

https://dspace.org/

The role of ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration: Fordsburg as a case study

Mahomed, Ebrahim

2007-02-19T12:47:28Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/2050

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Introduction

A prominent aspect of topical urban planning and development thought focuses on the need to valorise, acknowledge and adequately represent certain groups of people that have been marginalised in the contemporary metropolis (Sandercock, 1998; Sassen, 1996). These include ethnic minorities, immigrants, poor people, women and people with disabilities, amongst other groupings. It is argued that the recognition of these members of society is essential in terms of urban planning and governance, and in their servicing the corporate centre of the economy. This is indeed more important when considering that diversity continues to flourish in the world today even though economic globalisation appears to be on its way toward creating an integrated world market (Smith, 2003, 7). This diversity, originating from either an economic, social or political ethos, lends itself in large part to the presence of marginalised communities, such as ethnic minorities and immigrants, in cities around the world. Sandercock (1998, 164) aptly describes this scenario as follows: “Multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-national populations are becoming a dominant characteristic of cities and regions across the globe,…”. Most major, diverse cities around the world can thus be thought of as being cosmopolitan metropolises.

Harrison (in Harrison et al (eds.), 2003, 22) states that within the postmodernist framework, fragmentation becomes diversity and is something to be celebrated rather than conquered, and that it is not an evil. However, if viewed otherwise, fragmentation has strong negative connotations, hence creating the potential for conflict with the presence of diversity. Whatever the discourse, diversity is important in planning, either as something to defend or as a valuable resource to make use of. Diversity, in terms of culture, religion, ethnicity (including a host of other social aspects), economic and political status, found within most urban societies therefore poses a challenge for city planners and policy makers. This is added to other challenges posed by another critical aspect of planning, which is dealing with ailing cities and declining urban economies.

Due to urban regeneration being one of the main concepts dealt with in this report, this chapter begins by providing an overview of some of the factors leading to urban decline and highlights the importance of cities and of urban regeneration. Thereafter the topic of this report is clearly spelt out, and included in this chapter is the main aim and objectives, research method employed and the structure of the report.

1.2 Overview: Urban decline and the importance of cities

The strong economic and social forces associated with the industrial revolution created large areas of land in the city where factories were built and where the workforce lived in high density housing, and most of these areas are now regarded as the 'inner city'. Improvements in public transport and the motor vehicle led to more wealthy urban dwellers moving out of the inner city to the suburbs in the 1920's and 1930's. This drift away from the inner city of wealth and skills has continued even to the present day in many cities around the world. The 1950's and 1960's witnessed rapid economic growth in the Western industrial nations due to international trade, capital investment and labour migration patterns. Judd and Parkinson (1990, 15) explain: "Capital-intensive exports were sent from these countries to nations at the periphery of the integrated financial and trade system that tied the core nations to one another. Low-cost energy was imported from several key oil-producing countries, and basic raw materials were extracted from the so-called "developing nations"". The crisis in 1973 however, led to a drastic increase in oil prices that continued for several years thereafter, and the old global economic relationships were destabilised by the globalisation of investment and production. There was a significant flow of capital investment and manufacturing operations to the developing countries as multinational corporations sought to reduce their costs of production by relocating assembly operations to places with low labour costs. (Judd and Parkinson, 1990)

World trade expanded and the flow of international investment was accommodated by, and also influenced the increase of the internationalisation of business and finance. Multinational corporations no longer identified with one particular place or one particular nation. Corporate investment decisions were guided by the efficiency of one location over another. Hence, new manufacturing plants with efficient technologies were relocated in developing countries in direct competition with existing industry in cities in the developed world. This led to the rapid decline of many cities in the industrialised nations. This was accompanied by a sharp decrease in the level of industrial employment. Service sector employment increased during this time in the 1970's, but these jobs were not necessarily located in the same regions or metropolitan areas that were suffering decline due to the relocation of old industries to developing countries. (Colquhoun, 1995; Judd and Parkinson, 1990)

Another contributing factor was the fleeing of remaining people with wealth to the suburbs, countryside and beyond. "The scene was familiar throughout the western world. From the 1970's more and more European countries began to report losses in their inner-city populations" (Colquhoun, 1995, 11). The poor, disadvantaged and larger

concentrations of ethnic minorities were left behind in the affected, economically unstable inner cities of countries in the US, Britain and Western Europe. Judd and Parkinson (1990) report that when these declining cities, the old port and industrial cities, faced erosion, their urban elites responded by trying to gain favourable policies from their central and state governments. Attempts were made at rejuvenating the traditional economic sectors, but this was short-lived in all Western industrial democracies. It became clear to urban leaders that the problems experienced by their cities would not be eradicated by national policies, so they turned their attention to finding ways to regenerate their local economies. (Colquhoun, 1995; Judd and Parkinson, 1990)

The decline of cities have caused some to argue "…that it was unwise or impossible to resist the logic of the market forces that had plunged older cities into decline" (Judd and Parkinson, 1990, 13), and others to argue that the abandonment of urban policy would result in a pestilent outcome to individuals and social classes. Similarly, Colquhoun (1995) states that some people would argue that it is not necessary to spend large amounts of money on urban regeneration. The response to this philosophy is: that the people who are already in the city, even if it is in a state of decline, are still important members of society, and there is also in existence a level of infrastructure to support these people; there is overwhelming belief that cities are and always will be the focal point of civilised life; urban centres came into being because people needed to transact business, and cities became the market places to trade in money and commodities, and this process continues today (Colquhoun, 1995).

Other reasons to reinforce the importance of cities can be found when examining problems associated with suburbia on a huge scale, particularly in the USA. Amongst these are that thinly spread suburban development cannot support good public transport, neighbourhood shopping or local industry. Neither, it is believed, that lively communities can be generated in this regard. It has also been shown that a thinner, dispersed city is ecologically unsound as it relies heavily on the motor car, creating unmanageable levels of congestion and pollution. In essence, the importance of the city, especially the inner city, cannot be denied; therefore, there is a dire need for regeneration action when cities are in a state of decline. (Colquhoun, 1995)

1.3 The topic explained

Dealing with prominent, contemporary cities that are experiencing decline, is dealing with and acknowledging that the several social, economic and political characteristics of the city has the potential to influence the regeneration of the city. Perhaps one of the more notable characteristics of a prominent city in this globalising era is that this type of city is

composed of a population that is intensely diverse, and its diversity stems from religion, class structure, political affiliation and ethnicity, amongst other elements. It is perceived that this contemporary urban feature is especially true for cities in the developed world, and New York City, London or Paris are good examples of cities that include a multitude of people from different parts of the globe. These various groups, more specifically, individuals who identity with a particular ethnic group, as this document explores, are found to conglomerate in particular geographic areas within the city. This feature, which is a common aspect of the popular present day global city, is what could be referred to as ethnic enclaves. Chinatown, Little Italy, Little India and a host of other such urban ethnic areas are common examples. In some cities these ethnic enclaves form an integral part of the history, image and character of the city. This is evident for San Francisco's Chinatown, New York City's Little Italy or London's prominent South Asian communities located in areas like Southhall or Upton Park.

Although most cities in the developing world might not exhibit this characteristic, there certainly are strong indicators to suggest that many cities in the developing world, like Johannesburg, are definitely becoming increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic than it already is. Added to this, Johannesburg, after experiencing the effects of apartheid and of urban decline, synonymous with many of its developed world counterparts, is trying to cope with rapid change through urban regeneration. The city's historic Chinatown for example, is probably one of the more recognisable ethnic enclaves in the city, and although a newer Chinatown-like area has developed on the eastern edge of the city, the original Chinatown in the inner city is now part of a strategic plan in the urban regeneration process of Johannesburg.

There are a number of other areas within the metropolitan area of the city of Johannesburg that could also be considered as ethnic enclaves. Fordsburg, which is close to the inner city and to the old Chinatown, has been an area that is associated with the Indians of Johannesburg for many years now. The construction of the Oriental Plaza, which served as a relocation premises for forcibly removed Indian traders from nearby Pageview or Fietas, during apartheid, adds to this perception. Some may believe that the Oriental Plaza and an area like Fordsburg is a constant reminder of the draconian forces of apartheid. Hence, it could be debatable as to whether Fordsburg should be considered as an 'Indian ethnic enclave', because this concept could be considered as a reinforcement of the racist, separatist ideologies of the past regime. However, South Africa has experienced ten years of democracy and Fordsburg continues to persist as an area that is unmistakably Indian in character. The residences of Indian families and the Oriental Plaza are still there, so is the vibrant street life largely attributed to the manifold

Indian restaurants, eateries and multimedia shops and vendors promoting Indian cinema and entertainment.

There is acknowledgement by city planners and politicians that there is immense value in regenerating the ailing city. The promotion of regeneration initiatives within and around the inner city is arguably the most apparent form of urban re/development undertaken by the city and even provincial authority at this time. Due to this factor and the understanding that Johannesburg is probably the best manifestation of a multiethnic, multicultural contemporary South African city, it is thought that a research report that deals with these issues would be relevant and useful. The topic of this report centres on the examination of the role of ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration, with reference to Fordsburg in Johannesburg.

1.4 Aim and objectives

This report presents Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave in the city. Fordsburg is chosen due to: the area being perceived as a prominent ethnic enclave; it is easily accessible; it is close to the Johannesburg inner city; and it has not yet been officially targeted as part of the ongoing initiatives, but is affected by the current regeneration action. Therefore, the main aim of this report can be described as follows:

> ***To determine the viability of the hypothesis that ethnic enclaves have the potential to contribute positively to urban regeneration, with reference to Fordsburg in Johannesburg.***

In doing so, general recommendations are to be provided for urban regeneration in Johannesburg involving ethnic enclaves. Also, urban regeneration recommendations are to be provided for the area of Fordsburg. In an attempt to achieve this, the following objectives are to be met:

(a) To provide a conceptual framework that concentrates on the themes of urban regeneration, ethnicity and the prevalence of urban ethnic enclaves.
(b) Provide examples which indicate how the concepts of urban regeneration and ethnic enclaves can be linked, and to use some of the lessons learnt here for the proposed recommendations.
(c) To outline a contextual framework that provides the basis for understanding the Johannesburg situation and present Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave.
(d) Analyse the findings in terms of the prevailing situation of Fordsburg referring to theory and examples, in order to make proposed recommendations.

1.5 Research method

Secondary research will be employed as a theoretical base and a means to illustrate current debates regarding urban regeneration and ethnic enclaves. This will be used as a conceptual framework for the research report. A similar research method will be employed to explain current debates surrounding issues of urban development in Johannesburg which applies to themes explored in this research report.

An explanatory case study research method is employed in this report, whereby Fordsburg, although chosen for reasons stated earlier, is considered as a randomly selected area amongst other ethnic enclaves in the city. Certain quantitative criteria will be applied to the research to determine the level of urban regeneration activity, if any, taking place in Fordsburg. Also, certain criteria will be applied to the study to determine if and to what extent the ethnic character of Fordsburg influences urban regeneration. The research will also be assisted by making a visual survey of the area, communicating with certain members of the community and the relevant local planning authorities, as a qualitative measure. The writer of this report can be identified as a South African and as member of Johannesburg's Indian community. Although not a resident of Fordsburg himself, the writer, like a significant portion of the city's Indian/South Asian community who live in other parts of the city, still strongly identify with Fordsburg and interact greatly with the area. This allows the writer to make certain judgements and comments regarding Fordsburg, which qualifies as a local perspective on matters discussed in this report.

1.6 Structure of report

Chapter 1 (this chapter) begins with an overview of the condition of urban decline and highlights the importance of cities and hence the importance for urban regeneration. The topic of this research report is explained in this chapter and the main aim and objectives are also highlighted here. This is followed by a discussion on the research method/s adopted and the structure of the report.

The following chapter (chapter 2) examines the concept of ethnicity and the prevalence of ethnic groups, and the formation of ethnic enclaves within cities, as part of the conceptual framework of this report. This chapter also examines: the south Asian/Indian ethnic group as an example of ethnic group prevalence in cities; the origin and prevalence of Asian American ethnic enclaves; and aspects of a prominent enclave, that is Chinatown; and culminates with general characteristics of an ethnic enclave.

In a continuation of the outlining of the conceptual framework, Chapter 3 examines some of the pertinent aspects of urban regeneration. This chapter includes a discussion of some of the methods by which urban regeneration can be achieved. This is followed by suggestions and recommendations regarding the improvement of the organisation of urban regeneration and of making the tools of regeneration more effective. Recommendation is also made regarding the strengthening of leadership capacity in urban regeneration. The chapter concludes with several examples of the practice of urban regeneration, mainly emanating from the United Kingdom, America and Europe.

Chapter 4 includes a description of the Spitalfields example from the UK and provides examples that show how certain urban regeneration initiatives and public policy have affected existing ethnic enclaves. Hereby, this chapter provides a link between the concept of ethnicity and ethnic enclaves, as understood in this report, and the concept of urban regeneration.

Chapter 5 begins to contextualise the issues at hand by providing a brief description of the South African urban condition and in particular that of Johannesburg. The contextual framework also includes a general survey of legislation, policies and strategies that influence urban regeneration in Johannesburg and hence Fordsburg. A review of current practices and regarding urban regeneration initiatives in Johannesburg is included here.

Chapter 6 includes a brief history of Indians in South Africa and a historical perspective of Fordsburg. This chapter also explains how Fordsburg came to exhibit a strong Indian character. Thereafter, certain statistical data and pertinent information regarding Fordsburg in terms of urban regeneration is presented.

In Chapter 7 the information regarding Fordsburg's regeneration, as presented in chapter 6, is analysed. This culminates with general recommendations for urban regeneration in Johannesburg involving other possible ethnic enclaves and urban regeneration recommendations pertaining to Fordsburg itself.

Chapter 8 serves as a conclusion and provides a review of the research report.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNIC GROUPS & ETHNIC ENCLAVES

2.1 Chapter Introduction

The district of Belsunce in the heart of the historic centre of Marseille in France is considered an important centre providing for the needs of the Maghrebi population and other Africans from the Mediterranean. The area has an annual turnover of almost 610 million Euro. In referring to Belsunce, Peraldi (in Biswas (ed.) 2000, 123) states that: "…a commercial setup has developed on the foundations of ethnic forms of trading established at the beginning of the 20th century". This market offers food not on offer in European supermarkets, ritually slaughtered meat, spices, cotton, tea, chalk, phosphates, and finished products not available in the original countries such as car parts, electrical appliances and used and new cars. An Algerian tradesman founded the first business centre in the 1970's and was soon joined by Tunisians, Senegalese, and Moroccans. The district of Belsunce is known all over the Francophone Africa and in the Maghreb and parts of the Machrek. Peraldi (2000) explains that tourists are recommended to visit Belsunce and other 'pinnacles of trade' like it, as much as walk along the Calanques or visit the museums. "Belsunce is a label, a trade mark, a trading centre making dreams of prosperity come true, a crossroads, a miniature of Marseille, a constant place of exchange" (Peraldi in Biswas (ed.) 2000, 124).

Ethnicity, as witnessed in Belsunce, has the potential to play a significant role in stimulating a local economy and to make an impression on the urban landscape. This chapter examines the concept of an ethnic group and looks at some of the possible reasons for members of society ascribing to ethnic identities. An examination of the South Asian/Indian ethnic group is presented in this chapter to show ethnic group prevalence in cities and how members of an ethnic group organise themselves spatially within a city. The origin and prevalence of Asian American enclaves is also examined to provide further insight regarding some of the reasons for the formation of ethnic enclaves. Thereafter, aspects of the prominent Chinatown ethnic enclave, which is found in a significant number of cities around the world, is examined to shed more light on the concept of an ethnic enclave. The chapter culminates with a brief discussion of some of the apparent general characteristics of an ethnic enclave, which are deduced from the information presented in the chapter.

2.2 Ethnicity: Group boundary maintenance and persistence

According to Fredrik Barth (1969), the term ethnic group, as understood in general anthropological literature, is meant to designate a population which:

- Is largely biologically self-perpetuating;
- Shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms;
- Makes up a field of communication and interaction;
- Has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Barth (1969) further explains that this ideal type definition closely resembles the traditional proposition that a race = a culture = a language and that a society closely rejects or discriminates against each other. However, Barth (1969) disagrees with this formulation because it prevents us from understanding the phenomenon of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture. This thus leads us to believe that ethnic boundary maintenance is unproblematic, and that each group develops its cultural and social form in relative isolation. This theory is supported by Tuan's (1996) ideology that ethnic groups require a certain amount of interaction with the wider society to develop.

Yi-Fu Tuan (1996) explains that an individual who is part of this world and who places themselves within the larger, diverse society out there implies freedom, opportunity and a certain social standing. The larger society with its variety of human types and individuals, resources and institutions provides that freedom and opportunity. However, the world 'out there' can also be a threat to self-identity nurtured in the home or neighbourhood, so can society at large. Society has the ability to be hostile towards its marginalised members. This pressure on the marginalised members and their world can diminish its scope to that of a "besieged ghetto". Individuals or groups can be threatened by society and the consequences can be different. Individuals placed under such pressure, by society or another individual can suffer personality disintegration, whereas a group under pressure from larger society may well develop strong sense of identity, which can be argued that the nature of this identity may be distorted due to it being formed under oppression. (Tuan, 1996)

Tuan (1996) goes on to explain that the small precedes the large, that is, one establishes a home first before moving on to cultivate acquaintances and strangers, and that it may seem that ethnicity and cosmopolitanism may be of the same nature. Rob Carley (www.globaltryst.com) believes that the term 'cosmopolitanism' has been overused and rendered weak, yet it is still used, as is the case here. Critical of the usage of the term, Carley (www.globaltryst.com) nevertheless asserts that one of the definitions of cosmopolitanism removes the benign notion of cosmopolitanism as a mere cultural or

social way of being in the world and ties it to the global economy in such a way that it is the "ideological icing on an industrial and now post-industrial cake" (Carley, www.globaltryst.com). Although people like Carley (www.globaltryst.com) may argue that that true cosmopolitanism, whereby heterogeneity is totally accepted, doesn't truly exist, it is accepted that the term essentially describes global citizenship and the coming together of diverse people or groups of people.

Tuan (1996) explains that cosmopolitanism comes first then ethnicity. "Ethnicity, as a self-conscious stance and ideology, is a reaction against cosmopolitanism" (Tuan, 1996, 942). Human beings need the home and world out there to develop, as the home is a place to nurture and develop ideas, a place of withdrawal from the world. Ethnic group or nation as 'home' can be sustained if somewhat isolated, not constantly buffeted by exotic customs and views. However, without outside buffeting and interaction, the 'home' becomes sterile and ingrown with a negative sense of dullness and inconsequentiality. Therefore, cosmopolitanism and ethnicism need each other for vitality, as the one allows for openness and the other for boundedness (Tuan, 1996).

Commenting on urban ethnic groups, Gans (1968, 37) believes that "ethnic villagers" are one of five types of inner city residents. The other four are described as: the "cosmopolites"; the unmarried or childless; the deprived; and the "trapped" and downward mobile. According to Gans (1968, 37) "ethnic villagers" are ethnic groups which are found in neighbourhoods such as New York's Lower East Side, living in some ways as they did when they were peasants in European or Puerto Rican villages. Providing a slightly different perspective to Tuan (1996), Gans (1968) states that these ethnic groups isolate themselves from significant contact with most city facilities, aside from workplaces. Gans (1968) goes on to state that these ethnic groups live in the inner city partly because of necessity and partly because of tradition. Gans (1968, 143) also suggests that there was a tendency for ethnic cultures to disappear once immigrant communities became assimilated into American life and that class structure differentiation became more visible than ethnic group differentiation.

In reviewing his 1968 text however, Gans (1991) concedes that some of his labels seemed a bit archaic. He explains that ethnic villages had mostly become *barrios* or Southeast Asian areas because the white ethnic villages left over from the European immigration are mainly in the outer city and to a lesser extent in the suburbs. Although Gans (1991) states that most inner city ethnic enclaves were either displaced by an enlarged CBD, were gentrified, or became slums for a later wave of immigrants, it still does not overwhelmingly suggest that ethnic group boundary maintenance and persistence does not occur.

Barth (1969) describes the ethnic boundary as the social boundary (which may have territorial counterparts) that defines the group and not merely the cultural elements it encloses. The maintenance of an identity of an ethnic group when its members interact with others becomes criteria for signalling membership and exclusion. Ethnic boundaries canalise social life as it entails a frequently quite complex organisation of behaviour and social relations. Hereby, members of an ethnic group may identify another person as a fellow member of the group and this implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement, which could be understood in the way that two members are "playing the same game".

Therefore, members of society themselves define ethnic group boundaries. However, in reflecting on the past system of apartheid, it was quite clear that the forced separation of race groups by the state, aimed at creating distinct, separately located social groups, which were largely based on ethnicity. These groups were however not exclusively based on ethnicity as Barth (1969) has suggested that a traditional notion that race = culture = language has its flaws. The previously advantaged 'white' race group for example included various ethnic groups, even minority white ethnic groups within it, such as immigrants from Eastern Europe. Furthermore, it is explained that a part of ethnic group boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures. Barth (1969) explains that: "ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour, i.e. persisting cultural differences". One may be led to believe that due to increased interaction between people of different cultures, as the case may well be in a large cosmopolitan city, could mean that these differences between various groups may be reduced. However, Barth (1969) goes on to explain that the persistence of different ethnic groups in contact indicates the criteria and signals for identification and a structuring of interaction that allows for the persistence of cultural differences.

There may be a general tendency for immigrants, who are a minority in a large city, to identify less with the ethnic identities of perhaps their parents or grandparents, and Jenkins (2002, 1) describes this possible process as 'detribalisation', but also states that: "The cities are not "peoples" in themselves, but a cauldron of disintegration and reintegration". The reintegration refers to the ideology that people still tend to seek out others that are similar to themselves, often by language or other cultural characteristics. Hence, Jenkins (2002) states that a process of 'retribalisation' occurs, and this takes two forms:

i. People may retribalise following *older identities*, like many neighbourhoods in cites like New York, which are either predominantly Puerto Rican, Italian, urban black,

southern white etceteras. This group simply extend their "old" people identities, but create a new "segment" of that people. The group may remain related to their places of origins, their home countries or rural segments, or they may evolve into its own separate urban identity but still related to the old stream or old source culture.

ii. There may be *new groupings*, as Jenkins (2002) cites the example of Nairobi where second generation persons who grew up in the city felt more comfortable with identifying with a group of people speaking either Swahili or English rather than that of the 'old' language spoken by their grandparents. This would be done so as to align themselves with new education opportunities, professional work or other factors. Language though, like other aspects such as religion are not absolute determining factors or sole elements for the construction of an ethnic group.

(Jenkins, 2002)

According to Claude Fischer (1976, 128), anthropological studies have shown that people demonstrate ethnic identity persistence in the sense that: "…ethnic groups in cities consist of people who restrict their social ties largely to persons within the group, who identify themselves as members of the group, and who maintain the distinctive customs and traditional values of their particular culture". One should bear in mind though, that this can still be achieved while there is interaction between members of one ethnic group and that of other people groups, as postulated by Tuan (1996) and Barth (1969).

Maintenance of social ties within an ethnic group is manifested in a number of ways, for example, marriages predominantly occur between members of the group; friends are usually members or the same group; and clubs and associations found in cities today still tend to have an exclusive ethnic membership. In terms of identifying themselves as members of an ethnic group, it has been shown that people in cities still think of themselves for example as Chinese in Bangkok, as Nigerians in Johannesburg or as Armenians in New York. Fischer (1976) goes on to explain that the urban setting also has the potential to create a new form of ethnic identity, in that self-identification becomes more encompassing, and the example cited by Fischer (1976) is that of Neapolitans living in New York City who come to identify themselves as "Italians".

Another way of highlighting ethnic persistence is the manner in which customs and values of an ethnic group are maintained in a city. Fischer (1976) uses the example of South Chicago where some Slavic customs that were practised by third-generation residents were thought of as being so traditional that even Slavic immigrants arriving in the city from the "old country" many years later found the customs to be out of date. However, cultural purity is not necessarily fully maintained in the city. Instead of only making a strong case depicting the persistence of ethnic groups in the city, Fischer

(1976, 136) claims that: “In most societies, urbanism produces in ethnic groups a combination of both constancy and change. At the same time that people of a city dress, speak, work, and play in shared ways, they trust and relax with “their own”, interact in a style peculiar to “their own,”…”

2.3 Ethnic group prevalence in cities: The South Asian/Indian ethnic group as an indicator

Taking Tuan’s (1996) explanation that ethnicity is a reaction to cosmopolitanism, one may consider the city of London, described by Lewis (http://interplan.org) as being “…one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Europe, if not the world”. Lewis (http://interplan.org) states that the 1991 Census of Population indicated that approximately 5.5% (just over three million people) of the total British population were ethnic minority groups. The Greater London area, which is part of the South East, accounted for 44.6% of the ethnic minority group population. One in five of London’s seven million population would classify themselves as being part of an ethnic minority group. Lewis (http://interplan.org) suggests that best projections indicate that by the year 2011, this proportion will have risen to about 28%, and adding in white minority groups, it is estimated that one in three Londoners will be part of an ethnic minority group. (Lewis, http://interplan.org, accessed 25.04.2003)

The “Indian” group is the largest of London’s minority ethnic groups and within it contains its own diversity in terms of origin. The population size of this group numbers in the region of 347,000 people, of whom substantial proportions were born each in the United Kingdom, India and East Africa. About 89% of the Pakistani group in London were born either in the UK or Pakistan, and the Bangladeshi group, which is even more geographically homogeneous, has about 99% of its London population born in either the UK or Bangladesh. Other significant ethnic minority groups in London include the Black-Caribbean group (291,000 people); the Black-African group (164,000 people including sub-groups born in West Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, and a “catch-all” category of non-Commonwealth African countries); and the Chinese group (57,000 people), which all are a part of a list of 37 communities (mainly categorised according to nationality) of over 10,000 people, that were born outside England and who live in London. (Lewis, http://interplan.org, accessed 25.04.2003)

Considering the British case, Lewis (http://interplan.org) has chosen to examine that segment of London’s population with roots in the Indian sub-continent in an attempt to understand where the city’s ethnic minority groups live and why they do so. This group has been selected mainly due to its size and internal variety in terms of culture, language,

class, and religion. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are mainly Muslim (approximately 96%), and the Indian group originating from the sub-continent includes about 43% Sikhs, 31% Hindus, 16% Muslim and 7% Christian, while those from East Africa are made up of about 60% Hindu, 11% Sikh, and 24% Muslim (Lewis, http://interplan.org, accessed 25.04.2003).

It is shown that variations in religion and geographical origin of people are closely linked with the area of settlement within London. The three main areas of Indian settlement in London are: Southall (Ealing) and extending into Hounslow, where the population is largely Punjabi and Sikh; North West London (Harrow and the Wembley half of Brent) includes many East African Asians of Gujerati origin; and East London (Newham and parts of Redbridge), which includes Sikh, Hindu and Muslim populations of which a considerable number are Gujerati speaking. The Pakistani community of London is located mainly in east London in areas such as Walthamstow and Leyton (Waltham Forest). Significant amounts of the Pakistani community are also located near the Newham borders with Redbridge, Barking and Dagenham, and in Southall. The Bangladeshi community, which are predominantly Sylheti, are uniquely concentrated in the borough of Tower Hamlets, accounting for more than 60% of the total Spitalfields ward population, and over 30% in four other wards in the western half of the same borough. (Lewis, http://interplan.org, accessed 25.04.2003; London First Centre, http://www.lfc.co.uk, October 2000)

The brief demographic examination of the city of London, considered as one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, illustrates the point that even in a hugely diverse and modern urban setting, members of society still ascribe to ethnic identities and as such organise themselves spatially. Shaw (2002) reaffirms this concept in stating that over many centuries, certain districts in large European cities are known to have accommodated successive waves of migrants, refugees and exiles. The areas where these people groups usually cluster in are: “Known to their host societies as Little Italies, Little Polands, Latin Quarters, Arab Quarters, Jewish Quarters, Chinatowns, Punjabitowns and so on, cultural or ethnic enclaves establish themselves in particular neighbourhoods” (Shaw, 2002, 1).

