

https://dspace.org/

People's place in the world class city: the case of Braamfontein's inner city regeneration project

Burocco, Laura

2014-02-12
http://hdl.handle.net10539/13738

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

Chapter I – Introduction



Figure1 Street in Rio de Janeiro, 2011, Laura Burocco

1.1 Where this idea comes from

From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project "*Porto Maravilha"*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalisation project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the Municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area, increase the city center attractiveness and enhances Rio's competitive position in the global economy. It is evident that Rio de Janeiro has taken nationally, and even internationally, a strategic position in order to attract domestic and international investors. I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratisation at similar times. Brazil was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, and had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, while South African is marked by a long history of racial discrimination as the apartheid

regime ended only in 1994. They share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, they play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context (Brasil Russia India China South Africa – BRICS). This determines a similar governmental contradiction between an internal recognition of the need to intervene to redress notorious high indexes of inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organised around privatisation, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How these aspirations and democracy can coexist in such divided societies?

Without undertake comparative research, I would like to analyze the way in which Johannesburg is responding to the need of becoming an economically attractive city in the international arena. This research report analyses the effects specifically in the defined area of Braamfontein. The research provides the basis for a future comparative project between the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro, taking the two cities as examples of global cities in the southern hemisphere.

1.2 The research's back-ground

"At the same time that South African government provided and expanded citizens with constitutionally guaranteed access to the resource and opportunity denied to so many under the apartheid, the government embarked on a path of neo-liberal economic growth that has made the country subject to whims of the global economy and the dictates of the financial institutional controlling that economy" (Freeman, 2008:702). This situation becomes more complicated considering that South Africa has been divided internally during the years of apartheid creating a phenomenon defined by Wolpe as "an internal colonialism: the colonizing race or nation occupies the same territory as the colonized people, which mean that a post-colonial break via expulsion of the colonizer is impossible" (Freeman, 2008:713). The use of the same mechanism of

cultural domination, political oppression, and economical exploitation results at the local level in racially and geographically linked disparities in the access to resource and opportunities. This disparity is evident in relation to access to amenities, facilities and houses in the inner city of Johannesburg. If it is undeniable that, the "revitalisation" and the implementation of ongoing and ended projects in Braamfontein have been able to bring back people to a previously semi-abandoned area, it is important to analyse who is attracted and who is dismissed and the form that people interact with each other and with the place in order to understand the full enjoyment of the right to the city. Regeneration projects have had a major impact on many urban landscapes, and have played an important role in the history and demographics of cities around the world, but sometimes at the cost of the cancellation of intangible cultural heritages and gentrification of residential neighborhoods. How is it possible to observe this phenomenon in Braamfontein?

The research aims to analyze how the spatial and social transformations resulting from Braamfontein’s regeneration proposed by private investors and public agencies, is understood by people who use the neighborhood. It investigates the extent to which the project contributes to creating a sense of belonging and community. Special attention will be paid in the relation between the City Improvement District model and the beneficiaries of the intervention. The second issue regards the relation that people, residents and passengers, have with the territory of Braamfontein. The research aims to understand how the different actors interact with each other and contribute to the place making processes in terms of using of places and public spaces. The place making process will be analysed as well in terms of access to the city, creating a link with the joint nature of the right to the city. Considering that north American “Business Improvement District - BID have generated criticism due to their profit orientated conception of redevelopment through the creation of commodified spaces of elite comsumption, the intensified surveillance of

public space and collateral exclusionary process (Mitchell, 2003, Topfer, Eick and Sambale, 2007 in Didier, Morrange and Peyroux, 2012:2) the research aims to analyse how the CID - Braamfontein Improvement District responds to similar criticism.

1.3 Objectives

The research aims to test how the changes promoted by the private developers and public authorities' interventions in the Braamfontein Regeneration Project have been dominated by an inversion of interest from public to private in order to satisfy the imagine of Johannesburg as an "African World Class City". The result is the adoption of a profitable vision of the city that, even if not perceived by most of the users, reinforces the creation of segregated consumption spaces in Johannesburg.

1.4 Research Questions

- Which opportunities and challenges have the changes in Braamfontein created, and how are these understood by their users?
- Are the expectations of the public and private investors going in the same direction of the ones who are the users of Braamfontein?
- To what extent has the transformation of Braamfontein resulted in greater inclusion and of integrated use of the city?

1.5 Contents

The research is structured in six chapters, plus bibliography and annexes. Following the introduction, chapter two is dedicated to the literature review making reference to topics such as Urban Regeneration and its relation with the Global Cities. The application of the City Improvement District – CID model and the private sector's return to abandoned inner cities determine an inversion of interest by the City from public to private, having

social and economic impacts. These impacts open debate on the equity implications of spatial, socio-economic changes, involving issues as the promotion of mixed uses neighborhoods versus gentrification, or the use of public space versus privatization and social control. Linked to the specific case of Braamfontein, the literature refers to creative city and creative class as a form of claiming, but also of threatening, a full exercise of the right to the city. Chapter three presents an historical background of the neighborhood and gives a presentation of the physical space of Braamfontein through the use of maps provided by the websites of the main private developers and public agencies involved in the regeneration project. This chapter also provides maps of the neighborhood result of a mapping exercise in which users were invited to participate. Chapter four aims to give an overview of the actors involved in the transformations of Braamfontein. The actors have been presented in the most neutral form possible, trying to avoid any comments which are left for the analysis chapter. The intention of chapters three and four is to familiarise the reader, from any place he/she comes, with Braamfontein as a neighborhood of the city of Johannesburg considered as a city engaged in a process of rebuilding its image as a world class city. Finally chapter five analyses the connection between the issues, descriptions and data collected in chapters, three and four, and the issues addressed in chapter two dedicated to the literature review. It develops an analysis and chapter 6 offers a conclusion and recommendations. The annexes consist of photographs and maps resulting from the participatory observation conducted by the researcher alone through walking around Braamfonbtein, or through a mapping exercise conducted with people invited by the researcher.

1.6 Methodology

The study is based on an inductive qualitative method of analysis using semi-structured interviews, and constant participant observation through walks in the area as well as random questions with people around the city

about the transformation of Braamfontein. In this sense a number of complementary methods are employed to address different facets of research questions (Philip, 1998:264). Collaborative participatory research is characterised by data collection which requires an active involvement of the researcher and a particular role of the respondent who is expected and encouraged to participate actively (Sarantakos, 2005:333). The interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire (tables attached) and addressed 8 residents (3 South Point student residents and 5 worker class residents); 5 people working in the neighborhood; 8 private developers (Play Braamfontein, South Point, Gatsby Properties, Double Shot Café, Metro Hotel [now the Bannister Hotel], Narina Trogon Restaurant, Urban Works, Room Gallery); and 5 public agencies (Johannesburg Development Agency, Urban Genesis, Department of Arts Culture and Heritage, Constitutional Hill, WITS University). Between August and October 2012, 10 people have been participating in the mapping project, and depending on the availability of the respondent, 16 mental maps were drawn (mental maps tables). The mapping exercise is part of the methodology based on participatory observation and engagement of the respondents and have been influenced by previous experiences of the researcher in mapping exercises conducted in Rio de Janeiro with different aims and targets. Three of these experiences deserve to be presented.

In 2008 a spontaneous study group called *Ostra* was formed by 6 researchers. The aim was to produce a visual map of the urban heritage of a district called Lapa destined to disappear into the intense process of transformation which was starting in that period. The exercise took almost 5 months through weekly meetings with multidisciplinary theoretical presentations and one day of walking mapping and photographical register per month. Except for the amount of personal inputs and observations, the project spontaneously ended without producing tangible results. The second experience happened in September 2011 when the *Universidade Nomade*, an international network of researchers, academics, students

and activists promoted a seminar of two days called "*Laboratorio de Cartografia Insurgente*" (Laboratory of Insurgent Cartography). The participants were academics, representatives of social movements, NGOs and residents of the port area of Rio de Janeiro, where the workshop was organised. The researcher has been part of a working group that included residents in occupied buildings and informal settlements located in the area. The participants spent two days mapping their area of residence; identifying what was important and useful for them as residents, and the upgrading interventions' needs. The aim of the workshop was to transfer information to residents about the transformation to which the area was subjected, being the center of the revitalisation of the inner city of Rio de Janeiro, and to collect alternative proposals coming from below which could be disseminated through the organisation of a public seminar and articles. Those goals were achieved. Finally, the last experience was the co-organisation within the program of the Ibero-American symposium "*Com.posições.políticas*" (Policies Compositions or With a Political Positioning) which brings together performance and debate around politics and the interface between art and activism, of the workshop "*Sinfonia da Cidade Globalizada*" (Symphony of the Global City). The project started in Valparaiso, Chile and continued in Rio de Janeiro. The aim was to collectively think about the current transformations in Rio de Janeiro as a "global city", and how this transformation affects its urban, economic and subjective dimensions. There were two types of activities: indoor workshops organised around video projections and films that serve as provocateurs for discussion on ways to portray the historical city, and outdoor walking (flanar/derive) through the city with special attention to the port area.

Influenced by these experiences I decided to apply a methodology for my research mainly based on mapping and people have been invited for this research to walk, observe, map and photograph an area defined in agreement by the participants, which was part of the delimited area of Braamfontein addressed by the research. Despite the excitement and

willingness in participating expressed by the participants, the reading of the data collected and the engagement of the people in the analysis offer certain inefficiency in the choice of method due the fact that too many data were collected whose readings do not always was complete, even if it has been improved through the direct experience, becoming more sophisticate and detailed from one walk to the next. At the end of these interviews and mapping exercises the respondents have been invited to draw his/her own map of Braamfontein, and 15 responded. The people who participated in the mapping and the interviewers, explained their use of the neighborhood. The intention was intended to grasp the personal impression that people have of the places where they living, working, socializing in order to develop recommendations addressed to reinforce an integrated and mixed use of the space in Braamfontein.

Starting from defining one specific area of Braamfontein, almost corresponding with the legal jurisdiction borders of the Braamfontein Management District I have consistenly walked at different times and days. During this flanar through Braamfontein, a photographic register has been created as well as a field journal with daily notes of the fieldwork, recording observations of place, people and events which have been used in the final analysis. Around 10 random short interviews have been conducted at the Neighborhood Market Braamfontein and short questions have been addressed to 20 people met in the street; most of them students in front of South Point's buildings. In the same way the 4 interviews with students have been scheduled informally, asking for their availability in answering some questions through a semi-structured questionnaire.

Secondary data has been collected through the analysis of the websites of local authorities and private developers involved in the Braamfontein Regeneration Project. The analysis of this data is the result of an overlapping of these participatory observations, field interviews, constant access to the JHB live website, the M&G website, the Critical Mass

Johannesburg Group Page on Face Book, and an extensive reading about urban regeneration and its effects in cities around the World.

1.7 Ethical issues and conclusion

As qualitative research not based in verifiable data it is possible that preconceived ideas of the researcher have influenced the analysis and collections of the data diverting the attention of the researcher on some details rather than others. Because of the foreign nationality of the researcher, cultural barriers have to be considered as a limit of this research, as well the limited knowledge of the South African social-historical background. Even if the researcher tries to deepen her knowledge of the territory where the research is based, the short duration of the observation does not allow more than an interpretation of reality aiming to be as objective as possible. Linguistic barriers have represented a limit in the collection of data and often determine an unbalanced tendency of the research to refer exclusively to middle to upper class people, who speak English. This aspect may influence the impartiality of the vision and give rise to the inconsistency of certain statements about worker classes, often based in simple observations, more than in concrete declaration by workers. But the main issue lies in the personal difficulty in dealing with an internal contradiction which followed the researcher for the entire process. The assumption of a critical position regards a regeneration programs approach, and consequent gentrification processes, has to deal with the recognition by the researcher to be part of the creative/knowledge cosmopolitan class, often responsible for this phenomenon. This bivalence forces the researcher in a constant exercise of revaluation of her positions, and made difficult the assumption of a linear opinion and thinking necessary for the development of a non-contradictory review of the hypothesis on which the research is based.

The use of different methods to show the results of the research is in line with the will to promote a multidisciplinary approach that is an overlap

between the formal boundaries of art and science (Borda, 2001:33). In this sense the collection of maps drawn by the researcher, the maps produced by the people who participated in the mapping exercise, together with the photographical register aims to provide material for a future exhibition. These materials provide a rich source of data but require an intense work of interpretation which needs to be done together with the person who gave his/her answers to the questions through a visual identification of spaces in Braamfontein. It was not always possible to have this availability by the respondents. What clearly appears is the willingness of people to discover the neighborhood, a feeling which is found all over the city. For this reason the exhibition would like to propose an exploring game that encourages interaction between people and spaces, as well streets, in Braamfontein.

Chapter II – The impacts of regeneration programs in the use and imaginary of aspiring southern world class cities

"Lefebvre's idea of space includes what he calls perceived space, conceived space, and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Perceived space refers to the relatively objective, concrete space people encounter in their daily environment. Conceived space refers to mental constructions of space, creative ideas about and representations of space. Lived space is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person's actual experience of space in everyday life. Lived space is not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds but represents a constituent element of social life. Therefore, social relations and lived space are inescapably hinged together in everyday life. Producing urban space, for Lefebvre, necessarily involves reproducing the social relations that are bound up in it. The production of urban space therefore entails much more than just planning the material space of the city; it involves producing and reproducing all aspects of urban life. For Lefebvre, "the right to the city is like a cry and a demand... a transformed and renewed right to urban life."
Mark Purcell, 2002:102

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the literature related to the case study chosen. The intention is to highlight issues without making many direct references to the Braamfontein case. This link between the issues highlighted in the literature and their possibility to be applied to the reality of Braamfontein will be explored in chapter V through the analysis of data collected referred to private developers and public interventions, as well residents' and passengers' use of the neighborhood. The literature about urban renewal, global and creative cities links to the first two research questions (opportunities and challenge of the transformation of Braamfontein, as well as expectations by users and developers) while the reference to public space and right to the city aims to address the last question about just city.

