances separating rich and poor have decreased at the same time that the mechanisms to keep them apart have become more obvious and more complex." (Caldeira 1999:83-84)

The architecture of the enclaves tend to suggest a sense of normal life, stability and prosperity that is at odds with Johannesburg's extreme social condition. The architecture makes continual references to the idyllic notions of elsewhere and nostalgic notions of the past. As Chipkin observes it lacks "contextual sensibility" (1993:149). Local social, cultural and environmental contexts are ignored in favour of references to other contexts that have no relevance to the current situation. References to Bali, Tuscany and the United States abound, whereas interactions with the local fabric are increasingly sparse.

SECTION 4

URBAN RENEWAL – a history of 44 Stanley and Arts on Main

In the last decade or so there has been a reaction against the homogeneity, isolation and predictability of the suburban lifestyle by a small section of society. Fuelled, to an extent, by travel and exposure to other urban environments, people began craving a sense of urbanity in the city of Johannesburg.

Braamfontein Werf (otherwise known as Milpark) is located on the north-western edge of the city. It is surrounded by large universities and is hemmed in, essentially forming a tight triangle of post-industrial spaces. It was an area that seemed destined for decay in the early 2000's as it was largely disconnected from the rest of the city of Johannesburg, as well as from affordable public transport hubs. It consisted of a number of unused, old industrial buildings, the AA (Automobile Association) workshop, a few office spaces and the decaying mall of Milpark Galeries (sic). In 2002, something slightly different began to happen – the area started attracting a number of developers who had a vision of a viable urban area that could appeal to people who had fled the city for the suburbs, but were looking to re-engage with a sense of urbanity. At the same time, Braamfontein Werf property prices hit rock bottom due to a planned flyover to connect two arterial roads (Empire Rd and Barry Hertzog Ave), which was stalled for two years because of structural problems, thereby cutting Braamfontein Werf off from the surrounding environment. The low property prices, combined with the potentially ideal location in terms of proximity to a number of universities, the SABC (South African Broadcasting Commission) as well as Melville and the northern suburbs, sparked the interest of a number of different developers, including Brian Greene. As a creative documentary film-maker himself, Greene, who exemplifies the users of 44 Stanley, was searching for "a place that I could go for myself – a place of flair and extravagance" (Greene interview) and the 4500m2 old AA workshops at 44 Stanley Avenue seemed perfect. Around the same time as the development of 44 Stanley, a number of buildings that were previously owned by a security company (Chubb) were being converted into residential lofts (The Refinery), while the old bakery was converted into a film studio (Atlas Studios). A creative hub on the urban edge was formed. 44 Stanley has since become one of the most prominent destinations for middle to upper class creative people in Johannesburg.

MELVILLE – A creative, bohemian suburb just west of Johannesburg. It is well known for 7th Street which is lined with a number of popular bars, restaurants and shops and is frequented by artists, musicians, students and lefties.

One of the tenants of the Refinery had close links to a young developer named Jonathan Liebmann. After becoming familiar with the Refinery and 44 Stanley, Liebmann felt that the Milpark district held huge potential for the mixed-use urban experience that he was introduced to in his overseas travels. He therefore

purchased an empty shell at the Frost Street Lofts adjacent to 44 Stanley and experimented with his first small property investment. After spending time in the Milpark district, Liebmann felt that, while the precinct was a step in the right direction, it was not conceptualised holistically. A few years later he was ready to embark on his own big development, which he felt could be located in an even more dense urban environment. After investigating a number of different industrial areas, he came across historic warehouses on the Eastern Edge of the CBD in City and Suburban (Liebmann interview). There were initially five separate buildings, comprising a total of 4,500m2, each with its own character. City and Suburban is a mixed-use area, which consists of light industrial, formal and informal residential and formal and informal retail. In contrast to Milpark, there is a broader demographic along racial and economic lines in the area.

During his time in the Milpark district, Liebmann realised that it was the creative sector that was willing to pioneer an urban area. This was further supported by his understanding of areas such as Shoreditch in London and SoHo in New York, both of which were established and developed by artists (Liebmann interview). In order to facilitate this process, he formed a relationship with William Kentridge, who bought space at Arts on Main and became an anchor tenant whose cultural cache attracted galleries, cultural institutions as well as other artists. As Arts on Main gained momentum and Liebmann gained confidence, he turned his attention towards precinct development. This began with the development of Main Street Life, which has residential apartments, a hotel, retail stores, studios, exhibition spaces and rooftop recreation components.

44 STANLEY CONTEXT

> "The moment you set foot in 44 Stanley, your inner shopaholic comes alive. As you wander around this inspiring space, cappuccino in hand – casually browsing for anything from designer furniture and lucky-find antiques to chic clothing and jewellery, something inside of you goes 'Yes! This is what makes Jo'burg unlike any other place on earth'. If you're anything like us, you find a trip to a busy shopping centre about as enjoyable as a serious dental surgery. There's the long search for parking, the noisy kids screaming for ice cream, the scary bargain hunters willing to arm-wrestle you for the last sale item and the Emo kids just kinda lurking and rolling their eyes at everybody else. It's not exactly a relaxing experience. Still, it is kinda convenient to have everything you're looking for in the same space. That's why we at toodoo, we absolutely HEART 44 Stanley in Milpark. Trust me, this is not your average chainstore mecca – 44 Stanley has some of the coolest stores and restaurants in the city. At any given day you'll spot a local celeb or two, artsy advertising creatives or a few too-cool-for-school film school students having coffee at one of 44 Stanley's chic cafes. It's also a shopping destination for Joburg'ers who know a designer chair when they see one and who understand why the finer things in life are not to be found at Makro or Game." (www.todoo.co.za)

44 Stanley consists of a number of boutique stores and restaurants, all interconnected by internal courtyards and passageways of various sizes. There are book stores, galleries, designer clothing stores, a jewellery designer, designer furniture stores, a hair dresser, a fair trade coffee shop and raw food bar. The courtyards are lined with olive trees which, over the last decade, have matured to provide ample shade throughout the centre. The original, industrial architecture has been retained and, combined with the softness of the olive trees, creates a sense of 'pleasant grittiness'. The outdoor nature of the centre, the post-industrial architecture, the boutique stores and the urban setting create a stark contrast to the malls of the northern suburbs.

MONTECASINO – Located in Fourways, 30km north of Johannesburg, Montecasino is a fake Tuscan theme-park consisting of casinos, theatres, hotels and restaurants. Montecasino is an iconic example of manufactured history driven by euro-centric nostalgia.



Frenkel 2011



Frenkel 2011

"...interconnected by internal courtyards and passageways of various size..."

The malls and fortified enclaves of the north are fabricated environments based on a thematic hyper-reality harking to the idyllic notions of elsewhere - for example Montecasino's reference to Tuscany.

At 44 Stanley, on the other hand, the stripped-down aesthetic is humble and firmly rooted in the history of its place. One gets a sense that there is an authenticity to the architecture in that the post-industrial aesthetic is not a 'style', but a direct reference to history.

The users of 44 Stanley are generally white and have the means to purchase the upmarket goods on offer. The users of the centre change throughout the week; the weekday users tend to be from the creative professions or from surrounding institutions, while the weekend users tend to be people coming from much further afield, creating the feel of a local tourist destination. During the week, the centre is strongly stitched into the fabric of people's everyday lives. Rather than a recreational or tourist destination, it is a vibrant hub of people stopping in for a quick lunch before returning to their work day. On the weekend though, it is common for people to spend numerous hours browsing, shopping and soaking up the alternative shopping atmosphere.

The users of the Milpark district as a whole tend to be a mix that fits the varying character of the area. 44 Stanley has the strongest relationship with the creative professionals associated with the film-related industries in the area (Atlas Studios and AFTA – a film school), the architectural offices and the upmarket loft apartments (The Refinery and Frost Street Lofts). The Milpark Galleries across the street from 44 Stanley caters for a student population and provides a more utilitarian function for the surrounding businesses and residents, as it includes a Pick'n'Pay and a Virgin Active. There are also a number of offices in the area, whose office workers use both Milpark Galleries and 44 Stanley to varying degrees. There are a number of informal traders on the street who mainly cater for students and passing pedestrians.



Frenkel 2011

"...There is very little sense of public space in the district, as all enclaves turn their back on the street..."

The district is more of a series of independent enclaves that users often move between, rather than a cohesive district with a distinct personality. There is no datum in the area to tie the separate elements together and while users of one enclave in Milpark may frequent another, there is little relationship between them. Some users even drive 100m to 44 Stanley, citing fear of crime as the rationale for driving (Clare Interview). There is very little sense of public space in the district, as all enclaves turn their back on the street. The street reads more as a left-over space which is required for transportation than an integral part of the space.

ARTS ON MAIN CONTEXT



Bahmann 2011

"and takes ownership of the street and makes connections to the rest of the city."

"[Arts On Main] has since burgeoned into one of the hippest spots in town, harking back to New York City's SoHo district development in the 1960s, similarly inviting artists in many different disciplines to breathe life into the old bricks and concrete. Getting there still means running the gauntlet of Joe Slovo Drive, or Main Street in town, but as you get to End Street, an oasis of cool, cutting-edge chic envelops you as you head into a courtyard with olive and lemon trees, surrounded by exhibition spaces that have been artfully coaxed out of their industrial past and reinvented as vaults of creativity. A huge contribution to the Jo'burg regeneration drive, Arts on Main is still a work in progress, with a string of old buildings gradually being linked up in what's called the Maboneng Precinct." (http://www.iol.co.za/travel/south-africa/gauteng/our-own-cool-little-soho-1.1024641)

Following the precedent set by 44 Stanley, Arts on Main is a series of interconnected courtyards, some of which are open to the sky. The courtyards are also lined with olive trees, creating a clear dialogue with 44 Stanley. It is an inward-facing, walled enclosure with marked entrances and has no connection with the rest of the city. The architecture is also post-industrial and, like 44 Stanley, has a sense of being rooted in the history of the surrounding industrial area.