Jürgens, Gnad & Bähr (2003) contrast “ghettos of exclusion” with ethnic enclaves, for which voluntary, positive segregation is characteristic. These authors state that ethnic enclaves are distinguished by a strong feeling of solidarity among the population and by informal social networks that give rise to a feeling of community (Jürgens, Gnad & Bähr, 2003, 59). Marcuse (2000, 277) describes ethnic enclaves as voluntary clusters, usually

based on ethnicity, often coupled with immigrant status, in which solidarity provides strength and the opportunity for upward mobility.

In the US for example, Johnson (http://www.infoplease.com, accessed 16.02.2004) reports that there are about 300,000 Americans of Indian descent living in Los Angeles, making it the US city with the largest concentration of Indians. A large number of Indians are employed in high technology and this has also led to a significant number of this ethnic group concentrated in Silicon Valley. The second largest concentration of Indians in the US is in New York. It is reported that Manhattan's East 28th and 29th Streets around Lexington Avenue are home to many Indian restaurants and stores. Jackson Heights and Flushing, Queens, in New York are other spaces within the city that are associated with a large number of Indians, as Flushing is home to a large Hindu temple and community centre, established in 1970. Jackson Heights is known for its concentration of Indian businesses and residents. In this case though, the diverse nature of the neighbourhood has not led to the creation of a distinct Little India. (Johnson, http://www.infoplease.com, accessed 16.02.2004)

Singapore, for example, which includes predominantly Indian, Chinese and Malay ethnic groups, takes great pride in some of its ethnic enclaves like Little India. The Singapore 'Concept Plan 2001' (http://www.ura.gov.sg, accessed 03.02.2004) includes a number of key proposals, including one termed as "Focus on identity". This key proposal aims to retain a sense of identity even though Singapore grows and develops, and in this regard, the Plan recognises "…ethnic enclaves like Chinatown, Kampong Glam and Little India" (Singapore Concept Plan, 2001). Promoted as a tourist destination, Singapore's Little India is described as a place where one is able to find temples or excellent Indian restaurants, or where one can purchase Indian silks, brassware and jewellery. The history of Singapore's Indian community dates back to 1819, when Sir Stamford Raffles sailed into Singapore with 120 Indian assistants and soldiers. At the time these early Indian settlers resided in present-day Chinatown, an area set aside for Indians by Raffles. Many more Indian immigrants arrived in Singapore in the late 19th century and worked as road builders, to clear swamps or to occupy key positions in the civil service. The reason for an influx of Indians to present-day Little India is due to the introduction of cattle-rearing on fertile land, and the building of the Race Course for Europeans nearby in 1843, which served as employment opportunities. By the turn of the century, immigrants had arrived from Calcutta, Madras and Malaya, and the area, once covered in banana and vegetable plantations, had become a flourishing commercial centre for the Indian community. The area that spreads out from both sides of Serangoon Road became known as Singapore's Little India. (http://www.indiatravelite.com/discoverworld/singapore1.htm, 2001)

According to Gunaratnam et. al. (2002), Malaysia has several 'Little Indias' and hundreds of Indians flock to these enclaves at the time of religious-cultural events such as Eid or Deepavali. Local authorities even issue temporary trade licences for a month to those wanting to set up stalls to sell various items for the Deepavali festival. Perhaps the most vibrant Little India in Malaysia, one situated in Klang, claims to attract between 1.5 million to 2 million Indians from all over the country and attracts other local and foreign tourists also, as the enclave is known for selling items at good prices to customers. It is believed that Malaysia's Little Indias began as an effort by Indian traders to retain their cultural identity. Apart from efforts by the Indian and Chinese ethnic groups that led to the establishment of enclaves, the British who were ruling Malaysia at the time viewed the concept of 'separate enclaves' to work in their favour in terms of a divide and rule strategy. Another Little India in Malaysia, situated in Penang, was established in the early 1900's by traders from India dealing in spices, textiles, coconut oil and tin. About 300 of the 500 businesses in the Penang Little India operate from historic, pre-war buildings, which add further flair to the already vibrant area. There are however subtle differences between the several Little Indias in Malaysia in terms of language, religion, class and culture. This characteristic has been highlighted by the case of London's South Asian groups also, as discussed earlier. (Gunaratnam et. al., 2002)

This concise examination of South Asian/Indian communities in different cities serves to illustrate the idea that even in a rapidly changing and largely consumerist society, as is the case at present, particularly in major cities, members of society still ascribe to 'old' ethnic identities. More-so, ethnic group formation and development of ethnic enclaves occur quite prominently in diverse, cosmopolitan societies. However, an increased number of ethnic minorities in a society can also be a potential for inter-racial conflict, as Britain has witnessed in 2001 between South Asian youths and their white counterparts in the areas of Oldham, Bradford and Burnley, of which a number of complex issues are attributed to the cause of the conflict (Amin, 2002). Conversely, Arogundade (2001) reports that studies suggest that more liberal, cosmopolitan zones like those found in London, wherein races are somewhat more blended, will see less racism. It is clear that even in diverse, cosmopolitan cities where there is increased social and economic interaction between members of different ethnic, religious, racial and national groups, there is strong evidence to suggest that a significant proportion of the urban population do ascribe to ethnic identities, and, common language, religion or culture play an important part in the formation of groups in this regard.

2.4 The origin and prevalence of Asian American ethnic enclaves

Manila Villages that were established in Louisiana in the 1750's are thought of as being one the first ethnic enclaves in America. Later, an increasing number of Chinese workers arrived in California and Hawaii in the mid-1800's, which led to the expansion of the scale of Chinatowns to an extraordinary level. The rapid increase in population of Chinese in the US resulted in the spread of new Chinatowns in major cities like New York City, Los Angeles and Chicago. Chinese immigration was all but stopped in the 1880's and Japanese immigrants then started arriving in the US in significant numbers. Hence, "Little Tokyos" were being established in Hawaii, San Francisco, and then in Los Angeles. Le (2004) reports that in the US, it was not until the introduction of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act that liberalised immigration law, the structure of Asian American enclaves changed quite drastically. Almost suddenly new ethnic enclaves were established as new immigrants arrived from China, the Philippines, Korea, India/South Asia and Vietnam, and the number of ethnic enclaves grew almost exponentially.

Le (2004) goes on to state that approximately two-thirds of all Asian Americans are immigrants, and that since 1971 the US has witnessed almost 1.5 million immigrants arrive at its shores from the Philippines, and about ¾ million immigrants from each India, Korea and Vietnam. Due to geographical proximity, there have been about 4.5 million immigrants to the US since 1971, from Mexico. Johnson (http://www.infoplease.com/spot/chinatowns1.html, accessed 16.02.2004) states that at present, the Chinese are the largest Asian group in the United States followed by Filipinos, Japanese, Indians, Koreans and Vietnamese. The same source also states that according to the 2000 census, 10 million Americans are of Asian ancestry (just less than 4% of the population) and that California has the largest Asian population, which is nearly 4 million (11% of the population) plus almost 114,000 people (about 0.3%) of Hawaiian or Pacific Islander heritage, with New York State having the second largest Asian population of about 1 million Asians (almost 5.5% of the total population). It is expected that most of these minority groups are to be located in urban areas of large cities, which accounts for the prominent presence of ethnic enclaves in these cities.

The sharp increase in the number of immigrants to the US meant that Koreatowns were to be found in Los Angeles and New York, Little Manilas in Los Angeles and San Francisco, South Asian enclaves in New York, and Little Saigons in Orange County (CA), San Jose and Houston. Le (2004) states that by the mid-1980's, the existing Chinatown in Manhattan, New York, grew to such an extent that there wasn't enough land into which it could expand, which resulted in the creation of new Chinatowns in Sunset Park, Brooklyn and Flushing, Queens. Apart from other characteristics also, each of the ethnic enclaves are associated with its own mix of traditional culture and cuisine together with

elements borrowed from the surrounding community. (Le, 2004; Geron, http://www.aamovement.net/community/enclave1.html, accessed 22.01.2004)

Le (2004) is of the opinion that the reason ethnic enclaves grow so quickly and thrive, in the US particularly, is because of immigration, and that new immigrants keep coming to already established ethnic communities and "infuse them with new life". Simply put, one of the main reasons that increased number of Asian immigrants arrive in the US is related to the establishment of American multinational corporations in foreign countries and the manner in which these corporations seem to dominate in that country's political and economic scene. "This "globalisation of capital" disrupts and transforms the traditional way people in these Asian countries make a living as the fundamental structure of their national economy changes from one dominated by farming and agriculture to the beginnings of a modern capitalist economy that emphasises manufacturing and export sectors" (Le, 2004, http://www.asian-nation.org/enclaves.shtml). The result is that many people become displaced in the sense that they lose jobs or their land and they are exposed to US culture through media and even American businesses operating in their countries. Therefore, many people consider working in the US as a means to economic betterment for them and their families. At the same time, companies in the US are willing to recruit foreign workers who are willing to work for lower wages than US-born workers.

Furthermore, earlier immigrants already established in countries like the US assist in the immigration process by providing beneficial information about jobs or accommodation, and in this way immigration becomes self-perpetuating through established social networks. It usually makes sense for new immigrants to find themselves living and working in established ethnic enclaves as the environment provides a sense of familiarity, and they are also more likely to find a job in these enclaves especially if immigrants are not fluent in English. In this manner, many small ethnic minority businesses in these enclaves are able to survive and even prosper, and as is the case here, many non-Asians of the city are able to learn about and enjoy the rich Asian culture and food in these enclaves. (Le, 2004)

There are however many instances whereby established members of the enclave were accused of exploiting new immigrants due to their (new immigrants') willingness to work for lower wages and the questionable working environments in which immigrants are to work in, for example sweatshops. This has also led to the establishment of Asian American organisations that champion the cause of immigrants in this regard. Nonetheless, "…while there are some disadvantages for workers in the ethnic enclave, the fact remains that Asian ethnic communities have the enormous potential to benefit everyone involved - new immigrants, established Asian Americans, the local non-Asian

community, and American society as a whole" (Le, 2004, http://www.asian-nation.org/enclaves.shtml).

2.5 Chinatown: Aspects of a prominent Asian enclave

It is worthwhile noting that many cities perceive their Chinatowns as tourist destinations and as places that offer an interesting historic and cultural attraction. As explained earlier, places like Singapore actively promotes its ethnic enclaves, and its Chinatown is described as a crowded and colourful network of streets and alleyways, which is a receptacle of traditional Chinese customs that were carried to Singapore in the early 19th century by communities in Chinese Junks from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. The area includes temples, terraces, markets and shops that provide a glimpse of the old ways, but much of the original character has been lost over the years due to redevelopment. Like Little India, bargain hunters usually head for Chinatown, which is known for selling kimonos, jewellery, pottery and traditional crafts. More conventional products as well as electronic goods, luggage and textiles are sold in the modern section of Singapore's Chinatown (http://studyabroad.worldtravels.com/Travelguide, accessed 03.02.2004).

San Francisco's Chinatown offers another example whereby it is described by Johnson (http://www.infoplease.com/spot/chinatowns1.html) as a place that traces its origins back to the 1850's, where a Chinese neighbourhood had been established in San Francisco's Portsmouth Square. The Chinese Benevolent Association had been formed in 1854 in this Chinatown to assist immigrants arriving from China. Several years later, a Buddhist shrine was built here and in 1900 a Chinese hospital opened in San Francisco's Chinatown. After the area had been affected by the 1906 earthquake, there were efforts to reconstruct Chinatown as Chinese architecture was introduced so as to attract tourists to the area. Also, a Chinese YMCA and a branch of the public library were built re-affirming the community's recognition of San Francisco's Chinatown as an established, integral part of the city. At present, this Chinatown is so popular that the number of its visitors rivals that of the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. (Johnson, http://www.infoplease.com/spot/chinatowns1.html)

In examining the urban development of New York's Chinatown, Stephen Hui (2002) attempts to look beyond usual perceptions regarding this well-known ethnic enclave. New York's Chinatown is located in Manhattan's Lower East Side and the core area includes eight city blocks but the greater neighbourhood covers a much larger area. In 1990, official figures showed that the area was home to about 240,000 people making the neighbourhood the largest Chinatown in the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

Established in 1870, the enclave initially had a population of 200. Hui (2002, 1) states that the racist immigration laws that prevailed maintained Chinatowns as "...bachelor societies of non citizens for several decades". The multiethnic character of the Lower East Side was a more acceptable place for Chinese immigrants to establish residency than other racist parts of the city, or the country for that matter. As explained earlier, change in immigration laws in 1965 led to massive influx of immigrants from Asia and the already established Chinatown in New York was an almost automatic choice for many new immigrants. Hui (2002) strongly suggests that race relations and racism played a major role in the establishment of Chinatown.

An enclave like this is still considered as a 'zone of transition' for many Chinese immigrants. Like many other Chinatowns, New York's Chinatown has a hierarchical community structure, and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association is at the top. This represents an informal governing organisation in Chinatown, and some people even refer to the president of the association as the "unofficial mayor of Chinatown". Kinship also plays a significant role in the social organisation in Chinatown. In terms of functionality, Hui (2002) reports that Chinatown is a place of residence, a marketplace for goods and services, a tourist destination and the centre of an ethnic and cultural community (real and imagined). Economic income is derived mainly from real estate, manufacturing, tourism, food services and wholesale distribution for Chinese shops and services throughout the New York metropolitan area. Overall, Hui's (2002) examination suggests the following salient issues regarding the development of New York's Chinatown:

1. Spatial implications and legislated racism has played a significant role in the development of New York's Chinatown, and factors like this are often overlooked by the 'outsider';
2. The real engine behind the growth of the enclave as a community is its economy, and persistent supply of immigrants. These are seen as interconnected aspects and the unique economy perhaps even flourishes due to immigrants, and to a certain degree racism also plays a part. This is in support of an earlier explanation regarding Asian immigrants to the US;
3. Chinatown has developed without much formal planning, and its existence is closely linked with the complex network of social organisation associated with it;
4. Major cosmopolitan metropolises like New York City are closely linked to global economic patterns, hence even ethnic enclaves like Chinatown, which may be perceived as separate spaces for ethnic minorities, are however part of the global economy. Foreign tourism and the promotion of Chinatowns as historic and cultural attractions, by its host cities, are a evidence of this.

2.6 General characteristics of an ethnic enclave

Deducing from the information presented thus far, the following can be considered as some of the apparent general characteristics of an urban ethnic enclave:

- The formation of an ethnic enclave, particularly in a major city, is associated with global economic activity, which induces a significant proportion of immigrants amongst populations. One also has to consider socio-political factors, which causes people to become immigrants (exiles and refugees) due to stress and unfavourable conditions being created in ones home country/region.
- In many instances, racism and prejudice (legislated and non-legislated) has influenced the formation of, and the continuation of an ethnic enclave, as the enclave was a means of defence or survival.
- Immigrants are closely related to existing ethnic enclaves as the enclaves provides the immigrant with a sense of familiarity in a foreign place, and many are able to find jobs in the enclaves. Also, it has been shown that members of society do choose to ascribe to ethnic identities even in a diverse, modern urban setting. Therefore, an ethnic enclave provides a suitable means by which members of an ethnic group are able to adapt to their new habitats while still maintaining their identities.
- It is not rare to find in an ethnic enclave the display of common language, religion and custom amongst its members. Therefore, an ethnic enclave has the potential to offer a locale with unique culture, especially in terms of cuisine, entertainment and even shopping. Hence, an ethnic enclave is considered as an urban entity with tourism potential.
- An ethnic enclave has the potential to play an important part of in the economy of a city, because an enclave is also viewed as a marketplace for goods and services. This concept is supported by the view that it is easier for immigrants to gain employment in an ethnic enclave, and if a city attracts large amounts of immigrants, this proves significant to the local economy.
- A network of social organisation is found in established ethnic enclaves, some with a hierarchical community structure. This factor could be a means by which the intricate dynamics of an ethnic enclave could be understood. This is beneficial to urban policy makers and planners.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the concept of ethnicity and has shown that a significant proportion of the urban population do ascribe to ethnic identities, and, common language,

religion or culture play an important part in the formation of groups in this regard. An examination of the South Asian/Indian ethnic group has been used to support this argument. The examination also revealed that ethnic groups organise themselves spatially, hereby creating ethnic enclaves in cities. Amongst the examples cited, it was shown that there is a unique concentration of members of the Bangladeshi community in London's Tower Hamlets borough. This urban feature should be well noted as it is examined in more detail further on in this report.

Furthermore, Asian American enclaves, and a prominent enclave, that is Chinatown, were dealt with as a means to further understand ethnic enclaves. This culminated with certain apparent general characteristics, which were deduced from the information presented in this chapter, in an effort to view the concept of an ethnic enclave more succinctly. The conceptual framework of this report is continued in the following chapter with an examination of pertinent aspects regarding urban regeneration.

CHAPTER 3
ASPECTS OF URBAN REGENERATION

3.1 Chapter Introduction

The introductory chapter of this report has discussed some of the pertinent issues regarding urban decline and has stressed the importance of cities, especially inner city areas, to the local economy. Urban decline has been associated with a significant loss of inner city populations, leaving behind the poor and vulnerable, and minorities including ethnic groups. In the preceding chapter the concept of ethnicity was investigated and it was shown that even in contemporary, diverse cities, people ascribe to ethnic identities and organise themselves spatially in what could be termed as ethnic enclaves. Ethnicity therefore has the potential to make a marked impression on the urban landscape. In urban areas that tend to attract a significant amount of immigrants, it is believed that ethnic enclaves are more than likely to be affected by, or can even affect urban regeneration initiatives.

In this chapter some of the possible ways in which urban regeneration can take place, is firstly examined. This is followed by a discussion regarding improving the organisation of urban regeneration initiatives. In shedding more light on this aspect, recommendations for making the tools of urban regeneration more effective are put forward. There are also recommendations made regarding the strengthening of leadership capacity when carrying out urban regeneration initiatives. Thereafter, prominent examples of urban regeneration in practice are discussed followed by the chapter summary.

3.2 Background and possible modes toward urban regeneration

The idea of urban regeneration involves the perception of city decline and of the hope of renewal and reversing trends in order to find a new basis for economic growth and social well-being. City decline could include: the decline in local economies; decline in the use of land and buildings; decline in the quality of the environment; and decline in social life. Action to remedy decline was symbolised by city rebuilding, clearing away of obsolete buildings and vacant sites, and producing new building forms and designs. Healey, Davoudi, O'Toole, Tavsanoglu & Usher (1992) believe that behind this notion, which described the core of urban policy in the 1980's (particularly in the UK), are changes in economic, social and political organisation. These have resulted in significant spatial outcomes in terms of relative fortunes of urban regions, and in the internal organisation of cities. The city clearance and rebuilding aspects of urban regeneration has been a response to problems inducing decline, and to the new demands created by these changes. (Healey et. al., 1992)

Healey (in Healey et. al. (eds.), 1992) posits that the primary thrust of urban policy in Britain in the 1980's, was urban regeneration through private sector property

development. Referring to numerous central government programmes, Healey (1992) states that the urban regeneration initiatives required substantial involvement from the development industry. New principles and rules meant that the relationship between public and private sectors changed. The private sector was asked to take the lead in development, which was different to the public-sector led industrial building programmes of the 1960's and 1970's. Added to this, urban regeneration strategies encouraged the speculative private developer, providing property with the hope of future demand. However, policy initiatives contained ambiguities. "Urban regeneration is to be market led, yet the strategy involves public investment to lead the market" (Healey in Healey et. al., 1992, 19). Hereby it is suggested that the public sector's timing of the switch from unblocking constraints to publicising the opportunities, could be critical. Therefore, national urban regeneration policy may lack the sensitivity to get the timing right. (Healey et. al. 1992)

Rudlin and Falk (1999) are of the opinion that one way to regenerate urban areas is through housing development action. It is believed that this may be the most compelling reason for urban repopulation, as depopulation of urban areas and inner city decline are closely related. Cities have been abandoned by those with power, leaving behind the poor, powerless and vulnerable. This, many believe, contributes to urban areas in decline experiencing high levels of unemployment, crime and other social problems. Rudlin and Falk (1999) go on to explain that large amount money that has been spent to address inner city decline have had little or no effect on levels of deprivation. This is because many people who are assisted by initiatives have used their new-found economic power to join those that have left the city. Problems of urban areas are thus a combination of population loss and the reality that they have become a sink for poverty. (Rudlin and Falk, 1999)

Therefore, Rudlin and Falk (1999) believe that the only way to address the root cause of the problem is to stem and then reverse the loss of population. It is hoped that this can be achieved by creating urban environments which can persuade people to remain in the area as their quality of life is improved and to attract people back into inner city areas. However, care should be taken so as to avoid problems associated with gentrification and rising values that can cause local people to lose their homes and for deprivation to be displaced to other areas. (Rudlin and Falk, 1999)

In an effort to combat urban decline, many government bodies have looked to new sources of jobs and economic prosperity. Due to many cities being unable to develop other industries, Swarbrooke (1999) states that tourism has been the preferred route in many cases, and that tourism has become a major phenomenon in recent years. Most

cities have taken to one or more of the following approaches to achieving urban regeneration through tourism: promoting cultural attractions; developing an events-led strategy such as major sporting events; using the shopping potential of an area to draw people into an area; or exploiting the potential of cuisine such as Asian food in Birmingham and Bradford in the UK or coffee in Seattle; amongst other approaches also. Tourism is adopted as a regeneration tool because: it is a growing industry; it has the potential to produce a significant number of jobs; it creates facilities that local people can also use; and it can improve the external image of an area and can even improve the morale of the local population. However, there are contentious issues regarding the promotion of tourism such as the argument that investment in tourism represents an opportunity cost. Some believe that money spent on tourism could have been spent on more deserving causes such as education or health. Also, questions are raised as to who benefits from tourism investment, and that many jobs in the industry are low paying. (Swarbrooke, 1999)

Swarbrooke (in Robinson et. al. (eds.) 2000, 281-283) believes that tourism can contribute positively to regeneration and has suggested several principles to be followed. Here are some of them:

- Citizens for whom the regeneration action is being devised, must have a strong say in its development and implementation;
- Urban economic regeneration initiatives must be devised in an integrative manner by incorporating environmental and particularly social regeneration;
- Attempts should be made to avoid “ghettoisation” and tourists should be encouraged to not only visit the usual attractions of a city, and visit other parts of the city. It is believed that this gives the tourist a richer experience, but care should be taken to avoid such trips being voyeuristic or based on cultural stereotypes. Tourists should meet local people, take part in local events and visit workplaces;
- Focus on small-scale projects, growing organically over time, instead of large-scale prestige projects. Opportunities are thus given to local people to develop management skills;
- Develop local networks that ensure as far as possible, the needs of the local urban tourism industry are met by local suppliers. This reduces leakages of economic benefits and maximises the income generated locally;
- Constant objective monitoring should take place to ensure that strategies are working adequately.

As discussed thus far, urban regeneration could take place through either property development; or through housing based development; or regeneration through urban

tourism based initiatives. These are not the only forms by which urban regeneration could take place, but they are highlighted here because of the significant potential they appear to possess to affect urban regeneration initiatives.

3.3 Improving the organisation, tools and leadership capacity in urban regeneration

3.3.1 Improving the organisation of urban regeneration

In assessing regeneration efforts of the past few decades, Colquhoun (1995) states that popular academic thought suggests that urban regeneration initiatives can be organised in a number of ways. Colquhoun (1995) is of the opinion that these approaches are incompatible with one another, but taken individually, each has merit in certain situations. The approaches are listed below (Colquhoun, 1995, 25):

- Urban regeneration solutions are viewed as being dependent on increasing the efficiency of bureaucracy and free enterprise by the use of managerial expertise.
- The approach of the self-help anarchist who is concerned with services, but argues that administration should be carried out locally rather than centrally. Some who follow this approach believe that centralised systems are not capable of delivering services to a diverse market. Hence, their solution is to encourage small-scale self-build projects.
- The Marxist approach, which asserts that there can be no solution until governments are in control over the free flow of capital in the private sector. This approach depends on the political mobilisation of the proletariat.
- The approach that contends that a reserved, piecemeal solution is inevitable, and which is mainly concerned with determining what would be feasible or not, within the existing political framework. Some of the proponents of this approach, also labelled as pragmatists and realists, go as far as claiming that the problem is not political at all.
- The approach adopted mainly by those working on the ground is that the solution is found in encouraging local grass-roots activity because local and central government are not capable of dealing with the needs of the poor and disadvantaged, or are not interested in doing so. The desire of the local people to make decisions is seen as the most important aspect in this approach. In this regard, policies should aim to achieve people's aspirations rather than the other way round.
- There is an approach by some who discard the bureaucratic encumbrances of government controls, and who believe that small-scale free enterprise activities, both by community and capitalist inspired, should be encouraged.
- The approach of the 'one-off fixers' aim at introducing personnel who would develop priorities, timing and a budget, and then commission a task force to complete the job.

Due the opinion that the above-mentioned approaches are incompatible with one another, Colquhoun (1995, 26) therefore proposes that the organisation of urban regeneration requires the combination of several ingredients, which are as follows:

1. There must be a catalyst - someone to trigger off the urban regeneration initiative.
2. A vision as to where the regeneration effort is going has to be in place. An assessment of the economic potential has to be made prior to any money being put into an area. Therefore, careful planning is required at this stage, but if the proposals are not well thought through, this can easily create disillusionment because they might be impracticable, non-fundable or just impossible.
3. A strategy is required mainly to clearly point out the direction that the initiative should be following, and the initiative has to capture the vision referred to earlier. Flagship projects and ideas should be held onto.
4. There should be a proper legal and financial framework which ensures that there are formal links to the city, the developers and the planning authorities. All parties should be afforded the opportunity to play their part in the process. To avoid conflict between this and community requirements, all parties involved should set out their objectives for the project from the beginning.
5. There should be sensitivity of approach which requires time and effort. This calls for an understanding of the wider issues of the target area and the hopes and aspirations of the people on the ground. The national and local political framework also needs to be fully understood.
6. The urban regeneration policy should aim at enhancing the status of the inner city area, and it is very important to involve the local community because local values should be realised. This gives the local community a greater commitment to the future of the area. The urban regeneration policy should aim at improving the living standards of people and should rigorously engage in the quality of life in the area. Furthermore, the policy should deal with the concentration of poverty and deprivation of the people in the urban area it aims to regenerate rather than simply achieving the betterment of the physical environment to satisfactory standards.

Colquhoun (1995) stresses that urban regeneration efforts should adopt a ‘bottom-up’ approach and not imposed from the ‘top-down’, and that the policy should aim at meeting local needs and circumstances. Therefore, planners and policy makers should avoid urban regeneration action to be carried out according to a standard, centralised formula.