Starting from the literature about the history and the form of operation of Urban Regeneration Processes, arguments for and against the application of this urban model of development are presented. Different instruments

are used in the implementation of Regeneration Projects, such as Public Private Partnership, Tax incentives or the introduction of specific urban policies and legal municipal frameworks. All these instruments are addressed to facilitate the injection of private capital in public interventions. For each of these tools there is quite an extended literature, and in the case of the City of Joburg there is a huge amount of policy documents, for the purposes of this research, there was not enough time for a detailed analysis of this. For this reason the attention has been addressed to the literature regarding the most popular instruments used in the Braamfontein case, represented by the City Improvement District CID (in this specific case, the Braamfontein Management District BMD) which usually starts with the promotion of safety and cleaning districts, in order to achieve a certain minimum standard of services and safety considered essential to bring back private sector investments and reactivate the real-estate.

Literature about Urban Regeneration Process has been related to Global Cities literature, despite the frequent use, by the City of Joburg of the definition World Class African City. The research considers the distinction between Global and World Class cities as identified by Saskia Sassen (2005:28). This chapter refers to the literature about Global and Creative cities rather than World Class cities, also considering the added complication given by “African” specification which opens up a significant discussion about identity - which this research will not explore. Even if social aspects should be taken into consideration in the development of regeneration processes of depressed urban areas, the economic interest prevails, as is demonstrated by an extended litterature concerning cases of gentrification resulting from this type of interventions. The privatisation of planning is a relatively new phenomenon, but becomes more and more common in “southern new metropolises”, like Johannesburg, where one of the possible consequences resulting from the will to achieve recognition as a global city (or African World Class City), is the abdication on the part of public authorities of their governance in favor of Private Corporations,

subduing public interest in the name of private interest as literature around the world shows us (Osborne, 1993; Borja e Castells, 1997; Maricato, 1997; Vainer 2000; Sanchez, 2001; Levy 2001; Kipfer, 2002; Turok, 2004). The combination of neo-liberalisation processes (for a better understanding of the contents of these processes see pag. 164) at local and national levels, the aspiration to be part of the global cities network and the injection of private investment often coincides with the building of a creative hub, as if to demonstrate the achievement of a modernity that allows these cities to secure a place among the cities of the future.

The application of the global city model, the private sector's return to abandoned inner cities, and the inversion of interest by the City from public to private have social and economic impacts and open up a debate on the equity implications of spatial, socio-economic, and political changes, involving issues as the promotion of mixed uses neighborhoods versus gentrification or use of public space versus privatisation and social control. In reference to the Braamfontein case study the attention has been focused in the creation of segregated consumption spaces and in the lack of perception and reaction by the neighborhood's users against this profitable vision of the city. These issues have been analysed making reference to literature that focuses on mixed use, public space and right to the city.

2.2 Urban Renewal

Urban Renewal is a process that had been applied in western countries in the second half of the twentieth century and from the nineties, as consequence of the spread of globalisation processes (for a better understanding of the contents of these processes see pag. 165) and the transference of models and tastes, it has begun to be widely applied in developing countries. These types of interventions see public and private actors working together in the definition of a strategic plan based in different phases. The process starts with the identification of an abandoned urban area recognised as potentially useful for economic and

cultural growth, and the definition of partnerships through which the project will be realised. As an integral part of many local governments, often combined with small and big business incentives, it may involve the use of eminent domain (government purchase of property for public purpose) as a legal instrument to take private property for city-initiated development projects. Considered as a plan of urban land use, involving relocation of business, demolition of structure and neighborhoods and often relocation of people, urban renewal has been seen by proponents, developers and public authorities, as an economic engine and a reform mechanism, and by users and residents as a mechanism for control and exclusion. It is an expression of a contradictory process intending to satisfy real estate and local government interest and is often moved by aesthetic discourses that cannot be considered an apolitical exercise (Sharp et all 20005: 1002).

The dominance of bourgeois value on the landscapes of the cities was a phenomenon which, under the moralization and modernisation discourse, characterised the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century in western countries as well as in colonised countries in the southern hemisphere (Harvey, 2008:26, Andreatta et all, 2009:4). A similar phenomenon seems to repeat itself, even if expressed in a different way, in the bourgeois claim that supports contemporary urban gentrification interventions. One of the possible results, as in the case of Braamfontien, is the definition of boundaries and areas of exclusion expression of a form of regeneration of the city which follows predetermined interests and purposes (Boyer 1994a; Deutsche 1996 quoted in Murray, 2008:72*)*. One of the tools through which these revitalisation programs are realised is through the establishment of City Improvement Districts – CID or Business Improvement Districts – BID. The BID model started in Canada at the end of the 1960s and spread to the USA in the mid 1970s to find its more emblematic application in New York during the Giuliani's term when it became a model of urban revitalization. This was a strategy addressed to achieve a world class city able to attract business in a competitive global market (Smith, 2002:429).

The discourse about improvement districts is rooted in the debate of neoliberal urbanisation (Smith, 2002; Silva, 2012, Hoyt, 2006) where:

> "BIDs appear emblematic of the multi faceted process of national and local institutional change, as generated by the adoption of neoliberal principles and practices at the urban scale, such as Public Private Partnership PPP, new public management and entrepreneurialism. Because of their promotion of unequal social and spatial development characteristics of neoliberal spatiality, through the marketization of public urban spaces that become market-driven consumer-focused spaces" (Miraftab, 2007:615).

BIDs have generated criticism due to their profit-oriented conception of redevelopment through the creation of commodified spaces of elite consumption, the intensified surveillance of public spaces and collateral exclusionary processes (Didier et all, 2012:2). A more recent definition specifies the ultimate goal of CIDs is "to maintain and manage the public environment at a superior level and thus enhance their [the majority of the property owners] investments" (KUM, 2005:6, quoted in Peyroux, 2008:139). In terms of management City Improvement Districts - CIDS are zones that, by private payment added to the municipal bills collected by the city, supply additional services for security, cleaning and marketing otherwise offered by the city in a non-satisfactory way. Once 51% of the area's private owners have decided to adopt a CID, all owners have to participate through the payment of a value close to the 13% of their property rate. Residential or commercial tenants have no voice about CIDs, since voting is tied to property ownership. Officially the companies responsible for the management are non-profit, private partnerships between local government and businesses. The first interventions addressed cleaning and security services, involving the cooperation between municipal police and private security. Following this first phases, the CIDS are active in the field of urban design, as well as through strategies of place making and place promoting intended to provide a distinctive market identity to the area and to promote a renewed image

through the creation of brand, websites, newsletter etc. The urban design activities often involved the upgrade of public spaces and the implementation of public art interventions (Peyroux, 2008; Didier et all, 2012; Miraftab, 2007; Sharp et all, 2005; Pinder, 2008). Once this place making phase has been finalised and the spaces are safer and cleaner, a marketing strategy is set up in order to attract different people and businesses.

One of the stronger discourses applies in support of the application of the City Improvement District model. It is based on its capacity to create mixed neighborhoods where, presumably, people from different social backgrounds may live together in an inspirational and vibrant atmosphere. Socially mixed neighborhoods and communities have become major urban policy and planning goals, and livable cities are based on inclusive neighborhoods made by mixed people. The idea of the social mix benefit is based on three aspects: middle-class people are stronger advocates for public resource, and consequently social mixed neighborhoods will fare better than others; mixed neighborhoods better support the local economy; networks and contacts in mixed neighborhood promote social cohesion, economical opportunity and reinforce social capital (Freeman, 2006; Lees et all 2008; Rose 2004). In this sense, because the system of the Improvement District is based on resources generated by the tax levis, the promotion of social mix is seen as

> *"a way to attract higher income residents who will improve the tax base, supported local business and improve the governability of the city, for well educated, middle class urbanities are less of a burden on social services and are likely to play an active part in neighborhood revitalizations" (Lees, 2011:2455).*

The issue lies in the different interest which moves people using the same space. As Lefebvre highlights, cities have been, and always will be, dynamic entities and they involve struggles between contending forces, between the mobile and the static, and between different interests

(Lefebvre, 1991). The CIDs model makes clear the reason why they are implemented: to defend the interest of property owners and corporate business and support economic growth. They show how these new forms of private governance are characterised by “less democratic and more elite-driven priorities” (Swyngedouw et al quoted in Peyroux 2008:157) and are one of the best expressions of the idealised entrepreneurial city (Murray, 2008:204) rather than the expression of a successful mixed use approach promoting social cohesion, economical opportunity and the reinforcement of social capital.

On the other hand, the literature about social mixes from the United Kingdom, United States and Netherlands presents three different approaches: the UK has promoted the state led gentrification of public houses through housing marked renewal; the US promotes spatial diminishing of poverty and Netherland policies of housing re-differentiation based on the move of expensive dwellers to low income areas and the sale and upgrade of existing buildings. The issue lies in the fact that all these approaches, some in a form more evident than others, are based on the idea of creating a socially homogeneous population via gentrification (Aalbers et al., 2004:11, quoted in Lees, 2011:2455) considered not only as relocation of people but also as an expression of affordability of living costs or relocation of people. The social mix promoted is not based on different classes of people cohabiting in the same area, with equal possibilities of access and use of the area, but on the creation of homogeneous spaces of consumption. Demolition and rebuilding of significant low income areas, and the imposition of mix occupancy as conditions for planning approval and funding, prove how the real goal of urban renewal is not to promote a mixed or more integrated society able to meet the needs of different residents. Instead the goal is to reinforce urban economy. The main target of these interventions is not represented by the residents, considered as the custodians of the meaningful possibility to make and change the place, but by the passenger consumer determining the specificity of the type of facilities provided such as art galleries, high

tech shops, and restaurants more than super markets and schools for example. In his study of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Nick Blomley comments on how social mix can be considered as an antidote to urban poverty:

> "*Programs of renewal [which] often seek to encourage home ownership, given its supposed effects on economic self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and community pride. Gentrification, on this account, is to be encouraged, because it will mean the replacement of a marginal anti community (non property owning, transitory, and problematized) by an active, responsible, and improving population of homeowners" (Blomley, 2004: 89, quoted in Slater, 2006:750)*

This statement makes clear the idea about who has to move out, "the marginal anti-community consisting in no property owning", and who has to move in, an "active, responsible, and improving population of homeowners" (Blomley, 2004:89). The meaning of social mixing appears lost in favor of a new community essentially made by homeowners who can afford to buy their properties and to maintain similar patterns of life. As Blomley remarks "If social mix is good, argue local activists, then why not make it possible for the poor to live in rich neighbourhoods?" (Slater, 2006:750). About social mix and the often frustrated attempt to create a mixed social environment, the consequent link is with gentrification (Lees and Slater and Wyly, 2008; Lees 2008; Zuckin, 1989; Freeman, 2006; Sassen, 2001).

The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, in her study in London and describes the influx of middle-class people displacing lower-class worker residents. The form that gentrification processes take is dramatic and visible, through forced eviction of people, or through a less evident and slower process of transformation of the area. In an area affected by a gentrifying process the renting cost, as well the general living cost, increase and the family size decreases. Often old industrial buildings and offices spaces or simply commercial activities are not sufficiently

productive for the new parameters of the area and are converted to residential areas and shops addressed to a new and more affluent base of consumers. All these conditions forced residents to move to a cheaper community. It is interesting noticing that until the late 1980s, it has been almost impossible to find literature reporting a positive valuation about gentrification.

It was only in the eighties, with the explosion of the yuppie booms and the spread of urban regeneration interventions, that some scholarship started to see gentrification as an expression of a liberal desire of the new middle classes for difference and diversity in the city which may encourage more socially mixed, less segregated, more livable and sustainable communities (Slater, 2006; Watt, 2008). Starting from the nineties and continuing to the present times, globalisation spreads the same idea of a positive gentrification whose principal actor is represented by the creative class (Peck, 2005:742). Despite the recent appearance of literature which refers to a positive view of gentrification (Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Florida, 2000; Duany, 2001; Byrne 2003) and the desire on the part of the new middle class for diversity and difference, there are few evidences of the positive effects of gentrification and social mixing - which appears always more as a one-side strategy. More than mixing with different people, the new middle class “tends to self-segregate. Notions of diversity were more in the minds of these gentrifiers, rather than in their actions, reflecting one way in which they defined themselves as a specific class fraction and, in particular, as cosmopolitan citizens” (Butler and Robson, 2001 quoted in Lees, 2011:2458). Social ties rarely cross class and racial lines, groups don’t interact, and there is no real communication going on. The “influx of middleclass residents into a disadvantaged neighborhoods does not increase social cohesion, rather the contacts between low-income and higher-income households tend to be superficial at best and downright hostile at worst” (Lees, 2011:2456). The results of a number of studies about social interaction in revitalized Dutch neighborhoods demonstrates as social networks amongst neighbors tend to be socially segregated,

especially in terms of socioeconomic status and ethnicity (Uitermark et all, 2007, quoted in Lees, 2011:2465).

The idealistic discourse about the creation of a more diverse and tolerant city is imbued with a moralistic discourse that is about helping the poor (Blomley, 2004; Slater, 2006) or about the experiment of cultural diversity. Socio-cultural diversity is a leitmotif in the new taste for central city housing and neighborhoods and life experiences of low income people in low income neighborhoods, alluring some new young middle class people. Introduce this quote

> *"One of the great amenities of dense city living, it is represent by the exposure to such social and cultural diversity as ethnicity. A composite statement of the idea made up from many fragments is as follows: a milieu of diversity represents a childrearing advantage over 'homogeneous suburbs', because children are exposed to social 'reality' and to the give and take of social and cultural accommodation with those who are different. For adults the urban ambience of diversity is a continual source of stimulation and renewal and a reminder of the cultural relativity of one's own style of life. It is said to be a relief from the sub cultural sameness and 'boredom' of many suburban communities" (Allen, 1984, pp. 31–32 quoted in Lees, 2011:2450).*

The discourse about increases of social capital and inclusion is meaningless when the social capital often resulting after the completion of renewal programs, is made by a homogeneous type of people defined inside the parameter of a "creative class" under the condition to afford the value of rents and also the living cost of these new regenerated districts, as well to satisfy aesthetic requirements.