Unlike 44 Stanley, which is solely consumer oriented, Arts On Main has a diverse mix of tenants, such as working artist studios (not necessarily open to the public), cultural institutions, galleries, an artist press, a book shop, a designer clothing store and a restaurant. The diverse nature of the tenants sets up a different cycle of use from 44 Stanley, where usage patterns are more linked to events than the flux of shopping patterns which are strongly linked to mealtimes. The most prominent and regular events are the Sunday Market and the monthly night market, which regularly bring large numbers of middle and upper class white suburbanites to the area. Other events that occur are salsa dancing, gallery openings, book launches, film/photo shoots, theatrical performances and corporate events. The event nature of the centre encourages people to return as the character of the experience changes from one event to the next. In addition to encouraging people to return, the event nature of Arts on Main encourages different types of people to explore the area. On a Sunday or during a night market, the users are fairly similar to the 44 Stanley weekend users when the centre takes on the air of a local tourist destination. However, during other events, the nature of the users is defined by the character of the event – a corporate team building event will attract corporate workers who may not necessarily be interested in the arts or in exploring an urban environment in Johannesburg. However, Arts on Main's event nature and its dislocation from the surrounding urban environment means that, during the week, it is mostly vacant. The users during the week are people working in and around the centre who predominantly use the restaurant.

Outside the walls of Arts on Main, the district of Maboneng makes a strong departure from 44 Stanley's relationship to Milpark. Unlike Milpark, which is a series of disconnected enclaves turning their back on the street, Maboneng strives to be a cohesive district that embraces and takes ownership of the street and makes connections to the rest of the city. Currently there is a restaurant, coffee shop, alternative film cinema, theatre, hotel, residential component, formal and informal galleries, boxing gym and rooftop bar/garden/sculpture park on Fox Street. These spaces and their relationship to the street attract a far more diverse user and maintain a small, but regular, community. The nature of the people who use the street is further broadened by the slower moving character of Fox Street as it is a one-way dead-end street(Fox Street comes to a T-junction at Jewel City and is thus subjected to decreased vehicular traffic in comparison to the adjacent streets of Main and Commissioner. This allows for community-oriented activities, like the skateboarding initiative, to co-exist beside the more consumer-oriented activities such as the shops outside Main Street Life. The skateboarding initiative targets kids living in the area and has grown to include all aspects of play, including jumping castles, artwork (both on paper and temporarily on the street itself), dancing, street soccer, basketball, reading and informal play. Furthermore, it is attractive to people collecting material for recycling on trolleys, as they do not have to compete with large amounts of vehicular traffic for space on the road.

The area of City and Suburban surrounding the Maboneng district is highly fortified, suggesting a significant problem with crime. Because Maboneng is not fortified, there is a large, visible security policing presence in the district. While Arts on Main is a secured environment, the precinct as a whole is entirely permeable for the rest of the city's population, irrespective of race, class, education or usage. Because it is close to a number of major transportation hubs (Rea Vaya (bus stations) and Jeppe Train Station) there is a constant movement of pedestrian commuters through the precinct.



Factor 2011

"...head into a courtyard with olive and lemon trees, surrounded by exhibition spaces that have been artfully coaxed out of their industrial past..."

SECTION 5

ANALYSIS OF INSIDE THE ENCLAVES

AN ALTERNATIVE TO MALLS?

As stated above, one of the primary attractions of 44 Stanley is that it provides an alternative to the fabricated environments of existing malls throughout Johannesburg. When asked if 44 Stanley is a type of mall, the following answer was typical of the users: "No. It is more of a lifestyle. Malls close you in, whereas 44 Stanley is more of a market or village" (Dijana). But according to Jeanne Van Eeden, "The important role that malls play in society is as spaces of consumption, entertainment and social interaction... [S]hopping malls are systems of representation or signifying practices that express ideological positions about various aspects of society" (2010:39 41) The Oxford English Dictionary defines a mall as "A large enclosed shopping area from which [vehicular] traffic is excluded; A sheltered walk or promenade" (Sv "mall") But the 'lifestyle' that 44 Stanley provides is one of 'consumption, entertainment and social interaction' within an 'enclosed shopping area from which [vehicular] traffic is excluded'. As such, in principle, it is no different from a mall on a theoretical level.

The difference between 44 Stanley and places like Rosebank, Sandton, Melrose Arch and Montecasino is in terms of the 'systems of representation or signifying practices that express ideological positions about various aspects of society' (Van Eeden 2010:39 41). Whereas Montecasino and Melrose Arch situate their ideological positions in terms of nostalgia for an urban elsewhere, 44 Stanley situates its position in terms of nostalgia for an urban Johannesburg. While this nostalgia may seem to be more 'honest' in terms of its location within Johannesburg, the notion of the urban is still fabricated and does not delve beyond the image. As Lindsay Bremner states "All of these scenic enclaves... do the same thing. They hollow out parts of the city and, on the basis of idealized images, construct urban places appealing to the desire, nostalgia or paranoia of people who can pay to be there. None of them have much, if any connection to the rest of the city or its history" (2010:68). In this regard, 44 Stanley differentiates itself from places like Montecasino in that it does, in some form, have a connection to its history. The post-industrial environment has a direct link to the architectural history of the area. This link, however, exists only in the form of the buildings. One is not made aware of the history, in terms of usage, politics or other through the habitation of the space. There is an erasure of the traces and palimpsest of previous uses. Furthermore, the fulfilment of the nostalgic desire for the urban is strictly aesthetic. To be truly urban is to be surrounded by 'other' in a way that acknowledges difference in an un-extraordinary way. It is to be embedded in the social, cultural and economic variety that constitutes a city. "This is what a city is, bits and pieces" (Jane Jacobs in Tonkiss 2005:148). But it is more than just 'bits and pieces' – it is the discursive relationship that those bits and pieces (meaning architecture, space, people and everything in between) have with each other. The lack of 'other' in a controlled, homogenous environment is the antithesis of the urban experience.

MELROSE ARCH – Located 10km north of Johannesburg, Melrose Arch is a self-contained, privately-owned gated city in the suburbs. It has all of the amenities of a city but limits access to those who can afford to be there. Based on European city planning, it is a pedestrian-friendly enclave that has little relationship with its surrounding environment.

The experience at 44 Stanley has more to do with the creation or affirmation of social identity, specifically as 'creative' or 'alternative' than with an urban experience that involves an 'ethic of ambivalence' and sense of propinquity with 'other' (Tonkiss 2005:8 11). As in more traditional malls, the creation of identity is strongly linked to consumerism. "It is consequently significant that so many aspects of societal identity, class experience and leisure are enacted within the fantastic and mythical spaces created by malls (Kowalski 1983: 137 144 in Van Eeden 2010). It is noteworthy that the middle class, both mainstream and 'alternative', spend their leisure hours in fabricated fantasy-laden places that have been commercial from the outset. As shopping becomes less associated with the buying of necessities and more with the emersion in distinctive retail experiences, malls are becoming the sites for leisure, escapism, entertainment and tourism. (Van Eeden 2010:40). This is no less the case for 44 Stanley than for Rosebank or Sandton – the difference between them is strictly in terms of the types of fantasies and means of escapism. As Adam Levy, one of the major developers in Braamfontein (as opposed to Braamfontein Werf) notes "44 Stanley may be quirky, but it is still just a creative shopping centre that panders to the paranoia and existing mind set of most people" (Levy interview). It should be noted, however, that the interview with Adam Levy occurred during a chance encounter within the confines of 44 Stanley, thus demonstrating the ambiguities inherent in these spaces. While Levy may be justifiably critical of 44 Stanley, his usage of it shows how prevalent it is in the social identity formation of a particular segment of society.

BRAAMFONTEIN – Located just north of the CBD over the Nelson Mandela Bridge, Braamfontein is an urban district between the city and the suburbs. It is home to Wits University and is currently undergoing a major transformation with a number of designer shops and restaurants that engage directly with the street.

Although 44 Stanley functions as a mall, it does offer an alternative to the traditional model. This alternative has great value in creating a comfortable environment for a sector of society that feels uncomfortable in more traditional mall environments. When asked what attracted tenants to rent space at 44 Stanley, the answers were consistently the low rents, the 'vibe', and the sense of community, all of which are lacking in traditional malls. Rentals at 44 Stanley average at R85/m^2 as compared to the Hyde Park Shopping Centre, which rents at R200-R300/m^2, or over three times the price. The lower rents create opportunities for boutique retailers and the emerging creative class, who could not compete with the larger chain stores that typify the mall environment. Furthermore, the 'vibe' and sense of community provide opportunities for creative collaboration, both amongst the tenants and the customers. These spaces are of importance in bringing creative people together, thus enabling collaboration and the exchange of ideas and thereby bolstering creativity among its users and vendors.

In comparison to 44 Stanley, Arts on Main differentiates itself in terms of usage. The fact that the primary use of Arts on Main is that of experiencing art and culture rather than retail, clearly distinguishes it from a mall. It is not a shopping area but a cultural one. However, the fact that it is not a shopping mall does not mean that it is embedded in the urban fabric. In fact, while it seemingly eludes the label of 'mall', it does not elude

HYDE PARK – Located 10km from the city, the Hyde Park Shopping Centre caters for the elite and is one of the most exclusive shopping venues in Gauteng.

the label of 'theme park'. "Malls routinely entertain while theme parks function as disguised market places. Both offer controlled and carefully packaged public spaces (Crawford 1992: 16) "....Psychologically [they are detached] from the world and create magical fantasy spaces with their own rules and reality" (Van Eeden 2010:49-50). Furthermore, the major attraction at Arts on Main is, in fact, the shopping opportunity that the Sunday market offers. Hence, it operates as a temporary mall within a permanent cultural theme park of sorts.

Like 44 Stanley, the Market on Main offers a foothold for emerging creative businesses. Numerous interviews with stallholders in the market revealed that they were first time businesses which have transformed from hobbies with a perceived lack of commercial viability to profitable enterprises. As such, the market acts as an incubator to help marginal creative activities find a social and economic space in society. It also serves as a counterpoint to the traditional mall environment where repeated sameness is celebrated. It creates an environment where difference, in some forms at least, is embraced. And, like 44 Stanley, there is also an environment that fosters creative collaboration amongst stall owners and customers.

To a limited extent, Arts on Main also engages with the surrounding context through the programmes of cultural institutions and artists, such as Goethe-on-Main, the photographer Michael Subotzky and William Kentridge.



Factor 2011

"..The old DF Corlett signage..."