3.3.2 Making urban regeneration tools more effective

In similitude to Colquhoun (1995), Rudlin and Falk (1999, 252-257) recommend that correct tools should be used in urban regeneration and recommend the following for making these tools more effective:

1. *Devising a shared vision*: the starting point in successful regeneration is getting people to see things differently.
2. *Establishing the impetus for change*: to break the mould there is not only a need for people who want to create better places, but also an overwhelming reason for change.
3. *Promoting a balance of projects*: the sheer complexity of urban areas, and the need to take action over many years, has been too much for the conventional planning process.
4. *Having the guts to innovate*: going from vision to results also means knowing when to take direct action.
5. *Generating enough yield*: projects depend on finance, and there needs to be an adequate payoff for all the investors.
6. *Organising for concerted action*: while funding is indispensable, projects often fail because there is insufficient management capacity to use the funds effectively, or because action was not taken on a broad enough front.
7. *Monitoring results*: the final level is producing lasting improvements on the ground. Performance needs to be monitored and evaluated within a wider perspective because the impact of regeneration is on social, economic and physical aspects of the city.

3.3.3 Strengthening leadership capacity

In an analysis of a number of North American and Western European cities, Judd & Parkinson (1990) examine the role of leadership in urban regeneration initiatives. Here, leadership capacity is defined primarily in institutional terms, namely, the range, stability, and durability of local mechanisms and alliances that have been developed which permit a city to respond proactively to external economic pressures. A city's resources include its strength, structure, and stability of the private and public sector and the political relationship between the two. These resources differ from city to city and a local leadership can, amongst other things, exploit its city's resources. It was found from the analysis that in terms of leadership, urban regeneration initiatives in the cities examined, could be categorised as one of four types:

1. The first of these can be described as leadership with strong coalition between the public sector, the private sector and other stakeholders, including the community. This approach has produced coherent regeneration strategies.

2. Secondly, urban regeneration initiatives can also operate in a framework of leadership with weak coalition between stakeholders. However, a regeneration approach of this type can still produce coherent strategies.
3. Thirdly, urban regeneration initiatives can be private sector led with weak public sector involvement. There appears to be a stronger influence of private sector led initiatives in the United States of America than in Western Europe.
4. Fourthly, urban regeneration initiatives have also exhibited weak leadership or leadership deficit characteristics. This has led to the production of incoherent strategies.

Therefore, in order to address local needs such as unemployment, poverty and poor service delivery, or to produce integrated, coherent strategies, active involvement of the community, public and private sector is required in urban regeneration strategies. These sentiments are echoed by Colquhoun (1995), Rudlin and Falk (1999) and Swarbrooke (2000). In terms of leadership capacity, these notions strongly suggest that strong coalitions should be formed between the public sector, the private sector and other stakeholders including citizens for whom the urban regeneration initiative is being devised.

3.4 Urban regeneration in practice

3.4.1 Urban Regeneration in the USA

According to Colquhoun (1995) there are two main strands of urban regeneration in the USA, namely, the redevelopment of downtown areas, and neighbourhood renewal and housing. Although regeneration of city centres and business districts are significant, and as Judd and Parkinson (1990) point out, are quite heavily influenced by the private sector in the USA, important lessons can be drawn from regeneration activities involving housing with strong action from residents and local communities, often against great opposition.

The most prominent downtown developments have centred on decaying waterfront areas in cities that were formerly great ports of the USA. The first 'festival market' was built in San Francisco in the 1950's and in the 1970's and 1980's the idea gained international recognition from Baltimore's Inner Harbour and Boston's Quincy Market and waterfront schemes. This was funded by public and private sources, and in 1977 government introduced the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) with the intention that there should be public/private ratio of investment into urban regeneration projects of between 1 to 4.5 and 1 to 6.5 (Colquhoun, 1995). This type of downtown development has encouraged tourism rather than discouraging the net outward movement of people and

employment. Inner city neighbourhood regeneration in the US has mainly been through Community Urban Development Action Grants (UDAGs) from the government's Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Before approval though, communities had to show that the grant would attract 2.5 times as much private as public funding, and that the project could not be funded in any other way. (Colquhoun, 1995)

Housing has not featured highly on the political agenda in the US. "There has never been any significant amount of public sector housing supported financially by the state or local government in the USA as in Britain and some other European countries, but assistance has been given in the form of tax deductions for mortgage interest for moderately priced ownership housing, and to assist with rent" (Colquhoun, 1995, 33). Initiatives such as these began under the more liberal presidents Kennedy and Johnson but were curtailed under the Reagan and Bush administrations. (Colquhoun, 1995)

The regeneration of Baltimore is an example of a private sector led initiative as described by Judd and Parkinson (1990). The city is an original Colonial seaport and became a significant manufacturing centre specialising in shipbuilding and metal production in the nineteenth century, but Baltimore's Inner Harbour was a dangerous and crumbling wasteland about 25 years ago. Its regeneration began in 1962 when the City Council adopted a policy 'to return the shoreline to the people'. By the 1980's the Inner Harbour had been dramatically changed and the area attracted thousands of tourists every year, which gave part of the central city a prosperous look. However, many have been sceptical of Baltimore's efforts by describing the impact of regeneration as providing the basis for the creation of what can be referred to as the "two Baltimores" (Hula, 1990). This is due to uneven distribution of benefits of the regeneration scheme, which is highlighted by large areas of dilapidated housing and areas of poverty and social decay existing just a few blocks away from the redevelopment project. A virtual "shadow government" of quasi-private development agencies that influenced the harbour's redevelopment is largely responsible for this scenario. (Colquhoun, 1995; Hula, 1990; Judd and Parkinson, 1990)

Another US city worth referring to in terms of urban regeneration is Pittsburgh. The city demonstrates how strong coalition between public and private sector and other stakeholders including non-profit cultural, medical and educational institutions can take place in a regeneration effort (Judd and Parkinson, 1990). The region's economy suffered from the loss of manufacturing jobs between 1950 and 1980, and the proportion of Pittsburgh's manufacturing fell from 26% to less than 15%. Almost one quarter of the city's population was lost between 1970 and 1984. However, an Urban Renewal Authority was established in 1946, which made Pittsburgh the first US city to construct a

well-organised coalition behind its regeneration efforts. "The public sector's strategy in the 1980's, directed toward shifting from a manufacturing base to one reliant on advanced technology, could take cooperation with the private sector largely for granted" (Sbragia, 1990, 51).

Therefore, city officials could concentrate on creating relationships between public and non-profit sectors, which was seen as vital in the development of an advanced technology economic base. The city's two major universities play a major role in the implementation of such a strategy, because the universities produce the type of technology that attracts private sector firms that can commercialise it. Also, Pittsburgh city uses public resources to assist key non-profit institutions to enhance their role as exporters of services and importers of new advanced-technology firms. In essence, the Pittsburgh case illustrates that: "The nonprofit sector, in brief, can be as strategic to economic development policy as is the private sector" (Sbragia, 1990, 64).

3.4.2 Urban Regeneration in Britain

In 1972, British Secretary of State, Peter Walker, commissioned studies on the deprived inner city areas of Lambeth, Liverpool and Birmingham. This is considered by some as the first public recognition of the need for urban regeneration. The results of the studies of these inner city areas and the subsequent Government White Paper in 1977 highlighted the level of deprivation in the inner city. The 1978 Inner Urban Area Act prompted the Urban Programme, which caused government to redirect financial resources from new towns to helping areas of ailing inner cities. Since 1981 most of the various forms of government intervention that were put in place were directed toward encouraging private sector involvement. Several funding measures and agencies have been established to support these approaches. These include: Derelict Land Grants; Urban Development Corporations (UDCs); Enterprise Zones (EZs); City Challenge; Task Forces; City Action Teams; Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs); The Enterprise Initiative; Local Enterprise Agencies; The Safer Cities Programme; Estate Action and Housing Action Trusts (HATs) and; Garden Festivals, which were later discontinued. (Colquhoun, 1995)

It is the opinion of Colquhoun (1995, 69) that: "The concentration of action through this proliferation of semi-autonomous and/or centrally accountable institutions has somewhat diluted the role of local authorities". The Enterprise Boards initiative; Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) and; City Challenges initiative, are perhaps some of the more prominent regeneration initiatives in Britain. (Colquhoun, 1995)

Enterprise Boards were created during the 1980's Thatcher era and the idea was not well received by central government. The aim of the Enterprise Boards was to invest power in the local authority, and was a concept that was not entirely in line with the neoliberal stance of the Thatcher government, which instead called for increased privatisation of public services and entities and showed support for a free market economy. Notable examples of the Enterprise Boards were the Greater London Enterprise Board and the West Midlands Enterprise Board. In this regard there was an emphasis on local enterprising and the promotion of investment in local companies in the form of 'venture capital' because local finance houses were not backing local enterprises due to the risk associated with the decline of cities. The general strategy of the Enterprise Boards was at targeting particular sectors at which local level intervention could make a difference in the economy. In the West Midlands for example, the clothing industry was targeted. The scheme also targeted particular types of entrepreneurs such as businesses owned by ethnic minorities or women, and 'co-ops' were supported rather than the individual. This was different from central government initiatives at the time. A scheme of this sort serves to show that there is recognition of the potential of ethnic minority businesses, which as explained earlier are very often located within an ethnic enclave. However, it should be noted that political differences between central and local government could impede rather than enhance the potential of an ethnic enclave in an urban regeneration initiative. (Newman, 1986)

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) were set up by and accountable to Thatcher's central government. The UDC initiative targeted smaller regions or areas within a city that were in desperate need of attention. They were not meant to be a city-wide strategy like the Enterprise Boards. Examples of UDCs include the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), Merseyside in Liverpool and, Tyne and Wear in Newcastle, amongst others. The UDCs have planning control (development control) and purchase powers, making them the owners of much of the land in their designated areas. (Colquhoun, 1995; Imrie and Thomas, 1993)

The LDDC for example, was founded in 1981 and controlled by a board of members, each appointed by the Secretary of State for the Environment. Although the LDDC is the planning authority it is not a direct provider of housing. Added to the significant office development, the LDDC also provided the infrastructure of roads, a light railway, fibre optic mail and a small airport. In terms of housing associated with the LDDC though, about 15000 new houses were built between 1981 and 1993. Approximately 2000 of these were housing association-rented or shared-ownership and the pricing of almost all of the new housing made it too expensive for members of the local community. Land values increased drastically during the mid-1980's and at about the same time public

housing investment programmes of the three London Dockland boroughs had been reduced in real terms by 50%. The three boroughs are Newham, Southwark and Tower Hamlets. The LDDC had also been criticised for being undemocratic by including local representation in local government but with very limited influence or benefit for local communities. Physically, the LDDC is thought of as successful but was not as successful in terms of social objectives. (Colquhoun, 1995; Imrie and Thomas, 1993)

The Merseyside UDC was viewed slightly more favourably than the LDDC because there had been an attempt to incorporate local residents in its tourism related plan to regenerate the Albert Docks in Liverpool. Overall, Colquhoun (1995) is of the opinion that UDCs are frequently criticised for being undemocratic, hence there has been an attempt in recent times by several UDCs to develop relationships with local authorities and local residents of the area. Colquhoun (1995, 70) goes on to state that the Town and Country Planning Association recommends that the UDCs make changes so that they may be more welcome an approach to urban regeneration. The changes proposed are that: UDCs should be established within a particular inner city if the local authority agrees; UDCs should produce a publicly-agreed planning strategy which must relate to planning strategies of the surrounding area/region; UDCs should set up an ongoing consultation process with local communities to determine their needs and aspirations; UDC boards should have a small majority of their members drawn from the local authorities for that area. (Colquhoun, 1995; Imrie and Thomas, 1993)

The City Challenge initiative was introduced in 1991 by the then British Environment Secretary, Michael Heseltine. This initiative called for the preparation of an overall strategy, for one or more inner city areas, to be formulated through a partnership by local government, the private sector and local community groups. Eligible local authorities were ranked according to levels of deprivation that was prevalent within the local authority, and these local authorities had to bid for central government funds to be used to regenerate areas within the city that were deemed most deprived. City Challenge funds were not additional funds as they were top-sliced from a number of Department of Environment inner city and housing programmes. Atkinson and Moon (1994, 95) explain: “The government’s declared aim was to facilitate effective use of resources by concentrating programmes in areas of greatest perceived need”.

Shortcomings of the City Challenge initiative include the promotion of centralisation and increased central government control over what local authorities spent their resources on. Solidarity between local authorities became fragmented because they had to bid against each other, and that the initiative focused on small areas instead of the wider local labour market, are other criticisms of City Challenge. Also, the initiative top-sliced a general

fund for local authorities and redirected the money towards a few preferred authorities caused the initiative to be viewed negatively. On the other hand, City Challenge is considered beneficial as some argue that it integrates physical development with social issues, and that the initiative represented a new thinking by government in that the failure of property-led trickle-down approach of the UDCs was being addressed. The small area focus of City Challenge, which is thought of as being comprehensive rather than piecemeal, and the requirement of the initiative for a broad based partnership in an attempt to achieve an integrated approach to development, is also praised. Another positive aspect of City Challenge is the participation of local community in the development of the strategy, however Atkinson and Moon (1994) reported that no clear evidence had emerged on the extent of the participation or the variation between areas, and that the potential conflicts of interests between residents and the private sector was also not made clear at the time. (Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Colquhoun, 1995)

3.4.3 Urban Regeneration in Europe

The issues associated with deindustrialisation are common across much of the western world as new technologies replace old manufacturing and engineering industries. Therefore, the European ports of Hamburg, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Genoa and Barcelona have realised similar redundant docks to those in London, Liverpool, Boston and New York. While market forces, tempered by public pressure have determined much of the present approach in the USA and to some extent in Britain, the urban regeneration approach in Europe has preferred strategic planning and greater public investment. Colquhoun (1995, 115) states that: “National and city governments have made public funding available to stimulate investment for the refurbishment of the existing built environment and for the provision of new infrastructure at all levels - roads, railways, public transport, public buildings and spaces, housing and environment”.

Majority of the public funding comes from national and city governments, but the European Union (EU) also assists by making available approximately one-third of its budget to areas of greatest deprivation. The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which was created to reduce regional imbalance in the community, and the European Social Fund (ESF), which is tasked with promotion of job opportunities for workers, are the principal means of funding. Colquhoun (1995) explains that the criteria for the aid are that the average income per head of the population in the Region is below 75% of the Community average. In 1993 the EU planned that £113 billion be available for a six year programme, by which the funds would be distributed to the poorest regions located in Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Greece. In Britain, Northern Ireland and Merseyside would be the main beneficiaries. In Germany funds were to be directed

towards east Germany where the standard of living was recorded at about 35% of the average for the European Community. (Colquhoun, 1995)

According to Colquhoun (1995) urban regeneration in the Netherlands has been a major political priority, and the regeneration of the residential fabric of their large cities is considered amongst the best. Many 'urban renewal districts' experience distressing social problems and these districts also have large ethnic populations from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam. The Town and Village Renewal Act of 1985 gave local authorities their own funds for regeneration. In this way, property is purchased, dwelling units are improved and new facilities and infrastructure is financed. District project offices manage related projects of new social housing and improvement of older housing. The projects involve officials, residents and businesses who prepare plans and submit them to the local authorities for approval. The rental for any new dwellings must be affordable for local residents, who are also given first priority. New shopping and businesses are also created where possible. Therefore, areas of inherent ethnic composition are also supported in this manner, which has the potential of promoting ethnic enclaves through an urban regeneration initiative. (Colquhoun, 1995)

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed some of the pertinent aspects of urban regeneration and has revealed that the regeneration of urban areas can be achieved by adopting one or more of several possible methods. The possible methods by which urban areas can be regenerated, that were highlighted in this chapter include private property development; aiming to repopulate inner city areas through housing development; and tourism-based initiatives. Thereafter, suggestions were highlighted regarding the improvement of the organisation of urban regeneration and that of making some of the tools of urban regeneration more effective. Recommendation was also put forward regarding the strengthening of leadership capacity in carrying out urban regeneration initiatives. Several examples of urban regeneration practice were also provided. These include examples emanating from the United Kingdom, America and Europe. In essence, this chapter indicates that the art of urban regeneration can be achieved through a number of ways and that the nature of the partnership between public sector, private sector and other stakeholders are critical in different projects. Other points that seem to be stressed are that urban regeneration should be carried out in a holistic, integrated manner, and that involvement of citizens for whom the initiative is being devised, is vital.

Note should be made of the mention of the borough of Tower Hamlets in the UK that was affected by part of the famous regeneration initiative under the direction of the London

Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). In chapter two, the borough of Tower Hamlets was introduced as an area with a unique concentration of members of the Bangladeshi community in London. This example is carried forward in the following chapter, which aims at linking the concepts of ethnic enclaves and that of urban regeneration as discussed in the previous chapter and in this chapter respectively.

CHAPTER 4
THE ROLE OF ETHNIC ENCLAVES IN URBAN REGENERATION

4.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter aims at linking the concepts of urban regeneration and ethnic enclaves, and in doing so to provide a framework for understanding the role of ethnic enclaves in promoting urban regeneration. Firstly, an examination of the area of Spitalfields in the UK is provided because it was shown that a prominent urban regeneration initiative in Britain had a significant effect on the area. The area has a unique concentration of Bangladeshis and also includes what has been termed 'Banglatown', giving it more prominence as an ethnic enclave. Thereafter the potential hazard of neglecting and harming an ethnic enclave is discussed. This is followed by a section that supports the case for the realisation and promotion of both 'official' and 'unofficial' ethnic enclaves as an important factor in urban regeneration. The chapter ends by highlighting some of the factors that point to the notion that ethnic enclaves can positively contribute to urban regeneration. Included in this section of the chapter is a list of attributes or conditions that should be attached to ethnic enclaves in order for the enclave to positively promote urban regeneration.

4.2 Spitalfields and Banglatown

In chapter 2 certain examples were used to show that citizens of a city, particularly of large diverse cities, ascribe to ethnic identities. Furthermore, individuals who identify themselves as members of an ethnic group organise themselves spatially and an example of this is Spitalfields in the Borough of Tower Hamlets in London (Fig. 4.1). The area has the largest Bangladeshi community in the UK. In highlighting prominent urban regeneration initiatives in the previous chapter, it was learnt that Tower Hamlets was significantly affected by regeneration efforts headed by the massively funded London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). An examination of Spitalfields as an area in Tower Hamlets would therefore be useful in shedding more light on the role of ethnic enclaves and urban regeneration.

Spitalfields lies at the heart of the East End of London and is historically famous for providing refuge to those fleeing persecution. The area was occupied by silk weavers, mainly of Huguenot descent (French Protestants escaping from Catholic persecution in France) in the 18th century. In the 19th century Irish and Jewish settlers occupied the Georgian houses built by the Protestant Huguenot silk weavers. The unique history of the area can be described by the history of the local mosque in the famous Brick Lane. It has been a place of worship for different faiths for hundreds of years, initially built as a church by the Huguenots then was used as a synagogue when a Jewish community replaced the Protestant population. By the middle of the 20th century the Jewish

community had mostly moved on and the building was converted into a mosque to serve the Bangladeshi community. (Eade, 1997; Discover Tower Hamlets, www.towerhamlets.gov.uk, accessed 10.04.2005)



Fig. 4.1 Location of Spitalfields in Greater London
(Source: www.towerhamlets.gov.uk)

Eade (1997) reports that the first generation Bangladeshis had settled in the borough during the 1960's and 1970's as part of a global labour migration process. The 1991 Census in Britain recorded that Bangladeshis constituted almost a quarter of the Tower Hamlets population numbering 36,926 of a total of 161,042. This was by far the largest concentration of Bangladeshis in Britain and their presence was even more commanding in the Spitalfields ward where the Bangladeshi population was 5379. This accounted for 61% of the total ward population (Eade, 1997). First generation Bangladeshis worked in the borough's garment industry, cafés, restaurants, small shops and hospitals and were joined by a second and third generation. Eade (1997) goes on to state that the youth clubs, cultural centres, prayer halls, traditional educational centres, mosques and political rallies were visible markers of the contribution that the successive generations of Bangladeshis were making to the localities within which they lived. (Eade, 1997)

Until fairly recently Spitalfields was considered as one of the most deprived wards of the borough of Tower Hamlets. Shaw (2002, 2) states that ethnic minority groups like the Bangladeshi community in Spitalfields have experienced high rates of unemployment and that their poverty is compounded by poor housing stock, run down infrastructure and poor facilities. The famous Brick Lane in the Spitalfields area was also the scene of a racist nail bomb explosion in 1999. Spitalfields has experienced two types of urban transformation in the past two decades, namely gentrification and mega-scale redevelopment proposals. The creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1980 and the rapid redevelopment of the redundant docks are elements that contributed to changing the face of the area. Massive redistribution of resources has resulted in the influx of what Eade (1997, 130) describes as "…global

elites and white middle-class 'immigrants', global and national corporations relocating from the City of London…" to the area, thus giving it a different image. However, white and Bangladeshi members of the local working class were largely excluded from this redevelopment, resulting in white working-class resentment of 'immigrants' which has focused on Bangladeshis whom were viewed as competing for scarce local resources and council housing. In Spitalfields the related resultant situation could be characterised by a polarisation between a highly paid, white middle class entrenched within the service sector, and a working-class population, who are predominantly Bangladeshi, dependent on local manual occupations. (Eade, 1997; Shaw, 2002)

The Georgian architecture of the area was targeted by gentrifiers in the 1970's, who formed the Spitalfields Trust in order to purchase and renovate these buildings and sell it to a select clientele, of whom members of the local ethnic minority groups did not fit the description. As the price of properties rose, mainly due to the introduction of the London Docklands Development Corporation, "…Bengalis and their garment manufacturing workshops began to be displaced from the once-affordable Georgian buildings" (Sandercock, 1998, 170). Eade (1997, 131) reaffirms this by stating: "Prices for these houses reached the giddy heights of around £500,000 during the late 1980's housing boom, while political and community activists were calling for action to improve the standard of accommodation and amenities experienced by Bangladeshi and white tenants of council and privately rented housing". The Spitalfields Trust then decided to restore some industrial properties as a relocation site for the displaced Bengali garment industry workers, but this was not seen as a wholly desirable solution. (Eade, 1997; Sandercock, 1998)

Spectacular growth of the financial services in London City led to the demand for additional land along the City Fringe during the 1980's and 1990's. Development plans were thus put in place and there were proposals for the relocation of the Spitalfields Market and the redevelopment of the site for offices, retail and other uses. Sandercock (1998) reports that local planning authorities unwisely viewed the proposal as positive as it was believed that this would contribute to local economic development and as relieving pressure on the historic character of the centre of London. The Spitalfields Trust favoured the relocation of the Market because they considered the Market as dirty and not conducive to their vision of a redeveloped Spitalfields. It could be argued that this was an effort to segregate the middle and upper-class from the Bengali garment industry. Added to this contentious issue, there was also a proposal for the redevelopment of both sides of Brick Lane including a former brewery and railway goods yard, and a proposal for an 'urban village' of mixed office, commercial and residential development (Appendix A). Eade (1997, 131) suggests that the closure of local businesses, especially the

Truman's Brewery and the Spitalfields Fruit and Vegetable Market highlighted the tension between demands for office space and services linked to the City, for conservation of urban heritage and the needs of both Bangladeshi and white working-class residents. (Eade, 1997; Sandercock, 1998)

According to Shaw (2002) community and heritage groups opposed threats to landmarks such as the Market, and Sandercock (1998) states that due to the threat of displacement, the local community formed the Community Development Group (CDG). The Group brought together associations and individuals, residents, local businesses, local authorities and government representatives. The CDG aimed at defending the interests of residents and the activities of the area from the proposed development plans. Having learnt from the conflict surrounding the proposed relocation of the Market, the developers of the Brick Lane site decided to adopt a strategy of dialogue with the local community. A Community Plan was drawn up with the involvement of the CDG, who created a working party representing various sectors including landlords, tenants, educated professionals, youth groups, and cultural and religious organisations. The Bengali community were now active and enthusiastic participants in development initiatives. (Sandercock, 1998; Shaw, 2002)

Similarly, Shaw (2002) states that by the mid-1990's there was recognition that a strategic approach was required in terms of development proposals. Hence, the City Fringe Partnership (CFP) was established in 1996 to deal with inner city problems through a co-ordinated approach. This gave rise to the 'Cultural Quarters' programme whereby areas with potential for regeneration were identified, and it was found that promising target markets were local businesses, people entertaining clients at lunch-time and in the evenings, and domestic and international tourists looking for a good alternative to the usual attractions that central London had to offer. Spitalfields was amongst some of the areas that were identified as areas with potential for 'culture led' urban regeneration. The CFP dealt with issues of accessibility and safety and as such improvements were made to lighting, pedestrian routes and signage linking the 'cultural quarters' with the underground stations and bus stops. "In Spitalfields, investment in the public realm has focussed on the famous street markets and the imagery of 'Banglatown' is affirmed in the design of street lamps and other amenities" (Shaw, 2002, 3).

The Community Plan that was developed with the involvement of the CDG resulted in the establishment of a Community Development Trust. This represented a partnership between the landowners, the community and local planning authorities, and through this, the community were given some land, and some land-use control. The Bengali community intended to negotiate control of a portion of the land to be redeveloped and

develop it for social housing, retail units, workshops and community facilities. This was unlike the Spitalfields Trust who were accused by some as enforcing a culturally biased urban form, and unlike the local Left who had appointed themselves to protect Spitalfields as a haven for dependent minority groups. Furthermore, the Bengali community "…wanted to turn Brick Lane into 'Banglatown', upgrading shops, restaurants, and craftspaces in an attempt to draw tourists and enhance local economic activity" (Sandercock, 1998, 172).

The local planning process in Spitalfields characterised by its mediation and negotiation action has resulted in consent to the development of a limited number of office buildings so that costs would be recovered, and investors and the community fund would make a profit. The emergence of a 'Banglatown' ethnic enclave from an imagined space to a real space is an example of how the recognition of the rights of citizens, which often can be neglected in an urban regeneration initiative, can be achieved through a meaningful local level planning process that includes all stakeholders that matter. Sandercock (1998) believes that the positive aspects regarding the Spitalfields case is the willingness of the developers of the brewery site to engage in a process of dialogue with the Bengali community and to pioneer a partnership arrangement in the form of the Community Development Trust. (Sandercock, 1998)

Another positive aspect is the capacity of the Bengali community to recognise itself and consider its future as an active partner in local economic development in a creative manner that mobilises ideas of history and culture to realise an urban regeneration plan that has worked in the interest of the ethnic minority group. "Bangladeshi settlers have 'learned to be local' and their community activists have played a crucial role in competing for resources in the local political arena (Eade, 1997, 143). Since their first arrivals, members of the Bangladeshi community have publicly maintained their right to live in Tower Hamlets. (Eade, 1997)

The significant inward migration from ethnic minorities in boroughs such as Tower Hamlets and Newham has transformed the character of many inner city areas in London. Burdett (2000) views this positively and is of the opinion that rich racial and cultural diversity is introduced to a city in this manner, and improvements to race relations in a traditionally chauvinistic society can also be made. Condemnation by the monarchy, the government, the press, churches and citizens of the bomb attacks on minorities are cited as proof of this. Burdett (2000) strongly suggests that cultural diversity and improvements to race relations, associated with the introduction of ethnic communities to areas, are supported by a vibrant enterprise culture amongst the Asian community in particular, is a strong force driving urban regeneration.