2.3 Creative cities and Global cities in the South

Urban regeneration has been seen as the model for urban development intervention. This tendency represents an instrument through which it is

possible to create a new model of the city, which may meet the needs created by the redefinitions of the global economy. Global cities emerged in the seventies as the result of the dramatic financial system expansion based not on productive functions but on capital around the world (Smith, 2002:434). To a large extent global cities are defined by the presences of global headquarters and produce service firms. They play a role in coordinating the integration of their national economies into the global economy and in exercising global control (Sassen: 2001, Friedman: 1995, Castells: 1991). Originally more concentrated in the northern hemisphere, in the late eighties and early nineties have begun to expand in the southern hemisphere, as cities such as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, and Mexico City in Central and Latin America and Mumbai, Hong Kong and Singapore in Asia demonstrate (Sassen, 2005:34). As result of the restructuring of the global economy the necessity for a new type of city with new roles has been created, determining social and cultural changes and the establishment of a new social dominant class of skilled professionals. This new class exacerbates the lack of power and marginalises the old industrial working class (Shatkin, 2007:4), following the Western trend, it results in attempting to revive economies through the creative and knowledge class, not through the working class. In developing countries global cities converge around a western neoliberal model of development based on public private partnerships PPP, which strongly influences urban governance and often results in the privatisation of planning thereby opening a debate on the equity implications of spatial, socioeconomic, and political change (Brenner et all, 2010:338). A possible link between the global city development and inequality is founded in the analysis of local urban governance and the private sector's intervention in relation to the neoliberal processes at local and national levels, and in the specific role of the private sector into the "neoliberalising experimentation" (Brenner and all, 2010a:196).

Critiques of the application of the global city model in developing countries focus on the transformation of city economies exclusively, or mainly, on

producer and business services and high technologies industries, not considering the importance of a large part of the local economy, constituted by the informal market. The result is an increase of social economic inequality resulting in social class polarisation between wealthy professional and low wage service sector classes. This polarisation is reflects physically in the configuration of the city as a fragmented space and the reinforcing of spatial segregation; politically in the impossibility of ordinary citizens to be part of urban policy making processes often left in the hands of large investors. Another critical aspect lies in the continuous reference to a western model "shaped by a liberal economic ideology, a consumerist culture and a polarized social structure" (Shatkin, 2007:4). Cities are no longer seen as place of production but as a place of consumption that not necessary has to satisfy everyday needs but must focus more on a visual consumption of urban spaces. “Attentiveness to urban lifestyle on the part of city governments has encourage strategies that aestheticize the city and has been accompanied by an increase in private groups’ control over specific public spaces” (Zukin, 1998:826). In global cities, local and national government, as well local and international investors, share the same interest addressed to maximize the profitability and global economy and competitiveness of urban space (Turok, 2004:1074). Urban space is shaped by the interaction between the economic interests of global networks and local private and public actors. In reinforcing this situation western urban models and tastes are imposed in developing countries through the hegemony of western planning ideas, and through the desires of emergent elites, who traveling around the world, come back to their places simply mimicking those of the western middle without thinking in a local adaptation. The result is the cities’ transformation in “branch nodes for the international distribution of the same standardized mass producer, consumer goods as well the same generalized aesthetic products such as art works and historic buildings” (Zukin, 1998:830). Urban development ends up being defined by the private sector through “the transfer of responsibility for and power over the

visioning of urban future and the exercise of social action for urban change from public to private sector actors" (Shatkin, 2007:10). The competition between cities in the global context and the engagement at different levels reflects transformation in the global economy. The labor-economy is been substituted by the knowledge-economy (Freeman, 2008; Clarke and Brandford: 1998) and in this context the creative city is the model that wins in the global competition and transformation. The situation is even more complex in southern cities, when idea of modernity is closely linked with urban life style and became synonymous with development (Mbembe and Nuttel, 2008:17). The approach to creative economies defines a new economic value based on cultural consumption and especially in the production of a new competitive imagination. As one of the consequences, "standardized development formulas have been used to develop creative cities. These often take the form of a checklist of requirement such as art galleries, a media cluster of public art. However no attention is then given to the process of cultural development" (Comunian, 2011:1158).

The "creative city", a concept developed by Franco Bianchini and Charles Landry in the late 1980s beginning 1990s (Bianchini and Landry, 1995), has since become a global movement reflecting a new planning paradigm for cities. The idea is based on the vision of culture as an engine to support creativity around city regeneration, and as a tool for a new form of economic development (Comunian, 2005:1159). Creative cities around the world are linked with the idea of the emerging of new creative industries which support the creation of a new creative class; this theory is detailed by Richard Florida in his vast literature from the beginning of 2000 (Florida, 2000, 2005, 2008). To a large extent a creative city is a city where creative industries are concentrated and supported, and where economic success is determined by the presence of the creative class. According to Florida to appeal to these groups cities need to promote culture, cultural diversity and entertainment (Florida 2008:28). In his work on the role of creativity in economic development, he defines the "3T", Technology, Talent and Tolerance, as the essential elements of economic

development. His argument is that growth is ‘powered’ by creative people (Talent) who prefer places that are ethnically diverse and open to new ideas (Tolerant). This type of environment encourages the concentrations of ‘cultural capital’ wedded to new products and processes (Technology) leading to business formation, job generation and economic growth” (Florida, quoted in Montgomery, 2005:338).

Even if creative cities are quite a recent phenomenon of urban development, it has rapidly spread. In the past two decades and more recently also as a consequence of the world’s economic crises, cities have significantly invested in their cultural infrastructure and creative economy. Culture is used “as a mean of urban regeneration (Evans and Shaw, 2004; M.Miles, 2005), economic development (Florida, 2002b; Scott, 2000, 2004) and social inclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002)” (all quoted in Comunian, 2005:1156). One of the critiques of this approach is that “It forces the idea that a creative city needs specific local assets, such as cultural amenities but does not explain how the creative class interacts with these types of assets [..] it builds a façade that gives the creative class the impression of living in an attractive cosmopolitan city” (Comunian, 2011:1159). The limitation of the theory concerns a top-down perspective and the use of culture as part of a process of revitalisation raises the question “culture for whom?” (Sharp and all, 2005:1002). The issue is the implication of the creative city as a global discourse and its application in local urban development lies in the promotion of a globalised culture generator of anonymous, homogeneous and segregated neighborhoods.

2.4 Public Spaces

According to the definition of the creative city the promotion of cultural diversity and entertainment has to be reinforced. Cultural diversity implies the possibility and capacity of different groups co-habiting the same space and the openness to the stranger. Without denying the chance to have these types of interactions in private spaces, the encounter with the

unexpected and the stranger often passes through public spaces, less subject to forms of organisation or control. It is exactly in this interaction that the creative class supposes to base their creativity and, in the broadest sense, cities show their level of integration and civic consciousness. In this sense, considered as a collective expression of the city "public spaces mirror the complexities of urban societies. As historic social bonds have weakened and cities have become collections of individuals, public open spaces have also changed from being embedded in the social fabric of the city to being a part of more impersonal and fragmented urban environments" (Madanipour, 2010:1). Public space has been an important facet of cities and urban culture. In cities around the world, urban spaces such as plazas, markets, streets and urban parks have been long the center of civic life for urban dwellers. Public spaces provide opportunities for gathering, socializing, recreation, as well as protest and demonstrations. In the Western tradition, public space has had a positive connotation that evokes the practice of democracy, openness, and publicity of debate since the time of the Greek agora. Although some questions may legitimately be raised about the existent link between public spaces and a full exercise of participatory democracy in an electronic age that offers a vast amount of different channels of participation (Amin, 2010:25; Williams et all) "the very idea of democracy is inseparable from that of public space. Public space means simultaneously: open to all, well known by all, and acknowledged by all. It stands in opposition to private space of special interest" (Henaff and Strong, 2001:35, quoted in Hou, 2010:3). Lefebvre's idea of spaces includes three types: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space:

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

In accordance with Lefebvre's vision, spaces are not simply made by a specific physical configuration but are embedded in a variety of deeper meanings (Amin, 2010:42) and require an active participation and use. Socialisation and the possibility of unexpected encounters become the central elements which turn a space into a public place. In its full meaning, public spaces express openness to the unknown and necessarily involve reproducing the social relations that are bound up in it (Bremner, 2010:150; Amin, 2010:29). "Lived space is not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds, but represents a constituent element of social life? (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39; Soja, 1996 quoted in Purcell, 2002:102).

A public space represents the opportunity for a truly social mix, which requires a critical attention with regard to the ability to produce an inclusive urban renaissance. As Marion Young's suggests "it is important to support a politic of differences" (Young, 1990 quoted in Lee, 2011:2464) rather than create a supposed mixed neighborhood where the reality shows us everybody has expected to become similar in taste and life style. Diversity has to be supported in order to overcome fragmentation, and create accessible spaces where everybody feels comfortable and included (Amin, 2010:26). In Young's ideal of city life:

> *"there is group differentiation and the interfusion of these groups occurs through social space. She highlights the need to provide spaces (not neighbourhoods) that offer opportunities for social interaction amongst people from different social backgrounds (see also Lofl and, 1998)" (Lees, 2011:2464)*

These spaces, compared with entire neighborhood, have more possibilities to achieve a true integration and should represent a first step to the implementation of an effectively mixed neighborhood of people. This idea of social spaces refers to a particular idea of public spaces supported by Jacobs (1961), Sennet (2006) and Amin (2007) understood as opened,

crowded, diverse, incomplete, improvised and disorderly or lightly regulated.

2.5 Right to the city

The final topic of the literature is a presentation of some of the contents that make up the right to the city, and it explains how regeneration programs happening in global cities around the world could represent an attempt to the right to the city understood as access, affordability and participation in the city-making process. The first definition of the right to the city is to be attributed to the French sociologist Henry Lefebvre, who introduced it in response to the events of May 1968 in France, in his book *Le Droit à la ville*. Over the years, the expression “right to the city” becomes more and more fashionable and often used by several scholarships, activists and represents NGOs around the world, but in part, ended with the emptying of its meaning. Lefebvre’s right to the city offers a much more radical, problematic, and open-ended vision of urban politics than the vision currently offered in the literature.

> *“Lefebvre’s right to the city is an argument for profoundly reworking both the social relations of capitalism and the current structure of liberal-democratic citizenship. His right to the city is not a suggestion for reform, nor does it envision a fragmented, tactical, or piecemeal resistance. His idea is instead a call for a radical restructuring of social, political, and economic relations, both in the city and beyond. Key to this radical nature is that the right to the city reframes the arena of decision-making in cities: it reorients decision-making away from the state and toward the production of urban space. Instead of democratic deliberation being limited to just state decisions, Lefebvre imagines it to apply to all decisions that contribute to the production of urban space. The right to the city stresses the need to restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, fundamentally shifting control away*

from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants"(Purcell, 2002:101)

Urban space became the central element in Lefebvre's content of the right of the city, and includes not only the physical space but also its mental and social construction through the personal experience of space in the everyday life of the users. Lived space becomes an active element of social life and the expression of an active attitude of using. For Lefebvre "the right to the city is like a cry and a demand... a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre 1996:158 quoted in Purcell, 2002:102). Considering the right to the city as a concrete action aimed at the creation of a social urban space, means giving to citizens the right to claim their city in a direct form. The claim of the user is expressed through participation based on self-management, and appropriation which is based on the priority of use value of urban space rather than exchange value interests of capitalist firms (Lopes de Souza:2010:318, Purcell, 2012:103). In this understanding of the contents of the right to the city, the privatisation of public spaces has important implications for the political sphere of contemporary cities, "when private spaces replace public gathering spaces the opportunities for political conversation are diminished" (Kohn, 2004 quoted in Hou, 2010:6) because subjected to unequal power relations. The situation become more critical in the absence of a civil society who claim their right to the city, or claim a very specific use of the city, mainly dominated by acquisitive ability and consumption. The inexistence of critical mass thinking about forms and aims regarding the use of city's space avoids the possibility to have a real public and political discussion about the city development, and resulting in the loss of meaning of urban space affected by processes of revitalization of derelict inner cities around the world.

The same use of the expression revitalisation appears contradictory. In many cases upgrade interventions result in homogeneous places submerged by the increasing standardisation of consumption spaces,

which determine the creation of a sense of political and social neutralisation of the urban scenario. If homogeneous places are socially more stable because they avoid the tensions between economic, social and cultural differences between residents, they are also, for the same reason, easier to control. Understanding diversity as the vital element of the making of the city (Zukin, 1998; Jacobs 1961; Amin, 2010) it is possible to assume that revitalisation processes eliminate one part of the city in order to create space for another one more profitable, destroying one kind of social capital in an attempt to create another. There is no will to bring together the economical results with the attempt to find possible solutions, or possible forms of mitigation, to urban problems such as poverty or social exclusion. The city is brought to life only in an economic sense and through marketing strategies, rather than processes of participatory and inclusive citizenship that promotes a plan meaningfully shared by the majority of users.

2.6 Conclusions

One of the consequences of the restructuring of the global economy is the creation of a need for a new model of cities. As an effect, global cities, originally more concentrated in the northern hemisphere started to expand in the southern hemisphere. The city's role becomes more and more related with economic growth contributing to the creation of a certain level of ambiguity between the definition of public and private interests that seems to converge into the maximisation of profit and global economic competitiveness of urban space. In the overlap between public and private interest, the private tends to prevail, especially in developing countries, due to the disproportionate economic availability between private investors and public funds. The result is "the transfer of responsibility for and power over the visioning of urban future and the exercise of social action for urban change from public to private sector actors" (Shatkin, 2007:10). Urban governance starts to embrace neoliberalisation processes at local and national levels based on public private partnerships (PPP), which

often result in the privatisation of planning - opening a debate on the equity implications of spatial, socioeconomic, and political change (Brenner and all, 2010:338; Payne, 1999:8).

One of the most applied urban interventions is represented by urban regeneration projects which have been seen by private developers and public authorities, as an economic engine and a reform mechanism to satisfy real estate and local government interests. City Improvement Districts (CIDs) are one of the main instruments of implementation of urban regeneration projects and after its successful application in the 80's in New York City, appear as synonymous of a strategy addressed to achieve a world class city status capable of attracting business in a competitive global market. The starting intervention is addressed to cleaning and security services, involving the cooperation between municipal police and private security. Once this place making phase has been finalised and the spaces are safer and cleaner, a marketing strategy is set up in order to attract different people and business. It is in the not consideration of pre-existing community that lies one of the main issue affecting regeneration about regeneration projects. The city, understood as a social space, seems to lose importance, or at least the type of social interaction that seems to reinforce is mainly aimed at creating spaces of consumption. If it is undeniable that these spaces played a role in socialisation dynamics and it is also true that in an urban place a social context, as the one in Johannesburg, may favor the creation of selective places only suitable for people who can afford it. Another issue is related with the satisfaction of everyday needs, especially in relation to people living in the neighborhood, and how these consumption spaces are inadequate for the satisfaction of these needs. This is clearly demonstrated by the almost exclusive type of facilities provided by urban regeneration processes (art galleries, high tech shops, and restaurants) which are addressed more to passing consumers than residents.