Arts on Main, like 44 Stanley, does have a connection to its specific history and place. However it goes further than 44 Stanley in retaining the traces and palimpsest of previous uses. The old DF Corlett signage, the disused sliding door at the entrance and old machinery are indications of the previous history. Thus, instead of over-writing the history, it adds additional layers to the palimpsest. By maintaining the existing exterior shell, it retains its architectural relationship with its context – both in terms of style as well as patina. As such, it acknowledges its context as valuable, which is a rare notion in the city of Johannesburg that is generally marked by a series of erasures.



Factor 2011

"...Numerous interviews with stallholders in the market revealed that they were first time businesses ..."

ZOO LAKE – A large park with a human-made lake, Zoo Lake is one of the most popular outdoor spaces in Johannesburg. Under apartheid, it was one of the few places that was open to people of all races and continues to be a site of successful multi-racial integration.

DIVERSITY

Due to the exclusive nature of the shopping offered at 44 Stanley and Market on Main, the predominantly middle and upper class cultural activities and the enclave nature of the architectures, both sites attract a fairly homogenous clientele. Our observations of the users show that the majority are also white. "I call them mueslis, you know, rich, white, healthy..." (Dirsuweit 2005:58). The age range of users seems to be the most diverse aspect of the demographic. However, when asked to rate the diversity of the users on a scale of 1-5, the average answer for both Arts on Main and 44 Stanley was about 3.8 (being quite diverse). But the diversity along racial and economic lines is clearly closer to 2. This discrepancy is ironic as people seem to read post-industrial architecture and 'trendiness' as a sort of diversity.

> "Charges of uniformity have customarily been levelled at the project homes of suburbs... Yet the glut of 'architecturally-designed', 'boutique' jargon is meant to signify a distinctive style of urban living, but appears everywhere – signals another kind of uniformity... These urban non-places – the standard issue spaces of mass-produced gentrification – offer metropolitans a sort of tourist experience at home... Such domestic tourism, however, also gives a particular slant to the ideas of 'diversity' associated with city living... There is, to emphasize, a basic relationship between 'functional physical diversity' and diversity among users' (Jacobs 1964: 107): a mixture of uses implies a mixture of people. In these terms social mix is not simply a cultural but a functional feature of urbanism as a way of life. It entails a range of occupations, of incomes, of building type, age and tenure... The functional distribution of difference is lost when diversity comes to be understood primarily as an aesthetic category... which points to certain modes of urban consumption, rather than to the forms of social diversity." (Tonkiss 2005:89-90)

This notion is exemplified by a Swedish user at 44 Stanley who said "This place is great! I love it! It's like the place I hang out in Malmo!" (Magnus). This perception of diversity extends not just to the users, but the business owners and developer as well. According to Greene, "the model that I worked on... was a non-exclusive, non-ageist, non-sexist, non-, non-, non" (Dirsuweit 2005:58).

It must be noted, however, that in some ways the diversity of 44 Stanley is slowly, over time, increasing as it gains in popularity and mainstream acceptance. In 2005, in the same interview with Dirsuweit, Greene noted "if you look at the clientele that does come here, it is quite a specific set of people... I mean, if you look at the people who work in the offices around here, they don't seem to have that much interaction with the space" (Dirsuweit 2005:58). This, however, is no longer the case. 'Boat', a take away stand at 44 Stanley, contrasted with most other stores in terms of its busiest times. It was busiest during lunch on weekdays and quietest during the weekend, as most customers came from the surrounding offices and from shop-owners at the Milpark Galleries. The increased diversity



Bahmann 2011

"...old machinery are indications of the previous history..."

here is not one of race or class but one of increasing the base from solely creative identities to mainstream identities. Thus, the slight increase in diversity, in the form of usage by office workers, does not impact the demographics of the space along race or class lines. The interesting thing here is not homogeneity, but rather the perception of diversity in a homogenous space. This is in contrast to places like Rosebank that manage to achieve diversity to a greater extent along both racial and class lines. This is not to say that Rosebank is non-exclusive, but rather to say that it is far less exclusive and far more diverse than 44 Stanley and Arts on Main.

It should be noted that, in many cities around the world, the greatest possibility for propinquity occurs in the public realm and is not relegated to the realm of the private developer. In Johannesburg, however, there is a lack of safe public space that is accessible both to the poor and the wealthy. It is problematic to pass on this responsibility to the private developer who is usually motivated primarily by profit and not by city-making. Although there are clearly exceptions to this rule (Zoo Lake for example), it is the government institutions that are tasked with the creation of public spaces which enable diversity and propinquity. The lack of these spaces is an indictment of these government institutions.

Tonkiss divides the notions of public space into the following categories:

> "(1) the square – representing collective belonging; (2) the café – representing social exchange' and (3) the street – representing informal encounter...The second type of public space refers to sites of sociality, exchange and encounter with others. These may be privately owned and regulated, but still involve a sense of being out in public....Here, the 'publicity' of a place is not a question of who owns it, exactly, but of the sense of public life it engenders." (Tonkiss 2005:67)

While 44 Stanley certainly involves a sense of being out in public, "in practice, it can be argued, participation in a modern public sphere has not extended much beyond the privileged class..." (Tonkiss 2005:68). So, while 44 Stanley does enable a sense of being out in public, access to that sense is clearly class-based and thus the users of the space are fairly homogenous. Because of the homogenous nature and identity of its users, the ideology of the space is insular and thus not easily shifted by outside influences. There is no real propinquity with 'others' and therefore any perceptions, values or ideologies are easily rooted and entrenched. There is no critical evaluation here - there is little potential for a chanced shifting of perspective through the contact with people of other identities. This is in contrast with Rosebank, which provides amenities for a diverse economic base in the form of staple stores like Pick-n-Pay, as well as designer stores like The Space. It therefore creates propinquity amongst different types of users within its confines. This propinquity enables a shifting of perspective and allows a dis-othering of the 'other'. The domestic worker and the lawyer are both equally shoppers in the same centre. The act of sharing space with others enables a sense of common humanity that is lacking in a homogenous environment.

CODES OF EXCLUSION

"The semiotics of exclusion act as a first line of defence against those whose presence is seen as disruptive, undesirable or simply unprofitable" (Tonkiss2005:74-75). For both 44 Stanley and Arts on Main, the semiotics of exclusion are simultaneously strong and subtle. Firstly, the price of the goods offered excludes those who can't afford them. This exclusion on an economic level, however, does not necessarily exclude those who conform on a social or cultural level. Bean There, an exclusive coffee shop at 44 Stanley, appeals not only to "the type of person who is interested in specialty coffee and doesn't mind paying higher than average prices" (retailer interview), it also appeals to students who fit the social and cultural norm for the centre and realise that they can spend the day working there, without having to pay for more than a single cup of coffee. So while the students may leave the centre to go to McDonalds for an affordable lunch, they are certainly welcome at 44 Stanley, even though their presence does not translate into significant turnover

for the businesses. They are welcome on the silent condition that they conform to the social norms of the environment. Likewise, while Arts on Main does have exclusive goods for sale, it is not primarily a consumer environment. One is certainly not excluded along economic lines from the numerous cultural institutions, as they are not selling anything and viewing is free. Even in galleries which sell works of art, it is common and normal to browse without the pretence of buying. As a result of these non-consumerist enterprises, one is able to be within the confines of Arts on Main, even in close proximity to the more consumerist enterprises like the restaurant, without having to spend money. Economic exclusion is, therefore, clearly not the only form of exclusion operating.



Frenkel 2011

"...The high walls and coded signage which consist only of the numbers '44'..."



Frenkel 2011

"...in contrast to the entrance of Milpark Galleries..."

The strong contrast between the courtyards of 44 Stanley and the street is readily apparent. The high walls and coded signage (which consist only of the numbers '44') exclude those who do not already know what happens inside (with the exception of Arts on Paper). This is further demonstrated by the motto on the 44 Stanley website "The best kept secret in Jo'burg" (www.44stanley.co.za). Given the exclusionary nature of the centre, one is led to ask who this secret is shared with and who it is being kept from. The centre presents an essentially blank wall to the street, which in no way relates to the feeling of warmth and openness inside. It is also in contrast to the entrance of Milpark Galleries across the street, which has a Nino's restaurant on the pavement and a large opening with a huge cantilever, providing shade and demarcating the entrance. The usage patterns suggest that people passing through the area, not only feel unwelcome in 44 Stanley, but they even feel unwelcome on that side of the street. Even in winter, when the south side of the street adjacent to 44 Stanley is in the sun, most passers-by choose to walk on the north side by the Milpark Galleries, where the pavement is dilapidated and the shadow of Milpark Galleries makes it noticeably colder. While there may be other reasons for this usage pattern, it is clear that 44 Stanley does not actively seek to change it. Generally, retail environments aim to increase pedestrian traffic in their vicinity and the lack of any gestures on the part of 44 Stanley to change this pattern is telling. When asked about the relationship to the street, Greene replied "There is no real relationship to the street. It's more like a medieval city, where all happens within the confines. Outside, what happens on the street is ugly and does not relate to what's inside. I won't relate 44 Stanley to the outside, until the outside relates to 44 Stanley – until they revamp Milpark Galleries - which I know will never happen" (Greene interview). Like a medieval city, 44 Stanley has limited, controlled access. With only two entrances, both on Stanley Avenue, there is absolutely no possibility of a thoroughfare. As such, it eliminates what Michel De Certeau terms the 'ensemble of possibilities and interdictions" – the possibility of cutting across and making one's own route, which is not prescribed or dictated.

> "...if it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities and interdictions, then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities. In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements." (De Certeau 1984:98)

At Arts on Main there is, in fact, the possibility for a thoroughfare with three separate entrances, all on different streets, which allows for the possibility of "crossing, drifting away, or improvisation" (De Certeau 1984:98). This is especially true as it sits on two streets with high pedestrian usage. However, this possibility is rarely actualised, suggesting that there are additional codes of exclusion at work.

Like 44 Stanley, the high walls, the lack of insight from the street into what is happening inside and the encoded signage all create a sense of inaccessibility. Furthermore, the exterior of Arts on Main strongly conforms to the surrounding fabric, which is highly fortified, thereby suggesting that access follows the same rules as the rest of the area.

ENCLAVES OR INCUBATORS FOR SOCIO-SPATIAL CHANGE?

The above sections have focused on what happens inside these spaces and how they function. The question arises as to whether they do in fact function as enclaves within the city or whether they act as incubators for socio-spatial change.