Examples of attractions that are promoted in Spitalfields include the covered market housing a lively crafts and antique market with an international and organic food hall, and the Brick Lane Market offering a wide array of fruit and vegetables, clothes and household goods. The Petticoat Lane Market, renowned for its clothing and leather goods, and the Columbia Road Market famous for its huge selection of house and garden plants are other examples. Whitechapel Road in Spitalfields is famous for the East London Mosque, The Royal London Hospital and museum and the Whitechapel Bell Foundry. It is perceived that the culture and cuisine associated with the Bangladeshi community gives Spitalfields a cosmopolitan feel, and the influence is so remarkable that the area has been dubbed 'Banglatown'. (Discover Tower Hamlets, www.towerhamlets.gov.uk, accessed 10.04.2005)

4.3 Renouncing ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration is undesirable

Although there is a view that ethnic enclaves are of benefit to a city, Geron (http://www.aamovement.net/community/enclave1.html, accessed 22.01.2004) however, provides examples to show that ethnic enclaves aren't always acknowledged and not viewed as areas with potential for urban regeneration. The following examples depict cases in some cities whereby ethnic enclaves have become targets under the guise of urban regeneration:

(a) The Filipino community's Manilatown in San Francisco was levelled in 1968, and the related proposed eviction of Filipino tenants from an old hotel is one example. This led to a huge outcry from the community and other activists, which stalled the eviction process. Although tenants were eventually evicted in 1977, the building was torn down. This influenced country-wide efforts to preserve ethnic neighbourhoods;

(b) Japantowns (Little Tokyos) in both Los Angeles and San Francisco faced destruction in the 1970's due to efforts by government to transform the areas into tourist attractions. In the process, many residents were evicted. Efforts like this also led to the creation of people's rights organisations that vehemently opposed urban redevelopment that would have led to the disruption of already existing ethnic enclaves. In Los Angeles for example, the community have fought for the restoration of Little Tokyo, which was damaged due to relocation during World War II and due to urban renewal and redevelopment efforts in the 1970's;

(c) After World War II, Boston's historic Chinatown faced pressure by developers who intended embarking on an urban renewal scheme to make Boston a regional finance and corporate centre. Even since the mid to late 1990's, the city's Chinatown has faced intense pressure due to strong demands from inner city financial and retail interests, which was associated with the development boom. Community

organisations that oppose such pressure have included the Free Chinatown committee and the Campaign to Protect Chinatown (CPC). In recent times, strong community opposition defeated a proposal to build a new baseball stadium near Philadelphia's Chinatown. The development would have destroyed the city's only prominent Asian American enclave.

These examples show that urban regeneration efforts have the potential to directly impact on ethnic enclaves. When these enclaves are impacted upon negatively (i.e. not recognised for the potential value they offer a city), the likely result is an initiative falling short of realising its full potential. More-so, when initiatives are accused of being prejudice and undemocratic, the result can cause tension and conflict in society. In this case, as the examples above show, this has resulted in the mobilisation of community action. In many instances ethnic enclaves are perceived as being politically weak and as transitional communities. The association of immigrants with ethnic enclaves strongly influences this perception. However, grassroots community rallies and campaigns have proven that common determination by community residents can defend and preserve historic communities, like those found in ethnic enclaves, from destruction.

Blair (1997) describes the contemporary European city as fast developing and as a forerunner of a new age of technological and economic change. The ailing nineteenth century industries have given way to high tech financial and trade, tourism and leisure centres, with wealthy residents occupying modern glass enclosed office towers and elegant housing estates. However, within the same cities there are ethnic minority communities living and working in isolated and deprived areas, as Blair (1997) describes, *quartiers en crise*. Hence, there are notable contrasts of wealth and impoverishment in major cities. In Paris for example, significant urban development initiatives, associated with the legacy of former President Mitterand, lies not in the politics of social reconciliation, but in the form of monumental architecture such as the Louvre's pyramid of glass and the huge office complex, the Great Arch at La Defense. This is in contrast with poor housing and joblessness, and the main victims in Paris in this regard are African, Afro-Caribbean and North African residents occupying "insalubrious" slums, hostels and isolated public housing estates. (Blair, 1997)

Blair (1997) goes on to explain that spectacular "flagship" urban developments in London dominate the cityscape and riverbanks of the Thames. Criticism of initial efforts in Tower Hamlets is also echoed by Blair (1997). As described earlier, the borough in London has a unique concentration of members of the Bangladeshi community, and also historically associated as a haven for immigrants and refugees, which features the massively funded Docklands development. This includes the Canary Wharf office project, the Docklands

Light Railway, the Limehouse highway, and the Jubilee line extension to the mass transit London underground. Planning activists have questioned and highlighted the inadequacy of neighbourhood or service oriented projects for low income communities from Bangladesh, Vietnam and Somalia in this, the same area that attracts more than 70,000 daily commuters to work in offices there. A local borough councillor also stated that the reason for such a huge amount of unused office space in Docklands though, is due to actions that subordinate the needs of local people to market forces. Local ethnic minority residents were not actively involved in the Docklands project at the time of its inception. (Blair, 1997)

Whereas Colquhoun (1995) describes European urban regeneration practice as preferring strategic planning and greater public investment, Blair (1997) on the other hand strongly suggests that in contemporary European cities, ethnic enclaves or ethnic communities are being neglected. Although examples like the Netherlands as discussed in chapter 3, which suggests that local ethnic minority groups are in the position of benefiting from residential urban regeneration initiatives, Blair (1997) states that a common trend in European cities is the manner in which certain planners and policy makers consider districts of black and ethnic minority concentration as "problem areas" with "problem people". Hence, when these ethnic minority groups do receive attention, it usually is in the form of makeshift initiatives. Those affected by inadequate urban policy include: black and ethnic minority groups in London; Africans and displaced settlers from ex-colonies of Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique in Lisbon; new immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece in Malmo, Sweden; newcomers from Pakistan, Turkey, Vietnam, Somalia, Eritrea and Central and South American countries in Oslo, Norway; and Surinamese, Antillean, Ghanaian and other immigrants are affected by similar projects in Amsterdam. (Blair, 1997; Colquhoun, 1995)

Many regeneration projects are characterised by a strong mix of demolition, refurbishment and the introduction of new up-market housing and economic activities. Sometimes there are attempts at urban art culture by landscape architects, urban designers and community workers. In essence, typical urban regeneration initiatives in Europe are described as projects being "…"one-off" experiments that are failure-prone because of insecure financing, inadequate objectives and staff resources" (Blair, 1997, http://interplan.org/immig/im01002.html). A vital point to note in these regeneration projects that are criticised, is that they seldom take into account the diversity of cultures and the potential of diversity for enhancing political democracy and municipal administration, and to enrich life in the metropolitan area. Hence, inadequate policies and strategies that either adversely target or neglect ethnic minorities and vulnerable groups, that are formulated by "…remote bureaucracies and "we know best" technocrats

simply worsen existing problems and increase ethnic tensions" (Blair, 1997, http://interplan.org/immig/im01002.html).

4.4 Realising and promoting 'official' and 'unofficial' ethnic enclaves is important

Cultural diversity is seen as being in the midst of the contemporary British city, and Leary (2003) states that 'cosmopolitanism urbanism' can be thought of as a positive response to this. In this regard, the experiences of many people transcend the confines of blood-nation and nation state. Therefore, Leary (2003) contends that for cosmopolitanism urbanism to be fostered there is a need for closer face to face contact between members of different social groups, including ethnic groups. It is argued that certain spaces in the city would exhibit this quality of cosmopolitanism urbanism more than others. (Leary, 2003)

On the one hand there is criticism levelled against national and city governments for the manner in which ethnic minorities are neglected or adversely affected in terms of urban regeneration. However, there is a view that many cities do acknowledge the importance of the diversity of its residents, and as such urban regeneration initiatives in these cities have been based on inherent cultural and ethnic composition of an area. The promotion of Chinatown in many cities is an example. Efforts like this do have merits, however Leary (2003, 6) is critical of what he describes as: "The contrast between the acceptance and promotion of 'Chinatowns' and its positive discourse, can be compared with the negative discourse around other ethnic cultural quarters…". Leary (2003) goes on to explain that a city like Manchester in the UK concentrates its cultural regeneration efforts on inventing "cultural quarters" that are unrelated to a significant portion of its residents, for example its black residents. It appears that the city promotes only certain kinds of difference, namely the promotion of Chinatown (Hong Kong version) and Rusholme ('flavours of the East') as unique visitor attractions (Leary, 2003).

Certainly, the importance of the Chinese community in Manchester, or in any other city for that matter should not be overlooked. Leary (2003) makes a vital point in that within most cities, spaces like ethnic enclaves or 'ethnic cultural quarters' may exist as real material places, for example a clearly recognisable Little Italy, but crucially, they also exist as imagined places, which are not always recognised. Hence, there are various 'other ethnic enclaves' that exist in the multicultural city, with potential for regeneration. For example, Leary (2003) states that in London two ethnic cultural quarters that are emerging are the Latin (SE1) enclave, which is mainly of Colombian origin, and Portuguese Stockwell. "Although these cultural quarters do not appear to have gained

official status as visitor attractions, they too may well be contributing to cosmopolitanism urbanism" (Leary, 2003, 7).

Leary (2003) views 'ethnic cultural quarters' as a vital ingredient in cosmopolitanism urbanism, and some of these city spaces, like the Chinatowns found in many cities or Banglatown in London's Brick Lane, are sometimes seen as "…providing a basis for commodified cultural quarters as part of urban regeneration strategies. Others not" (Leary, 2003, 8). Furthermore, it is stressed that spaces like ethnic enclaves or 'cultural quarters' are not mutually exclusive on the ground, and neither should they be in the imagination or in urban regeneration policy. Meaningful engagement with local people would reveal much about imagined, 'unofficial' spaces, places and enclaves. Therefore, in doing so, the danger of overlooking or inadvertently harming communities in ethnic enclaves, with positive potential for urban regeneration, would be decreased.

4.5 Ethnic enclaves are able to promote urban regeneration: a conceptual framework

Support of ethnic enclaves is viewed as positive for urban regeneration, as Colquhoun (1995) states that there are a number of factors that significantly help the urban regeneration process. One of these factors centres on providing housing investment to meet the needs of low-income people and ethnic minority groups. Like Leary (2003), Blair (1997) also views the existence of cultural cosmopolitanism as a potent attraction, as is the case in London: "There are whole food purveying and shopping centres like Soho's Chinatown and Southhall's Indian markets, and the Notting Hill Carnival, a unique Afro-Caribbean contribution, attracts a million Londoners and tourists each year" (Blair, 1997, http://interplan.org/immig/im01002.html).

Although ethnic diversity and the existence of ethnic enclaves within a city can be viewed as potential positives in urban regeneration, we are reminded though, that continued discrimination, unequal opportunities and mounting racial attacks and violence still exists in cities. Nevertheless, Blair (1997) still contends that local groups of immigrants and ethnic minorities herald a new vision of urban regeneration, whereby vibrant multi-cultural diversity and self-managing communities form the basis for favourable urban economies. In this regard Blair (1997) proposes that for the future, urban regeneration policies should build the capacity of ethnic minority groups for participation, and that regeneration plans should be effectively linked with anti-discriminatory and racial equal opportunity policies.

In highlighting the conceptual framework underpinning this report, an ethnic enclave positively promotes urban regeneration if the following attributes are associated with an enclave:

A) The area should contain a significant amount of people who are members of an ethnic group, so that the enclave is able to sustain itself: Hui (2002) points out that in its very early days, New York's Chinatown started out with about 200 people and grew to about 240,000 people over the years. The persistent supply of immigrants to New York's Chinatown has maintained its ethnic population, which in turn has contributed to its unique economy flourishing over the years. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the ward of Spitalfields, in which London's Banglatown is located, comprised 5379 Bangladeshis. Therefore, a minimum population of between 3000 and 5000 people can be accepted for which an ethnic enclave is able to be effective in terms of promoting urban regeneration.

B) There should be an indication of increased private investment in the development (property development) of an area by members of the community or private sector, due to a vested interest in the area based on certain aspects related to an ethnic group, namely religion, culture, language: According to Hui (2002), investment in real estate plays a major role in the development of New York's Chinatown as it accounts for one of the major contributors to economic income for the enclave. Healey (2002) states that the primary thrust of urban policy in Britain in the 1980's, was urban regeneration through private sector property development. Furthermore, Judd and Parkinson (1990) have shown that private sector involvement in urban regeneration is essential and that an urban regeneration initiative characterised by leadership with strong coalition between the public sector, private sector and other stakeholders including community, has produced coherent regeneration strategies.

C) There should be evidence to show that public policy influencing investment and development of an area acknowledges the inherent ethnic composition of an area or strives to address the needs of an ethnic group in an area: Reference can be made to the Singapore 'Concept Plan 2001' of which one of its key proposals focuses on retaining the identity of its people. In this regard, the Plan firmly recognises ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown and Little India. In this manner, public policy has played a significant role in promoting Singapore's Little India as a tourist destination, which is a potential for urban regeneration. This attribute is also supported by Rudlin and Falk (1999) who believe that regeneration can be achieved by repopulating areas through housing development action, which is usually driven by public policy. An example of this is highlighted by Colquhoun (1995) who states that regeneration of the residential fabric of large cities in the Netherlands is considered amongst the more favourable. Public policy in this regard

has influenced the regeneration of some residential areas occupied by minority ethnic populations from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam.

D) The area should boast attractions or have tourism potential based on ethnic lines. This includes unique food and cultural attractions, history and shopping offered in an enclave: In examining aspects of a prominent ethnic enclave like Chinatown (found in numerous cities around the world), as well as Little India like the ones in Malaysia or Singapore, it was found that tourism is closely linked with these enclaves. In Malaysia, Gunaratnam et. al. (2002) has pointed out that local authorities have influenced the development of the Little India ethnic enclave by issuing temporary trade licences during special cultural festivals that are associated with members of the enclave. The Klang Little India in Malaysia attracts between 1.5 million and 2 million Indians from all over the country and attracts other local and foreign tourists also.

Shaw (2002) suggests that ethnic enclaves have tremendous potential as sites of attraction and that tourism acts as a catalyst for urban regeneration. This view is also supported by Swarbrooke (1999; 2000). This could lead to the reinforcement of, rather than challenge cultural stereotypes misrepresenting the internal diversity of place identities, that are seldom simple and seldom static. Consideration should also be given to the potential of increased number of visitors to an enclave becoming intrusive and disturbing the rhythm of everyday life and adversely affecting the local environment. "A more optimistic scenario is that, through a well-regulated, planning framework informed by the participation of local communities, emerging visitor economies may stimulate wealth creation that benefits ethnic minority residents and businesses without displacing them" (Shaw, 2002, 4).

E) Members of the ethnic group should be represented in decision-making organisations/institutions that are involved in the development of the enclave: This criterion is influenced by the vital role that certain ethnic group organisations play such as the Chinese Benevolent Association. This association represents an informal governing organisation in Chinatown (Hui, 2002). It is thought that the association of the same name in San Francisco's Chinatown plays a vital role in ensuring its success[1] as an enclave. Existing structures and networks such as these provide an approachable manner by which planners and policy makers can establish dialogue with the community, and gain valuable information regarding the needs and aspirations of the local community when formulating outcomes in an urban regeneration strategy. In this way an ethnic

[1] Following Johnson (http://www.infoplease.com/spot/chinatowns1.html)

enclave can mean well in terms of local citizen participation in urban planning and for the promotion of political democracy and municipal administration.

Meaningful urban regeneration initiatives are those that seek to empower the local community through an inclusive 'bottom-up' approach that integrates the local community, public sector and private sector. This has the ability to reaffirm ethnic enclaves that may not have been recognised or that has existed as an 'unofficial' entity. This was the case in Spitalfields whereby the regeneration effort aimed at engaging with the local community through the Community Development Group who were engaged by developers in drawing up the Community Plan, resulting in the creation of a Banglatown at London's Brick Lane (Sandercock, 1998; Shaw, 2002).

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has linked the concept an ethnic enclave with that of urban regeneration firstly by discussing the situation in Spitalfields in the UK, which has realised a 'Banglatown' ethnic enclave and reasons to suggest why this was a positive aspect in an urban regeneration scheme. Furthermore, it was shown that the rights of individuals can easily come under attack when ethnic enclaves are destined for destruction in an urban regeneration initiative. More-so, by neglecting ethnic enclaves there is the possibility for not fully realising the potential of an area and its people in carrying out an urban regeneration project. This chapter also highlighted the importance of looking beyond the 'official' or prominent ethnic enclaves, and that urban regeneration initiatives should endeavour in utilising the positive energies that are present in all ethnic groups present in a city. The chapter ends with the assertion that ethnic enclaves are indeed able to contribute positively to urban regeneration, if certain attributes are attached to an ethnic enclave. This is the conceptual framework which is used further on in this report to deal with the South African context, in particular, with Fordsburg and urban regeneration in Johannesburg, which is laid out from the following chapter onward.

CHAPTER 5

URBAN REGENERATION FRAMEWORK FOR JOHANNESBURG

5.1 Chapter Introduction

After examining the concept of ethnic enclaves and that of urban regeneration, this research report posits that ethnic enclaves are able to positively promote urban regeneration. The apartheid system misused the concept of ethnicity in South Africa by implementing an unjust policy of segregation of the African people into the so-called 'homelands' or 'national states'. The past system also introduced the Group Areas Act of 1950, which aimed at segregating people by proclaiming areas solely for occupation by either Indian, coloured or white people (Platzky & Walker, 1985).

Although the concept of highlighting ethnic identity within society may be associated with an unjust past, the conceptual framework of this report can nevertheless still be applied to a South African context. In fact, in South Africa the role of ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration goes beyond being merely relevant, to one of importance. This is highlighted by Bremner (2004) who describes Johannesburg as being more fragmented, more polarised and more diverse since the end of apartheid. While some middle-class residents of post-apartheid Johannesburg were securing themselves behind electric fences, other people were engaging in either survivalist street trade or cross border trade (or both). Many of Johannesburg's residents were now living in ethnic enclaves, which had found their place in the shadows of corporate headquarters (Bremner, 2004, 19). The existence of these new ethnic enclaves can be mainly attributed to the continuing arrival of immigrants to Johannesburg since the advent of the post-apartheid era (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2003).

This chapter begins by highlighting the important status that Johannesburg holds as a major urban centre of South Africa. Thereafter, a brief account is provided of urban decline and the nature of transformation of Greater Johannesburg into its present form as a single metropolitan municipality. The regeneration framework of the city is then explained in terms of relevant policies and initiatives. This is followed by a discussion of development trends and some of the issues facing the city in this regard.

5.2 The status of Johannesburg as a prominent urban centre

The discovery of gold advanced the growth of Johannesburg and a series of towns along the east-west line of the gold-reef. These towns are part of an urban industrial region known as the Witwatersrand. With the country's capital city, Pretoria (Tshwane) about 60

km to the north and the Vaal Triangle[2] a similar distance to the south, Johannesburg found itself at the centre of a region known informally as the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging). Johannesburg's importance would be further enhanced due to its location at the centre of the Witwatersrand, which today is the core region of Gauteng, the richest province in South Africa (Fig. 5.1). (Beavon, 1997)

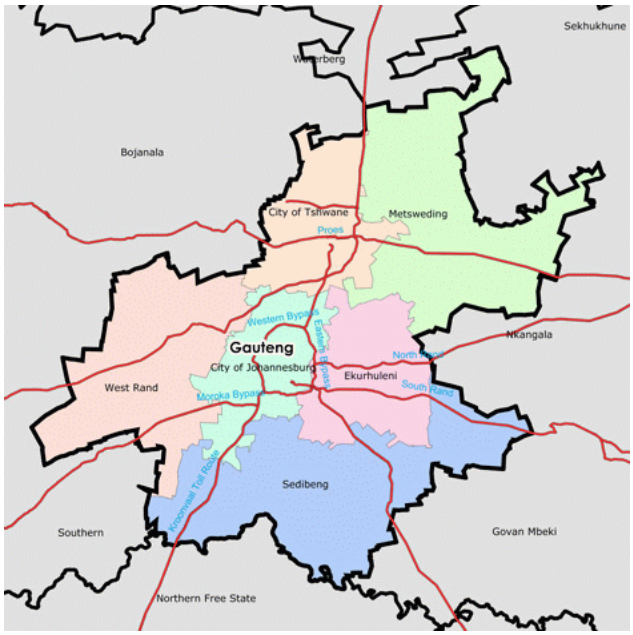


Fig. 5.1 City of Johannesburg in relation to Gauteng
(Source: www.joburg.org.za)

By the beginning of the 1990's, research (in Beavon, 1997) estimated that the PWV was responsible for between 40% and 43% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of South Africa. The research also precluded that by the year 2020, Johannesburg as a central area of the surrounding metropolitan area would be the fulcrum of a region containing approximately 20 million people. Johannesburg, and later the Witwatersrand, has always attracted actively recruited foreign workers. Included here were Chinese workers (approximately 63,695 mine workers between 1904 and 1907), but the bulk of the labourers came from Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho. Foreign labour was as its highest in 1972 when it constituted about 75% of the then 350,000 miners. Beavon (1997) goes on to state that by the mid-1990's, local press claimed that there were between 3 and 12 million foreign (mainly illegal) black people in South Africa and that approximately 60% of that were resident, working or seeking employment in the PWV. A figure of about 8.5 million illegal residents is however thought of as being a valid amount (Beavon, 1997).

[2] The Vaal Triangle refers to an industrial complex on the banks of the Vaal River, composed of Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark and Sasolburg; Vereeniging grew as the service centre for the complex (Beavon, 1997).

In 1945, the Witwatersrand contributed 96% of South Africa's gold (at a time when the country was the source of 40% of the world's gold), and the mines of the Johannesburg (JHB) metropolitan area were responsible for 34% thereof. Just over 1 in 3 members of the Witwatersrand labour force were employed by the mining industry in 1951. That ratio dropped to 1 in 11 by 1970 and is even less at present. The loss of about 200,000 mining jobs on the Witwatersrand was offset by the increase of about 475,000 jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors, during the period 1951 to 1970. The same period also saw a considerable surge in the service sector, which increasingly were located or had office space in the Johannesburg CBD. (Beavon, 1997)

Actual mining activity had become insignificant in the regional economy of the JHB metropolitan area by the 1990's, with the manufacturing sector also dropping to 18% of the gross geographic product (GGP) of the metropolitan area. The net result was that by 1991, approximately 70% of people employed in the formal sector of the JHB metropolitan area were engaged in tertiary services. According to Beavon (1997), the single most important indicator of the dominance of Johannesburg's service activities is reflected in the 5.9 million m^2 of good quality office space found in the CBD of the city, in its suburban centres, and its nearest municipal neighbours. Nationally, that amounts to just over 1 million m^2 more office space, of the same quality, than occurs in the combined office buildings of the country's three other major metropolitan areas of Durban, Cape Town and Pretoria (Beavon, 1997).

The concentration of offices, reflecting the location of Johannesburg's tertiary services, was in the CBD until 1970. From the mid-1970's onwards, this pattern was altered as office clusters in the expanding northern suburbs and neighbouring municipalities competed for tenants. However, in 1993, Johannesburg CBD still contained 2.7 million m^2 of the top three of office grades. This figure accounted for 56.6% of the total comparable office space in the other three metropolitan regions (not just in their CBD's) of Durban, Pretoria and Cape Town. (Beavon, 1997)

The pre-1970's period saw the Johannesburg City Centre being established as a focal point of the metropolitan region in economic and spatial terms. The infrastructure network and transportation routes that radiate from its centre highlight this. Essentially the Johannesburg City Centre was the commercial hub and financial centre of the country. (Beavon, 1997)

5.3 Decline and transformation of Johannesburg

During the 1970's Johannesburg experienced what could be called its first wave of decline. Some attribute this to a world-wide phenomenon and was primarily caused by the development of suburban shopping centres, establishment of office parks and an exodus of people to the periphery, to live suburban lifestyles (Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC), 2000, 6). Possible factors that brought this about include: high car ownership; high land values and rents within the City Centre; traffic congestion and lack of parking; sought after suburban lifestyle; working closer to home; an improved living and working environment; government policy limiting parking and giving financial incentives promoting decentralisation; and the establishment of new towns such as Sandton and Randburg (GJMC, 2000). This resulted in the development of commercial activity nodes during the 1970's and 1980's. Included here are Parktown, Milpark, Eastgate, Killarney, Bedfordview, Rosebank, Hyde Park, and the Beyers Naude Avenue development.

Johannesburg continued declining due to what Beavon (1997) regards as the stifling and contorting of the dynamics of the Johannesburg metropolitan region since the early 1980's. This was mainly due to the economic state of the country and of the PWV, which was being choked by the effect of economic sanctions. The apartheid state's desperate attempt to make the 'Bantustans' (separate 'homelands' on the peripheries for the black population) viable, was another factor. Unemployment, severe droughts and the relative lack of success of the government's decentralisation policy in the Bantustans saw many black people moving to the cities. In Johannesburg and the central Witwatersrand, the result was a serious accommodation problem, which manifested itself in an increasing number of backyard shacks and informal settlements on the immediate periphery of the metropolis. (Beavon, 1997)

Johannesburg experienced another wave of decline during the period 1990 - 2000. This wave was fuelled by increased crime in the city centre; empty buildings and vacant land; more out of town malls; the emergence of informal retailing as a major component of economic activity within the city centre and the "lack of control thereof". Another significant factor was constrained local government administration, resulting in a lack of functional capacity, delayed decision-making and loss in operating efficiency. (GJMC, 2000)

Problems associated with local government have to be viewed in light of the transition of local government in Johannesburg. A brief overview of the transition can be described as follows (adapted from Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2000):

Apartheid period - *13 racially demarcated local government bodies* (up to 1994): A period of more than merely decentralisation, this was a period of disintegration. Different racial groupings operated under different legal and planning systems, had vastly different resource bases and service levels, and different opportunities.

Negotiation phase - *Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber* (1991 to 1993): The 1991 Soweto Accord led to the formation of the Chamber. This was aimed at resolving outstanding problems so as to encourage the resumption of rent and services payments, and to determine how to unite metropolitan Johannesburg to end the apartheid city.

Greater Johannesburg Local Negotiation Forum (1993/94): Restructuring of the Chamber into the Forum in terms of the Local Government Transition Act (1993). It was the duty of the Forum to negotiate the appointment of a "pre-interim" council to govern until local government elections in 1995. A strong metro with seven substructures was proclaimed in November 1994 following Forum proposal.

Pre-interim stage - *Strong metro with seven substructures* (Dec. 1994 - Nov. 1995): A strong Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) was established to manage the process of transformation. This arrangement was not realised as disputes regarding boundaries of the substructures led to a reassessment of the earlier agreement and a revised proclamation.

Interim stage -*Weaker metro with four metropolitan local councils* (Nov. 1995 - Oct. 1997): Greater powers and functions assigned to metropolitan local councils.

Strengthening of metro (Oct. 1997 onwards): GJMC experiencing financial and management difficulties, and redistribution problems prompting increasing re-centralisation.

Final stage - *Dominant metro* (arrived at in 2000): White Paper on Local Government prescribing a dominant metropolitan government.

An important document informing the negotiations that were taking place with regard to the transformation of the city of Johannesburg was the Interim Strategic Framework (ISF). A key aspect to the proposals in the ISF was the necessity for curbing the spread

of low density development that was creating a huge city in areal extent. Hence, what was sought was a more compact city (Beavon, 1997). Adoption of this philosophy is evident in the IDP and related Spatial Development Framework (SDF) in terms of implementing an 'urban development boundary' (City of Johannesburg[3], 2005).