The establishment of a new social dominant class of skilled professionals which tends to marginalise the old working class is one of the social and cultural changes resulting in the spread of this new urban model. The class polarisation between wealthy professionals and the low wage services sectors reflects physically in the configuration of the city as a fragmented space and the reinforcing of spatial segregation. Even if socially mixed neighborhoods and communities have become a major urban policy and planning goal, and livable cities are based on inclusive neighborhoods, most of these approaches are based on the idea of the creation of socially mixed population via gentrification. Urban Regeneration policies and the CIDs model makes clear their profit purpose and the effective reason why they are implemented: to defend the interests of property owners and corporate business. The results of these types of interventions is often the promotion of unequal social and spatial development characteristics of neoliberal spatiality, through the commodification of public urban spaces that become market-driven consumer-focused spaces. There is no evidence of a positive effect of mixed neighborhood and the discourse about increase of social capital and inclusion is meaningless when the social capita, often resulting after the completion of renewal programs, is made by a homogeneous group of people in condition to satisfy the economical and aesthetical parameters required.

The approach to creative economies defines a new type of competition between cities and creates a new economic value based on cultural consumption and production of a new competitive imagination. This means the aesthetic discourses that permeate urban development can’t be considered an apolitical exercise. It reflects a bourgeois claim that supports contemporary urban gentrification interventions, and produces homogeneous segregated consumption spaces and affects the exercise of the right to the city. Considering “the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an

individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization" (Harvey, 2008:23). The joint nature of this right is the expression of the necessity to extend the access to the city to as many different people as possible and expresses the importance to create, as far as possible, a heterogeneous context rather than areas economically inaccessible, in order to develop an inclusive and just city (Fainsten, 2010).

According with Lefebvre's vision, spaces are not simply made by a specific physical configuration but are embedded in a variety of meanings (Amin, 2010:42) and are expressions of diversity and require an active participation making process. If homogeneous places are socially more stable, because they avoid the tensions between economic, social and cultural differences between residents, they are also, for the same reason, more controllable. Diversity has to be supported in order to overcome fragmentation, and create accessible spaces where everybody feels comfortable and included. The link between the right to the city and the active production of space means that those who live in the city claim their city in a direct form.

The claim of the user has to be expressed through participation based on self-management, and appropriation based on the priority of use value of urban space, rather than exchange value interests of capitalists, but this claiming becomes ambiguous and loses its meaning when urban spaces are considered exclusively as commodities. The privatisation and mercerisation of public space has important implication for the political sphere of contemporary cities, "when private spaces replace public gathering spaces the opportunities for political conversation are diminished" (Kohn, 2004 quoted in Hou, 2010:6) because they are subjected to unequal power relations.

Chapter III - The physical territory of Braamfontein

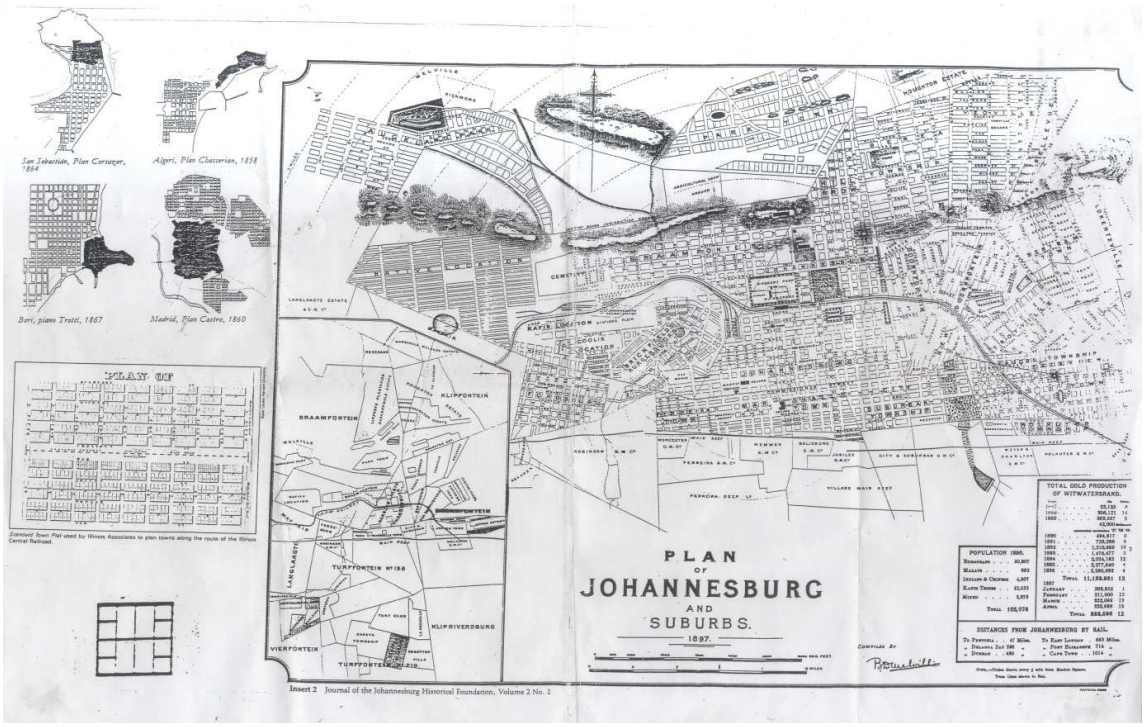
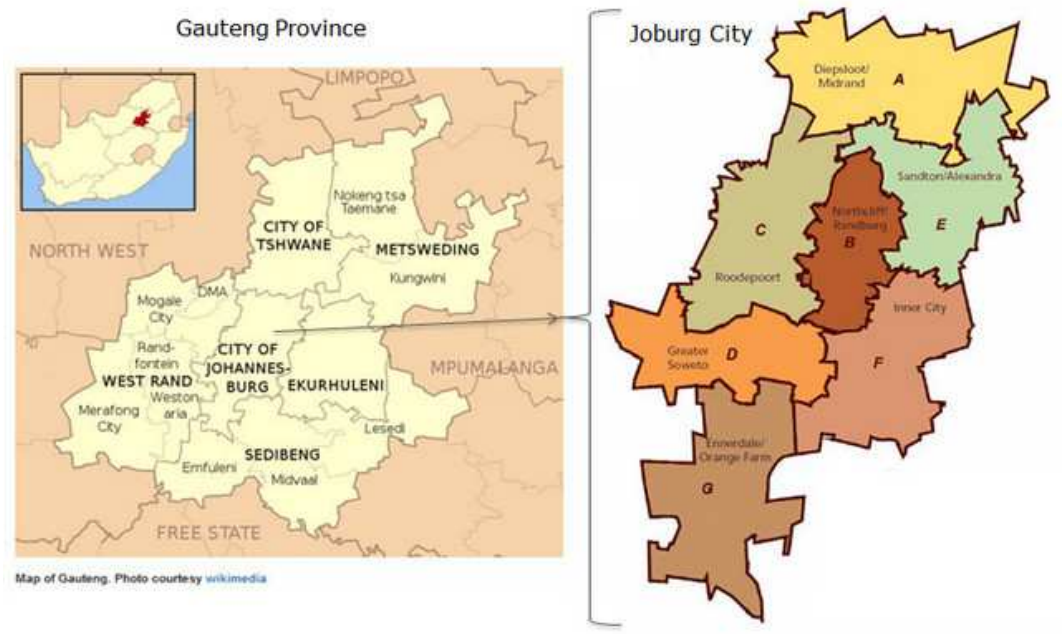


Figure 2. Map of Johannesburg and suburbs 1897 (source: Journal of the Johannesburg Historical Foundation, Vol 2(1).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the history and the physical configuration of the neighborhood through the collection of secondary data coming from websites. For the history/background of the neighborhood most of the information comes from the City of Joburg website as well some publications about the history of Johannesburg. Websites of the main private and public developers are used as well to provide maps which allowed an interpretation of the space of Braamfontein through the information collected during the interviews conducted with those responsible for these public and private institutions. The final part of the chapter is dedicated to the mapping project and exercise which has been conducted along four months by the researcher and for three Saturdays (11, 25 August and 22 September 2013) by the participations of three groups of people who have been invited to mapping Braamfontein with the researcher. The purpose is to provide, to persons not familiar with Braamfontein, the information needed to display the physical territory

through institutional maps (the investors) but also informal maps (via the mapping exercise of the users). The amount of information resulting from this mapping exercise is quite extensive, and for this reason the analyses of the data has suffered from a difficult process of interpretation. However, they have influenced the researcher's conclusions and for this reason have been presented in this chapter.



Map of Gauteng. Photo courtesy wikimedia

Figure 2. Map of the City of Johannesburg, Braamfontein is located into the Area F, source:google

The reason why Braamfontein was chosen as research field lies in the impressions of the physical configuration of the area, impressions that have been confirmed by many of the interviews. The interviewed with the Department of Art, Culture and Heritage describes Braamfontein as a meeting point between different places in the city, "a district surrounded by areas of Johannesburg with different peculiarities, having a linking-function as a physical connector of these different realities. On the east side Hillbrow with the splendor of a golden past and the legacy of stately buildings which have been turned into squatters occupied by people coming from different places around Africa. On the opposite side the wealthy northern suburbs soft and green which dramatically show the huge disparity in terms of density condition between the inner city and the

northern suburbs. Finally, in the south side, the city center with the Mandela Bridge symbolizing the connection and the entrance to the City Business District and New Town, what remain[s] of the cultural spot in the old inner city of Johannesburg" (Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012).



Fig.3 Mandela Bridge, source: google

Braamfontein is also seen as an area very well territorially defined by the presence of Constitutional Hill, Mandela Bridge, the highways and Wits University campus and for this reason appear easily manageable as it is well less subjected to a possible uncontrolled growth in terms of density. The easy access is guaranteed not only to cars, through the highway and Jan Smuts Avenue, but also to pedestrians by the huge number of taxis circulating, the old commercial train station and the recent opening of Park Station. These characteristics make Braamfontein particularly attractive for future investors which also see the presence of the headquarters of big corporations such as Sappi and Liberty Life, JD Group which are signals of security in terms of long term stability of their real estate investments and business in general.

In relation to the research Braamfontein represents the perfect example to showcase the Johannesburg City's regeneration efforts. After bringing in by-law legislation to control the numbers of informal traders in the area, the City has managed to persuade private property owners - mainly Sappi, Liberty Life, JD Group and others - to make improvements on their buildings and invest in the improvement of the living condition of the neighborhood thus creating a mix of a corporative and creative precinct. This new energy and beautify of the surrounding areas has created a

ripple effect among smaller property owners as well, as they have also invested in the area and enhanced the ambient environment. In November 2005, the City launched the Braamfontein brand, to enable further promotion of the node as a lively area to be in and invest in. The developments have created an increaseed demand of the housing market, especially for young new professionals, and for renting students accommodations. The creation and support of a “Braamfontein brand” has strongly influenced the idea of "Braamfontein as the creative hub in the City of Joburg" and determined a specific economy in the area. Even if the City’s decision, in 2000 to create a “Cultural Arc” that would link Newton to Constitutional Hill, through Braamfontein, has not had continuity, the forms that Braamfotnein is currently develop by the private sector intervention seems to go in a similar direction.

This chapter will provide an overview of the physical representation of Braamfontein by the developers (public or private). The intention is, in the general context of the research, to link this representation with the ongoing processes of privatization of planning and use of public space in Braamfontein with how this affects the everyday use and representation (provided by the maps) of the users of Braamfontein.

3.2 Background / history of the place

Braamfontein has been part of Johannesburg since 1886. Originally the area was a farm covering an enormous area including "Parktown, Melville, Greenside, Roosevelt Park and Northcliff, were all established in an unique area, where people lived and worked, reinforcing a strong sense of community” (Leyds, 1964 quoted in Neil Fraser City of Joburg website). The Braamfontein Township was declared in 1888/9, when it was unofficially named after the farm, as an official extension of the city of Johannesburg. This area is still called Braamfontein.

This original township stretched from the Old Cemetery along Noord Street to Joubert Park, and included the old Wanderers' Ground, and part of Braamfontein along Smit and Wolmarans streets became known as

Wanderers' View. This was also the site for a number of up-market houses but, because they faced south and never had any sun, their owners soon sold them. Mandy says that:

> *"The realisation dawned that in the southern hemisphere a north-facing aspect is best. Soon the rich were moving over the crest of the ridge to sunny sheltered Parktown withits wide views of the north. The middle classes went north and east, first to Central Braamfontein and then to suburbs like Hillbrow, Yeoville and Bellevue" (City of Joburg website, accessed on 16 December 2012)*

Beavon, describing the area in the 1950s as "a low income white working class area - Braamfontein was then an area of semi-detached cottages, small flats, cheap hotels and canteens" (2004:147). Leyds wrote that most of the up-market houses "ended their existence, which had started so full of hope and promise, as second rate lodging houses, now being replaced with blocks of flats" (City of Joburg website, accessed on 16 December 2012). But, in the early to mid-1950s two initiatives positively changed the nature of Braamfontein: the first was the decision by the then city council to relocate the seat of the City of Joburg from the CBD to Braamfontein Hill where it still remains; the second was the rezoning of land in Braamfontein to commercial rights and development. The result was the attraction of big companies such as Eskom, SAB, ICI and Shell. "In 1950, there were only 5.000m² of office space in Braamfontein but that this had increased to 163.000m² by 1965" (Beavon, 2004:147). According to the City of Joburg website, today's office space is something of the order of 475 000m² and represents an important commercial and economic node in the north of the city centre. Between the late 1980s and early 2000s, the area followed the general decline of the inner city of Johannesburg and went through a period of urban decay causing an exodus of institutions and businesses to more affluent areas in the north of the city such as Sandton and Melrose. Fortunately even during the worst of these times important corporations like Sappi and Liberty maintained their

headquarters in the district, determining why these vacancy rates remained some of the lowest in the inner city. The presence of these companies continues to have a strong impact in the management decision of the City Improvement District responsible for the redevelopment of Braamfontein due to the fact that most of the available resources come from their levies.