According to Caldeira, all fortified enclaves share the following characteristics:

> "They are private property for collective use; they are physically isolated, either by walls or empty spaces or other design devices; they are turned inward and not to the street; and they are controlled by armed guards and security systems that enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, these enclaves are very flexible arrangements. As a result of their size, the new technologies of communication, the new organization of work, and security systems, they possess all that is needed within a private and autonomous space and can be situated almost anywhere, independent of the surrounding. In fact, most of them have been placed in the old periphery and have as their neighbours either favelas or concentration of autoconstructed houses. Finally, the enclaves tend to be socially homogenous environments, mostly for the middle and upper classes." (Caldeira 1999:87)



Bahmann 2011

"... the high walls, the lack of insight from the street into what is happening inside, and the encoded signage all create a sense of inaccessibility..."

From this definition, it is clear that both Arts on Main and 44 Stanley function as enclaves. It is important to note that they do so in a way which is far more subtle than places like Melrose Arch or Montecasino, thereby making them even more deceptive. When one steps into Melrose Arch or Montecasino, it is overtly clear that one is entering a fabricated, overly-controlled environment. At 44 Stanley or Arts on Main, one is given the impression of entering an 'authentic' urban environment that is rooted in its place and time. The concern here is that one can understand one's experience in these spaces as indicative of the broader urban context, of which it is not really an integral part. It is only on venturing outside of these enclaves that one has the opportunity to engage with the urban in a less mediated way. However, the notion of these spaces as enclaves does not exclude the possibility that they can enact socio-spatial change in Johannesburg as a whole. While it is clear that the enclaves themselves are carved out within the framework of the middle and upper classes, what happens on the peripheries of these enclaves is what may have the possibility to enable such change.

Furthermore, it must also be noted that the criticisms levelled specifically at 44 Stanley are done from a vantage point a decade after its inception; At its time of inception, the context was radically different and the development was, therefore, a more progressive intervention than the current reading demonstrates. The vantage point which allows for the reading of 44 Stanley as a stronghold of white middle class ideologies was, in a sense, enabled by the very same development. As such, it should be noted that these spaces do have the potential to act as stepping stones which expand the middle and upper class understandings of, and interactions with, the city. As we will demonstrate, 44 Stanley indirectly enabled the development of the Maboneng district, which does in fact have a stronger relationship to the urban context and is less entrenched and dominated by middle class ideologies.

SECTION 6

OUTSIDE THE ENCLAVES - the immediate context

Up to this point, 44 Stanley and Arts on Main seem to have a lot of similarities. It is only when looking outside of their boundaries that we see a drastic difference between them. 44 Stanley, while located in an area that to some extent appeals to similar users, actually functions as a disconnected and isolated node. The users of AFTA, Atlas Studios, The Refinery and Frost Street Lofts all have an affinity to 44 Stanley, but their proximity is in no way discursive. The cultures that exist within these isolated nodes do not create a similar culture on the street. In fact, they shun what happens on the street rather than actively trying to engage with, or transform, it. In contrast, when one steps out of Arts on Main onto Fox Street, there is a radical departure from the experience outside of 44 Stanley. Because Fox Street connects the enclave of Arts on Main with the mixed-use building of Main Street Life, it is activated as a vibrant space in and of itself. Its dead-end, one-way, slower-moving nature has also facilitated this activation.

PERMEATION OF CITY

Almost across the board, the users, tenants and developer of 44 Stanley and affiliated developments (AFTA, Atlas Studios, The Refinery and Frost Street Lofts), lament the character of Milpark Galleries. This lament cannot be easily dismissed. The Milpark Galleries is by all accounts a character-less, generic, poorly designed mall. However, it is the unwillingness of 44 Stanley to engage with Milpark Galleries and the street between them that adds to the current lack of street culture. This is possibly the biggest missed opportunity for 44 Stanley and for Milpark as a whole. If, instead of turning its back on the street because the street does not conform to 44 Stanley's ethos, 44 Stanley encouraged propinquity with the users of Milpark Galleries it could create a vibrant street culture and extended usage. Its failure to capitalise on this opportunity is what defines 44 Stanley as an enclave for the creative, middle and upper class users, rather than an element that is woven into the surrounding urban fabric.

The environment outside of Arts on Main on Fox Street was initially an uninspiring, multi-storey, derelict, industrial context. The ground floor shops were boarded up and often unoccupied. While it is difficult to draw comparisons with the character of Milpark Galleries, it is fair to say that it was an uninspiring context in a far more derelict state. However, instead of turning his back on the derelict street, Jonathan Liebmann chose to engage with it through the development of Main Street Life, which draws the street in and becomes a non-exclusive public gallery. This gallery extends through every floor of the building and up onto the roof. He also established street-facing retail, such as restaurants, a coffee shop and the Bioscope. In addition to creating spaces and activities that acknowledge the street, Liebmann also annexes the street itself in the form of improved pavements, trees and planter boxes which create amenable spaces on the pavement. This

creates a blurring of boundaries between the realm of private development and public street, but which does not occur at the expense of the existing urban users. Rather, the intention is for the typically poor urban users and the middle class users of Main Street Life to share common space [Lieberman interview]. Fox Street, given its slow-moving nature, is used regularly by people salvaging materials for recycling and people commuting to and from Jeppe Station and the city. Rather than labelling such people as 'undesirable' and trying to encourage them to use other streets, they are welcomed as part of the urban fabric. This enables the truest sense of propinquity. It is not that the users of the upmarket restaurants and the people salvaging used materials are 'interacting' in an intensive manner, but they are occupying the same space.

> "Jane Jacobs in New York... based her version of urban sociality less on enclaves of community than in the minor everyday contacts that animated the streets and public spaces of a mixed urban scene... it is also possible to see indifference as a key social relation between urban subjects – one premised less on any face-to-face ideal of community than on the 'side-by'-side' relation of anonymity typical of being with others in the city." (Tonkiss 2005:10)



http://maps.google.co.za/maps?hl=en&tab=wl

"...The environment outside of Arts on Main on Fox Street was initially an uninspiring, multi-storey, derelict, industrial context..."

In addition to engaging with the street directly, the Maboneng district engages with the city on a cultural level through exhibitions and events whose central theme is about the city of Johannesburg - for example, 'Curvilinear' by Leon Krige, 'The Invisible City' events and 'Strcrd' event. This engagement happens not only on a superficial level, but on a level that engages with critiques of itself. For example, 'The Battle for Johannesburg', directed by Rehad Desai, which was screened at the Bioscope, deals with the issues of forced removals which are a product of gentrification throughout the city. It could thus could be seen to touch a sensitive note in Maboneng. Such critiques are welcomed as part of the engagement between Maboneng and the rest of the city. The fact that these events are in the city as well as about the city demonstrates that there is an attempt to be honestly rooted and engaged in its place. This is further demonstrated by Liebmann's plan for Arts on Main. He states "The plan for phase five is to open Arts on Main onto the street. It was the right call in the beginning [to create an enclave] because there was no street culture. But now we can open onto the street and engage with the street culture that we helped to create" (Liebmann interview).

THE PILGRIMAGE

The propinquity that is enabled on the street is not just for the poor urban users and the middle class users brave enough to leave the suburbs for the city. It also occurs with the middle and upper class suburban users who frequent Market on Main. There has developed a post-market pilgrimage of sorts, where the users of the market venture out onto the street and up to the rooftop bar/sculpture park/garden atop Main Street Life for a late afternoon drink. This pilgrimage achieves far more than just getting suburbanites onto an urban street and then inside another enclave. This already happens in the act of getting to the market and it is an intensely directed experience which is simply a means to an end. The pilgrimage, however, is far less defined and the end result is only part of the experience. There is the possibility of chance encounters with other people along the route, as well as the possibility of discovering something new in the city. As the district is constantly evolving, this possibility emerges even for the most frequent user. This evolution of the district is not only in terms of its fixed character, but also includes the ever-changing demographics. The

weekend users include a greater demographic, as they include the everyday users (both urban poor and the residents of Maboneng) as well as the 'tourist' users of the Market.

The value of the pilgrimage is difficult to overstate.

> "They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen; their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility. It is as though the practices organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness. The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shape out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces; in relation to representations, it remains daily and indefinitely other." (De Certeau 1984:93)



Frenkel 2011

"... There has developed a post-market pilgrimage of sorts..."

The notion of blindness here is very relevant, as the pilgrims are unaware of their contribution to the urban fabric – walking is a means of gaining a different perspective or experience, rather than a conscious act of re-writing the city. The Pilgrimage, in addition to 'writing' the city in new ways, is also a means of extending the street into the private realm, thereby blurring the boundaries between them. The notion of path-making does not terminate when one leaves the public realm of the street. The galleries throughout the different levels of Main Street Life encourage the pilgrims to wander through the building providing numerous routes to the roof. Hence, the notion of city-making continues through the private realm.

De Certeau sets up a binary between 'urban practice' and 'concept city'. 'Concept city' refers to the view of a city from the top of a skyscraper – i.e. the view of Johannesburg from the viewing deck on the top of the Carlton Centre. "To be lifted to the summit of [a skyscraper] is to be lifted out of the city's grasp. One's body is no longer clasped by the streets..." (1984: 92). Urban practice, on the other hand, is the multi-sensory, cacophonic experience of being immersed within the fabric of the city and the street. The act of occupying the street after Market on Main is an obvious, if limited, introduction to urban practice in Johannesburg. The pilgrimage to the roof of Main Street Life serves the purpose not only of introducing concept city, but of bridging the binary divide between concept city and urban practice. The fact that the rooftop is a social space, which one accesses through an ensemble of possibilities, enables it to maintain a sense of urban practice even though it is somewhat removed from the cacophony of the street. Also, whereas De Certeau is referring to the view from the top of a skyscraper, the rooftop here is only eight storeys up. Hence, one is not given access to an aerial view that removes the fine grain of the city and reveals the holistic landscape and organisation of the city, but is rather given a penetrating, voyeuristic perspective of the intricacies of the area. While icons of the city, such as Ponte, Hillbrow Tower, Ellis Park, the East-West ridges, the eastern skyline and the mine dumps to the south are accessible, they do not dominate the experience. Rather, the experience is specifically focused on the voyeuristic access to spaces that white middle and upper class suburbanites would typically feel threatened by on the street – the courtyard of a shebeen, the entrance to a derelict residential building and the 'bits and pieces' of the area that reveal the non-idealised reality of the city. The rooftop bar is positioned in such a way to obstruct the iconic view of the skyline and rather focuses attention on the more subtle and nuanced experience of the local context.