Beavon (1997) points out those two vital decisions were made since the April 1994 elections that had given momentum to aspects of what is contained in the ISF. Firstly, the decision that Johannesburg, rather than Pretoria, be the seat and headquarters of the Gauteng Provincial Government. Between the mid-1990's to the latter part of that decade, the Johannesburg City Hall was being renovated and it was anticipated that a significant number of office blocks in the Johannesburg CBD would be taken over by the Provincial Government as part of its headquarters. The official declaration demarcating the Gauteng 'government precinct' in 2003 was perceived as a positive move toward the overall urban regeneration of the city. Secondly, it was decided that the Johannesburg metropolitan area would receive a generous slice of central government's budgeted capital for housing through the National Reconstruction and Development Programme. At the time no strategic area outside the CBD was targeted for specific upgrading, but it was anticipated that attention would be given to the integration of Soweto with the Johannesburg CBD and parts of Roodepoort. (Beavon, 1997)

The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality now covers an area of about 2 300 km^2 and has a population of approximately 3 million people (City of Johannesburg, 2002b) (Appendix B). Incorporated into the Municipality are the areas of Midrand and Diepsloot in the north, Randburg, and previously segregated areas of Soweto, Lenasia and Ennerdale (City of Johannesburg, 2003b).

5.4 Policy framework for urban regeneration in the City of Johannesburg

The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Metropolitan Municipality (2005) employs certain key policies and plans as a management tool when assessing development options. They are as follows:

a) Vision 2030;
b) Integrated Development Plan (IDP)
c) Spatial Development Framework (SDF);
d) Regional Spatial Development Frameworks (RSDFs);
e) Precinct Plans (area and issue specific) and sub-regional strategies e.g. Inner City Regeneration Strategy (CoJ, 2003a) and City Improvement Districts (CIDs);

[3] All reference to 'City of Johannesburg' or 'CoJ' implies the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.

f) Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive.

Generally, the City of Johannesburg embraces the above-mentioned schemes in its urban regeneration quest and these are highlighted in this section. However, it should be noted that in addition to these policies, the City of Johannesburg has produced further policy directives. These directives or 'Sectoral Policies' that are meant to compliment the SDF and RSDFs include: the East/West Development Corridor Strategy; the Environmental Management Framework; Johannesburg Metropolitan Open Space System; The Nodal Policy; Mobility, density and the Integrated Transport Plan; and the Integrated Infrastructure Plan. (City of Johannesburg, 2005)

(a) Vision 2030

The Joburg Vision 2030 strategy is a long-term (28 to 30 year) strategy of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. In year 2000, the City identified a need to have a strong future vision for itself as a guide for short and medium term decision making. The strategy of Joburg 2030 focuses on creating an environment conducive to investment; increasing the efficiency of investment; and accelerate organic and endogenous growth to between 6% and 9%. There is an emphasis on stimulating the 'crowding in' of investment and increased efficiency by way of corporatisation of state owned assets. "All plans and policies that are created for the city, are created with the aims and intentions of achieving the city's vision through the 2030 strategy" (City of Johannesburg, 2005, 19).

(b) Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

During the period 1998 to 2000 the South African government introduced key legislation that affects municipalities and municipal planning at large. These include the: Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, No. 27 of 1998; Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998 and; Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000. These Acts were mainly based on the principles contained in the White Paper on Local Government of 1998. The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995 also affects municipal planning. Although all these Acts together provide the legal framework, which directs municipal affairs through the demarcating of municipal boundaries, and the categorisation of municipalities, the Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) is most applicable in that it sets the framework around which the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is constructed. This is a plan that supercedes all other municipal plans due to its legislative power. (City of Johannesburg, 2002a; Van Wyk, 1999; www.dplg.gov.za)

The Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) requires that all municipalities (including

Metropolitan Municipalities, District Municipalities and Local Municipalities) should undertake an integrated development planning process. The process should produce an IDP, which is a five-year plan. This Plan guides and informs all planning, budgeting, management and decision-making in a municipality. According to legislation, the City of Johannesburg was one of six municipalities declared as Category A or Metropolitan Municipalities, in South Africa thus far. A Metropolitan Municipality has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area. (South Africa Government Online, www.gov.za/structure/local-gov.htm)

(c) Spatial Development Framework (SDF)

Like Vision 2030 and the IDP, the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is a policy that is applicable to the municipality at large. The SDF is an integral component of the IDP and must adhere to the Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) and also to the Local Government: Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations, 2001 (City of Johannesburg, 2003b, 7). Policies in the SDF have been prepared by the City to address the guidelines and requirements for the development and management of the urban fabric and infrastructure (City of Johannesburg, 2005). The municipal-wide, generic policies of the SDF are: The Movement System; Nodal Development; Sustainable Neighbourhood Development/Densities; Environmental Management; Corridor Development; Design guidelines; Urban Development Boundary. (City of Johannesburg, 2005)

(d) Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF)

The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is divided into eleven administrative regions and a Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) is prepared for each of the eleven regions (Appendix B.). Fordsburg is located within Region 8. Previously known as Local Integrated Development Plans (LIDPs), the RSDFs are in line with the parameters contained in the IDP and SDF and are a local perspective thereof. According to the City of Johannesburg (2003b), the RSDF is a management tool that: Provides local resource, infrastructure and capacity information; Facilitates the packaging of local programmes, sub-programmes, projects and budgets; Directs public and private investment; Directs, integrates and co-ordinates local development; Sets a platform for the implementation of projects at a local level.

(e) Precinct Plans and sub-regional strategies

Within each Region, the City has drawn up numerous smaller policies and plans referred to as Precinct Plans. The recent RSDF (2005) for Region 8 (Inner City) for example, includes: approved Precinct Plans and policies; proposed plans that are in the process of

being approved; and potential areas where Precinct Plans could be drawn up for, but are not approved. Examples of approved Precinct Plans in the current Region 8 RSDF (City of Johannesburg, 2005) include: 'Newtown Central Place Precinct Plan and Urban Design Code'; 'Chinatown'; 'Braamfontein Regeneration Project'; 'Greater Ellis Park Precinct Plan'; 'Constitution Hill'; and 'Jewel City'; amongst others.

Strategies such as 'The Johannesburg City Centre Spatial Development Framework' (GJMC, 2000) and the 'Inner City Regeneration Strategy' (City of Johannesburg, 2003a) influence the development of Precinct Plans especially within the Inner City Region. The strategies give impetus to the idea of Precinct Plans and promote specific projects such as 'Newtown Cultural Precinct', 'Braamfontein Regeneration Project', 'Chinatown' and 'Constitutional Hill'. The Johannesburg City Centre Spatial Development Framework (GJMC, 2000, 12) is based on principles that embrace the 'creation of compact activity precincts that contain a mix of compatible uses', the 'introduction of a large residential population' to the Inner City and the 'provision of a wide range of public, social and cultural amenities', to name a few.

The Inner City Regeneration Strategy (City of Johannesburg, 2003a) speaks of expanding City Improvement Districts (CIDs). Cox (2000) describes Improvement Districts as tools used to fund additional services, which improve the vitality of urban areas. A CID is a geographic area in which the property owners and/or tenants agree to pay for certain services which are supplementary to those supplied by the municipality and which enhance the physical, economic and social environment of an area (Cox, 2000, 2). The scope of services required for an area is determined by property owners/tenants. Typically, these include security, cleaning, maintenance, marketing, physical improvements and special programmes to address aspects such as transportation, access, parking, and homelessness (Cox, 2000, 2).

(f) Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive for the JHB Inner City

The Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive is directed at the stimulation of the regeneration of declining urban areas and the encouragement of economic development, in inner city areas across South Africa. Signed into law at the end of 2003, the UDZ tax incentive is in respect of the erection, extension, addition or improvement of buildings demarcated within UDZs in selected cities of South Africa (City of Johannesburg, 2004). The Johannesburg UDZ is an area that covers much of Region 8, the Inner City, which comprises about 1,760 hectares (Appendix C). Hence, the UDZ incentive operates at roughly the same geographic scale as the RSDF for Region 8. This is the only area promulgated as a UDZ for Johannesburg. (City of Johannesburg, 2004)

Any taxpayer-owner, user and lessor of a building within the UDZ can qualify for the incentive. If a property is owned for investment purposes in an individual capacity, the tax allowance may be offset against the owners personal taxable income, as long as the premises is not used for personal purposes (City of Johannesburg, 2004). Any commercial, industrial or residential building is eligible for the UDZ tax incentive. The UDZ incentive covers: construction costs; demolition of existing building (or part thereof); permanent fixtures adjoining the site; water, power, sewerage, drainage, waste disposal; access or parking; security (fences, cameras etc.); sidewalks; landscaping as part of the development (City of Johannesburg, 2004, 3).

5.5 Overview of current urban regeneration initiatives and key projects

The previous section has highlighted certain key policies influencing urban regeneration, which are directed from municipal government level. However, initiatives on behalf of the Gauteng Provincial Government are also making a significant mark on the urban regeneration scene within the City of Johannesburg. Blue IQ is a multi-billion Rand initiative of the Gauteng Provincial Government, which aims at developing economic infrastructure for specific major projects. These projects are categorised as being part of either one of three Blue IQ sectors, namely: Smart Industries; High value-added manufacturing; and Tourism. Blue IQ aims at promoting strategic private sector investment in key growth sectors of the Gauteng economy by creating public-private partnerships. Partnerships are also made with national, provincial and local government departments, institutions and private organisations on each of its projects. Blue IQ projects that are of significance to the Johannesburg Inner City include Constitution Hill and Newtown Cultural Precinct, which are both Tourism related projects. (Blue IQ, www.blueiq.co.za)

Instrumental in implementing regeneration projects in the city is the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA). JDA is an agency of the City of Johannesburg which supports area-based development initiatives throughout the municipality in support of Joburg Vision 2030. JDA co-ordinates and manages capital investment and other programmes involving public and private sector stakeholders. JDA acts as development manager for several area-based projects. These include: Braamfontein; Constitution Hill; Drill Hall; Faraday Project; Fashion District; Greater Ellis Park; Jeppestown; Kliptown; Newtown Cultural Precinct; Yeoville: Rockey/Raleigh High Street, and others (JDA, www.jda.co.za). The Newtown Cultural Precinct, Constitution Hill and Kliptown projects are common to Blue IQ and JDA. JDA therefore acts as a local implementing agent of Blue IQ. It should also be noted that projects initiated or managed by organisations like

Blue IQ and JDA would find themselves on the list of approved Precinct Plans of the RSDF, as discussed earlier.

Also worth mentioning is the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), which is a not-for-profit company established under Section 21 of the Companies Act. The CJP is independent but it is linked to the Kagiso Group through Kagiso Urban Management, which is a company that provides administration and managerial support. The CJP is well known for its role in establishing and managing City Improvement Districts (CIDs), as discussed earlier. The first CID was established by CJP in the Johannesburg CBD in 1993, making the company a forerunner of this form of private sector urban regeneration intervention. The CJP has played a major role in the redevelopment of Gandhi Square and Main Street, the pedestrianisation of Fox Street and in the JHB ArtCity initiative. (CoJ, www.joburg.org.za)

It is reported that by August 2004, 67 blocks of the Inner City were incorporated into CIDs (Government Digest, August 2004, 26). The same source states that there had been a 90% drop in muggings in those areas and that several more property owners and business associations intended on embarking on establishing CIDs within the Inner City, in areas such as Fordsburg and the Chinatown precinct. (Government Digest, August 2004, 26)

5.6 Urban regeneration in Johannesburg: positive perceptions

The development of most major projects in Johannesburg today is largely owed to the Gauteng Provincial Government's budget of R1,7 billion in 2001, aimed at regenerating the inner city. This amount accounted for 20% of the Province's total budget at the time (Mahabane, 2001). As listed earlier, areas that benefited include Newtown (about R400 million), Braamfontein (more than R350 million) and the Nelson Mandela Bridge linking the two areas (about R60 million). According to Mahabane (2001), if the Province's investment initiative would be properly structured and marketed, it would yield investments worth billions more.

There are several examples that suggest that regeneration initiatives by Provincial and Local government appear to have had a positive effect on Johannesburg thus far. Cox (2001) reported that the strong revival of the city was marked by many companies and professionals moving back into the city from the suburbs. Some of the reasons for moving back into the CBD included low rentals; less traffic congestion; reduction in crime; and the establishment of CIDs (Cox, 2001).

Successes have also been reported in terms of regenerating through repopulating the inner city. Social housing initiatives by Cope Housing Association and Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) have attracted residents to areas like Newtown and Fordsburg. The 145-unit development, Carr Gardens in Fordsburg was let in just 15 days, which raised the number of flats owned and managed by JHC to 1300 at the time (Mahabane & Fife, 2001). Newtown Urban Village, owned by Cope Housing Association, claimed 100% occupancy for its project, and there was strong indication that the City of Johannesburg intended supporting additional housing units in the Newtown area (Mahabane & Fife, 2001). Other social housing projects in the Fordsburg-Newtown area include Tribunal Gardens and the recently built Brickfields housing development near the Nelson Mandela Bridge.

Some private properties have also witnessed a good turnaround. Mahabane and Fife (2001) highlighted that some buildings belonging to Trafalgar Properties in Hillbrow changed from a 65% to 1% vacancy and defaults in payments had also dropped. This was mainly credited to an improvement in security and a change of landlords, who had established good relationships with residents. (Mahabane & Fife, 2001)

Reporting on a survey of inner city businesses conducted by Wits Business School[4], Sukhraj and Kobedi (2004) reaffirm the notion that inner city vacancies have dropped and are now consistent with that of the more affluent northern suburbs. The survey showed that there was increased confidence in the inner city and that crime was on the decline. Crime and security still is a factor, but it is no longer the issue that it was in the 1990's. Another indication that the inner city was attracting more people is the huge demand for parking. Approximately 6,052 parking bays were under construction in the inner city by October 2003 (Fraser, 2003c) with the number increasing to an estimated 10,000 parking bays by August 2004 (Sukhraj and Kobedi, 2004).

In reviewing developments in the inner city of Johannesburg by the end of 2003, Fraser (2003c) alluded to the city's improvement by highlighting significant investments such as: R1,1 billion investment in Constitution Hill, Medical Precinct and Braamfontein, of which 47% is private sector; R50 million investment in Milpark and R1 billion in Newtown over two years of which 40% is private sector; residential investment between R500 million and R1 billion and other investment of R375 million of which R250 million is private sector; property changing hands in 2003 of between R1 billion and R2 billion and construction activity of at least R100 million.

[4] University of the Witwatersrand Business School, Johannesburg.

Of all the projects and investments however, the most apparent example of an urban regeneration initiative based on ethnicity or an ethnic enclave is Chinatown in the inner city. The next section briefly examines this initiative with the aim of highlighting the nature of an urban regeneration initiative of this type in the context of the City of Johannesburg's policy framework.

5.7 Johannesburg's Chinatown: an ethnic enclave in urban regeneration

The majority of South Africa's Chinese population is concentrated in Johannesburg and the Commissioner Street Chinese community, on the western edge of the CBD, traces its roots back to the end of the 19th century (Naidu, 1999). Many Chinese prospectors joined the gold rush but not all of them found success in this pursuance. In 1904 there were up to 500 Chinese people who worked in scores of general stores and laundries in Johannesburg (Naidu, 1999). Two years later, Chinese immigrants supported Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaign against racist laws in South Africa. When apartheid was enforced in 1948, the Chinese found themselves in what some have termed 'a racial no man's land', labelled as Coloureds. (Naidu, 1999)

According to Naidu (1999) apartheid and crime had negatively affected the development of Johannesburg's old Chinatown, which is centred on Commissioner Street in the inner city. Rising crime, associated with the decline of the inner city during the 1990's, meant that Chinatown inevitably suffered as big businesses moved out of the inner city to the suburbs of the north. Although located nearby the large Johannesburg Central Police Station, Chinatown nevertheless felt the effects of the crime wave during the city's decline period. (Naidu, 1999)

While some members of the Chinese community were less intimidated and clung to the familiar surroundings of old Chinatown, many moved to the suburb of Cyrildene in the east of the city. According to the Transvaal Chinese Association (in Naidu, 1999) the move was unplanned. The new Chinatown started when a few Chinese owned shops opened in the area followed by restaurants, which were well supported.

However, Pendock (2002) comments on how life seems to be returning to the old Chinatown in downtown Johannesburg. Old Chinatown also features as part of one of the Parktown and Westcliff Heritage Trust's tours. In visiting areas like the old Chinatown and Ferreirasdorp, the tour highlights the diverse architecture and unique history of areas like these (Naidoo, 2004). The Chinese United Club building is still used for meetings and gatherings of the Chinese community and accommodation is still available at the

Chinese United Club Mansions (recently restored), otherwise known as the Pabst building (Naidoo, 2004).

The Johannesburg City Centre Spatial Development Framework (GJMC, 2000) recognised the need to support the development of cultural precincts like a “Chinatown” or “Indian quarter”. Furthermore the Framework identified a series of Activity Districts, which were determined by the primary movement system and the existing key land use activities. Old Chinatown was identified along with other districts such as the Newtown, Garment, Jewellery and Legislature Districts (GJMC, 2000). Initial proposal called for the Chinatown precinct to be “predominantly residential, government and small scale manufacturing (predicated on the Chinese community, which has established itself there)” (GJMC, 2000, 23).

With regeneration efforts in Newtown there was renewed interest in the area amongst the remaining Chinese property owners and businesses. The First Chinatown Association was established and with the JDA, a Precinct Plan was produced by Heather Dodd of Savage + Dodd architects. The Plan was compiled with the principles adopted in the Johannesburg City Centre Spatial Development Framework (GJMC, 2000) and was approved when submitted to the Inner City Committee in early 2003 (Fraser, 2003c). The Chinatown Precinct is bounded by Commissioner Street to the north, Alexander Street to the west, Becker Street to the east and Fox Street to the south (Appendix D).

The vision for the area is “to create a distinct cultural precinct with specific identifying features and to enhance the quality of an urban neighbourhood” (Fraser, 2003c). The objectives of the Precinct Plan for Chinatown, as set out in the May 2005 draft RSDF for Region 8 (City of Johannesburg, 2005, 43) include: Creation of a physically defined precinct; Precinct with a defined image; Improved accessibility to the precinct; Enhance Commissioner Street as a spine of development; Improve environmental quality by incorporating landscaping, street and paving surfaces and enhancing lighting; Pedestrianisation of key areas; Stimulate infill development; Introduce landmark special features.

In accordance with these objectives, there are proposals for pedestrianising Wolhuter Street, introducing traffic calming measures in Bezuidenhout Street and to promote the use of traditional colours in signage and using red Chinese lanterns to augment street lighting (Fraser, 2003c). There are also proposals for the Chinatown Precinct to be demarcated by gateways to mark the heart of the Precinct. This decision appears to be strongly influenced by the Chinatowns in London, New York and San Francisco, each of which has gateways as defining features (Fraser, 2003c). Cultural events such as the

Lunar New Year and Double Ten are hosted in old Chinatown and it is believed that the area has great tourist and entertainment potential. Initial investment for the area is valued at about R2 million.

5.8 The need to consider ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration in Johannesburg

Commenting on urban regeneration in Johannesburg, Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell (2002) argue that current initiatives have aimed at improving the economic viability of central Johannesburg. Although understandable and worthwhile in this regard, these initiatives have worked against the interests of ordinary inner city residents and have promoted the view that 'community' in the inner city is dead. In support of their argument, Beall et al (2002, 109) go on to explain that while the city has been fairly successful in establishing public-private partnerships, at least in the formal sector, its record with respect to engaging with informal economies has been less impressive.

It is also argued that the 'precinct and project' based approach to regeneration in the Johannesburg inner city occurs largely at the expense of extended engagement with residents (Beall et al, 2002, 110). In a similar tone, Bremner (2004) states that many CIDs (under the direction of CJP), which are embraced by private corporations such as banks, do not do much to interact with the 'real', 'multicultural' city beyond its patrolled turf. This hereby gives impetus to the notion that the city has to increase efforts in embracing a discourse of community participation in urban regeneration.

Members of inner city communities who have been neglected may not merely be described as marginalised street vendors, hawkers, pavement hairdressers, street children and the homeless. A significant number of inner city residents ascribe to ethnic identities, as increasingly many inner city areas are home to large numbers of foreign-born Africans and other immigrants (Beall et al, 2002; Bremner, 2004). While residential areas of the inner city may legitimately continue their long-held claim to be amongst the most cosmopolitan parts of the city, representation of nationals from other parts of Africa now dramatically outstrips that of the once-dominant European migrants (Beall et al, 2002, 112).

Bremner (2002) reports that in 1995, there were about 23000 Congolese in Johannesburg and about 3000 Nigerians living in the inner city. These population groups have been subjected to high levels of persecution; they have been blamed for overcrowding the informal market and for the growth of the narcotics trade and deterioration of the physical environment. Increasing xenophobia and conflicts over space and access have led to the creation of defensive, ethnically defined spaces

(Bremner, 2002; Tomlinson et al, 2003). Describing the city as a contested terrain since at least the 1980's, Tomlinson (2003) states that this contest had initially been defined on racial terms. The contest is now more oriented to class and national identity, with migrants concentrating in different districts in the inner city (Tomlinson, 2003, 85). Oelofse (2003) is of the opinion that the inner city provides many foreigners with an opportunity to escape discrimination in some townships and informal settlements. These people are also amongst the poorest in the inner city with 71% of those without income coming from other African countries (Oelofse, 2003, 102).

An example of xenophobia and conflict occurred in the instance whereby foreign traders were granted prime places in the Rockey Street Market in Yeoville, by the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) (Beall et al, 2002). The JDA's predecessor, the Inner City Office (ICO) was responsible for conceiving initiatives such as the MTC, established to execute the construction and management of markets, and the Better Buildings Programme, designed to deal with so-called 'bad buildings'. Amongst the ICO's other initiatives is the local economic development (LED) project involving the garment industry and the construction of a multimillion Rand taxi rank. Although some of its achievements are described as remarkable, Beall et al (2002, 117) criticise the ICO for not having engaged in a real participatory process of 'good governance' with all stakeholders, or with residents of the inner city at the neighbourhood scale.

A case for recognising immigrants and ethnic enclaves in the regeneration of Johannesburg is made by Bremner (2002) who states that migratory economic activity, cross-border trade and the presence of immigrant entrepreneurs are becoming significant and possibly structural features of the inner city economy. Reaction against these new presences has forced foreigners into enclaves of exclusion or repatriation. Although immigrants and foreigners are a significant part of the city, they have to a large extent still been excluded from official policy making and urban regeneration (Bremner, 2002).

Bremner (2002, 215) believes that until the future image of the city incorporates the multitude of contradictory presences and dynamics at play in the new global city, Johannesburg's present will continue to be defined along modernist lines as defective, degenerative and decayed. Tomlinson et al (2003, 18) concur with this view by critically stating that the Vision 2030 (also referred to as iGoli 2030) and Blue IQ are likely to reinforce economic, social and spatial separation and disparities in and around the city. Recognising and validating ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration therefore has the potential to narrow the divisions of race, class and space.

The argument that ethnic enclaves are significant aspects in urban regeneration in Johannesburg is endorsed by Jürgens, Gnad & Bähr (2003). Commenting on the inner city area of Yeoville, Jürgens et al (2003) state that the state of mixed racial composition is merely the transition from one ethnic homogeneity to the next. In spite of social problems that have spread to Yeoville, the area is closer to an ethnic enclave than a ghetto of exclusion (with its disparaging connotations), if the high degree of satisfaction of people moving in is stressed upon (Jürgens et al, 2003).

The need to consider ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration in Johannesburg cannot be over-emphasised. A recognition of ethnic enclaves in regeneration initiatives has the potential to enhance the participatory process of 'good governance' as advocated by Beall et al (2002), improve social justice (Oelofse, 2003) and reduce unemployment, poverty and xenophobia.

5.9 Chapter Summary

The importance of Johannesburg as an urban centre that contributes significantly to the economy of the region, province and country has been highlighted in this chapter. Although the city experienced successive waves of decline and having to deal with political transformation, the city continues to play a vital role in the economy. Post-apartheid transformation has resulted in a dominant single Johannesburg metropolitan municipality incorporating previously disadvantaged and advantaged areas stretching from Diepsloot and Midrand in the north, through Sandton and extending further south to incorporate the areas of Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Soweto and Orange Farm. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is divided into 11 administrative regions with areas like the CBD, Fordsburg and Yeoville falling within Region 8, the Inner City. The recently adopted UDZ tax incentive applies to the Inner City.

Urban regeneration in Johannesburg is directed by several municipal-level policy directives including Vision 2030, the IDP, SDF, RSDF and Precinct Plans. Furthermore, Gauteng Provincial directives, particularly Blue IQ are having a notable impact on the regeneration of the city. This chapter has highlighted some of the significant projects and initiatives taking place in Johannesburg at present including the massively funded Newtown Cultural Precinct which is close to Fordsburg. At present the only apparent regeneration initiative based on an ethnic enclave is Chinatown.

In spite of its successes thus far, which are mainly judged on economic terms, there is ample evidence to indicate that urban regeneration in Johannesburg has done little to benefit the poor, poverty stricken and other marginalised members of society, including

members of ethnic minorities who have organised themselves in spatially defined areas. Furthermore, there is strong indication to suggest that ethnic enclaves are an integral part of the city, particularly the inner city and the importance of recognising and supporting ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration in Johannesburg has been emphasised.

CHAPTER 6

EXAMINING FORDSBURG

> *Henry's parents lived in Sandown. On several occasions I accompanied him to his home, but I found the atmosphere of the suburb with its avenues of trees and solitary mansions amid acres of gardens, chilling. It lacked the noise - the raucous voices of vendors, the eternal voices of children in streets and backyards - the variety of people, the spicy odours of Oriental foods, the bonhomie of communal life in Fordsburg. And it was not long before Henry too was attracted by our way of life. He became part of our intense way of living, our inordinate interest in the affairs of our fellow beings whom we could summon with a shout or with the knock of a shoe against a shared wall. He made many new friends and often would not go home at all for several days.*
>
> (Excerpt: '*In Two Worlds*', Ahmed Essop, 1978)

6.1 Chapter Introduction

Fordsburg has over the years, since its beginning, hosted waves of different people (Carrim, 1990; Leyds, 1964; Sachs, 1972) but for many years now Fordsburg has been associated with members of the long established Indian community of Johannesburg. New immigrants from the South Asian subcontinent have in recent years also made Fordsburg and its surrounds their home, further entrenching the perception of Fordsburg as a place synonymous with an Indian/South Asian ethnic enclave. Gupta (2003) describes the area as follows: "This is Fordsburg, a stretch in Jo'burg which can be described as a mini - or maybe fantasy Indo-Pak - where Chacha's Paan is a must stop (just as Bollywood browsing is a must-do) for every Asian dropping in for dinner at Bismillah or KFC or Mike's Kitchen in the busy square" (Fig. 6.1). Whereas the political relationship between their countries of origin has been somewhat strained, newly arrived Indians, Pakistanis and even Bengalis live and work together in peace in Fordsburg. Gupta (2003) commented on this scenario during the 2003 Cricket World Cup that was staged in South Africa, whereby many Pakistanis in South Africa were found to be supporting India in the final match against Australia.

The term 'Indian/South Asian' is used in reference to the enclave in Fordsburg due to its long established Indian heritage and also as a place attracting newly arrived Indian, Pakistani and Bengali immigrants. Cultural similarities stemming from religion, language and custom between these groups allows for the enclave in Fordsburg to be viewed as a single entity. No effort is made to suggest that this enclave is the only one of its type

within Johannesburg. It certainly is one of the many enclaves of different ethnic composition existing in the city and will be analysed as such.