Braamfontein remains the fourth-largest node for office space in the city of Johannesburg and it is home to a number of South African-based multinational corporations and could be considered on a par with other prime office nodes such as Sandton and Melrose Arch. It is also home of the country's premier educational institutions, the University of the Witwatersrand and the most important institution in the country, the Constitutional Court. The area of Braamfontein, which occupies more than 428.000 m2, is now a mixed-use node consisting not only of office spaces. It also has a strong residential component, offering both executive-style apartments addressed to the new middle creative class coming to live in town, and affordable accommodation mainly addressed to students. It is also a key node in terms of transport. The Nelson Mandela Bridge is the key link into Newtown, and the recent opening of the Gautrain Park Station connects the inner city with Sandton and Pretoria, as well as OR Tambo International Airport. Finally, the City's Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit system guarantees buses from Braamfontein to the main city's trunk routes. Over the last ten years Braamfontein has become a vibrant property investment space and a cultural hub offering world-class entertainment at the Joburg Theatre Complex, the Wits Origins Centre and the Planetarium. In this context the concept of the Johannesburg Cultural Arc – as developed by Professor Caroline Hamilton (Witwatersrand University), strategically links Newtown and Constitution Hill, two of the JDA's largest regeneration projects to date.

3.3 Institutional placement and maps of Braamfontein

Braamfontein was considered a contained area, which made it simpler to delimit and manage the investments in the area and, in a certain sense, guarantees the easiest control which represents an important aspect for investors, considering the phenomenon of urban decay for which Johannesburg passed during the nineties. A general comment which emerges from the interviews is that the area is not only well defined but is also well connected with the rest of the city, making the access easier than in the CBD. A developer interviewed who moved his business from Braamfontein to the Maboneng Precinct, another important spot of urban regeneration in the city of Johannesburg, declared that “in terms of access Braamfontein is better” (Govender, pers. comm., 16 August 2012) and he has the impression that clients preferred to have meetings in Braamfontein rather than in the CBD. Residents have positive comments in terms of the walking distance to University (students) and facilities (worker residents) as well as transport (both students and workers). Even the Rea Vaya and the opening of Park Station have had a significant impact in terms of mobility for workers living or coming to work in the neighborhood. By observing the maps of Braamfontein provided by private developers and public agencies who are involved in the regeneration of the neighborhood, we can notice some inconsistencies and confirm certain perceptions about the interventions.



Figure 3 City Management District, Urban Genesis (source: http://www.braamfontein.org.za/content/map)

Starting by the map in the website of the Braamfontein Management District, the mixed use development included commercial, retails, cultural and corporative spaces (Peiroux, 2008:150), and the definition of the territory of Braamfontein appears quite confusing. According to the Braamfontein Management District (BMD) website “the BMD is bounded by Hoofd, Bertha, Loveday and Juta streets”. But the map on the website shows a larger area of Braamfontein and, even if the BMD’s area is remarked, this demarcation is almost invisible and may create a certain level of confusion about the BMD’s area of intervention. What appears is a discrepancy between the recognition by developers of the existence of these borders of intervention, and the almost total ignorance by the users of Braamfontein not only of the existence of such borders, but also of the existence of the Braamfontein Management District. One of the private developers interviewed declares “The BMD has so strictly packed with their area of intervention that if someone breaks a light in one side of the street they [Urban Genesis] are responsible they going to change, if it is on the side which not included in their jurisdiction they don’t mind” (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July, 2012). Having the possibility to observe the everyday

form that the collection of garbage is provided in the Retail Improvement District – RID where the researcher lives it is possible to confirm the truth of this statement. The RID is located between Jeppe Street in the north, Harrison Street in the west, Commissioner Street in the south and von Brandis Street in the east and the different cleaning conditions of the street crossing the delimitation's border are very visible.

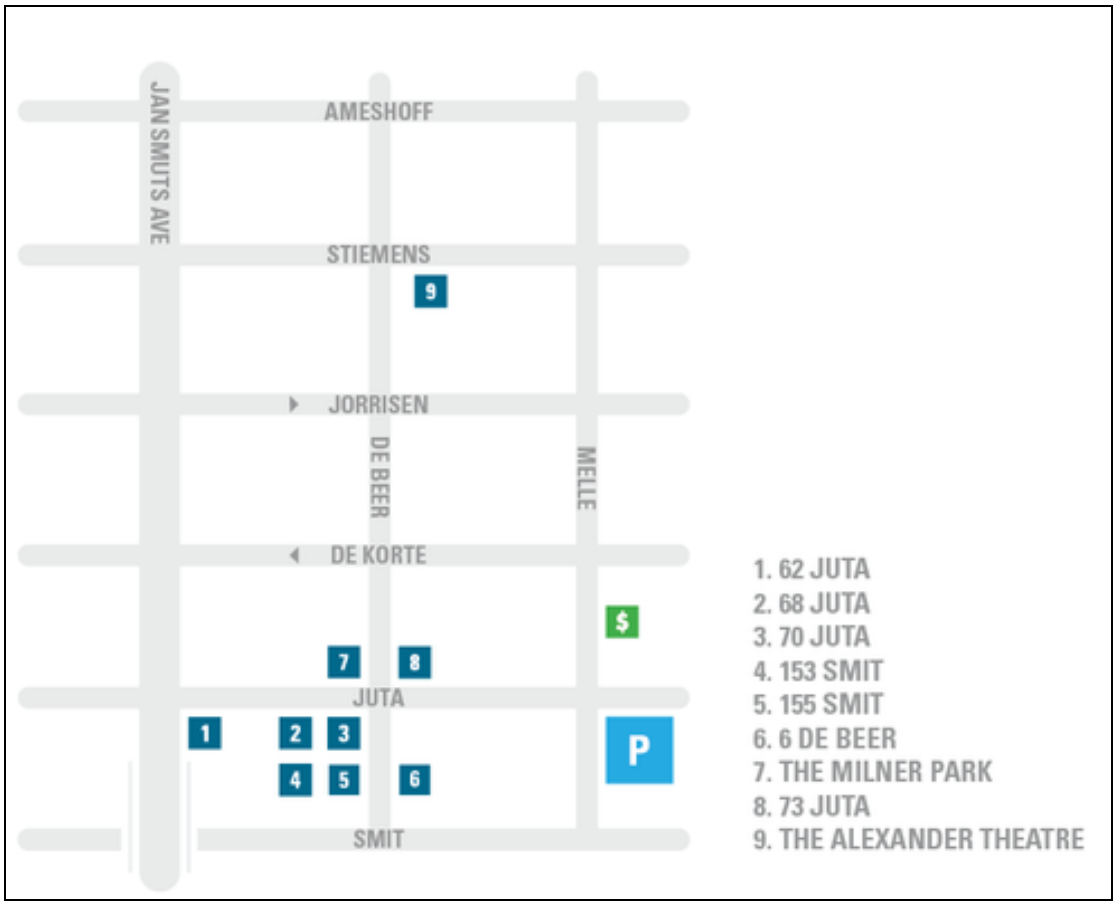


Figure 4. Play Braamfontein's map (Source: http://www.playbraamfontein.co.za/about/)

The map in the website of Play Braamfontein shows a limited area of Braamfontein which is difficult to interpret. Even if in his interview Adam Levy declared that in his opinion Braamfontein starts in Empire Road arriving to Smit Street, the map provided by the Play Braamfontein website reduces the neighborhood into three streets (Jan Smuts, de Beer, Melle) delimited by Ameshoff street in the north, and Smit Street in the south. In line with the intervention of the company the territory of Braamfontein is

limited to the “creative hub” represented by Juta and de Beer Streets, the area where the Play Braamfontein properties are concentrated. This contrasts with the discourse supported by Adam Levy about the importance in reinforcing a sense of community and the Play Bramfontein’s engagement with the neighborhood considered in its entirety. Even if it is not the responsibility of the private sector to develop a comprehensive strategy for the entire neighborhood, considering the vision that the company wants to spread and the influence that private interventions have on the public administration, this detail leaves clear the pursuit, however justified, of a private aim more than a collective interest. Another important consequence which seems to be denounced by this limited map is the lack of attention by the company to consider their action within the whole district of Braamfontein constituted by different actors and needs.



Figure 5 South Point’s Map (Source: http://www.staysouthpoint.co.za/downloads/map-jozi-braamfontein-1.pdf)

On the other hand, South Point’s website offers a more comprehensive map of the territory of Braamfontein, probably because its portfolio covers all the territory of Braamfontein,delimited by Ameshoff street to the north

and Smit street to the south; Herry street on the west and Simmonds Street on the east. The map clearly indicates the location of the South Point residences and facilities permitting even to students unfamiliar with Braamfontein to navigate easily in the neighborhood. It is interesting to highlight that there is a blue line marked area which can be confused with the Bramfontein Management District area, but which in reality delimits the South Point's area of intervention. This lets us imagine the existence of an extra degree of services, for example security, provided on a private basis by the company. This supposition has been confirmed by the South Point manager who commented that “the existence of cameras and extra lights on the streets along the buildings is part of the portfolio of the company and guarantee a higher level of security for the students who live in their properties” (Talotta, pers. comm., 28 June 2012).

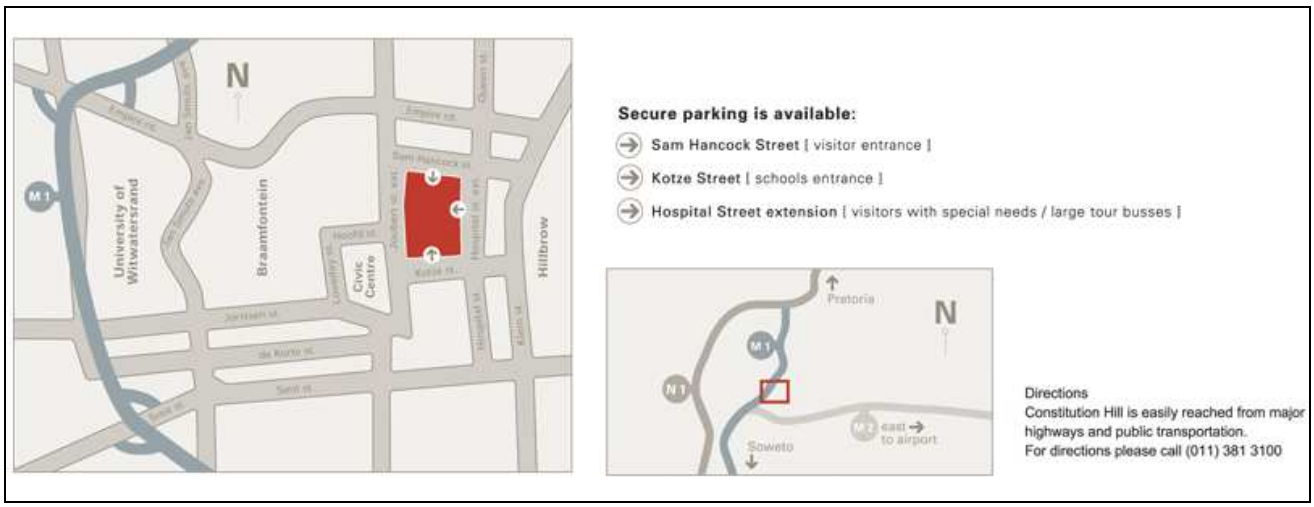


Figure 6 Constitutional Hill (source: http://www.constitutionhill.org.za/contact-us/)

Constitutional Hill’s website map is provided so people can arrive there. It is interesting to notice that it is the only map which located Braamfontein into the city of Johannesburg, conceiving the area as the way to Pretoria or Soweto. It is also the only map which makes references to the nearby neighborhood of Hillbrow. The main problem reported by the Constitutional Hill CEO during her interview was the limited number of people visiting Constitutional Hill. Maybe some effort has to be given to the partnership

between the Braamfontein Management District marketing strategy and the visibility of the heritage tourist place called Constitutional Hill.

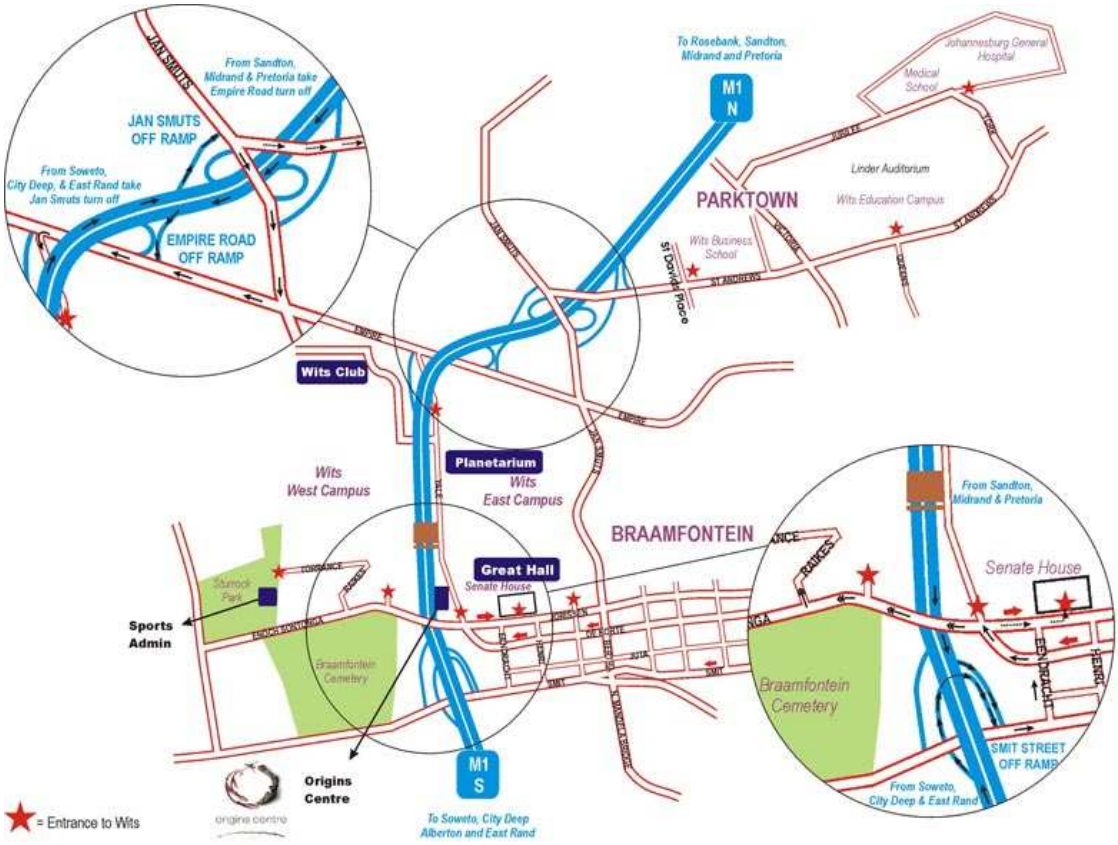


Figure 7 WITS University (source: http://www.wits.ac.za/maps/607/maps.html)

The map in the website of WITS provides an indication of the direction to arrive in Braamfontein and Park Town campus from the O.R. Thambo International Airport, from the south and the north of Johannesburg traveling on the M1 Freeway. The Braamfontein campus was gated by fences in in the early nineties to control the access for security issues. The fact that the university is gated represents a critical issue in its relation with the neighborhood. This point is reported by many interviewers, and even by the representative of the University interviewed, but there is no demarcation in the website's map about the fences which limited the entrance to the campus, even in the specific Braamfontein campus map, implying that the University is easily accessible.