CARLTON CENTRE – located in the Johannesburg CBD, The Carlton Centre is the tallest building in Africa (with 50 floors). It consists of a hotel, shopping mall and restaurants and continues to be a well-used, urban shopping destination.

In addition to providing access to the otherwise inaccessible, it locates the urban practice experience within the concept city. One is given visual access to Fox Street, which was previously walked to gain access to the rooftop. Furthermore, the view of Arts on Main from here clearly illustrates its enclave nature and its strong contrast to the rest of the surrounding urban fabric. One clearly sees that the day was spent in the isolation of an enclave and one is forced to acknowledge the stark contrast between that experience and the experience of the local urban users. Unlike the rooftop of Arts on Main, which reveals only the Main Street Life signage and a series of other rooftops, the rooftop of Main Street Life reveals the fine grain nature of the surrounding area. As such, it bridges De Certeau's divide between concept city and urban practice.

This is in strong contrast to 44 Stanley which provides no sense of concept city and a minimal sense of urban practice. The urban practice around 44 Stanley consists solely of walking from one's car into the enclave. This experience has only minimal possibility for propinquity and virtually no 'ensemble of possibilities'. The extent of this ensemble is demonstrated by the worn patch of grass at the traffic circle outside the Milpark Mews, where users of all identities create a short-cut. However, the lack of thoroughfare and the chance for random encounters on the street, relegate the street experience to the purely utilitarian experience of getting inside the enclave.



Bahmann 2011

"...voyeuristic access to spaces that white upper-middle class suburbanites would feel threatened by on the street..."



Factor 2011

"... While icons of the city, such as Ponte, Hillbrow Tower, Ellis Park, the East-West ridges, the eastern skyline and the mine dumps to the south are accessible..."

MILPARK MEWS – The Milpark Mews are located across the street from 44 Stanley and next to the Milpark Galleries. It is a block of flats that caters for students and low-income earners in the area.

SKATING INITIATIVE AND COMMUNITY SATURDAYS

The concept of walking as writing urban texts without necessarily being able to read them could also be extended to the act of skateboarding. Skateboarding is a choreographed urban performance. It is an act of both re-reading and re-writing the city, because through skateboarding one sees the city, its physical elements and its functions in new ways. Handrails, curbs, stairs, banks, bollards and in fact the entire urban streetscape no longer function in their intended manner, but become stages for the performance of grinds, slides, ollies, kickflips, grabs, etc. "Traditional architecture theory conceptualises the city as an absolute; it is recognised as an object that is not only static but also grounded by regulation. Through the values of skateboarding however, the city is reconceptualised as an amorphous space in constant transition, a space for the flow of ideas, events and activities." (http://www.archi-ninja.com/skateboarding-and-architecture/)



Bahmann 2011

"...children at play' and skating ramps have been included in the design of the urban fabric..."



Bahmann 2011

William Kentridge states that the skateboarding initiative "sews the district into the city" (Kentridge interview). Not only do the skateboarders re-engage with, re-read and re-write the city, but the city speaks through the act of bodily engagement with it. Actions and meanings are manifested through this act (Borden 2001:195).

The skateboarding initiative on Fox Street was initially started by Zean Ferreira in early 2011. As a young, white suburbanite, who had recently moved to Main Street Life, he began to interact with the children from the surrounding area through ordinary, everyday encounters.

> "I climbed out my car and there where (sic) these kids playing with tires (sic), they were rolling them up and down the hill to see who was faster. So like a typical male I looked at this and said "I'll take you any time". The kids looked at me a bit funny but I soon returned with my board and showed them who was boss. At the time I was riding this home-made plank because my board was scrapped. This plank was 1,2m long and this left space on the front for one of these kids to climb on. He climbed on and we bombed the hill together. That's exactly how it started. Suddenly every kid on the block wanted to go for a spin and my silly plank was a hit. My mates came around and saw what was happening; they decided that these kids need their boards more than they do. My chinas just left their boards behind and now we had three boards to ride. You must understand that these mates are not pros that get their shit for nothing; these are boards that they have paid for themselves. I had a lump in my throat (print that and I'll kill you). Andrew my genius mate decided that we should put something on FB. Since then the support Nollie Faith has received from complete strangers has been incredible... I'm serious it's been crazy!" (http://www.reprobait.com/nollie-faith/)

From this initial encounter, the skateboarding initiative grew at a tremendous pace. Within the time frame of less than one year, the initiative has grown from seven children to over 120. The children range in age from four to16, live in the surrounding area and generally come from highly impoverished backgrounds. They gather on the street after school without any adult supervision and are required to fend for themselves within a fairly harsh urban environment. The initiative has evolved from skateboarding to include street soccer, basketball, reading, dancing and artwork (both on paper and temporarily on the street). Although there are formal structures in the form of 'Community Saturdays', where the lower end of Fox Street is closed off and play is supervised by volunteers, it also takes on an informal quality throughout the week.



Pinkhard 2011

"...has grown from seven children to over 120"...

Community Saturdays allow outsiders to get involved and create an opportunity for structured and organised play. It gives the children the chance to show off their new skills and receive adult affirmation. As such, it provides the possibility for cross-cultural exchange which has immense value on all sides. It is particularly noteworthy that not only have the kids taken ownership of the street, but this ownership has been accepted, validated and enhanced by the major role players in the area. Instead of chasing the children away because they do not fit with the typical profile of the Arts on Main users, their presence is embraced as it adds to the social, cultural and economic mix in the area. Signs have been erected saying 'children at play' and skating ramps have been included in the design of the urban fabric. In contrast to a suburban environment where adherence to by-laws would prevent any physical reclamation of the street, here the by-laws are seen as secondary to the value that ownership holds. Likewise, skating presents an inherent risk to the cars parked in the vicinity of the ramps and to the people walking by in the form of damaged property or injury. This risk extends not only to the skaters and the users, but to the developer, in the form of liability. However, the value of the skating clearly outweighs the risks that the skating presents as it is an activity that is actively encouraged. The willingness of the developer to engage with activities and users that fall outside the target market of Arts on Main and his comfort zone demonstrates a desire to engage in city-making that is not about profit-making. Liebmann states "I didn't have big vision at first. My vision developed in response to what's happening in the area. I want to know what everyone wants. It can't be just my vision" (Liebmann interview). This notion is also seen in the future plans for the development. The inclusion of a more formal skateboarding park forms part of phase 3 of the development. This park will likely attract an increasing number of suburban skateboarders, thus enabling increased interaction between urban and suburban, poor and wealthy skaters. As skill defines the power dynamic amongst skaters more than age, race or class, it has the ability to create a positive form of ambiguity in terms of that dynamic, thus enabling a re-negotiation of social interaction.

It is important to note that the claiming of ownership of the street is not an exclusive ownership. Elsewhere in Johannesburg the city is carved out with the ideologies of a certain group – be it middle class suburbanites, the urban poor, or immigrant communities. Here, however, that ownership is shared. The ownership is not one of adjacent spaces, but actually of common space. The ramps are not controlled by grouping – there are various groups of people which span racial, social and economic categories that willingly share the ramps. It is common to see girls running up and down the ramps, while boys with skateboards patiently wait their turn. Likewise, 16 year old, middle class, white, suburban kids and 10 year old, poor, black, urban kids seem to have no difficulty with sharing the ramps.

The act of regular, daily skateboarding acts as a tool in the creation of meaningful public space. In addition to being an active thoroughfare, the street takes on another function and there are regular familiar inhabitants who daily inhabit it. Passers-by become witness to the performance of skateboarding and implicitly become

participants themselves. Thus, not only do the skateboarders take part in the creation of public space, but the observer/participant does as well. As people - both skateboarders and observers - occupy the space for an extended period of time without the intention of simply moving through it, they define it as a place in and of itself, rather than simply a means of getting from one place to another. If it is clear that the act of walking enables a far greater understanding of an environment than the act of driving, it should also be clear that the act of occupying a space, be it through skating or observing, enables a greater understanding than that achieved by walking alone.

In addition to the creation of public space, skateboarding provides the possibility for a re-negotiation of power dynamics amongst the children. According the Zean, prior to the skateboarding initiative, power dynamics were determined primarily by age and size. With the introduction of skateboarding, power and respect are determined based on ability and courage. This is not just amongst the skateboarders, but within the broader community at large.

> "Dude, these kids were rolling tires (sic) around, that's the same toys you give chimps. These kids went from being the kids that were avoided like the plague by everyone who live (sic) in the building to the coolest kids on the block. Suddenly they had status, suddenly they had some attitude, and suddenly they actually mattered." (http://www.reprobait.com/nollie-faith/)

Furthermore, skateboarding helps them to learn the skills of perseverance, which can be applied to any obstacle in life.

> "I'm sure you know but in skateboarding there is no trick that 'You Just Know', every trick takes time. Every trick needs to be tried over and over and over till you can ride away. If these kids can apply that same type of "Never Say Die" attitude to every task or challenge that they will face in their lives, nothing can stop them." (http://www.reprobait.com/nollie-faith/)

RE-NEGOTIATION OF INTERACTIONS

It is unclear who 'owns the street' in Maboneng. The ideological dominance of the district, particularly of Fox Street, is ambiguous. Other spaces in the city and suburbs, even where there is a diversity of users, have a clear dominant ideology. In Parkhurst or Parkview there is a clear social distinction between who the space is intended for (shoppers) and who is there to support their usage (car guards). In Maboneng there is no such clarity – the urban poor belong on the street as much as the middle and upper class white suburbanites do. As such, there is ambivalence in terms of the rules of engagement. Thus, there is a constant re-negotiation of how people engage and interact with each other.