Fig. 6.1 Views of Fordsburg Square

The historical background provided in this chapter traces the origin of Fordsburg which goes back to the early days of Johannesburg itself. As the focus of the case study, this chapter looks at how Fordsburg came to exhibit a strong Indian character. This includes a brief account of the first arrival of Indians in South Africa and later on their arrival to Johannesburg and in particular, Fordsburg. This is followed by an examination of the nature of urban regeneration and development taking place in Fordsburg in recent times.

6.2 Historical background

Following the discovery of gold on the Main Reef by the middle of 1886, the government at the time decided that a Commission comprising Christiaan Johannes Joubert and Johann Rissik be sent to investigate which area be proclaimed what was to become Johannesburg. A piece of land owned by government and known as Randjeslaagte was selected as the site of the village. The site was bounded by the farms Turffontein on the south, Braamfontein on the west and Doornfontein on the east. The triangular *uitval-grond* or left-over ground known as Randjeslaagte, bounded by Commissioner Street on the south between West and End Streets, and the beacon to the north of Louis Botha Avenue in Boundary Road, Houghton, near the Berea Fire Station, was named Johannesburg (Smith, 1971, 248).

At the time of the discovery of gold on the Reef, houses existed on the farms Doornfontein, Langlaagte, Turffontein, Braamfontein and Luipaardsvlei. No houses were found on the piece of land known as Randjeslaagte as it was government-owned. Langlaagte was the farm where the auriferous conglomerate, the Main Reef, was first found (Leyds, 1964). Later on, the areas of Fordsburg, Mayfair, Industria, Crown Mines,

Consolidated Main Reef Mines, Newclare and Sophiatown would be found on the original Langlaagte farm. (Leyds, 1964)

The Jeppe family are thought of as being closely identified with the founding of the Rand and of the older parts of Johannesburg, particularly Jeppestown, Fordsburg and Belgravia. The first Jeppes who came to South Africa from Germany in 1862 were Dr. Hermann Jeppe, Frederick Jeppe and Julius Jeppe Senior. Julius Jeppe Senior founded the Ford and Jeppe Estate Company. The company owned and developed land (Leyds, 1964). Members of the company were Lewis Peter Ford, Carl Jeppe and Julius Jeppe, Senior and Junior. (Leyds, 1964; Smith, 1971)

Johannesburg's development during the early years fell within certain periods and the first period is considered to be its first four years from 1886 to 1890. Jeppestown and Fordsburg are amongst the oldest suburbs of Johannesburg as they were laid out during this period by the Ford and Jeppe Estate Company. Fordsburg itself was established in 1888 and there were no restrictions as to whether the buyer used a plot in the suburb for residential or business purposes. Shopkeepers often lived in rooms behind the shop. (Leyds, 1964)

Fordsburg was considered to be a diverse and bustling area during its early days. Indian traders, Chinese merchants, livery stables and Johannesburg's first swimming bath, as well as a large number of mine workers, were to be found in Fordsburg (Leyds, 1964, 153). In 1915, Fordsburg could have been described as a mixed working class suburb with an English, Afrikaans, Jewish, Lebanese, Indian, Chinese, Coloured and African community, housed in overcrowded shanties and tenements (South African History Online (a), www.sahistory.org.za).

The area began attracting Jews in large numbers since 1893, who thrived in the area until about 1951 (Sachs, 1972). In 1892, the first Maronite and Lebanese immigrants arrived in Durban, Cape Town and Mozambique and they congregated around their local Catholic Churches. It was no different in Johannesburg when a former Dutch Reformed church in Mint Road, Fordsburg was acquired in 1936 to serve the Lebanese community. Although almost all of the Lebanese community have moved out of Fordsburg and nearby Mayfair, the church still functions today and holds services on Sunday mornings (Maronite Catholic Church - South Africa, www.catholicchurch.co.za). Fordsburg also hosted another Catholic group, the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, who began to teach at a small school in Crown Road, Fordsburg from the beginning of 1908 until about 1913 (Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, www.sistersofmercy.ie).

An important event in the history of Fordsburg was the mineworkers strike that took place in 1922 which lasted for almost three months. A battle between government units and strikers focused around Fordsburg's market square where strikers dug themselves in around the square. The police station in Central Road, Fordsburg, which houses the post office presently, was reduced to a shell after the battle around the square. The strike was declared over on 18 March 1922. (Davie, 2002a)

Fordsburg has had a rich, diverse history, and the area still is fairly diverse. The brief historical account of Fordsburg provided here shows that the area is inextricably linked to the history and cultural heritage of the city of Johannesburg as a whole. At several junctions though, one cannot avoid the strong Indian character that Fordsburg exhibits at present. The next section briefly looks at the history of Indians in South Africa and how Indian immigrants moved inland to the point where Fordsburg came to exhibit a strong Indian character.

6.3 From 'Coolie Location' to ethnic enclave: Perspective on Fordsburg

6.3.1 The arrival of Indians in South Africa

The main event marking the arrival of Indians in South Africa was the arrival of indentured labourers on 16 November 1860. On this date the first of what by 1911 would total 384 ships bringing human cargo from India, landed at the shores of Natal (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000, 10). Between 1860 and 1911, 152184 indentured migrants had arrived from India. White farmers required labour for the sugar plantations and indentured labour was promoted in this way. Labourers were contracted for a period of three, and later five years to a farmer. They had the choice of either going back to India once the indentured period was over, or accept a piece of land of a value equivalent to that of a return passage. The provision of a land grant was however abolished in 1891. Although facing harsh conditions of indenture and the lack of political and other rights, a large number of indentured labourers opted for settling in Natal. By the late 1930's indentured labourers constituted the largest group within Durban's multi-racial population. (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000; Zegeye & Ahluwalia, 2001)

The indentured labourers were followed by "passenger" Indians who came to South Africa from 1875 onwards. "Passenger" Indians were referred to as such because they had no contractual obligations and they paid their own way to South Africa. The majority of these 'free' Indians came from the western state of Gujarat in India and had a distinctive migratory pattern. They were mainly of the trading class with their village

kinsmen working for them. Some were hawkers, artisans and a few professionals, like M.K. Gandhi. (Cachalia, 1983; Zegeye & Ahluwalia, 2001)

When South Africa came under control of the British at the turn of the nineteenth century, severe restrictions were imposed on the movements and rights of Indians. In 1897, Natal imposed restrictions on Indians, followed by the Cape and Transvaal[5]. However, it was expected that the parliament of the new Union of South Africa would impose national restrictions after its establishment in 1910. In 1911, indentured immigration to Natal was terminated and all Indians, "passenger" and indentured, were denied a right to citizenship and all immigration to South Africa by Indians, was stopped. A compromise reached by Smuts and Gandhi, at the end of the passive resistance campaign, meant that the only Indians permitted into the country were the wives and children of those who had already entered. This provision was however abolished in 1956, and although restrictions were imposed, many Indians tried to and did gain entry illegally. Some bought forged certificates of domicile in India, or youths were brought under the pretext of being the children of domiciled Indians and several Indians came via Delagoa Bay through the Transvaal and dispersed as far south as Cape Town. (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000; Zegeye & Ahluwalia, 2001)

6.3.2 Indian presence in Johannesburg

The Transvaal, which was known as the South African Republic before 1902, introduced Law 3 of 1885, which prohibited Indians from owing any property except in special locations that would be set aside for them (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000). Furthermore, when in December 1886, stands in the central area of Johannesburg's mining camp were being auctioned off, they were reserved for white ownership only. Indians were permitted to purchase erven on the outskirts, which were thought of as being less favourably located (South African History Online (b), www.sahistory.org.za). The Diagonal Street area was therefore developed into a small business and residential component occupied by Indians. By 1968, it was estimated that there were about 2405 Indian people and about 310 Indian businesses in the vicinity of Diagonal Street (Cachalia, 1983, 13) (Fig. 6.2).

The non-white population of Johannesburg were nonetheless mainly concentrated in three 'locations' at the turn of the century, before World War 1. These were the 'Coolie Location', the 'Kafir Location' and the 'Malay Location' (Carrim, 1990). When the 'Coolie Location' was established for Indians in 1887, there was nothing to compel them to reside or trade there and the wealthy could avoid places like these. The area was located in present-day Newtown and was bounded by Carr Street to the north, Malherbe Street to

[5] The Cape, Transvaal, Natal, & Orange Free State were the provinces of South Africa prior to 1994; Johannesburg is situated in the former province of Transvaal.

the west, Goch Street (now Henry Nxumalo Street) to the east, and Pim Street (now Gwigwi Mrwebi Street) to the south (Itzkin, 2000, 50). Residents in the Indian Location acquired their plots on a ninety-nine year lease, and the area was in a distressing condition. It lacked proper roads, lighting or sanitation and people were densely packed within, as the area never expanded with the increase in population. Friend of Gandhi, Albert West suggested that apart from clearing the latrines in a haphazard way, the municipality did nothing more to provide any sanitary facilities in the Indian Location (Itzkin, 2000, 50).

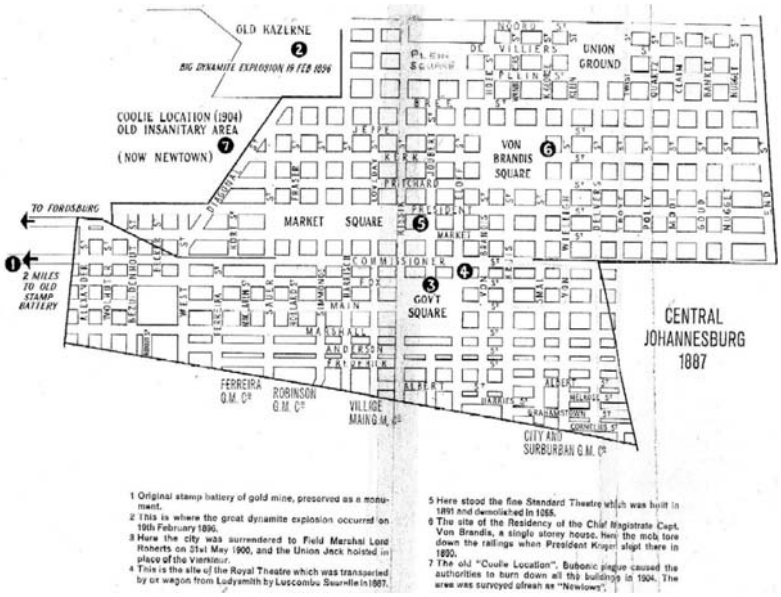


Fig. 6.2 Central Johannesburg, 1887
(Source: Leyds, 1964)

The Municipality failed to heed a warning by Gandhi regarding the overcrowding and squalor, and the worst outbreak of bubonic plague struck the Indian Location in 1904. Gandhi and other volunteers set up a makeshift hospital to isolate and treat plague victims, on Carr Street in a building that still exists. About 112 people contracted plague and 82 died. Reacting to the crisis, the Town Council burnt the Indian Location to the ground at the end of March 1904. The entire population was moved to an emergency camp near the sewerage works at Klipspruit, 13 miles south of Johannesburg. Although originally set aside for Indians, when the location was evacuated, its population comprised 1642 Indians, 1420 Africans and 146 'Cape Coloureds'. (Itzkin, 2000)

The Indian Location was replanned and named 'Newtown' by October 1904 (Smith, 1971). Newtown was redeveloped as a commercial zone in which good fortunes were made in milling, produce, sugar and food merchandising (Itzkin, 2000). By July 1904 many of the people who were evacuated from the Indian Location started moving back into the urban centre. Most people moved to the 'Malay Location', which was located

where Pageview exists today. This was to become an important area associated with the Indian community after the burning of the Indian Location, as it was one of the very few areas available for legal 'non-white' occupation in Johannesburg. (Carrim, 1990; Itzkin, 2000)

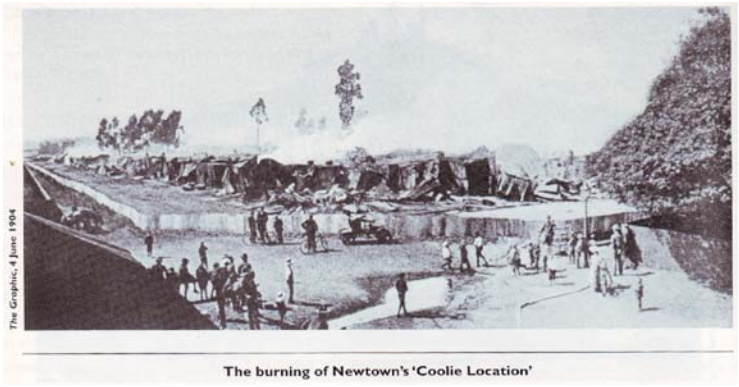


Fig. 6.3 Burning of the 'Coolie Location', 1904
(Source: Itzkin, 2000)

6.3.3 Fordsburg's enduring connection with the Indian community

The Gold Law of 1908 prohibited Indians from settling on proclaimed land except as servants (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000). Small pockets of Indian residence were thus created on the fringes of the suburbs such as Doornfontein, New Doornfontein and Fordsburg. These groups were incorporated into the urban fabric of the new suburbs as Johannesburg spread further east and west. Although, in later years, these areas developed a white working class character, Indian residents managed to retain their homes for a while (South African History Online (b), www.sahistory.org.za). Some families even managed to continue living in Fordsburg and Newtown for example, since its early days until presently. Due to the geographic proximity and historical connection, the 'Indian/South Asian' enclave of Fordsburg, as referred to in this report, incorporates parts of Burghersdorp and Newtown.

Indians in Johannesburg were divided along the lines of language, class, caste and religion. Religion, however, played a role in attaching members of the Indian community to Fordsburg just as it did for the early Catholic and Jewish communities of the area. According to Itzkin (2000), Gandhi used his influence and personal example to promote mutual respect, unity in action and co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, who were the major components of the Indian community. The leading Muslim organisation in the Transvaal was the Hamidia Islamic Society and Gandhi collaborated closely with the organisation. Named after Sultan Abdul Hamid of the Ottoman Empire, the Hamidia Islamic Society was established in July 1906 for the social welfare of Muslims (Itzkin, 2000, 53).

By the end of 1907, the Hamidia Islamic Society had several hundred members and used passive resistance tactics to oppose racial discrimination. Mass meetings were held on Sundays at the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque, also referred to as the Newtown Mosque. The Star newspaper, quoted in Itzkin (2000, 53), described an event on 10 January 1908 where the Hamidia Mosque featured prominently. By disobeying orders from authorities to leave the Colony, Gandhi and other Indians and Chinese were called to court for sentence to be passed due to their actions. Court proceedings regarding the matter was postponed on that morning for a few hours and Gandhi called an impromptu meeting at the Newtown Mosque grounds at 11h00.



Fig. 6.4 Mass meeting outside Newtown's Hamidia Mosque, 1908
(Source: Itzkin, 2000)

Addressing the large crowd was Mr. Essop Ismail Mia, who was the Chairman of the British Indian Association, an Indian religious leader and Gandhi. Voluntary registration certificates were burnt at the meeting and this prompted the resumption of Satyagraha in August 1908. When the Transvaal government refused to repeal the Asiatic Act, more than 3000 Indians who had gathered outside the Hamidia Mosque in Newtown, burnt more than 1200 certificates on 16 August 1908. Another meeting was held at the mosque grounds on 23 August 1908 and after Gandhi's speech a further 525 certificates were burnt (Itzkin, 2000; Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000). Situated at No. 2 Jennings Street, Newtown, and close to the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg, Hamidia Mosque still exists today and continues to be an important part of the Muslim Indian community. Its continued functioning over the years indicates that Indians have continuously been a part of Fordsburg and Newtown.

The Asiatic Land Tenure Act was introduced in 1932 and had serious implications for Indians. Provisions of the Act meant that all business enterprises outside designated areas were to be closed and sold to Europeans. A commission under Justice Feetham was appointed by the government to inquire into the distribution of Indians on the Rand,

to recommend withdrawal of penalties imposed under previous gold laws and to compile a register of all Indians in illegal occupation of European areas. Pressure and intervention was applied from community leaders like Suleiman Nana and other members of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Feetham Commission then recommended certain areas such as Denver, Fordsburg and Jeppe for exemption in terms of the Act. (Essop, 2002)

This was influenced by the fact that Indians in Fordsburg were beginning to firmly establish themselves, identify with, and provide the area with an Indian character. The existence of social-cultural amenities such as schools, social halls, prayer facilities, cinemas and Indian trading and living spaces were evidence thereof. One of Johannesburg's first Indian schools, the Johannesburg Indian Government School (also known as the Bree Street Indian Government School - 'BIGS') was to be found in the area. Built in 1914, the school is located on the corner of Bree and Malherbe Streets, opposite the Oriental Plaza. The school building still exists and houses the junior section of the Johannesburg Muslim School at present. (Carrim, 1990; Essop, 2002)

Only primary education was provided at the school up to 1939. Prior to this, students who wished to further their schooling had to either go to the EuAfrican Training College in Pageview (a 'Coloured' college) or to Sastri College in Durban or to India (Essop, 2002). Thus, additional classrooms were built and this was to be the Fordsburg Indian High School and also the Johannesburg Indian High School (Carrim, 1990). The school is now known as the Johannesburg Secondary School (JSS) and has for a number of years now been situated in the suburb of Homestead Park. The senior section of the Johannesburg Muslim School now occupies the building, which is also on Bree Street.

The social-cultural amenities available in Fordsburg also served the Indian community of nearby Pageview. A strong relationship existed between Fordsburg and Pageview until the 1970's when the Group Areas legislation (Act of 1950 re-enacted in consolidated form in 1957) took effect. As Carrim (1990, 40) states, during the period 1948 to 1968, majority of the primary and secondary schooling of people in Fietas actually took place in Fordsburg, particularly at the Johannesburg Secondary School.

Since moving into the 'Malay Location', after the burning of the 'Coolie Location' in 1904, Indians increasingly became stand-holders in Pageview. Although by 1962 Pageview was predominantly Indian, most of its former residents reminisce about the celebration of diversity, which was synonymous with Fietas in the years prior to its destruction by the apartheid government (Carrim, 1990). Through the Group Areas legislation, the Nationalist government intended for stricter separation of all race groups. Indians of

Johannesburg who were resident in Pageview and other areas were in fear of losing their homes and their communities being destroyed.

A report in the Star newspaper of 22 May 1953, appearing in Fraser (2003a), recorded that the City Council's General Purposes Committee proposed that the whole of Burghersdorp, except the area west of Crown Road, should be set aside for Indians (Appendix D). The committee also proposed that part of Fordsburg and Newtown should be given to the Indian community, along with the newly created township of Lenasia to the south-west of the municipal boundary. Lenasia was established as early as 1955 and was about 32 kilometres south of Johannesburg (South African History Online (b), www.sahistory.org.za).

When the Oriental Plaza was established in 1974, the end of 14th Street and of Pageview as a whole was imminent (Appendix E). Traders were faced with eviction but the majority were not prepared to voluntarily move out of their shops to the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg. The police then arrived with their dogs and literally threw traders out of their shops. Merchandise was thrown onto the streets and people were treated in a brutal and inhumane manner. Traders sued the Council and Government for damaged caused to goods and traders were offered seven months additional trading until after Christmas, if damage claims by them were dropped. Then in 1977 the security forces returned and repeated their ruthless performances of throwing traders and their goods out on to the streets. The streets were cordoned off and potential customers were also prevented from coming to buy from any of the shops. Reluctantly, traders moved to the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg. (Carrim, 1990)

6.3.4 Fordsburg's Indian/South Asian enclave is reinforced

Forcibly removed traders, particularly from Pageview, were to be accommodated in the Oriental Plaza hence the Indian shopping complex was initially viewed as a "Showpiece of Apartheid" (Fraser, 2003b). The Oriental Plaza is located in Fordsburg approximately 1.5 kilometres west of the Johannesburg CBD. Its site comprises about 17 hectares consisting of two rectangular blocks separated by Avenue Road, so that the shopping centre is divided into two parts (Fig. 6.5). The two parts are the uncovered north and south malls, but linked by a third section, the three-storey circular shopping area called the Grand Bazaar, built above Avenue Road (now Dolly Rathebe Avenue). The Plaza site is limited by Bree Street to the north, Pine Avenue and Lovers Walk to the east, Main Road to the south, and High Road and Lillian Road to the west. (W. Rhodes-Harrison, Hoffe & Partners, 1968; Davie, 2002b)

Shops in the Oriental Plaza were allocated to traders and it was specified to traders what type of merchandise to sell. This troubled traders as many could not continue selling what they had been accustomed to selling prior to moving into the Plaza. Furthermore, regular inspections took place at the Plaza whereby traders were interrogated and this was perceived as a form of policing activities in the Plaza. Traders had to also deal with inspectors extorting or taking goods without paying. Carrim (1990, 145) comments on how the Oriental Plaza was an internal and external imposition on traders. The sudden change to the Plaza resulted in traders contending with: experiencing financial losses; different modes of trading; stifling trade regulation; and the altering of the very material basis of their lives.

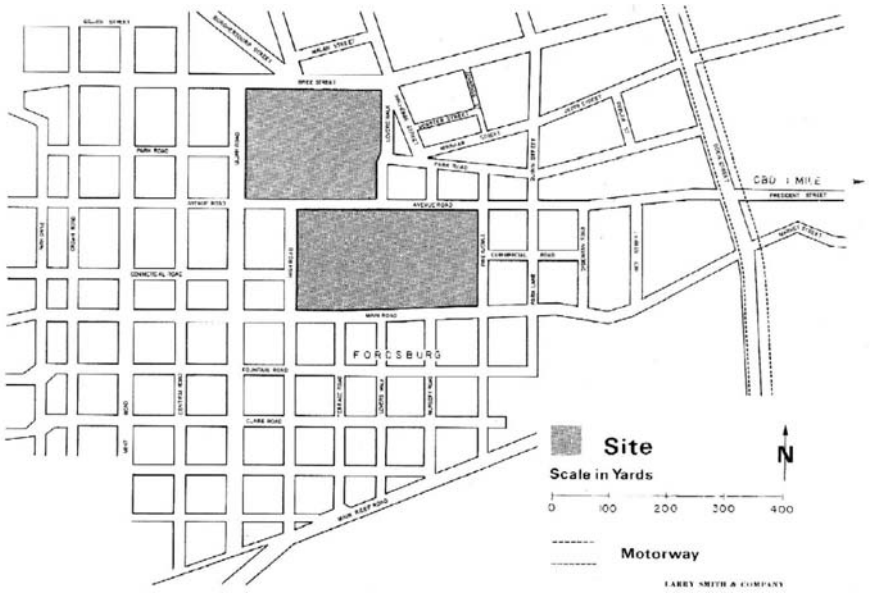


Fig. 6.5 Location of Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg
(Source: W. Rhodes-Harrison, Hoffe & Partners, Architects, 1968)

In 1986, the Department of Community Development advised the Oriental Plaza Merchants Association that they intended to sell the Plaza and were in negotiations with Pretoria developers. However, after months of discussion and even high-level political interventions, the Oriental Plaza was sold to the traders on a sectional title basis around 1987/1988. According to Fraser (2003b), the total purchase price was R21 million, which was less than half the original asking price of R45 million. The Plaza is probably the only shopping centre in the world which is owned in the way it is. (Carrim, 1990; Fraser, 2003b)

Whereas in the beginning, trading in the Oriental Plaza had negative connotations, the Plaza then experienced improved trading patterns since shops were sold to traders. Carrim (1990, 146) attributes two main factors for the success of the Oriental Plaza. Firstly, subjective changes in the shops were brought about by changing entrepreneurial

attitudes. This stretched to the point of traders manufacturing their own goods and a more systematic approach to export and import was embraced. Secondly, the rapid expansion of the industrial and manufacturing sectors within Johannesburg during the 1970-1980 period, had a significant impact on Fordsburg. With the Oriental Plaza being situated in the heart of Fordsburg, increased development of the area affected trade in the Plaza. Carrim (1990) firmly states that the success of the Oriental Plaza is in spite of, and not because of apartheid.

The success of the Oriental Plaza reinforces the idea of Fordsburg being identified with a Indian/South Asian enclave. The proclamation of Fordsburg and Burghersdorp as an Indian area in February 1983 is another critical factor giving Fordsburg its character. According to the Johannesburg City Council, intense redevelopment in Fordsburg had begun taking place by the Indian population since proclamation and this had been manifested in the increased construction of residential buildings (Johannesburg City Council, 1986).

In 1994 the City Council decided to change Bree Street to a one-way street. The street is one of the main streets feeding the Oriental Plaza. The decision, which would have had a negative impact on the Plaza's accessibility, was strongly opposed by the Plaza Merchants Association. Protest on their behalf was lodged in the form of blocking off Bree Street using strategically parked vehicles. Mohammed Iqbal Moolla, past chariman of the Association, then arranged for minibus taxi owners to drive their vehicles up Rissik Street during the afternoon rush hour, and remove themselves and their keys from their vehicles. Traffic was ground to a halt and after 8 hours the City Council reversed their decision. (Fraser, 2003b)

The Oriental Plaza has retained its popularity since its positive turnaround in the late 1980's. Fraser (2003b) reports that an average of about 700000 shoppers visit the Plaza every month. The 'Indian' shopping centre is described as one of the most cosmopolitan retail centres in the country as it draws shoppers of every colour and every income spectrum. Its customer base extends beyond Johannesburg and Gauteng since approximately 25% of customers are from other countries in the southern African region (Davie, 2002b). The Oriental Plaza owes much of its success to the variety of goods on offer in its 360 shops. The location of the Plaza close to the CBD and to other complimentary wholesale and retail activities in the surrounding areas of Fordsburg, Mayfair and Newtown is also a factor. Furthermore, management of the Plaza also attribute the safety of the centre to part of its success (Davie, 2002b).

Apart from the Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg's popularity is also owed to the area around Mint Road and Fordsburg Square. The area comprises popular retail stores, restaurants, coffee shops, ice cream parlours, and various CD and DVD stalls promoting Indian cinema and entertainment (Fig. 6.6). Remarking on his attraction to Fordsburg, artist Braam Kruger states: "My love affair with Fordsburg started over a decade ago, when it boasted some awesome Indian restaurants;…" (*M & G Leisure*, July 2004). Since South Africa's independence there has been an influx of Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Fordsburg. Initially these immigrants worked for a pittance in the existing Indian restaurants, but later opened their own eateries, offering Pakistani, Indian and Chinese cuisine at very affordable prices. Many local restaurateurs were therefore put out of business. This however meant that Fordsburg now offers its visitor a variety of food options ranging from traditional Asian cuisine to less traditional fast food available from KFC, Wimpy or Steers, all of which are Halaal[6] (and locally owned), due to the area's large Muslim patronage. (*M & G Leisure*, July 2004)



Fig. 6.6 Restaurants, entertainment and retail activity in Fordsburg

[6] Permissible for consumption as prescribed by Muslim law.

Together with the restaurants and shops, a weekend market can attract up to 2000 people on a Saturday evening enjoying the sights, sounds and aroma of Fordsburg Square. "Entire families arrive in droves, comforted by the assurance that here there will be no incidents of disorderly behaviour or drunken violence and, almost unthinkably, no crime" (*M & G Leisure*, July 2004). Hassan (2003) describes Fordsburg as a tapestry of Indian culture. Its vibrant energy is the result of the mix of activities such as eating, sleeping, working, praying and playing occurring simultaneously in close proximity to each other.