3.4 Walking Mapping Groups

The three walking mapping groups conducted during three different Saturdays between August and October 2012, represents part of the methodology based on participatory observation and engagement of the respondents. People have been invited to walk, observe, map and photograph an area defined in agreement by the participants, with the only limitation that the area had to be part of the ones addressed by the research. The method has been improved through the direct experience, becoming more sophisticate and detailed form one walk to the next one.

The first group, consisting of five friends, was completely free to define what they wanted to map and the area they wanted to walk in. The only limitation regarded the definition of commons themes and streets. The participants decided to research fun zone and recreational spots, food shops, retail, business, services, offices, housing, public spaces, parking, tourism and public art. Any theme was linked with different colors and a map was provided to each participant. The group was divided into two subgroups walking in Juta, de Korte, and Melle Streets.



Figure 8. Walking Map Exercise first groups (photo by Laura Burocco, August 2012)

The result was a huge amount of information difficult to interpret, even more considering the lack of time for an explanatory reading of the maps due to the fact that we didn't define at the beginning a limit in the duration

of the mapping. In this way the mapping had duration approximately from 11am to 3pm and at the end people felt too tired to continue in the analyses. To compensate for this, a questionnaire was sent to the participants (Tables 1.6) and they were also invited to explain their maps in a second moment. Three people sent back the questionnaire. There was generally a perception of an almost complete absence of public spaces. The only space was indicated as public space is one little part of Simmonds Street, and the large presence of offices and educational institutes.

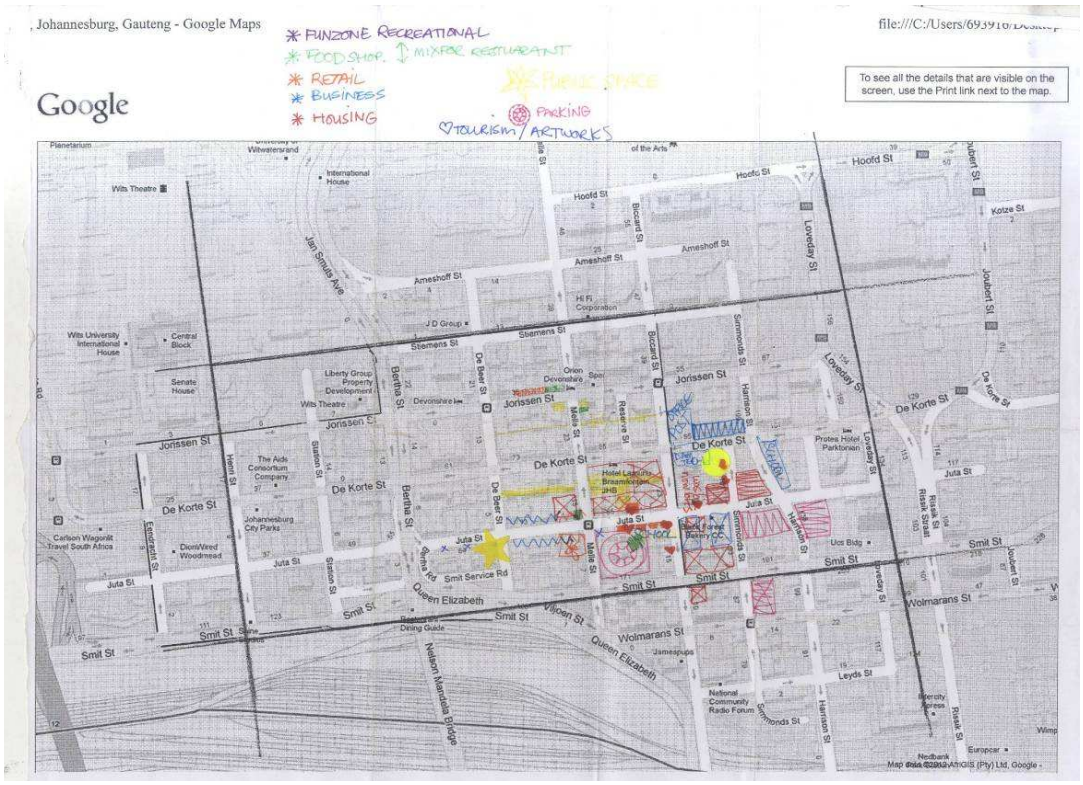


Figure 9 Walking Map Exercise A first group 11 August 2012 (photo by Laura Burocco, 2012)

Learning from the first experience, the observation of the second group has been more oriented in terms of themes. Some questions have been defined according to key issues in the literature on which the research is based (Tables 1.7). The literature themes, in the walking mapping exercise defined as “map points” included: urban renewal; public spaces; global/creative cities; and the right to the city. For anyone of these themes some specific questions have been defined and have to be answered

through the indication of places in Braamfontein. In order to make easier the visualisation of the answers, the places have been signaed not through different colors but through different stickers (stars and points in different colors). Some of the questions are not possible to be answered simply through the signaling of a place, requiring an explication. For this reason a questionnaire has been provided in order to permit the participant to take notes of his/her impression for completing the questionnaire to be sent at a later time. In this second exercise the groups were smaller and included three people. The timing was better defined so participants could comment as to what works best.



Figure 10 Walking Map Exercise second group 25 August 2012 (photo by Laura Burocco, 2012)

One of the participants has also written and sent the questionnaire in addition to her map and comments during the day. The group was made up of people who didn't often come to Braamfontein, but were born and raised in Johannesburg. This made interesting their observation focused mainly in the changes of the neighborhood. The points indicated in the maps confirmed how the perception of changes is mainly focused in the creative hub of Braamfontein (Juta, De Korte, Melle Streets) where the international brands are concentrated according to the indication given by

the participants. It is interesting to notice how often the indication of places where they didn't feel "in Africa" with the places they define as creative context, or international context. It is also interesting to notice how these places are considered safer and cleaner.



Figure 11 Waking Map Exercise G second group 25 August 2012 (photo by Laura Burocco, 2012)

The third group followed the same methodology as the second one. There were three participants, all of them foreigners living in Johannesburg for about two years studying or working. The mapping exercise was followed by a discussion and one of the participants completes the questionnaire. It is interesting to notice how, even though these participants all foreigners, the perception about places how they feel or not in Africa it is almost the same as the people who were born and raised in Johannesburg. Mainly the areas indicated as African are located in De Korte or the top part of Juta streets. One public space is indicated in the Rosebank college park in the corner of Melle with Smit streets, and on the top of Juta, corner with Simmonds Streets. The definition between public and private investment appears quite confusing, but it is not surprising since the participants are

foreigners and don’t have an extended knowledge of the area and the actors of the regeneration’s intervention.

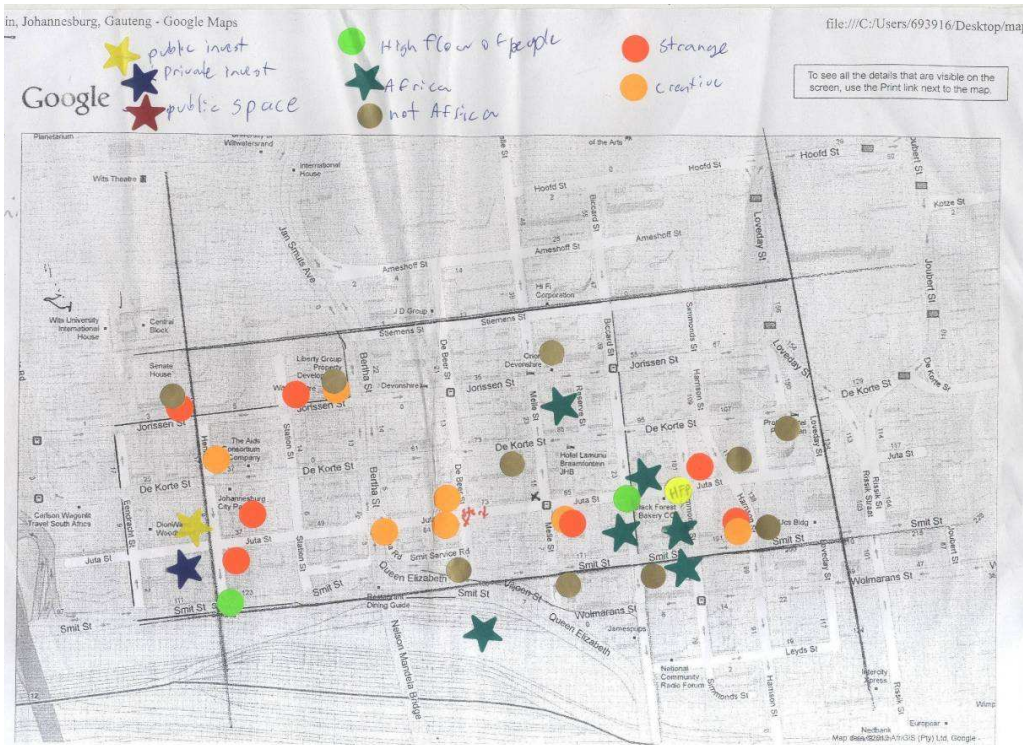


Figure12 Walking Map Exercise I, third group 22 Septemner 2012 (photo by Laura Burocco, 2012)

The residential mapping of Braamfontein was produced through walks by the researcher conduced in different moments and days during three months. The intention was to identify buildings belonging to South Point properties starting from the assumption that South Point exercises an almost exclusive control of student accommodations. Surprisingly, this supposition has been disproved by the presence of many other smaller estate agents aimed at students, some of them offering accommodation at an equal price to South Point, others cheaper. Also the quality of the infrastructure offered, depending on the value of the rent, is quite similar to that one offered by South Point. Probably the bigger difference lies in the extra facilities offered by South Point, as the gym and some bars are mainly intended for students, but most of these facilities (though most these were not working at the time of writing) Another interesting data emerging from this mapping is the presence of not only residential buildings addressed to students but also, affordable houses offered by

AFHCO for workers, and executive-style apartments addressed to the new middle creative class coming back to live in town.

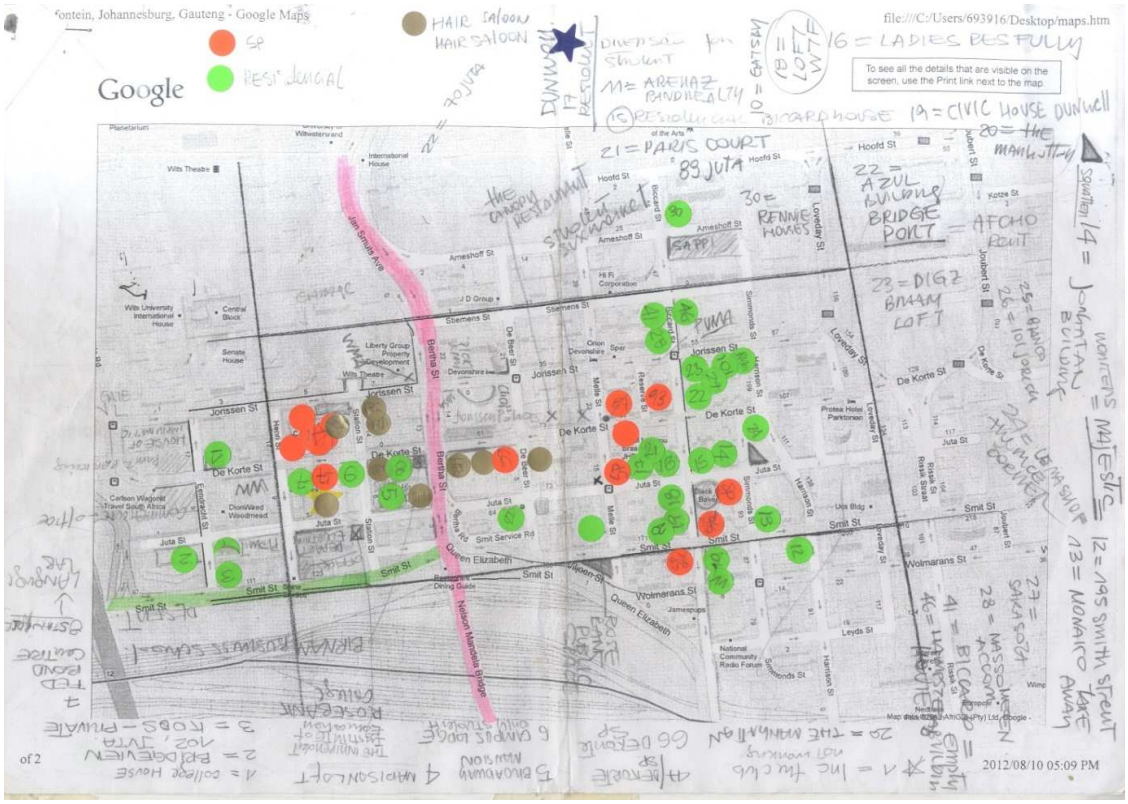


Figure 13 Residential mapping of Braamfontein (November 2012)

Following the maps of the typologies of residential accommodation offered in Braamfontein, a map aimed to observe the type of facilities has been draw. The intention was to observe whether the type of facilities offered around these buildings meet the needs of the residents (students, workers or creative class people). What emerges from this map is the presence of numerous stationery or computer shops, several hairdressers addressed mainly to the black community, tattoo and piercing shops, internet cafés, spaza shops (selling food and many different goods), and a flower shop. These facilities are located across from Bertha Street, in Juta and De Korte Streets and in the top part of Juta and Smit Streets. The observation of the types of facilities offered in Braamfontein is a good indication of the type of development in the neighborhood. If these kinds of facilities mainly addressed to students are located in the border areas of Braamfontein, on

the other hand in the center of the Braamfontein regeneration project (Juta, Melle, De Beer Streets) the facilities are mainly represented by fashion design shops, hipster restaurants and bars and art galleries addressed mainly to the creative class who can afford luxuries. These places are also the places to be seen and to see, places of public relations linked with creative jobs. Jorissen Street, in turn, represents the center of the facilities which meet the needs of ordinary workers, as ordinary restaurants, banks branches and medium cost franchising shops. It is interesting also to notice the changes of Juta street depending on the part of Juta street. Starting from the lower side of Juta, corner with Eendracht Street until cross Bertha Street it is quite desolate and deserted. From Bertha to Biccard Streets, it has become the hub of the creative development to turn back into a desolate and quite abandoned street on the top.