When Zean first started engaging with the children on the street, they did not know how to speak to him as a white adult (Zean Ferreira interview). Through constant engagement they have now established a norm of interaction. This norm now applies not only to Zean, but to other white adults that they come into contact with. Conversely, white middle class adults are learning how to engage with the children on the street. This is not the stereotypical interaction of an urban poor child begging for money. That type of interaction tends to occur where there is a clearly understood power dynamic. Here, that dynamic is ambiguous – it is unclear as to who 'owns' the street. The interaction, therefore, is one that starts tentatively on all sides and gradually increases in comfort and familiarity. According to Jane Jacobs, the "trust of a city street is formed over time from many, many little public sidewalk contacts." However, for Jacobs (and Tonkiss), that trust is "trivial, reasonably impersonal, and crucially 'it implies no private commitment'" (Jacobs in Tonkiss 2003: 22). However, what is happening on Fox Street is not 'trivial, reasonably impersonal', nor does it imply 'no private commitment'. This can clearly be seen in the example of John, a white middle class resident of Main Street Life who

regularly lends his skateboard to the children, with the understanding that they will return it– which time and time again, they do (John Interview).

Another example of the re-negotiation of interaction is Hannelie Coetzee, a visual artist and photographer who works in the area. She was raised in a traditional Afrikaner family where it was customary for women to wait to be acknowledged before greeting. Her previous experience of walking the city of Johannesburg elicited sexist comments from other pedestrians. In her frequent wanderings in and around Maboneng, she began re-negotiating those exchanges by greeting other pedestrians first and had a markedly different experience. Because of the ambiguity of the power relationships on the street, users and inhabitants of the area are testing out different ways of being with each other. This is resulting in a re-negotiated form of urban interaction.

SECURITY

The Maboneng district exists within the context of the heavily fortified areas of City and Suburban and Jeppestown. Even the smallest spaza shop (a small grocery store) operates behind a series of burglar bars and security gates. Specifically at night, there are few, if any, shops that open onto the street or have open glass windows. In contrast, the shops in the Maboneng district have a strong relationship to the street, with restaurants opening out with a series of large glass fronts that expose the inner workings. To some degree, this opening out is enabled because of security guards and CCTV cameras, but there is clearly another aspect to it as well. According to Jane Jacobs "The presence of various people on the street at different times during the day also has the critical effect of putting numerous 'eyes upon the street' (1964: 45).

> "There is always, simply, someone around. For Jacobs this amounts to a mutual and 'informal policing' of urban space which individuals perform for each other simply by going about their everyday business. It can make the streets of big cities feel oddly safe. This is not the safety of the enclave or the shelter of community, but the spatial freedom of the well-used street." (Tonkiss 2005: 21)

The role of the security guards here should not be underestimated. They do, of course, act as formal security for the area but, more importantly, they act as the first 'eyes on the street' and therefore encourage more people's eyes on the street.

This sense of security and safety has a knock-on effect as neighbours begin to feel the effects of the informal security provided by more people on the street (Josè interview). This effect can be seen across the board in terms of the security provided for the children in the district as well as pedestrians and commuters late at night. Not only does this add to a sense of safety and security, it also adds to the sense of a well-used city that is accessed around the clock.

This is in marked contrast to 44 Stanley, which simply closes one of the two entrances and provides a security guard at the other. The sense of security that one feels is not of being in a safe environment, but of being protected by a formal security guard in an unsafe environment. Ironically, the context around Maboneng is far more threatening for the middle class than the area around 44 Stanley, but it is Maboneng's direct engagement with the urban that makes it feel safer.

GENTRIFICATION

> "[Arts on Main has] burgeoned into one of the hippest spots in town, harking back to New York City's SoHo district development in the 1960s, similarly inviting artists in many different disciplines to breathe life into the old bricks and concrete." (Our Own Little SoHo - http://www.iol.co.za/travel/ south-africa/ gauteng/our-own-cool-little-soho-1.1024641)

The literature on Arts on Main often likens the development to that of SoHo in the 1960's. Aside from the chic image that they are trying to portray, there are a number of similarities and a number of differences. SoHo was, up until the 1950's, an industrial area with primarily manufacturing warehouses. After World War II, the manufacturing district moved out of Manhattan and into the outer-lying areas and SoHo was vacated. Seeking cheap accommodation and large volumes of space, artists started moving there in defiance of the local zoning laws which designated the area as industrial only.

In the early 70's the zoning laws changed to allow artists to reside in their studios in the area, but prevented non-artists from living there, thus keeping property prices down. In the early 80's a loophole was created which enabled residential occupation by non-artists. The gentrification process slowly gained steam and now SoHo is one of the most exclusive parts of Manhattan. As a result, it is now unaffordable for artists and lower income people (Kostelanetz 2003:19, 31-40).

The developments at both Maboneg and Milpark are similar to that of SoHo in that they were old, vacant industrial areas whose gentrification was 'pioneered' by artists and creative types. One of the primary differences is that, while SoHo was an organic process driven by emerging artists, Arts on Main and 44 Stanley are being driven, to a large extent, by developers and well-established artists and creative retailers, such as William Kentridge at Arts on Main and Arts on Paper at 44 Stanley.

SoHo can serve as a relevant model from which to illustrate the process of gentrification in Johannesburg and its potential benefits and dangers. The current stage of gentrification at Maboneng is fairly similar to that of SoHo in the 1960's. It is a post-industrial area with little existing residential usage. As such, the development in the district is not resulting in mass displacement. As in New York in the 1960's, the city on the whole is derelict and in need of rejuvenation. Furthermore, with the exodus of white money , it has become fairly homogenous along racial and class lines (although, with a large immigrant population, it is not homogenous along lines of nationality or ethnicity). Thus, gentrification, in the form of an influx of middle class suburbanites, is actually increasing the heterogeneity of the population, activities and retail. For Johannesburg as a whole to be accessible to all, it needs this increase in heterogeneity. In addition, especially given the fact that the developer at Maboneng has taken responsibility for the street, there is a dramatic upliftment of the urban fabric in the form of improved pavements, street lighting, security, trees, planting and public amenities (the skate park). This urban upliftment also encourages surrounding owners to improve and maintain their own buildings, even while they maintain their existing tenants. Through the increased diversity in the population, there are increased opportunities for work and networking, both for the new inhabitants and for the existing occupants of the area, as well as more opportunity for cross-cultural and cross-class exchange. The increase in mixed-use creates a longer daily life cycle of the city in that this section of the city no longer shuts down after working hours and is, therefore, a safer and more efficient use of the current resources. The live/work scenario of the development also enables a more sustainable district in creating a smaller environmental footprint.

The biggest criticism levelled at gentrification is that of displacement, due to increased property prices and the cost of amenities. In looking at the property prices for both Maboneng and Milpark during their respective periods of development, it is clear that property prices are rising dramatically as a result of these developments. It is impossible to consider the impact of 44 Stanley alone on property prices in the area, as the development of 44 Stanley coincided with that of the Refinery, Atlas Studios and other upmarket developments. However, it is clear that the result of all the developments had quite a strong impact on prices in the area. Up until 2002, when the area started going through its revitalisation, property prices reached just below R700/m2. Between 2002 and 2003 there was a greater than 400% increase in prices in the area.

The relationship between the Maboneng District development and property prices in the area is also clear. Between 1994 and 2006 property prices between Market and Commissioner Streets and Jewel City and Albrecht Street (the Maboneng District plus approximately one block in each direction) failed to rise above R2,000/m2. However, between 2007 and 2010, at the height of the global economic downturn, property

prices rose to over R4,500/m2 – more than double its initial value in an era when prices elsewhere in Johannesburg were dropping by approximately 10%. The fact that the property prices managed to double in an economic downturn raises the question of what would happen to property prices in an economic boom and what the effect would then be in terms of urban displacement.

Given that Milpark and Maboneng were both previously fairly vacant industrial areas, displacement was minimal. In addition, in comparison to New York, which has gentrified to the point that Manhattan is now unaffordable, Johannesburg has a glut of inexpensive spaces and a scarcity of middle and upper class spaces. In New York the equilibrium between exclusive and inexpensive space is out of balance in the favour of exclusive, unaffordable space. In Johannesburg it is the opposite (Liebmann interview). As such, creating more middle and upper class space within the city is a means of regaining balance and creating a functioning, diverse and vibrant city. Currently the mix of exclusive and affordable commercial space in and around Maboneng creates an exciting, vibrant atmosphere. The proximity of Uncle Merv's on Fox Street, where one can get a smoothy for R25 and the Spaza on Main Street, which provides low-cost groceries is indicative of the area's ability to incorporate diversity. Residents of Maboneng are increasingly utilising the spaza and thereby crossing the class divide (John interview). So while poor urban residents do not have economic access to Uncle Merv's, the location directly across the street from the skateboarding ramps provides an opportunity for a further crossing of the class divide.

It should be noted that Manhattan currently lacks this diversity of class-based activities within close proximity and has created an environment that is inhospitable to those who cannot afford to be there. Because there was virtually no displacement in Milpark and because of its proximity to the wealthy northern suburbs, the issue of gentrification and displacement is less problematic. In Maboneng, there was also minimal displacement but, unlike Milpark, gentrification has the ability to spread uninhibited and thereby creates the possibility of mass displacement in the short and long term. The possibility of displacement is not solely residential, but could extend to the commercial realm, thus displacing the social, cultural and ethnic nature of the area. This threat is not just a hypothetical future threat but one which is starting to appear presently. For example, the local butcher on the corner of Kruger and Commissioner Streets has lost a fair amount of his regular customers since the inception of the precinct and therefore either needs to re-think the nature of his business in order to appeal to a more upmarket clientele, or sell to someone else who would tap into that market (Josè interview). The threat of social, cultural and residential displacement is a very real danger that cannot be ignored.

SECTION 7

OUTSIDE THE ENCLAVES – Greater Johannesburg

THE CREATIVE CLASS

Even though 44 Stanley and Arts on Main are enclaves that only immediately benefit the middle and upper class users who frequent them, there is an indirect, dispersed benefit to the city as a whole.

> "The key to successful cities able to compete in an increasingly globalised, hyper-competitive world, [is] the ability to attract... the 'creative class'... The creative class is the driving force of economic growth as the world shifts away from heavy industry and manufacturing... So cities with gay-friendly cultures that embrace ethnic diversity and unconventional people – writers, artists, musicians – do better than cities that don't... Cities need uber-cool risk taking types who're looking for urban grit rather than instant lawns in gated estates." (Corigall 2009:2)

44 Stanley and Arts on Main provide spaces for the creative class to gather and collaborate. Unlike the conventional business model, which is generally interested in replicating well understood means of operating in the most efficient manner, the creative class is often interested in understanding new ways of doing things and is not always inhibited by the generation of profits. As such, they have the ability to operate outside the conventional and well-understood modes of operation. Because they are generally socially engaged in their context, the creative class seeks out the potentials and possibilities that exist within their specific locality. These effects may start on a micro-industry level, but do have the potential to grow and develop.