Fordsburg's outlook provided here certainly has positive attributes, which are based on its inherent Indian culture. It can therefore be asserted that these positive attributes associated with the ethnic enclave has the potential for urban regeneration.

6.4 Examination of Fordsburg in the context of urban regeneration

6.4.1 Area information

As indicated in chapter 5, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is divided into eleven administrative regions. The Johannesburg CBD, Fordsburg and the other Inner City areas are located within Region 8 (Fig. 6.7 & Appendix F). According to Tomlinson et al (2003, 11), the spatial and ethnic distribution of Johannesburg's population for 1996, shows that Region 11 has the largest concentration of Asians[7]. This is the region wherein the previously demarcated Indian township of Lenasia is located. The region accounts for approximately 50.1% of the city's total Asian population. Region 8, which includes Fordsburg, is the area with the second largest concentration of Asians within the municipality (approximately 13.5% of the city's total Asian population).

[7] The term 'Asian' used here is accepted as a population group composed mainly of Indians. This deduction was made by comparing 1996 population numbers of 'Asians' (13,268 persons) as provided in Tomlinson et al (2003) and that of 'Indians' (13,278 persons) as provided by the City of Johannesburg website (www.joburg.org.za).

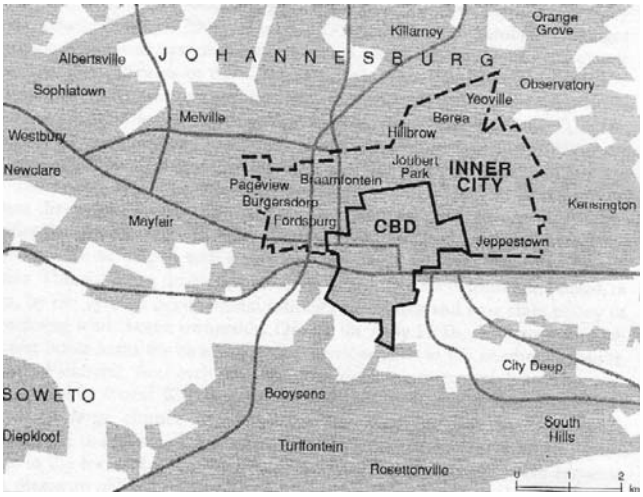


Fig. 6.7 Location of Fordsburg and the Inner City Region
(Source: Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. (2002)

According to the City of Johannesburg website (www.joburg.org.za), the population change of Region 8 shows an increase in the African and Indian population groups and a decrease in the Coloured and White groups, from 1996 to 2001:

Table 6.1: Region 8 Population Figures

Population Group	*1996 Population*	*2001 Population*	*% Change*
African	138,606	211,168	52%
Coloured	11,506	9,198	-20%
Indian	13,278	13,908	5%
White	37,733	22,933	-39%
Total population (Region 8)	203,765	257,180	26%

(Source: www.joburg.org.za)

Looking at a smaller scale, the population figures for Ward 58, which is the ward that Fordsburg is a part of, are as follows:

Table 6.2: Ward 58 Population Figures

Population Group	*1996*	*2001*
African	8680	15040
Coloured	1295	1620
Indian	4652	5327
White	5438	3497
Total	20574	25485

(Source: www.demarcation.org.za)

The UDZ of the Inner City is divided into four inter-related zones, each with its own character and property pattern (Appendix C). These zones are as follows:

- Zone 1 - Office and Business: comprising the CBD, Braamfontein, Marshalltown, Newtown Cultural Precinct and City & Suburban.
- Zone 2 - Manufacturing and Industrial: manufacturing belt located along the northern side of the M2 Motorway, and includes City West, Selby, parts of Marshalltown, Droste, Benrose, etc.
- Zone 3 - Fordsburg (plus): includes Fordsburg, Pageview, Vrededorp, etc.
- Zone 4 - Residential (plus): main residential belt of the Inner City including Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville, Bellevue, Lorentzville, Bertrams, etc.

Table 6.3: Information for UDZ Zone 3 - Fordsburg (plus)

Size	118 hectares (7% of total Inner City area)
Description of zone	Largely mixed use. Includes Oriental Plaza, light scale manufacturing & residential.
Households	1,210
Population	4,113
Economically active Population	2,178

(Adapted from: www.joburg-archive.co.za/udz/03.docAnnexe, in www.joburg.org.za)

6.4.2 Plans, policies and public investment in Fordsburg

(a) Plans/proposed policies for Fordsburg contained in the RSDF

Apart from urban regeneration plans and policies already approved and proposed plans that are in process, the Region 8 RSDF of 2005 identifies several areas within the region that still require policies, urban frameworks or precinct plans. One of these areas is the Fordsburg/Mayfair area. The RSDF describes Fordsburg as a vibrant area containing mixed and diverse uses. In terms of the RSDF, proposed urban regeneration efforts for Fordsburg would include upgrading parking, lighting and pedestrian pathways, and enhancing the Fordsburg Square, trading, economic and tourism opportunities in the area. According to the Region 8 RSDF (City of Johannesburg, 2005, 132), “a lot of incremental work has been done” in Fordsburg and surrounding areas, but there is a need for a consolidated, integrated plan. Therefore, no plan is yet in place, but it is stated by the RSDF that an urban development framework and/or a precinct plan needs to be developed for the area.

In an effort to deal with the application of the region-wide goals, objectives and development policies, the City of Johannesburg has divided Region 8 into 28 Sub Areas.

This area division is based on criteria that include land use homogeneity, natural/environmental features, economic investment and residential character, amongst others. Fordsburg is part of Sub Area 12 of the RSDF for Region 8. The development objective for the Sub Area is:

> *To promote the development of Fordsburg as a Regional Shopping Centre for the City.*

The Region 8 RSDF proposes the following interventions to realise its development objective for the Fordsburg Sub Area:

- Set up a development forum or CID with the view of redeveloping the area;
- Prepare a development framework for Fordsburg in terms of a mixed use strategy, focusing on residential, commercial and industrial uses around the Oriental Plaza;
- Investigate financial mechanisms necessary to kick-start development;
- Investigate and assess the state of environment to promote investment confidence and to improve the provision of public amenities to support development initiatives;
- Assess adequacy of service delivery and revise to meet requirements;
- Improve accessibility, physical linkages and mobility;
- Contain informal trade by prohibiting informal trade outside organised markets.

(Adapted from: Region 8 RSDF, City of Johannesburg, 2005, 75)

(d) Public investment/development in Fordsburg

The Newtown Cultural Precinct has been identified as one of the most significant projects within the Inner City locale (www.joburg.org.za; www.jda.co.za; www.blueiq.co.za). One of the most identifiable features of the project, that is the Mary Fitzgerald Square and surrounds, is situated within close proximity of the Oriental Plaza and Fordsburg. At this stage, the most apparent form of investment that Fordsburg has received from the Newtown Precinct is streetscape upgrading of Jeppe, Bree and adjoining streets.

The main form of significant public investment in Fordsburg in recent times has been the development of three residential projects (Fig. 6.8). This includes Carr Gardens, Tribunal Gardens and the Cope Housing project (Fraser, 2003c). It is perceived by some that the new social housing has brought more people into the suburb, who are all potential customers for the Oriental Plaza (Davie, 2002b). According to Mahabane & Fife (2001), rental markets were picking up and demand for housing was strong in Fordsburg. Carr Gardens, which was let in just 15 days, is evidence hereof.



Fig. 6.8 New housing developments in the Fordsburg area

A report by Ntshingila in the *Sunday Times Metro* of July 13, 2003 stated that Fordsburg was to receive R400000 towards its upgrade. The proposed upgrade, according to the report, would include the improvement of roads near the Oriental Plaza and busy streets such as the popular Mint Road. Upgrade work would involve the pedestrianising of roads, installation of lighting and a general upgrade of the busy area. Fordsburg Square was also earmarked as a focus area in the report. The report (Ntshingila, 2003) goes on to state that the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) had agreed to contribute R300000 to the development of Fordsburg after being approached Ward 58 Councillor, Junaid Pahad and the Fordsburg-Mayfair Business Forum (FMBF), and the remaining R100000 was to be raised by the community. As part of the effort by community to raise funds for the proposed upgrade of Fordsburg, 'Fun Days' had been held in the Square and along a section of Mint Road, which was closed off. One of these so-called Fun Days took place on the 9th August 2003 (Ntshingila, 2003; Interview: Yusuf Seedat, FMBF chairman, June 20, 2005).

Upon further investigation though, it was revealed that the 'Family Fun Days' held in Fordsburg, which included a flea market and several entertainment activities, were organised by individuals from the community, within their private capacity. Councillor Junaid Pahad, and his ward committee, comprising members from the Fordsburg-Mayfair community, who are his "eyes and ears" on the ground, had called for proposals from the community in the form of a tender, regarding the operation of future 'Fun Days' and the possibility of establishing a flea market along a closed-off section of Mint Road on a weekly basis. (Interview: Junaid Pahad, June 20, 2005)

Members of a consortium who are tendering, Yusuf Seedat (FMBF chairman) and Sabera Mamoojee, operating under the name 'Little India Marketing' had indeed confirmed that this was a private initiative. Although the concept is expected to be supported by Region 8 of the City of Johannesburg, this is not a joint initiative by public and private sector and the funds generated would therefore be private funds (Interview: Yusuf Seedat, June 20, 2005; Sabera Mamoojee, June 17, 2005). Furthermore, after contacting JDA to verify that they (JDA) would be contributing funds to the upgrade of Fordsburg as mentioned above, this was not confirmed by the JDA. There was also no indication of there being any concrete plans on behalf of the JDA at the time of investigating the matter (www.jda.co.za). Therefore, public sector involvement in terms of urban regeneration in Fordsburg, based on its inherent cultural potential, appears to be minimal.

Local businessmen like Mr Hisham Bhamjee, who have invested in the area, believe that Fordsburg is a "cultural hub" and has tremendous potential in terms of attracting people to the area, which in turn bids well for regeneration of Fordsburg. However, locals like Mr. Bhamjee point out that the increasing amount of private investment in Fordsburg should be complemented by a significant and meaningful amount of public investment and improved levels of service delivery in the area, so that Fordsburg is able to realise its potential. People like Mr. Bhamjee are also of the opinion that the FMBF is not fully representative of the broader needs and aspirations of business community of Fordsburg (Interview: Hisham Bhamjee, June 17, 2005).

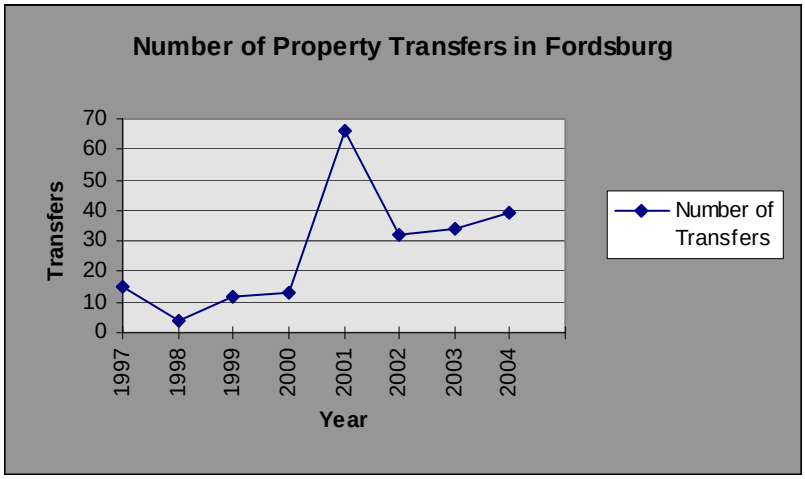
6.4.3 Private investment and development in Fordsburg

(a) Property transfers in Fordsburg

Information regarding property transfers in Fordsburg was obtained from the Property 24.Com website (www.reportshop.co.za/property24shop/). The relevant reports available through the website display property transfers as recorded by the Deeds Office. The number of property transfers in Fordsburg for the period 1997 to 2004 per quarter is as follows:

Table 6.4: Number of property transfers in Fordsburg

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Jan - Mar	4	0	1	3	37	3	16	1	65
Apr - Jun	7	1	3	3	16	6	11	1	48
Jul - Sept	3	3	7	2	3	2	5	23	48
Oct - Dec	1	0	1	5	10	21	2	14	54
Total	15	4	12	13	66	32	34	39	215



The average number of property transfers in Fordsburg for the period 1997 to 2000 is 11, and the average number of transfers for the period 2001 to 2004 is 42.75. This shows a definite increase in the number of property transfers in Fordsburg over the period 1997 to 2004. An indication hereof is the increased number of properties that are noticed to have developed or redeveloped in the area in recent times. These include residential and commercial properties. Estate agent, Ismail Gattoo, who is involved in property development himself, believes that Fordsburg is an area with great potential and that demand and property prices have risen in the area in recent years. (Interview: Ismail Gattoo, June 15, 2005; Moodie, 2000)











Fig. 6.9 Private property development in Fordsburg

According to Moodie (2000), in 1986 a landmark court ruling against an eviction changed the situation that prevailed and many Indian people started moving back from Lenasia despite restrictive conditions they faced in getting mortgages. Gattoo applauds the Indian community for investing in areas like Fordsburg and Mayfair even under these restrictive conditions. The estate agent goes on to say that Indians in the area tend to invest a lot in upgrading and renovating their properties, which results in an increase in property prices (Moodie, 2000). Estate agent Rashid Angamia supports the argument that private property investment has been increasing over the past few years and this evident in the increase in demand and property prices in the Fordsburg area (Interview: Rashid Angamia, June 17, 2005).

(b) The Oriental Plaza as a major potential private contributor to regeneration in Fordsburg

According to Pather (2004), the Oriental Plaza was to get a R100-million upgrade that its developers hope will turn Fordsburg as a whole into one of the most vibrant areas in Johannesburg. This is due to the Oriental Plaza's intrinsic link with Fordsburg and its significance in re-affirming the notion that Fordsburg is an area with an identifiable Indian/South Asian enclave. It is visible that work on the upgrade of the Oriental Plaza

has already begun (Fig. 6.10). This is in the form of upgrading of the parking areas and renovation of certain aspects of the interior of the mall. However, plans by architect Aziz Tayob show that the major part of the Oriental Plaza's upgrade proposes the development of a food court, banking mall, an entertainment centre including a cinema and a multi-level parking facility (Appendix G). (Interview: Ahmed Bobat, Chairman of Oriental Plaza body corporate, June 22, 2005)



Fig. 6.10 Oriental Plaza upgrades

Proposals for the Oriental Plaza upgrade aims at linking with and tapping into the thriving day and nightlife of Fordsburg. Pather (2004) goes on to report that the Oriental Plaza body corporate is considered as the largest land owners in the area and that the proposed development will span 28000 square metres. The one hundred million Rand required for the proposed redevelopment will be raised through business participation and debenture fund-raising.

Further contribution of the Oriental Plaza to the regeneration of Fordsburg can be attributed to the fact that the Oriental Plaza attracts approximately 700000 customers a month. Many of these customers are not merely shoppers but tourists as well. According to its body corporate, the Oriental Plaza as a tourist destination is acknowledged by agencies such as the Gauteng Tourism Agency and is promoted as such on the City of Johannesburg's website as well (Interview: Ahmed Bobat, June 22, 2005; Davie, 2002b).

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted the history of Fordsburg and has shown that as one of the oldest suburbs in Johannesburg, the area has hosted waves of different groups of people, including different ethnic groups such as member of the Jewish community who were mainly of eastern European descent and members of the Lebanese Catholic community. Although restrictive conditions were placed on them, members of the Indian

community have been able to identify with Fordsburg since its early days. The continued operation of the Hamidia Mosque (Newtown Mosque) since the early 1900's, the connection of Fordsburg with the politics of the Gandhi era, the setting aside of Fordsburg and surrounding areas by the apartheid government as an Indian area as early as 1953 and the establishment of the Oriental Plaza as an 'Indian' trading area are amongst the main reasons for this.

Although also feeling the effects of inner city decline of the Johannesburg CBD, the relative success of the Oriental Plaza, in terms of attracting people into the area, had a lot to do with Fordsburg not falling into a desperate state of decline during this period. Statistics show that at present, Fordsburg, which is largely a mixed-use area, is predominantly Indian and the Indian population of the area has been increasing over the past few years. While municipal plans show that there is recognition by the City of Johannesburg of the inherent cultural potential of Fordsburg, there are no genuine plans for the redevelopment of the area at present. Apart from the public social housing schemes in and near the area, government has done little or nothing more to adopt an holistic, integrated approach to regeneration in Fordsburg.

Statistics have however shown that the number of property transfers in Fordsburg have increased dramatically since 1997. There is an indication that private investment in Fordsburg has increased and that property demand and property prices have increased in the area over the past few years. It is quite evident by the upgrades and re/development of residential and commercial property in the area that private investment in Fordsburg is increasing. This has been the main form of urban regeneration in recent times. Another significant contributor to private-led regeneration in Fordsburg is the Oriental Plaza. There are major plans to upgrade the mall and it is perceived that this will positively impact on the surrounding areas within Fordsburg. The Oriental Plaza is also credited with attracting a large number of tourists to the area, which is a potential factor in promoting urban regeneration. The following chapter analyses this information regarding the case study and recommendations of this research report are made.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS & RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter provided an historical perspective of the case study, that is Fordsburg, and highlighted the strong association of the area with members of the Indian/South Asian community. Specific information was presented as research findings regarding urban regeneration in Fordsburg. This included quantitative and qualitative data. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the findings to determine the viability of the hypothesis that ethnic enclaves are able to contribute positively to urban regeneration. The findings are analysed in terms of the criteria that were formulated as part of the conceptual framework, as discussed in chapter 4. Thereafter, recommendations are put forward in respect of ethnic enclaves and urban regeneration.

7.5 Analysis

A. Area Information:

Research has shown that the Indian population in Region 8 has been increasing and it is the Region with the second largest Indian population within the City of Johannesburg. The Fordsburg Zone (i.e. Zone 3) within the UDZ of the Inner City comprises a population of 4113 people. Based on the background information on Fordsburg, media reports, and perceptions from people interviewed, it is expected that the majority of this population are Indian. Furthermore, the Indian population for Ward 58 itself had increased from 4652 people in 1996 to 5327 people in 2001.

These numbers are comparable with that provided in the conceptual framework, which states that an ethnic population of between 3000 and 5000 people should be present in an area for the enclave to be able to sustain itself. This is largely based on the population of ward population of the Bangladeshi community in Spitalfields, which amounted to 5379 people. This figure was used because like Spitalfields, Fordsburg is closely associated with the immigrant community, since its early days until presently. Other factors which make Fordsburg comparable with the Spitalfields Bangladeshi community are the type of activity that takes place in the enclave and certain social and cultural nuances which are similar. From this point of view, urban regeneration activity could be attributed to an inherent characteristic of the ethnic enclave.

This characteristic can be explained by several factors. Firstly, the previous discriminatory laws in South Africa have influenced the maintenance of the area as

predominantly Indian. This is explained by Hui (2002) who is of the opinion that the creation ethnic enclaves like Chinatown can be attributed to racism and prejudice. Although the apartheid system does not prevail, Fordsburg has continued to exhibit a strong Indian/South Asian character. Secondly, contemporary theory suggests that in modern, diverse societies, ethnic groups still persist (Barth, 1969) and people still ascribe to ethnic identities voluntarily (Fischer, 1976) in what might be termed urban "retribalisation" (Jenkins, 2002). These factors support definitions that describe ethnic enclaves as 'positive' urban settings, as described by Marcuse (2000) and Jürgens, Gnad & Bähr (2003).

B. Plans, policies and public investment in Fordsburg:

It is quite evident that the main form of public sector involvement in the regeneration of Fordsburg does not extend much beyond the Carr Gardens, Cope Housing and Tribunal Gardens residential developments. While certain members of the Indian/South Asian ethnic group have benefited from these schemes, no other plans, policies or developments guiding urban regeneration in Fordsburg, are based on some of its ethnic attributes. Although the RSDF for Region 8 acknowledges the importance of the Oriental Plaza within its Sub-Area, at this stage there is however no approved proposed or current precinct plan for Fordsburg. Mention is made regarding the need to look at developing a precinct plan for the area.

A memorandum handed to Executive Mayor of Johannesburg, Amos Masondo at the Oriental Plaza on March 10, 2005 by the Business Community also emphasises the notion that regeneration in Fordsburg is short of strong public-led plans or policies. One of the concerns raised in the memorandum highlights how the Oriental Plaza and Fordsburg has been neglected even though upgrade of the Newtown Cultural Precinct falls at the doorstep of the Plaza and Fordsburg.

A. Private investment and development in Fordsburg:

According to the research, the number of property transfers in Fordsburg has been increasing since 1997. This was used as a measure to determine private property investment activity in Fordsburg. Healey (1992) believes that private property investment has great potential in driving urban regeneration. The types of private property development in Fordsburg in recent times have included that of residential and commercial property. There appears a definite link between regeneration of this nature and ethnicity. Local estate agents like Ismail Gattoo (Interview: June 15, 2005) and Rashid Angamia (Interview: June 17, 2005) firmly assert that the ethnic character of Fordsburg plays a big part in influencing the decision of property investors and developers who identify with the area and view the cultural amenities such as prayer

facilities, schools and markets catering specifically for the needs of the locals as positive aspects.

Another important factor giving impetus to the notion that urban regeneration in Fordsburg is attributed to its ethnic characteristic is the Oriental Plaza. Established for Indian traders during the apartheid era, and still perceived as an 'Indian' market (www.joburg.org.za; Davie 2002b; Fraser, 2003b), the plaza is undergoing an upgrade, which impacts upon its surroundings in Fordsburg and Newtown. This is due to the sheer size, position and symbolic importance of the mall in relation to its host area.

A. Tourism activity:

Reports by Pather (2004), *M & G Leisure* (2004), Gupta (2003), Fraser (2003b) and Davie (2002b) convincingly indicate that Fordsburg does indeed attract tourists. The basis for tourist attraction is the culture, cuisine, shopping and entertainment, which stems from the inherent ethnic character in Fordsburg. Responses from interviewees representing various sectors of the local community like Ahmed Bobat (June 22, 2005), Ismail Gattoo (June 15, 2005), Rashid Angamia (June 17, 2005), Hisham Bhamjee (June 17, 2005), Yusuf Seedat (June 20, 2005) and Junaid Pahad (June 20, 2005) support this information. From this point of view, Swarbrooke's (1999) assertion that urban regeneration can be achieved through tourism, can be related to Fordsburg. Furthermore, it has been shown that Fordsburg possesses attributes for it to be considered an ethnic enclave. Therefore, indications by Gunaratnam et. al. (2002), Hui (2002) and Shaw (2002) that tourism, which is associated with most ethnic enclaves, is able to promote urban regeneration, can be applied to the understanding of Fordsburg in this regard.

A. Community representation:

Members of Fordsburg's Indian/South Asian ethnic group are represented through: the Oriental Plaza body corporate/business community; the Fordsburg-Mayfair Business Forum (FMBF); and the ward committee of Ward 58. Although the Oriental Plaza body corporate/business community has influenced regeneration in Fordsburg, this mainly represented a business component of the community, which in turn influenced a certain level of private investment in the upgrade of the area, and not public investment. Initial reports (Ntshingila, 2003) suggested that the FMBF with ward councillor Junaid Pahad and his ward committee had influenced a possible proposed upgrade of Fordsburg in coalition with the JDA. It was however found that this was more speculative and that there was a feeling that this was not fully representative of the Indian/South Asian community at large.

Therefore, the impact of community participation in the regeneration of Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave to date has been minimal. Weak public policy and investment in the area, especially from the point of promoting its cultural capital, is an indication of low-impact ethnic community participation in the re/development of Fordsburg.

The memorandum (March 10, 2005) handed to Amos Masondo, Mayor of Johannesburg, by the Oriental Plaza business community, highlights the following as some of the issues that need priority attention from the Mayor's office: Integration of the Oriental Plaza and Fordsburg with the Newtown Precinct; Immediate implementation of all city by-laws within ward 58; Address the illegal trading around the perimeter of the Oriental Plaza; Application for signalised traffic signs; General cleanliness; Upgrading of roads, directional signage and street lighting; and improve the image of the Oriental Plaza by improving service delivery. While the impact of local participation on regeneration thus far has been relatively low, the establishment and existence of communication such as this is a positive feature, which should be strengthened and built upon.

Following the theory and examples discussed in this report, the involvement of members of community in urban regeneration initiatives is seen as vital in producing coherent, desirable outcomes. While this ideology holds true for Fordsburg, it has been shown that the urban regeneration activity in Fordsburg has been largely attributed to private investment. Therefore, the argument may be that community involvement is not truly essential in driving regeneration, as is the case in Fordsburg. This could probably be attributed to differences in the economic situation that prevails in Fordsburg with that of its counterparts in other parts of the city or in other parts of the world. Although Fordsburg has witnesses a certain level of regeneration, it should be stressed that community involvement and representation is nonetheless vital for the area. This should be aimed so that the area is able to overcome shortcomings and realise its best potential.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Recommendations for Fordsburg:

1. Local government should take heed of the regeneration in Fordsburg, which has mainly been driven by private investment, and should match these efforts by improving service delivery such as community safety, refuse removal, maintenance of physical infrastructure and traffic management.
2. The Fordsburg-Mayfair Business Forum (FMBF) should strive to be more inclusive and representative, and should work with local residents' group/s. Community groups such as the FMBF, residents' association group/s and the ward committee should work in coalition with the Oriental Plaza body corporate/business community.

Where coalition exists this should be strengthened. This should be done so as to improve and increase the level of community participation.

3. Proposed precinct plans and development policies for Fordsburg should recognise and acknowledge its ethnic enclave status and this should be reflected in future plans. This should be recognised by the municipality and should be reflected in the RSDF for Region 8. The feasibility of establishing an association of Fordsburg with the Newtown Precinct should be explored. While public policy should take advantage of the development potential associated with the ethnic enclave, basic needs of all citizens should not be overlooked, irrespective of race, religion or ethnic background.
4. Community residents, business groups, investors and developers should be involved in the development of future policies and plans for the area so as to reinforce the positive aspects of its ethnic enclave status.
5. The UDZ tax incentive applicable in Fordsburg as well as municipal support toward an holistic, integrated approach to urban development in the area, which still needs to be enhanced, should serve as a means to increase investment confidence in the area by financial institutions.
6. Any plans to reinforce the Indian/South Asian ethnic enclave aspect of Fordsburg should not commodify local culture and overlook basic needs and aspirations of the local populace. Strong leadership from both private and public sector, and meaningful community participation would ensure this.
7. The cultural tourism potential of Fordsburg can be maximised by the promotion of historical aspects such as Gandhi's political involvement in and around Fordsburg and the 1922 Miners Strike amongst other aspects. This in turn would enhance the urban regeneration potential of the area.

7.3.1 Recommendations for Johannesburg in general:

1. Due to the large immigrant community within Johannesburg, the City should look to identify potential enclaves with the view of promoting urban regeneration and preventing the perpetuation of ghettos of exclusion and desperation. To this end, community structures operating in areas of distinct ethnic areas should be identified and should be engaged.
2. It is essential that both 'official' enclaves (such as Chinatown) and 'unofficial' enclaves should not be closed off to the rest of the city and should not be as such due to an oppressive, prejudiced system. Racist laws or prejudice may well have influenced the establishment of the enclave, but in its current form, it should be a place that celebrates diversity rather than enforce segregation.
3. The strongest aspects regarding the enclave or potential enclave should be identified and should be harnessed. This could include tourism, history, culture and cuisine or general aspects of local economic development related to the area.