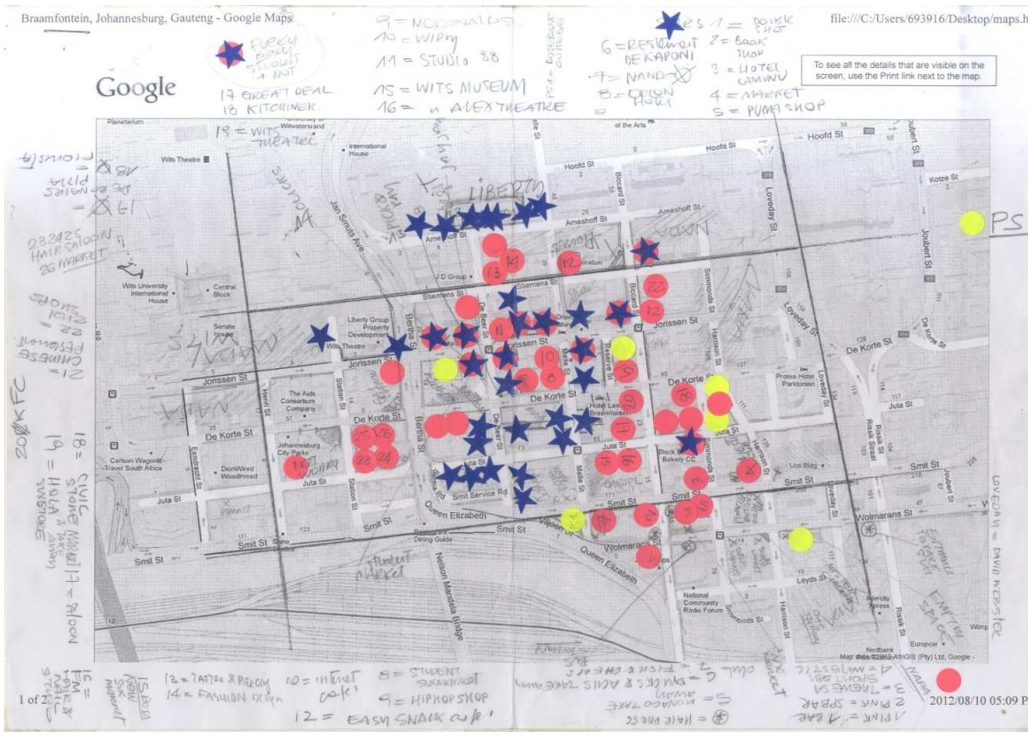


Figure 14 Facilities mapping of Braamfontein (November 2012)

Inevitably, during the walks around Braamfontein, it is virtually impossible not to notice the alleys which have been mapped observing access and maintenance's conditions, which permit (or do not permit) free circulation. Residual space is a very recent urban phenomenon and is described by

Alan Berger as “the creation of wasteland as a natural result of modern urbanization and a complex interaction of social, technological and economic processes that drive contemporary urban growth” (Villagomez, 81:2010). There are many examples of the reutilisation of intense and creative spatial use in North America and Australia, which may be applied to the Braamfontein reality of the alleys. This type of residual space defined as redundant infrastructure is the result of a laneway system or urban infrastructure that has fallen out of use (called also a dead-end street). They are typical in old cities and offer the potential creation for well-defined open space and community projects such as the Napier Greenway in Vancouver (Villagomez, 2010:91) which transform neglected spaces into meaningful public spaces. The Braamfontein’s alleys can be also defined as space in between due the fact that they are enclosed within buildings but that they do not present the same difficulties in terms of use. Space in between often has a problem with privacy because the windows of the surrounding buildings overlook these spaces. In the case of Braamfontein, is not so prevalent due the fact that most of the buildings are for office and commercial use. If just some alleys could be reutilised to have commercial activities then they would offer a perfect plan of interconnection within the neighborhood.



Figure 15 Alley map of Braamfontein (Novembro 2012)

3.5 Conclusions

Observing Braamfontein through walks around the neighborhood in different days and different times it is interesting to notice the clear spatially demarcation designed by the streets of the neighborhood. Bertha Street, which becomes Jan Smuts Avenue, one of the main arteries of communication of the city, seems to represent a line of division between two different Braamfontein. The same happens with Jorissen Street which, at the same time seems creates, on one hand an imaginary line of division between the corporative area and the creative; on the other hand a line of connection between the creative and the ordinary users (residents or not). The common statement about Braamfontein as a limited area is confirmed by the walking distance that easily permits one to walk around the district without the use of transportation. The idea of the easy access is also confirmed by the presence of several taxies, and buses in the streets, and by the fact that Braamfontein is one of the few places in the inner city of Johannesburg having a quite intense presence of pedestrians, obviously much more numerous during the day (some are visible at night however, including women walking alone.

The main limits of the mapping exercise consist in the fact that the participants are representatives of only upper middle class. What it is interesting is that all the “mappers” started to come to Braaamfontein around 5/6 years ago, and they experiment the neighborhood mainly through the facilities offered by the new development as 70 Juta, the Neighborhoods Market, the Alex Theatre, and Kitchener’s. Two people indicate the restaurants Velo and the Narina Trogon, and one person referred to one popular restaurant, the Mzitho’s Kitchen, in Reserve Street being the only indication out of the creative hub of Braamfontein. The reason why people like to come to Braamfontein is because of the atmosphere. “The lively atmosphere, social interaction” (Le Roux, pers. comm., 11 August 2012); “Great vibe, interesting people” (Kuhlmann, pers. comm., 25 August 2012); or simply because “friends like to hang out here” (Flake Off, pers. comm., 11 August). On one hand the impression is that the marketing strategy applied by the developers in Braamfontein is working very well and is achieving the target of consumer they want, but, on the other hand, shows a big contradiction regard how people evaluate the level of integration in the neighborhood. “I don’t think that the new developments in Braamfontein have been able to break down classes and races barriers”; “integration happens in Braamfontein, but not in Juta Street, that is very bourgeois” (Eliot, pers. comm., 11 August 2012); “racially it is fairly mixed. It feel like a place for more privileged people to go out and students who can afford it” (Grove, pers. comm., 22 September, 2012).

Another data resulting by the mapping exercise is the confirmation of Braamfontein is turning into a space for entertainment, essentially on Friday night and Saturday, and the growing interest in the discovery of the neighborhood, and probably of the whole city, demonstrated by the presence of numerous walking tours and by the curiosity of many people about the mapping exercise. In this sense the transformation of the alleys may have large social economic and ecological impacts on the viability and quality of Braamfontein.

Chapter IV - The actors of the Braamfontein Regeneration Project

One of the more memorable comments to come my way since I began researching and writing about gentrification was from a German political scientist who had spent five years living in the gentrifying neighbourhood of Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin. At a workshop in Vancouver, when I explained my research interests, he replied 'Interesting. But surely gentrification research is just an excuse to hang out in cool neighbourhoods sipping lattes?' This comment, intended in jest, is actually rather astute, for it captures precisely the popular, and increasingly scholarly, image of gentrification. The perception is no longer about rent increases, landlord harassment and working-class displacement, but rather street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, i-Pods, social diversity and funky clothing outlets. As David Ley (2003: 2527) put it, gentrification is 'not a sideshow in the city, but a major component of the urban imaginary'

Tom Slater, 2006:738

4.1 Introduction

The aim of chapter IV is to present the actors involved in the transformation of Braamfontein through their business and developing plans for the area and to give an overview of the types of businesses and development that are attracted and growing in the neighborhood. The presentation is based on secondary material collected through the websites of the main private developers' companies (South Point and Play Braamfontein) and on primary data collected through individual interviews with private developers and public agencies (Johannesburg Development Agency –JDA, Urban Genesis –BMD, Department of Art Culture and Heritage, Constitutional Hill, WITS University).

The actors are regrouped into two groups: public agencies and private developers. These groups are further divided into subgroups. Public agencies are subdivided into: Johannesburg Development Agencies-JDA, Department of Art Culture and Heritage, and Constitutional Hill. Wits University is properly considered as public agencies, and Urban Genesis-BMD considered as an intermediate position between private investor and public agency due to its type of intervention into the Braamfontein transformation. Private developers are sub-divided among: the main

investors (South Point and Play Bramfontein), and small business including restaurants, bars, art galleries.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides a description of the actors and their interventions; the second part represents an overview of comments aimed at creating points of contact between the topics in the literature review of chapter II and issues addressed during the interviews. The aim is to facilitate the understanding of the logic which drives the analysis of the data presented in chapter V.

4.2 Public Agencies

The Johannesburg Development Agencies (JDA) was established in 2001 as an Agency of the City, with the intention to stimulate the metropolitan development of the City of Johannesburg. Together with the Department of Art Culture and Heritage it has been part of the implementation of the proposal of the “Cultural Arc”. The idea has been based on the promotion of a cultural link in the inner city of Johannesburg, starting from Constitutional Hill, passing through Braamfontein and Wits University and ending in Newtown. Following this logic, the public agencies are presented in order of intervention, starting from JDA, Department of Art and Culture and Heritage, Constitutional Hill and Wits University.

4.2.1 Johannesburg Development Agency – JDA

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was established in 2001 as an agency of the City of Johannesburg to stimulate and support area-based economic development initiatives throughout the Johannesburg metropolitan area, in support of the Joburg 2030 Growth and Development Strategy. As the development manager of these initiatives, JDA coordinates and manages capital investment and other programs involving both public and private sector stakeholders. According to the JDA website the agency is a “world class, area-based, development agency for the City of Johannesbur whose objectives are to: promote economic growth through the development and promotion of efficient business

environments in defined geographic areas; regenerate decaying areas of the city in order to enhance their ability to contribute to the economic development of the city and the quality of life of its residents; promote economic empowerment and productive partnerships and cooperation between all relevant stakeholders on area-based initiatives and develop best practice and organisational expertise in respect to area-based development management" (website accessed on July 2012).

In 2002, the JDA and the City council started the Braamfontein Precinct Regeneration Programme as one of their first interventions. The intention was to create a corporate precinct attractive to business and welcoming to regular patrons and visitors. Realising how important the location and function of Braamfontein are for the local economy, R13-million has been directed to the regeneration programme for the area. According to the Executive JDA Manager for Planning and Strategy, in a period of five years, from 2002 until 2007, the JDA has spent R66 million in the precinct, renewing the area as a centre of business, entertainment and education, adorning the space with public art and creating well lit open spaces. According to the JDA website, "the area has become a vibrant social space again, with coffee shops and small restaurants offering daytime entertainment; and at night the precinct is quiet, safe and clean, the result of its active city improvement district, which ensures quality urban management, safety and marketing remain in place"(website accessed on July 2012).

The JDA focuses its energy on regenerating specific geographic areas within the inner city which have gone through a period of urban decay. Together with the private sector, JDA has been fundamental in the turn-around of precincts such as Braamfontein, Newtown and Ellis Park by upgrading the public urban environment with new pavements, lighting and other interventions. Introducing public art into these precincts, produced by famous and less known local artists, has further added to the visual appeal of the inner city.



Figure 16 The Eland by Clive van den Burg, an example of public art promoted by JDA (photo by Laura Burocco, October 2012)

After the Braamfontein Precinct Regeneration Program was successfully completed in 2007, JDA did not engage in any other projects in the district. The agency's focus now is on a commute link project that covers the entire city and involves transport connections between Park Station, the Ray Ayala and the Gautrain. A small budget (around R10 million) has been directed to reinforce the pedestrian lines in the Mandela and Queen Elizabeth bridges; in the revitalization of a small park in front the Rosebank College and in some public art in the southern part of Braamfontein. These interventions trying to correct the inequality of investment between the north and south areas denounced by the Scoping Study 2010, a document commissioned by the City of Joburg aimed to valuate the status quo of the development of the area. According to the JDA website,

> *"JDA achieved its aim of improving the public environment, including: creating pedestrian-focused spaces with opportunities for social interaction and relaxation; bringing in a series of quality public spaces of different characters to accommodate a variety of users; allowing a mixed-use environment to develop for infill residential development to accommodate various niche markets;*

and creating a vibrant, diverse, clean and safe environment for local and city-wide users and residents" (JDA website page, accessed on July 2012).

JDA has been involved in many of the changes that have characterised the last decade in Braamfontein. These began with the construction of the Mandela Bridge, opened on 20 July 2003 which represented a very important change in the accessibility of the inner city, and also represents a strong symbolic meaning. Other transformations include the rejuvenation of several corporate buildings especially by Sappi and Liberty; the construction of an underground parking for the Joburg Theatre Complex; the Sappi Park (next to the Joburg Theatre Complex) and the National Ballet School developed in a joint venture with the private sector. The JDA was responsible for the upgrade of the area from Stiemens Street down to De Korte Street and from Bertha Street to Joubert Street Extension, including the area around the council offices. The entire Juta Street between Loveday Street and the M1 off ramp was also upgraded.