URBAN CULTURE

While 44 Stanley is an enclave with no relationship to its surrounding context, it is also a stepping stone to the development of an urban culture. This can clearly be seen in the relationship that Jonathan Liebmann has with 44 Stanley and Milpark. Liebmann's experience in Milpark exposed him to the possibilities of urban living in Johannesburg and strongly inspired Maboneng (Liebmann interview). Both of these developments are further exposing middle class inhabitants to the values of urban living and providing a platform for them to do so in a safe, collective manner. Arts on Main and Maboneng would not be possible without the establishment of 44 Stanley. 44 Stanley took years to develop a consistent user group, whereas Arts on Main and Maboneng enjoyed much faster popularity. 44 Stanley pushed the boundaries of what was accepted and popular for its time and Maboneng inherited those boundaries and is now pushing them even further.

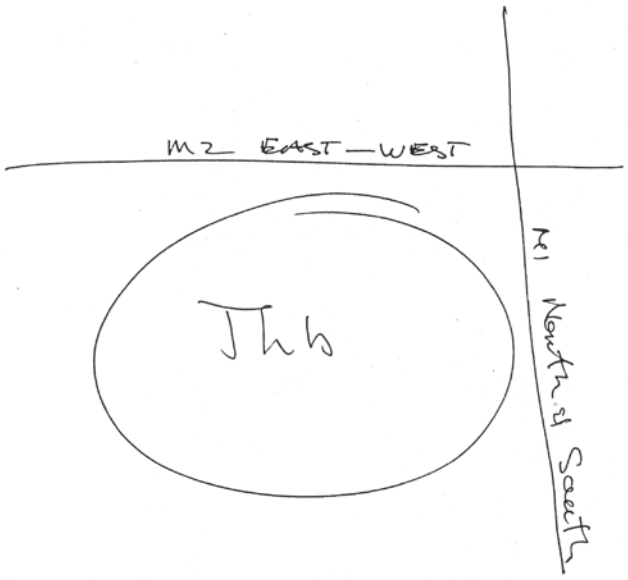
An example of this is Maboneng's location. Whereas 44 Stanley exists on the periphery of middle and upper class suburbia, Maboneng is in a much tougher urban environment. The advantage of its location is partially that it is increasing the perceived physical boundaries of Johannesburg in the minds of its suburban users.

> "Parts of cities have been known to fall off the map. Not in a literal sense; it's in the idiosyncratic maps that people carry in their minds that streets, suburbs, districts and sometimes, in more extreme cases, towns are rendered invisible, as if they never existed. Districts on the east side of Joburg's inner city have fallen victim to this peculiar phenomenon." (Corrigall 2009)

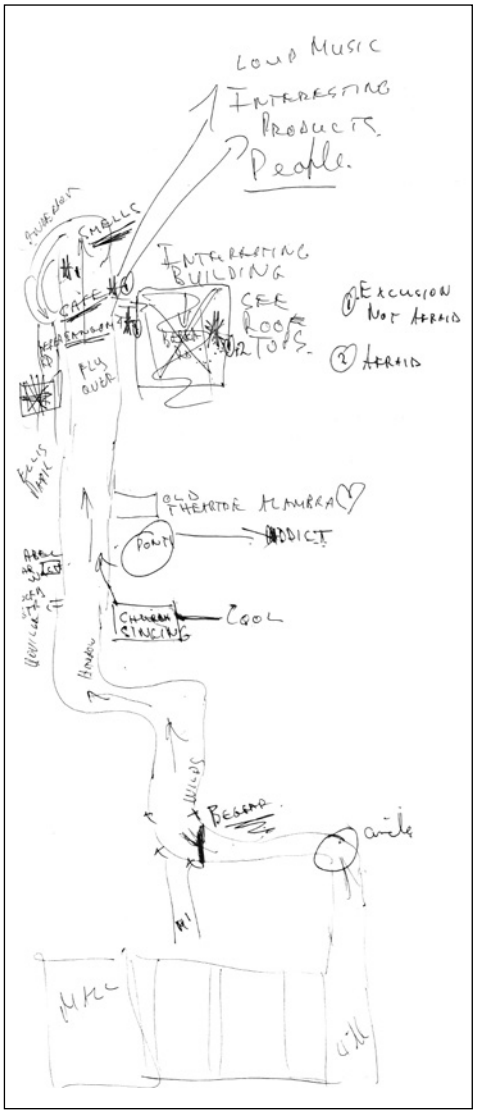
By re-introducing these areas into the mental maps of suburban users, it not only exposes them to other parts of the city, it impacts on their sense of self. According to William Kentridge "If one accepts the modesty of what it is, it is powerful in that it brought back white people from the northern suburbs... The drive into Arts on Main changes the sense of who one is. The drive allows one to feel that they are part of an urban culture... This moving in and out of the city affects my work in different ways" (Kentridge interview). This sense of being part of an urban culture then enables one to become familiar with, and thus less intimidated by, new areas.

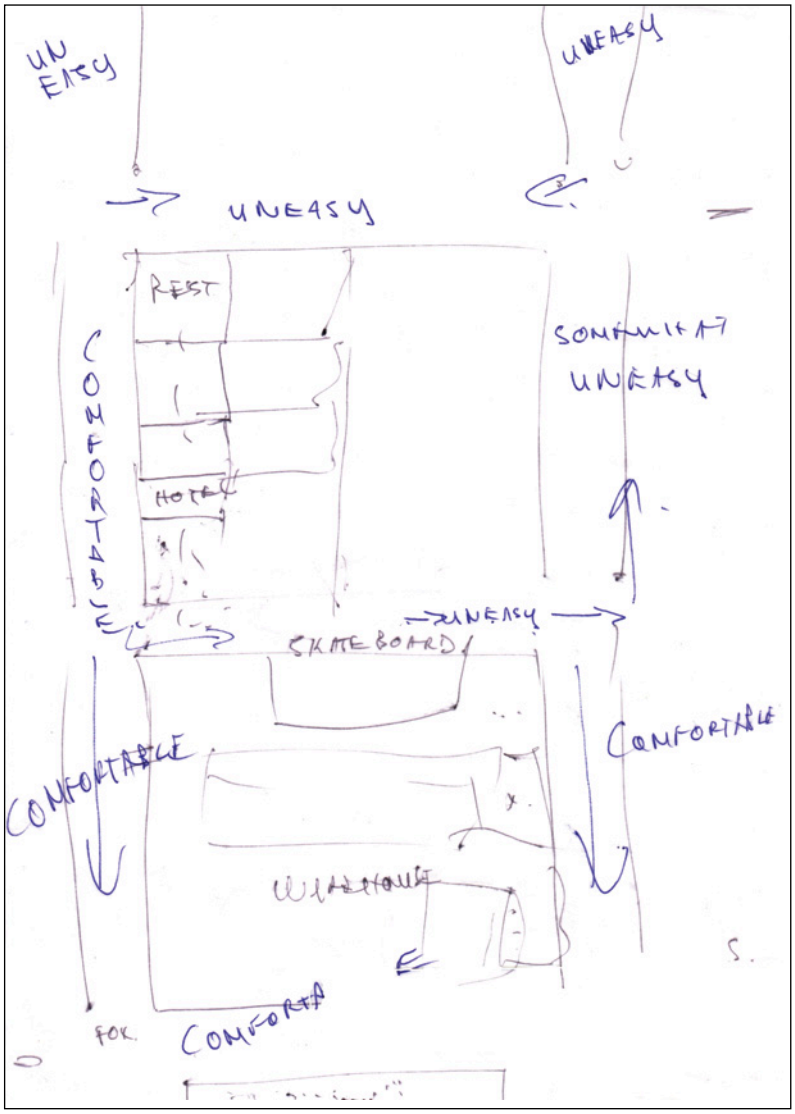
This exposure to other parts of the city is not limited to the destination of the enclave. The act of moving through the city exposes the suburbanite to increased areas of the urban fabric. This exposure gives them increased awareness of the nodes, paths and districts in the city and thereby makes the city more familiar. There is a generation of middle and upper class suburbanites who are unfamiliar with the city and, because of its radical transformation, it is also unfamiliar to the older generation who once had an intimate understanding of it. In order to feel rooted in a place, it is necessary to have a fine grain understanding, which is only revealed through interaction. The suburbanites' forays into the city are constantly developing this fine grain, thereby making the city a place of meaning for them. For example, Michael (a motorcyclist) describes the highlight of his journey to Arts on Main as hearing the choir sing at a Hillbrow church while passing by (Michael interview). It is this detailed understanding that transforms the city from a superficial image to a lived experience of understanding.

In collecting 'mind maps' from the users of 44 Stanley and Arts on Main we obtained a wide range of understandings of the city. While there were a number of users who demonstrated a rudimentary - and often incorrect - understanding of the city, there were also a number of users who demonstrated a fairly intimate knowledge of it. This intimate knowledge can only be achieved through repeated interaction. The generation of these maps are, therefore, fluid and have the potential for continuous evolution. Maps, such as the one drawn by Peter, demonstrate a lack of detailed knowledge, where the city of Johannesburg is shown as an amorphous blob flanked by two highways. There is no sense of understanding or experiencing the city in such a map. Whereas maps like the one drawn by Michael demonstrate an intimate relationship with the city. Such maps not only demarcate the physical characteristics of the city in the form of buildings and roads, but demonstrate a sensory experience and understanding of the city in the demarcation of people, smells and sounds. It is these types of understandings that enable a rootedness in place and reject a purely superficial view of the city.



Mind map – Peter





Mind maps – Michael

SECTION 8

CONCLUSION

Arts on Main and 44 Stanley are a result of the trajectory of the social and spatial history of Johannesburg. As an apartheid city, Johannesburg effectively divided and separated its diverse population into isolated, homogenous groups. The mass exodus from the urban centre relegated the white middle and upper classes to the security and familiarity of the Northern suburbs. Exasperated by fear of crime and political uncertainty, a spatial language of fortified enclaves was adopted. These factors encouraged and entrenched a culture which is unfamiliar in dealing with a dense urban environment and a relationship to 'other' in terms of race, class and culture.