4. Ethnic enclaves should be viewed as an opportunity to promote equitable planning and eradicate xenophobia. This is envisaged due to the strong link that ethnic enclaves have with immigrants, who are susceptible to poverty, exclusion and persecution. In this case, planning agents should interact with other government departments such as the Department of Home Affairs in order to better understand immigrant patterns.
5. When promoting an ethnic enclave in urban regeneration, care should be taken so as not to fuel feelings of xenophobia, as was the case in the Rockey Street market in Yeoville, as reported by Beall et al (2002). Therefore, an ethnic enclave should be part of the wider community and the needs and aspirations of people beyond the socio-cultural identity of the enclave should be treated just as importantly.
6. The local authority can support private developers by prioritising the approval of plans in order to kick-start development where proposed developments are in line with municipal policy and enhance the ethnic enclave status of an area.
7. Public spending should be primarily targeted toward the basic needs of members of an ethnic community in an identified enclave.
8. Planning agents like the JDA, Blue IQ and CoJ Development Planning should explore the possibility of extending current regeneration initiatives such as Constitution Hill, Fashion District, Braamfontein regeneration initiative, Faraday Precinct etc. to include ethnic enclaves, which may either be starting out or already flourishing. Inclusion of such areas into prominent initiatives has the potential of avoiding 'unofficial'/potential ethnic enclaves turning into areas of urban decay.

7.4 Chapter Summary

By analysing the data presented in the previous chapter, this chapter has shown that ethnic enclaves have the potential to positively promote urban regeneration. Recommendations were made, firstly, in respect of enhancing urban regeneration in Fordsburg itself and secondly, in respect of ethnic enclaves being able to positively promote urban regeneration in the City of Johannesburg generally. The following and final chapter includes the concluding remarks to this research report.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this research report was to determine the viability of the hypothesis that ethnic enclaves are able to positively promote urban regeneration. To this end, Fordsburg was chosen as an ethnic enclave to be analysed, amongst potentially several others within the City of Johannesburg. Fordsburg, located close to the city centre, was however chosen due to the perception that there has been renewed interest in the area in recent times, its popularity along with the Oriental Plaza has not diminished and that a certain amount of urban regeneration action has been taking place in the area.

It was envisaged that this research report would: outline a conceptual framework concentrating on the themes of urban regeneration, ethnicity and the prevalence of urban ethnic enclaves; provide examples which indicate how the concepts of urban regeneration and ethnic enclaves can be linked; outline a contextual framework that provides the basis for understanding the Johannesburg situation and present Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave; analyse the findings in terms of the prevailing situation of Fordsburg referring to theory and examples, in order to make proposed recommendations.

These objectives were met in that the concept of ethnicity was examined and it was shown that a significant proportion of the urban population do ascribe to ethnic identities, and, common language, religion or culture play an important part in the formation of groups in this regard. An examination of the South Asian/Indian ethnic group was been used to support this argument. The examination also revealed that ethnic groups organise themselves spatially, hereby creating ethnic enclaves in cities. Amongst the examples cited, it was shown that there is a unique concentration of members of the Bangladeshi community in the Spitalfields ward of London's Tower Hamlets borough.

This report also discussed some of the issues concerning Asian American enclaves, and a prominent enclave, that is Chinatown, was dealt with as a means to further understand ethnic enclaves. This culminated with certain apparent general characteristics, which were deduced from the information presented, in an effort to view the concept of an ethnic enclave more succinctly.

In examining some of the pertinent aspects of urban regeneration, this report has revealed that the regeneration of urban areas can be achieved by adopting one or more of several possible methods. The possible methods by which urban areas can be regenerated, that were highlighted in this report, include private property development; aiming to repopulate inner city areas through housing development; and tourism-based initiatives. Thereafter, suggestions were highlighted regarding the improvement of the organisation of urban regeneration and that of making some of the tools of urban

regeneration more effective. Certain recommendations were made regarding the strengthening of leadership capacity in carrying out urban regeneration initiatives were also made. Several examples of urban regeneration practice were also provided. These include examples emanating from the United Kingdom, United States of America and Europe. In essence, what was stressed upon was that the art of urban regeneration can be achieved through a number of ways and that the nature of the partnership between public sector, private sector and other stakeholders are critical in different projects. Other points that were stressed are that urban regeneration should be carried out in a holistic, integrated manner, and that involvement of citizens for whom the initiative is being devised, is vital.

In an effort to theoretically ascertain whether ethnic enclaves have the potential to promote urban regeneration, this report discussed the situation in Spitalfields in the UK, which has realised a 'Banglatown' enclave. Furthermore, it was shown that the rights of individuals can easily come under attack when ethnic enclaves are destined for destruction in an urban regeneration initiative. More-so, by neglecting ethnic enclaves there is the possibility of not fully realising the potential of an area and its people in carrying out an urban regeneration project. The importance of looking beyond the 'official' or prominent ethnic enclaves was emphasised, and that urban regeneration initiatives should endeavour to utilise the positive energies that are present amongst all ethnic groups present in a city. Based on these discussions, it was asserted that ethnic enclaves are indeed able to contribute positively to urban regeneration, if certain criteria regarding the ethnic enclave, were met. In this way, the objective of outlining a conceptual framework for the research report was met.

The importance of Johannesburg as an urban centre that contributes significantly to the economy of the region, province and country was thereafter highlighted. Although the city experienced successive waves of decline and having to deal with political transformation, it was shown that the city continues to play a vital role in the economy of the province and country. Post-apartheid transformation has resulted in a dominant single Johannesburg metropolitan municipality incorporating previously disadvantaged and advantaged areas stretching from Diepsloot and Midrand in the north, through Sandton and extending further south to incorporate the areas of Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Soweto and Orange Farm. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is divided into 11 administrative regions with areas like the CBD, Fordsburg and Yeoville falling within Region 8, the Inner City.

The main thrust of urban regeneration policy in Johannesburg is directed by several municipal-level policy directives including Vision 2030, the IDP, SDF, RSDF and Precinct

Plans. It was also indicated that Gauteng Provincial directives, particularly Blue IQ are making a notable impact on the regeneration of the city. Some of the significant projects and initiatives taking place in Johannesburg at present, including the massively funded Newtown Cultural Precinct which is close to Fordsburg, were highlighted.

In spite of its successes thus far, which are mainly judged on economic terms, this report alluded to ample evidence which indicates that urban regeneration in Johannesburg has done little to benefit the poor, poverty stricken and other marginalised members of society. These include members of ethnic minorities who have organised themselves in spatially defined areas. Strong indication was made to suggest that ethnic enclaves are an integral part of the city, particularly the inner city. The importance of recognising and supporting ethnic enclaves in urban regeneration in Johannesburg had also been emphasised. At this juncture, the objective of outlining a contextual framework to understand the Johannesburg situation had been met. This allowed the research report to proceed with the next section which was to introduce Fordsburg as a case study.

The history of Fordsburg was illustrated and it was shown that as one of the oldest suburbs in Johannesburg, the area has hosted waves of different groups of people. These included different ethnic groups such as members of the Jewish community who were mainly of eastern European descent and members of the Lebanese Catholic community. Although restrictive conditions were placed on them, members of the Indian community have been able to identify with Fordsburg since its early days. The continued operation of the Hamidia Mosque (Newtown Mosque) since the early 1900's, the connection of Fordsburg with the politics of the Gandhi era, the setting aside of Fordsburg and surrounding areas by the apartheid government as an Indian area as early as 1953 and the establishment of the Oriental Plaza as an 'Indian' trading area are amongst the main reasons for this.

Although also feeling the effects of inner city decline of the Johannesburg CBD, the relative success of the Oriental Plaza, in terms of attracting people into the area, had a lot to do with Fordsburg not falling into a desperate state of decline during this period. Statistics show that at present, Fordsburg, which is largely a mixed-use area, is predominantly Indian and the Indian population of the area has been increasing over the past few years. While municipal plans show that there is recognition by the City of Johannesburg of the inherent cultural potential of Fordsburg, there are no genuine plans for the redevelopment of the area at present. Apart from the public social housing schemes in and near the area, government has done little or nothing more to adopt an holistic, integrated approach to regeneration in Fordsburg.

Statistics have however shown that the number of property transfers in Fordsburg have increased dramatically since 1997. There is an indication that private investment in Fordsburg has increased and that property demand and property prices have increased in the area over the past few years. It is quite evident by the upgrades and re/development of residential and commercial property in the area that private investment in Fordsburg is increasing. This has been the main form of urban regeneration in recent times. Another significant contributor to private-led regeneration in Fordsburg is the Oriental Plaza. There are major plans to upgrade the mall and it is perceived that this will positively impact on the surrounding areas within Fordsburg. The Oriental Plaza is also credited with attracting a large number of tourists to the area, which is a potential factor in promoting urban regeneration.

By analysing the case study data presented, it was ascertained that ethnic enclaves have the potential to positively promote urban regeneration. There is however acknowledgement of certain limitations to the research, which arose mainly due to time and resource constraints as well as due to the topic at hand, which deals with the concept of ethnicity, aspects of which may not simply be reduced to quantitative data or conservative qualitative data. This was followed by recommendations, which were made, firstly, in respect of enhancing urban regeneration in Fordsburg itself and secondly, in respect of ethnic enclaves being able to positively promote urban regeneration in the City of Johannesburg generally.

A research report of this nature contributes to the knowledge base of planning theory which can be located within discourses on urban regeneration, multiculturalism and democratic planning. This research report highlights the notion that urban planning is eclectic and that planners have to be aware of the constantly changing forces shaping the contemporary city. Although changing, certain issues facing cities, such as urban decline, are as pertinent today as they were decades ago. This work embraces the ideology of adopting a holistic integrated approach to planning. The critical factor though, to increase the potential for desirable urban planning solutions to be attained, is to realise the necessity of encouraging meaningful interaction and cooperation between public sector, private sector, local citizenry and other stakeholders.

REFERENCES

Amin, A. (2002), “Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with diversity”, Report for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions and the ESRC Cities

Initiative, January 2002, University of Durham, Available at: Liverpool Johns Moores University, http://cwis.livjm.ac.uk/cities/conference/aa.pdf (Accessed: July 25, 2003).

Arogundade, B. (2001), "London: A city divided", Available at: *The Observer*, http://observer.guardian.co.uk/race/story/0,11255,605340,00.html (Accessed: February 16, 2004).

Atkinson, R. and Moon, G. (1994), "The City Challenge Initiative: An overview and preliminary assessment, *Regional Studies 28*, 94-96.

Barth, F. (1969), "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" in: Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A.D. (eds.) (1996), *Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. (2000), "Local Government, poverty reduction and inequality in Johannesburg", in *Environment & Urbanization*, Volume 12 No. 1, April 2000.

Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. (2002), *Uniting a Divided City: Governance and Social Exclusion in Johannesburg*, Earthscan Publications Ltd., London.

Beavon, K.S.O. (1997), "Johannesburg: A city and metropolitan area in transformation", in: Rakodi, C. (ed.) (1997), *The urban challenge in Africa: Growth and management of its large cities*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo.

Blair, T. (1997), "Europe's new melting pot cities: Policy choices for urban renewal", Available at: http://www.chronicleworld.org (Accessed: January 23, 2004).

Blue IQ - The Plan For A Smart Province: Gauteng, Available at: http://www.blueiq.co.za (Accessed: June 19, 2005).

Bremner, L. (2002), "Reinventing the Johannesburg Inner City" in: Bridge, G. & Watson, S. (eds.) (2002), *The Blackwell City Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, USA.

Bremner, L. (2004), *Johannesburg: One City, Colliding Worlds*, STE Publishers, Parktown, Johannesburg.

Burdett, R. (2000), "London: The coolest city" in: Biswas, R.K. (ed.) (2000), *Metropolis Now!: Urban Cultures in Global Cities*, SpringerWien, New York.

Cachalia, C. (ed.) (1983), *From Survival to Defiance: Indian Hawkers in Johannesburg 1940 - 1980*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

Carley, R., "Cosmopolitanism", Available at: Global Tryst: The meeting of the World's Minds, http://www.globaltryst.com/Cosmopolitanism.html (Accessed: August 05, 2005).

Carrim, N. (1990), *Fietas: A Social History Of Pageview 1948-1988*, Save Pageview Association, Johannesburg.

City of Johannesburg (2002a), "Integrated Development Plan 2002/2003".

City of Johannesburg (2002b), "Joburg 2030 - Full Report", Corporate Planning Unit, February 2002.

City of Johannesburg (2003a), "Inner City Regeneration Strategy", Economic Development Unit, February 2003.

City of Johannesburg (2003b), " Spatial Development Framework 2002/2003", Development Planning and Facilitation, June 2003.

City of Johannesburg (2004), “Guide to the Urban Development Zone Tax Incentive for the Johannesburg Inner City”, October 13, 2004, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/udz (Accessed: June 19, 2005).

City of Johannesburg (2005), “Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF 2005 - 2006), Administrative Region 8” (Review of the approved 2004/5 RSDF), Development Planning and Facilitation, May 2005 (Draft).

City of Johannesburg: Official Website, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za (Accessed: June 19, 2005).

Colquhoun, I. (1995), *Urban Regeneration: An International Perspective*, B.T. Batsford Ltd. London.

Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, Available at: http://www.sistersofmercy.ie/where/south_africa/history3.html (Accessed: June 04, 2005).

Cox, A. (2001), “Business moves back to CBD: Cleaner and safer inner city is enticing tenants with attractive rentals” in: *The Star*, May 14, 2001.

Cox, K. (2000), “Improvement Districts: Platforms for Sustainable Urban Regeneration”, Central Johannesburg Partnership; Proceedings: Strategies for a sustainable Built Environment, Pretoria, August 23 - 25, 2000.

Davie, L. (2002a), “When war came to Jo’burg’s streets”, City of Johannesburg: Official website, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/march2002/1922strike.stm, March 18, 2002 (Accessed: April 25, 2003).

Davie, L. (2002b), “Go Oriental at the Plaza”, City of Johannesburg: Official website, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/sep_2002/oriental_plaza.stm, September 13, 2002 (Accessed: April 24, 2003).

Department of Provincial and Local Government, South Africa, Available at: http://www.dplg.gov.za (Accessed: August 14, 2003).

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. (ed.) (2000), *From Cane Fields to Freedom: A Chronicle of Indian South African Life*, Kwela Books, Cape Town.

Discover Tower Hamlets: Spitalfields and Banglatown, Available at: http://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/data/discover/data/spitalfields/index.cfm (Accessed: April 10, 2005).

Dunlop, Heywood & Co., Chartered Surveyors (1965), “Report on Proposed Indian Commercial Centre, Fordsburg - Johannesburg”, September 1965, Johannesburg.

Eade, J. (1997), “Reconstructing Places: Changing images of locality in Docklands and Spitalfields” in: Eade, J. (ed.) (1997), *Living The Global City: Globalization as a local process*, Routledge, London.

Essop, A. (1978), *The Hajji and Other Stories*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Essop, A. (2002), *Suleiman M. Nana: A Biographical and Historical Record of his Life and Times*, Suleiman Nana Memorial Trust, Johannesburg.

Fischer, C. (1976), *The Urban Experience*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., New York.

Fraser, N. (2003a), “Fietas 2 - The road to the Oriental Plaza”, City of Johannesburg: Official website, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/, April 7, 2003 (Accessed: April 24, 2003).

Fraser, N. (2003b), “Fietas 3 - Prosperity and achievement out of adversity”, City of Johannesburg: Official website, Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/, April 14, 2003 (Accessed: April 24, 2003).

Fraser, N. (2003c), “Citichat 2003 Year End Review”, Consolidation of 5 issues of Citichat (printed version of weekly newsletter) written by Neil Fraser, Executive Director of the Central Johannesburg Partnership and Director of Kagiso Urban Management, Johannesburg (Also available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/).

Gans, H.J. (1968), *People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions*, Basic Books, Inc., New York.

Gans, H.J. (1991), *People, Plans and Policies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Urban Problems*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Geron, K. “Defense of Ethnic Enclaves”, Available at: Asian American Revolutionary Movement Ezine, http://www.aamovement.net/community/enclave1.html (Accessed: January 22, 2004).

Government Digest (South Africa), “The role of the City of Johannesburg”, August 2004, pp 25 - 32.

Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (2000), “The Johannesburg City Centre Spatial Development Framework”, commissioned by the Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition, under the auspices of the Central Johannesburg Partnership, in co-operation with GJMC The Inner City Office, prepared by the consultant team GAPP Architects and Urban Designers, and Urban Solutions Architects and Urban Designers, Draft Report, August 30, 2000.

Gunaratnam, S., Emmanuel, M., Singh, J. and Munan, H. (2002), “Little Indias pulsating with colours and vibrancy”, Available at: http://www.nst.com.my/Weekly/TravelTimes/ (Accessed: June 02, 2004).

Gupta, S.D. (2003), “Chacha cheers for boys in blue - Pakistanis in South Africa find a team to back” in *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, India, March 24, 2003, Available at: http://www.telegraphindia.com/1030324/asp/sports/story_1798543.asp (Accessed: March 30, 2003).

Harrison, P. (2003), “Fragmentation and Globalisation as the New Meta-Narrative” in: Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. & Mayekiso, M. (eds.) (2003), *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, University of Cape Town Press, Lansdowne.

Hassan, F. (2003), “Newtown: Urban Tapestry”, Unpublished Thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of the degree: Bachelor of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Healey, P., Davoudi, S., Tavsanoglu, S., O’Toole, M. & Usher, D. (eds.), (1992), *Rebuilding the City: Property-led urban regeneration*, E & FN Spon, London.

Hula, R.C. (1990), “The Two Baltimores” in: Judd and Parkinson (eds.) (1990), *Leadership and Urban Regeneration: Cities in North America and Europe*, Sage, London.

Hui, S. (2002), “Constructing New York’s Chinatown: The Urban Development of a Neighbourhood”, Available at: http://www.aquapulse.net/knowledge/chinatown (Accessed: February 16, 2004).

Imrie, R. and Thomas, H. (1993), “Urban policy and the urban development corporations” in: Imrie, R. and Thomas, H. (eds.) (1993), *British Urban Policy and the Urban Development Corporations*, Paul Chapman, London.

Itzkin, E. (2000), *Gandhi’s Johannesburg: Birthplace of Satyagraha*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

Jenkins, O.B. (2002), “Ethnicity in the Cities”, Available at: http://www.geocities.com/orvillejenkins/culture/cities.html (Accessed: August 01, 2003).

Johannesburg City Council (1986), “Fordsburg Redevelopment Plan”, Meeting Minutes, March 25, 1986, Johannesburg.

Johannesburg Development Agency - JDA, Available at: http://www.jda.co.za (Accessed: June 19, 2005).

Johnson, D., “Chinatowns and Other Asian-American Enclaves”, Available at: http://www.infoplease.com/spot/chinatowns1.html (Accessed: February 16, 2004).

Judd and Parkinson (eds.) (1990), *Leadership and Urban Regeneration: Cities in North America and Europe*, Sage, London.

Jürgens, U., Gnad, M. & Bähr, J. (2003), “New Forms of Class and Racial Segregation: Ghettos or Ethnic Enclaves?” in: Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L. & Mangcu, X. (eds.) (2003), *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, Routledge, New York.

Le, C.N. (2004), “Ethnic Communities and Enclaves”, Available at: Asian-Nation: The Landscape of Asian America, http://www.asian-nation.org/enclaves.shtml (Accessed: February 20, 2004).

Leary, M.E. (2003), “Living in a city of multi cultures: Can cultural quarters promote cosmopolitan urbanism?”, Department of Urban, Environmental and Leisure Studies, Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, London South Bank University, UK; Paper forthcoming in *Planning Practice and Research* (volume unknown), (Paper supplied by author).

Lewis, R. “The Demography and Geography of London’s Ethnic Minorities”, London Research Centre, Available at: http://interplan.org/immig/im01003.html (Accessed: April 25, 2003).

Leyds, G.A. (1964), *A History of Johannesburg: The Early Years*, Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk, Cape Town.

“Little India Ethnic Quarter” (2001), Available at: http://www.indiatravelite.com/discoverworld/singapore1.htm (Accessed: April 25, 2003).

London First Centre (October 2000) http://www.lfc.co.uk, (Accessed: February 16, 2004).

M & G Leisure (2004), “Going Native”, in: *Mail & Guardian*, July 23, 2004.

Mahabane, I. & Fife, I. (2001), “City living is looking up: Inner-city housing is being snapped up and cleaned up” in: *Financial Mail*, March 2, 2001.

Mahabane, I. (2001), “Johannesburg sings the blues: Gauteng’s R1,7 bn expected to revitalise city’s ailing inner suburbs” in: *Financial Mail*, June 1, 2001.

Marcuse, P. (2000), “Cities in Quarters” in: Bridge, G. & Watson, S. (eds.) (2000), *A Companion to the City*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, USA.

Maronite Catholic Church - South Africa, Available at: http://www.catholicchurch.co.za/History.asp (Accessed: June 04, 2005).

Moodie, G. (2000), “Man with a passion for his Fordsburg” in: *Business Day*, Available at: http://www.bday.co.za (Accessed: April 29, 2003).

Municipal Demarcation Board of South Africa, Available at: http://www.demarcation.org.za (Accessed: September 27, 2005).

Naidoo, S. (2004), “Joburg: The forgotten city” in: *Sunday Times Metro*, August 01, 2004.

Naidu, E. (1999), “From Apartheid to Anarchy: Why 500 ethnic-Chinese protestors marched last month on the home of South Africa’s President Nelson Mandela”, Asia Incorporated Publishers Sdn Bhd., Hong Kong, April 1999, Available at: http://www.asia-inc.com/April/SouthAfrica.htm (Accessed: January 05, 2004).

Newman, I. (1986), “Greater London Enterprise Board: Vision and Reality” in: *Local Economy*, 1(2), 57-67.

Ntshingila, F. (2003), “Fordsburg gets a major facelift” in: *Sunday Times Metro*, July 13, 2003.

Oelofse, M. (2003), “Social Justice, Social Integration and the Compact City: Lessons from the Inner City of Johannesburg” in: Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. & Mayekiso, M. (eds.) (2003), *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, University of Cape Town Press, Lansdowne.

Oriental Plaza Business Community, (March 10, 2005), “Recordal of a Memorandum handed to the Mayor of Johannesburg, the Honourable Amos Masondo on Thursday, 10th March 2005 at the Oriental Plaza - Fordsburg”.

Pather, S. (2004), “Oriental Plaza gets set for R100m Lift-Off!” in: *Sunday Times KZN*, September 19, 2004.

Peberdy, S. & Rogerson, C.M. (2003), “South Africa: Creating New Spaces?” in: Kloosterman, R. & Rath, J. (eds.) (2003), *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalisation*, Berg, Oxford.

Pendock, N. (2002), “Umami utopia” in: *Sunday Times Lifestyle*, June 09, 2002, Available at: http://www.suntimes.co.za/2002/06/09/lifestyle/life13.asp (Accessed: January 05, 2004).

Peraldi, M. (2000), “Marseille: Layer upon layer” in: Biswas, R.K. (ed.) (2000), *Metropolis Now!: Urban Cultures in Global Cities*, SpringerWien, New York.

Platzky, L. & Walker, C. for the Surplus People Project (1985), *The Surplus People: Forced Removals In South Africa,* Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd. Johannesburg.

Property 24.Com, Available at: http://www.reportshop.co.za/property24shop/ (Accessed: August 26, 2005).

Rudlin, D. and Falk, N. (1999), *Building the 21st Century Home: The sustainable urban neighbourhood*, Architectural Press, Oxford.

Sachs, B. (1972), *The Fordsburg-Mayfair Hebrew Congregation: 1893-1964*, Fordsburg-Mayfair Hebrew Congregation, Johannesburg.

Sandercock, L. (1998), *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., Chichester, England.

Sassen, S. (1996), "Analytic borderlands: Race, gender and representation in the new city", in: King, A.D. (1996) (ed.), *Representing the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis*, Macmillan Press Ltd., London.

Sbragia, A.M. (1990), "Pittsburgh's "Third Way": The Nonprofit Sector as a Key to Urban Regeneration" in: Judd and Parkinson (eds.) (1990), *Leadership and Urban Regeneration: Cities in North America and Europe*, Sage, London.

Shaw, S.J. (2002), "Multicultural heritage and urban regeneration in London's City Fringe", 5th EC Conference, May 16-18 2002, Cracow, Poland, Available at: http://www.heritage.xtd.pl/pdf/full_shaw.pdf (Accessed: February 16, 2004).

Singapore Concept Plan 2001, Available at: http://www.ura.gov.sg/conceptplan2001/index.html (Accessed: March 02, 2004).

Singapore Travel Guide, Available at: http://www.studyabroad.worldtravels.com/Travelguide/Countries/Singapore/Regions/ (Accessed: March 02, 2004).

Smith, A.H. (1971), *Johannesburg Street Names: A Dictionary Of Street, Suburb And Other Place Names, Compiled To The End Of 1968*, Juta & Company Limited, Johannesburg.

Smith, D. (2003), *The Penguin State of the World Atlas: Seventh edition*, Penguin Books, London.

South Africa Government Online, Available at: http://www.gov.za/structure/local-gov.htm (Accessed: August 20, 2003).

South African History Online (a), Available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/dadoo,y.htm (Accessed: June 04, 2005).

South African History Online (b), "Egoli, A History of Black Johannesburg: Urbanisation and housing in South Africa's Largest City", Available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/town&c/villages/gauteng/johannesburg/ (Accessed: June 04, 2005).

Sukhraj P. & Kobedi, P. (2004), "Joburg's revival: Survey finds strong signs of new life and new hope in the inner city" in: *Sunday Times Metro*, August 22, 2004.

Swarbrooke, J. (1999), *Sustainable Tourism Management*, CAB International, Wallingford.

Swarbrooke, J. (2000), "Tourism, economic development and urban regeneration: A critical evaluation" in: Robinson, M., Sharpley, R., Evans, N., Long, P. and Swarbrooke, J. (eds.) (2000), *Developments in Urban and Rural Tourism*, Centre for Travel and Tourism, Sheffield Hallam University and University of Northumbria, Sunderland.

Tomlinson, R. (2003), “HIV/Aids and Urban Disintegration in Johannesburg” in: Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. & Mayekiso, M. (eds.) (2003), *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, University of Cape Town Press, Lansdowne.

Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L. & Mangcu, X. (2003), “The Postapartheid Struggle for an Integrated Johannesburg” in: Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L. & Mangcu, X. (eds.) (2003), *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*, Routledge, New York.

Tuan, Yi-Fu, (1996), “Home and World, Cosmopolitanism and Ethnicity: Key concepts in contemporary human geography”, in: Douglas, I., Huggett, R. and Robinson, M. (eds.) (1996), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Geography: The environment and humankind*, Routledge, London.

Van Wyk, J. (1999), *Planning Law: Principles and procedures of land-use management*; Juta & Co., Kenwyn.

W. Rhodes-Harrison, Hoffe & Partners, Architects (1968), “Recommendations for Development: The Oriental Bazaar, Fordsburg, Johannesburg” for the Johannesburg City Council, June 1968, Johannesburg.

Zegeye, A. & Ahluwalia, P. (2001), “Travelling Cultures” in: Badsha, O. (2001), *Imperial Ghetto: Ways of seeing in a South African city*, South African History Online, Maroelana.