Over time, a small group of suburbanites grew critical of the social, cultural and economic isolation and homogeneity of the fortified suburbs and strove to re-engage with the urban. However, instead of enabling engagement with the urban context, 44 Stanley and Arts on Main act as urbanised versions of the fortified enclaves that people were attempting to escape. They operate with similar modes of exclusion and create environments that are equally homogenous. They are, in some ways, even more problematic as the modes of exclusion are more subtle and create the illusion of diversity, inclusivity and authenticity. However, unlike the suburban enclaves, these enclaves also act as potential catalysts for increased urban engagement among the middle and upper classes through their proximity and potential relationship with the urban context. Through this re-engagement, there are the beginnings of the development of a diverse and inclusive urban culture as can be seen on the streets of Maboneng. The streets of Maboneng are open and welcoming to a wide variety of users of all races, classes and cultures. The permeability of the district enables usage by people who cannot necessarily afford the retail aspects of the district, while Arts on Main and upmarket amenities act as a draw for the upper and middle classes. As such, Maboneng offers propinquity between different races, classes and cultures which is primarily absent elsewhere in Johannesburg. The propinquity that occurs here allows specific groups to operate within the safety and security of their own group identity without forcing a uniformity or conformity. This mixing of different identities in a truly open public space allows for a re-negotiation of interaction between these different identities. It has the ability to shift interaction away from pre-conceived, manufactured and idealised notions of other to notions that are forged in the reality of the present in this place. This re-negotiation, however, is not confined to interaction between different identities, but also has the transformative power to shift those identities themselves. By re-negotiating our relationships with the seemingly 'other', we are poised to re-negotiate our understandings of our own identities, and our relationship with, and identity of, the city.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

BUSINESS OWNER'S QUESTIONNAIRE / INTERVIEW [Businesses in Maboneng precinct, 44 Stanley]

Name:

Name of business:

Location of business:

Type of business:

How, in your opinion, has this area changed since Maboneng precinct / 44 Stanley was here?

What are the cycles of business - when are the peak periods and the low times?

Who are the majority of your customers? What age group do they fall into (20s-30s- 40s etc?)

What sustains your business? (Markets, passing trade, restaurants, outside contacts)

What do you feel being at Maboneng/ Arts on Main has impacted on your business? (What are the advantages and disadvantages of being here?)

What attracted you to have a business here?

If you could move, where would you move to?

Who do you think uses Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe them.

Do you think a lot of business comes from surrounding areas (Milpark Galeries, surrounding suburbs of arts on Maboneng precinct?

BUSINESS OWNER'S QUESTIONNAIRE / INTERVIEW [Businesses in the surrounding area]

Name:

Name of business:

Location of business:

Type of business:

If business was there before the development, have you noticed an increase in sales? If so, has it made a big impact on your business?

How, in your opinion, has this area changed since Maboneng precinct / 44 Stanley was here?

What are the cycles of business? When are the peak periods and the low times?

Who are the majority of your customers? What age groups do they fall into (20s-30s- 40s etc?)

What sustains your business? (Markets, passing trade, restaurants, outside contacts)

What do you feel about being at Maboneng/ Arts on Main has impacted on your business? (What are the advantages and disadvantages of being here?)

What attracted you to have a business here?

If you could move, where would you move to?

Who do you think uses Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe them.

Do you think a lot of business comes from 44 Stanley / Maboneng precinct?'

BUSINESS OWNER'S QUESTIONNAIRE / INTERVIEW [Informal trade]

Name:

Name of business:

Location of business:

Type of business:

If business was there before the development, have you noticed an increase in sales? If so, has it made a big impact on your business?

How, in your opinion, has this area changed since Maboneng precinct / 44 Stanley was here?

What are the cycles of business? When are the peak periods and the low times?

Who are the majority of your customers? What age groups do they fall into (20s-30s- 40s etc?)

What sustains your business? (Markets, passing trade, restaurants, outside contacts)

What do you feel being at Maboneng/ Arts on Main has impacted on your business? (What are the advantages and disadvantages of being here?)

What attracted you to have a business here?

If you could move, where would you move to?

Who do you think uses Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe them.

Do you get a lot of business from the Maboneng district/ 44 Stanley users?

TRANSIENT'S INTERVIEW – Maboneng/Arts on Main OR 44 Stanley

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Where do you work?

Residential street and suburb:

Do you live in a house, flat, cottage, townhouse, other?

How do you get here – car, walk, public transport?

Where do you go to eat when you are here?

Where do you go to use the toilet when you are here?

Have you been inside Arts on Main / 44 Stanley? If not, why not?

If so, describe it? If not, describe what you think it is like?

On a scale of 1-5 (1 being least diverse, 5 being most diverse) how diverse would you say Maboneng/ 44 Stanley is?

Who do you think uses Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe them.

Do you ever interact with the people who use Arts on Main/44 Stanley? If so, how?

What do you think the impact of this place is on your experience of Jo'burg?

Do you feel safe when you come here? On the drive/public transport? Walking from your car/public transport? Inside Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe why or why not.

How often do you come through this area?

Why do you come this way?

How, in your opinion, has this area changed since Maboneng precinct / 44 Stanley was here?

RESIDENT'S Questionnaire – Maboneng/Arts on Main OR 44 Stanley

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Name of residential building?

How long have you lived here?

Do you live or work here, or both?

Why have you decided to live here?

What are the advantages and the disadvantages for you living here?

Where else do you go regularly around the city?

To what extent do you support businesses in the local area? i.e. where do you do your shopping? Where do you go in your leisure time?

What do you think the impact of this place has on your experience of Jo'burg?

How do you get around - car, walk, public transport?

Do you ever walk around the greater area?

On a scale of 1-5 (1 being least diverse, 5 being most diverse) how diverse would you say Maboneng/ 44 Stanley is?

USER'S INTERVIEW – Maboneng/Arts on Main or 44 Stanley

Name:

Age:

Race:

Occupation:

Where do you work?

Residential street and suburb:

Do you live in a house, flat, cottage, townhouse, other?

How do you get here – car, walk, public transport?

Describe Maboneng/44 Stanley:

On a scale of 1-5 (1 being least diverse, 5 being most diverse) how diverse would you say the users of Maboneng/44 Stanley are?

Would you describe Arts on Main/44 Stanley as a 'mall'? Why or why not?

How often do you come to Maboneng/44 Stanley?

Do you come for specific events? If so, which?

For what purpose do you come here - recreation, business, live?

What draws you to this particular place?

When you come here, what do you do?

How long do you normally stay?

Do you often bump into people you know when you come here?

When you come here, do you ever walk around the greater area?

Do you feel safe when you come here? On the drive/public transport? Walking from your car/public transport? Inside Arts on Main/44 Stanley? Describe why or why not.

What do you think the impact of this place is on your experience of Jo'burg?

How did you hear about this place?

What other places of the city do you use?

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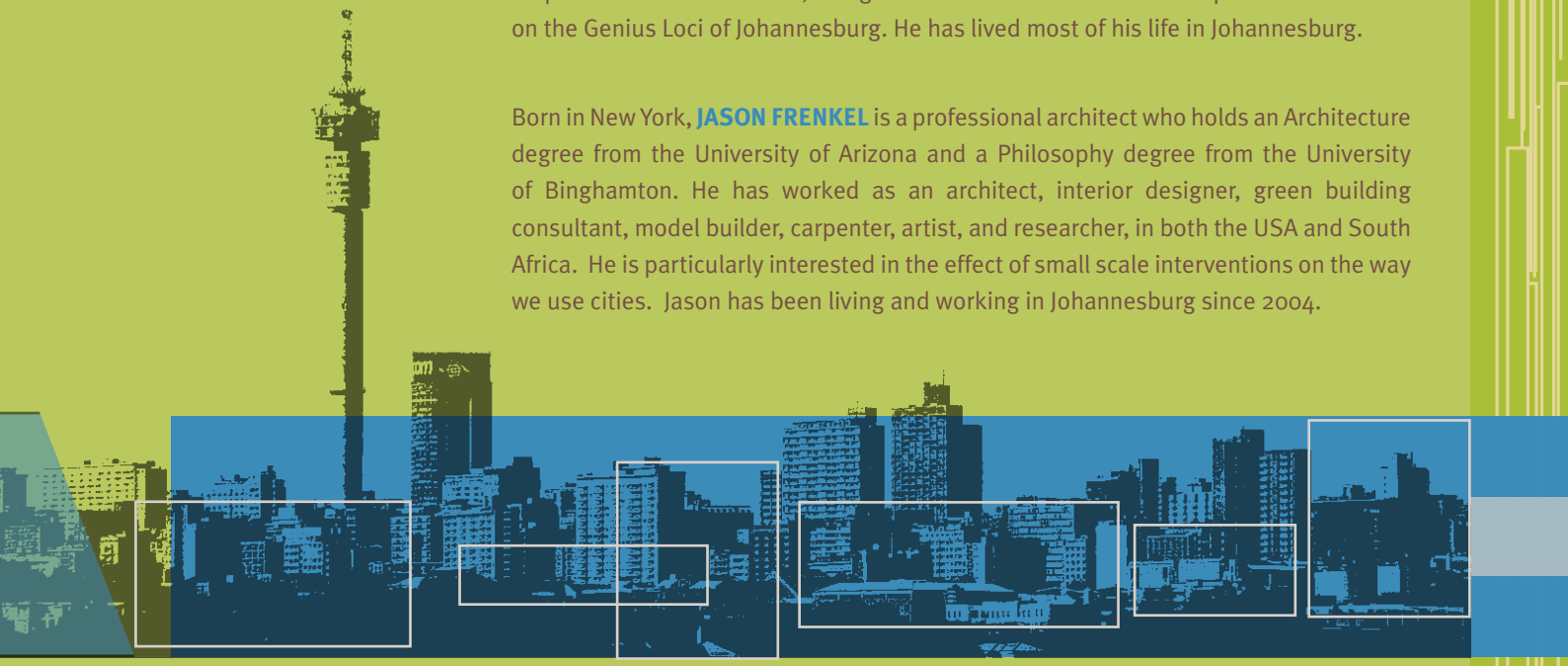
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