4.2.2 Department of Culture, Art and Heritage

Johannesburg is considered the biggest cultural hub nationally with a host of galleries, theatres and museums and role of the City's department of Culture Art and Heritage is to ensure that all the communities in the city are provided with creative and cultural outlets. It is also responsible for the protection, conservation and proclamation of the unique and diverse cultural heritage of South Africans in Johannesburg and finally, it looks after the city's museums, historic sites and buildings, and co-ordinates and presents arts events and festival programs. The department is organised in three lines of intervention: arts, culture and heritage. The arts sector involves facilitating the development, co-ordination, celebration and preservation of all forms of artistic expression. The culture sector is developing and implementing an economic strategy which is geared towards co-ordinating and facilitating cultures to develop creative industries. The heritage department involves the conservation,

presentation and improvement of places and objects protected in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act.

According to the website of the Department “over and above these functions, the department plays a critical role in economic, social and urban regeneration” (Department of Culture Art and Heitage, accessed on October 2012) and for this reason a medium to long-term strategy has been defined. The strategy is based on enhancing the value of the City’s historic buildings and sites; increased usage of museums and galleries; representative and quality collections and exhibitions; successful arts events and projects; increased public participation in the arts; developing cultural industry strategies and programs in partnership with the economic development unit; developing an understanding of art as an essential part of human survival and growth; and increasing participation in arts, culture and heritage educational programs and activities. In terms of heritage preservation, the department adopted a Heritage Policy Framework which considers heritage resources as positive instruments for growth and change, and identifies them as a major driver of inner city revitalisation. The private sector plays an important role in the renovation of heritages sites, as the partnership between JDA, Braamfontein Management District (BMD) and private investors in public art interventions in Braamfontein demonstrates. In relation to the increase of tourism in Johannesburg, an interest confirmed by the recent launch of Johannesburg City Tourism Association (JCTA) in September 2012, the policy framework affirms that "cultural tourism is the fastest growing segment of the tourism industry worldwide, offering a valuable source of income and employment". The main heritage and touristic spot in Braamfontein is represented by Constitutional Hill. The Department of Art and Culture and Heritage plays an important role in the regeneration of Braamfontein for its involvement, together with JDA and WITS in the promotion of the Cultural Arc in 2001. According with the blog of Liz at Lancaster

> *"The concept of a Cultural Arc was mooted by Prof Carolyn Hamilton, then Head of the Humanities Postgraduate School at Wits. Envisioned as a metaphorical sweeping link between three powerful cultural institutions across the geography of the city, it would connect the Johannesburg Art Gallery on the east, to Wits in Braamfontein and Museum Afrika in Newton on the west" (LizatLancaster webpage, accessed on March 2013).*

This cultural spots connection starts from Constitutional Hill.

4.2.3 Constitutional Hill

Constitutional Court was the Old Fort built by President Paul Kruger to defend the capital, Pretoria, during the Anglo Boer War of 1899 to 1902 and became the place of incarceration for thousands of prisoners during apartheid. Following South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994, the sites pass through a significant upgrading promoted by the City of Joburg and by the National Government. The Court "in 2004 became one of the major tourist attractions in Johannesburg situated between the high-density low-income residential neighborhood of Hillbrow and the commercial and residential node of Braamfontein" (Itzkin, pers. comm. 25 October, 2012). According on the Constitutional Hill webpage:

> "*The site houses three notorious prisons: the Old Fort, where white inmates were kept; sections Four and Five, now known as Number four; and the Women's Jail. Number 4 is now a museum and memorial, and the Women's Jail is partly a museum and partly an exhibition and functions space. A new building, constructed north of the Women's Jail, houses the Commission on Gender Equality; the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Commission; the Forum for Empowerment of Women; and the Office of the Public Protector"*

Even the Old Fort is now a museum, with a permanent exhibition on Nelson Mandela, and it's also used as venue for exhibitions, functions and

conferences. “Constitutional Hill is an engine of growth and transformation for downtown Johannesburg and a place where residents and visitors can interact in a space that takes the country’s history forward in a respectful but progressive manner” (quoted from the website page, accessed on September 2012).

The selection of the 95,000m2 site as the location for the national Constitutional Court has created a number of opportunities to establish a viable and sustainable Justice precinct that contributes to the revitalisation of Johannesburg city center and represents an investment of R460-million. According to the website:

> “*the project aims to: develop the precinct around the concentration of the Constitutional Court, constitutional commissions and other related supportive functions; develop the precinct heritage resources through a program that promotes heritage, tourism and education; integrate the area into the property system of the Johannesburg city center and increase property values in the precinct and in the surrounding areas of Braamfontein, Hillbrow and Parktown; and create a dynamic, vibrant and sustainable precinct through the creation of distinctive destinations with legal, research and office facilities”(accessed on September 2012*).



Figure 17 Constitutional Court in Constitutional Hill (photo: Laura Burocco March 2011)

Constitution Hill comprises: the Constitutional Court; accommodation for the constitutional commissions; 1724 super-basement parking bays, bus and taxi holding and drop-off facilities; upgraded peripheral roads and internal streets; visitors information and exhibition center; new museums and related heritage and tourism activities; a restaurant; and public open spaces. The western portion of the site comprises four development blocks sited above the parking super-basement and, in turn, sub-divisible into smaller development land parcels. Each development block is subject to architectural coding and earmarked for a range of uses: development Block A accommodates a publicly accessible information center and shared facilities complex that includes conference facilities, an auditorium, training facilities, a library, meeting rooms and an information desk for key tenants. Total bulk rentable floor space is approximately 5000m2. Still not concluded is development Block B which will accommodate a 75-room hotel, 5 600m2 of office space and approximately 1 300m2 for retail purposes; development Block C will allow for 11 800m2 of office space and approximately 100m2 of retail facilities; development Block D will accommodate 12 500m2 of office space. About 145 residential units will be created on the site by means of conversions to the existing Queen Victoria Hospital and Nurses' Home, as well as a new unit construction on the upper levels of each of the development blocks.

4.2.4 University of the Witwatersrand – Wits

The University of Witwatersrand, more commonly known as Wits University was founded in 1896 as the South African School of Mines in Kimberley and is the third oldest South African university in continuous operation. It is a multi-campus situated in the northern area of Braamfontein. According to the University website it has an enrollment of 27,934 students as of 2010, of which approximately 4,566 live on campus in the 18 residences, most of them for undergraduate students, and a smaller percentage of postgraduate ones. “Wits is strategically located in Johannesburg, a world class city, with countless opportunities for students and staff to engage with and present solutions that will contribute to our

country's knowledge-base and build our future" and, according with the world class standards, "Wits is one of Africa's premier research universities, strives to be innovative, and is focuses on sustaining globally competitive standards of excellence in learning, teaching and research"(WITS website, accessed on November 2012).



Figure 18 Wits University Campus, (photo: Laura Burocco, May 2012)

The university campus is located in a central area of Braamfontein which reinforces the power relation that the university has with the city, and makes it a strategic player in the regeneration of Braamfontein. According to the chief of the departments of partnership

> *"for [a] long time the university was not interested in buying properties but in the last 3 years the policy of the University changed, showing interest in acquiring properties in the area around Station Road, facing the main entrance to the campus in Jorissen Street, to convert in facilities and entertainment which meet the exigencies of students and create a real door to Braamfontein" (Moolla, pers. comm., 21 November 2012).*

In order to achieve this result the University started to buy properties, which are rented for commercial use, even if in other areas of Braamfontein thinking in the future possibility to swap the properties,

according with their values, in case some building will later be available in the area of interest of the University. The fact that the University has a prohibition in buying properties on tender makes it more difficult to acquire property. According to the chief of the departments of partnership

> *"This investment in the creation of a public face to the neighborhood may contribute to overcome the sense of isolation for which the university is often criticised by private developers, and that represents a strong limit on the possibilities of interaction, not only for the university as a public institution, but also for its students and the neighborhood" (Moolla, pers. comm., 21 November 2012).*

The main problem is represented by the fences erected in the early nineties around the campus which, if on one hand guarantees more safety to the staff and students, on the other hand avoids the free circulation of people and a more intense popular participation to the activities promoted by the University. "Fences are a big problem. They create this vision of the University as an Ivory Tower, something you can't touch" affirms the head of the partnership department of WITS. He notices that:

> *"if in the last five years we assist to substantial changes in the pedestrian habits around Braamfontein, the fact [that] the university is close elude[s] the possibilities of having these people participating to activities in campus. For the next three years the plan is to open the access to the WITS Theatre, with the intention, in a following moment, to do the same with the Origins Center and the Planetarium; this effort represents the first phase of the re-opening of campus" (Moolla, pers. comm., 21 November 2012).*

The University is defined as a "gate[d] community" (Caldeira, 2000; Horta Duarte, 2012) by the interviewed and in this sense the opening of the Wits Art Museum did not change so much the impression. "After eight months the opening of the Museum, we did not manage to have workers in the area to come to see the exhibition during their lunch time. Even if on

Saturday there is a higher influx of people, these persons are not from Braamfontein. The same about the bar that needs to be open fully" (Moolla, pers. comm., 21 November 2012). This statement expresses a certain level of concern about the capacity of the University to meaningfully engage with the community of Braamfontein. Asking if the opening of the Wits Art Museum – WAM may be considered a contribution by the University to the attempt of the City to achieve a world class level, he declared that "exist the intention, but the goal it is not still achieved" (Moolla, pers. comm., 21 November 2012).

The incompleted proposal of the Cultural Arc, a cultural investment by the City and the University that connected the main cultural and touristic spots, started from Constitutional Hill passing through the University and ending in New Town (Peyroux, 2008:151), hopefully finds a certain level of continuity in the opening of the Wits Museum of Art (WMA), and in the proposal actually in discussion with the Johannesburg Tourist Association. The idea is to propose an affordable price of a passport which gives access to Constitutional Hill, Linder Auditorium, Planetarium, Origins Center, Civic Theatre, Market Theatre, Africa Museum, Worker Museum, and would be free for a defined period in order to reinforce and stimulate the visits to these cultural amenities. The intention is to support the interaction between the users and the district and is also confirmed by the partnership signed with the city to give a free subscription for the Rea Vaya to students. The aim is to encourage students to move more around the city, and experiment not only their places and campus but the inner-city as a whole. Depending on the success of the initiative, the actual student accommodation patterns may have a change in the coming years encouraging students to look for housing in other locations in the CBD. These changes actually started to be visible in the proximity of the Mandela Bridge and Queen Elizabeth Bridge on the opposite side of Braamfontein when real state companies started to revamp builds mainly for students. The University is also part of the Braamfontein Management District and following the model of the development of specific precincts,

for example the Fashion or the Justice or Retails Precinct, intends to create an Educational Precinct valorising the presence of the many educational institutions in the area, a characteristic inherited from the past.

4.2.5 Urban Genesis , Braamfontein Management District - BMD

The City Improvement District in Braamfontein called Braamfontein Management District BMD was formally legislated in 2004. The project originally started as a Liberty Group, Sappi and Nedbank safety initiative along Ameshoff and Simmonds streets when, together with the JD Group, and Apex-Hi they decided to upgrade the entire Hoofd Street area and the Civic Precinct in a joint venture with the Johannesburg Development Agency.

The CID becames the BMD, a non-profit company to which all ratepayers in the area contribute, bounded by Hoofd, Bertha, Loveday and Juta streets. The services undertaken by the BMD are supplementary to those provided by local council and are organised in four main lines of intervention: security, cleaning, marketing and management. The intervention started with the specific goal of creating a secure and clean well-managed environment, considered the necessary base for the development of any kind of marketing or entrepreneurial initiatives. According to the BMD websites “the BMD security officers and cleaners remain the front line of the improvement district, aimed to transmit the impression that Braamfontein is a managed public space” (Urban Genesis website, accessed on August 2012).

The BMD security committee was established to monitor and address all the aspects related with security in the district, and contracts a fully equipped and uniformed security force. The squad comprises 39 patrol officers and one controller. The coordination is done from a control room situated in Leebram Building in Biccard Street, which is in radio and telephone contact with the security force officers and the police. The squad is also called “the district ambassadors” assisting the public

enquiries related to shops, hotels, public facilities, transport, banks and tourist attractions. The BMD cleaning service, supplementary to those provided by the local authorities, is recognizable by their green and yellow uniforms. According to the BMD website, “it comprises nine cleaners and one supervisor, and are responsible for the removal of litter from pavements and gutters; removal of illegal posters and stickers; cleaning tree wells; basic street maintenance and weeding of traffic islands; removal of refuse bags” (Urban Genesis website, accessed on August 2012).

The BMD marketing program, launched in 2005, followed the first cleaning and safety intervention, aims to improve the overall image of the business district through branding, collaborative promotional strategies, market research and a communications campaign. Together with the marketing program, the BMD management team developed a website and is responsible for the production of monthly newsletters, ensuring that the quality of services provided, and the vision of the area are implemented. But the Braamfontein Management District is just a joint venture between different actors into the re-development of Braamfontein. The company legally responsible for the management of the BMD is Urban Genesis a multi-disciplinary advisory and management Services Company specialising in consulting, urban management and place management services. It provides consulting services to the public and private sectors on a range of urban development and management issues, with a specific focus on “creating well-managed, resource efficient and sustainable mixed income and mixed use neighborhoods”(Urban Genesis Website page, accessed on August 2012). Urban Genesis works across a broad spectrum of urban and place management initiatives, from crime prevention, cleaning and maintenance, informal trade management and taxi management to environmental improvements, business attraction and retention, marketing and communication, and social programs in close interaction with the property industry, local government and business communities.

The resources for the operation comes from the levy tax that landlords and developers redirect to the BID to provide services supplementary to those provided by the local council. The director categories of the taxpayers are: 3 art Galleries; 6 educational institutes (WITS is not quoted as part of the BMD); one bank (Bidvest); 4 hotels; 1 market (The Neighbourgoods Market); 8 property companies; 1 church (the Cornestone Church); 20 between restaurants, caffè and bar; 1 services (PostNet); 1 shop (Puma); 3 theatres and “the other” represented by Sappi Limited. Into the Urban and Place Management sector of Urban Genesis, the BMD is just one of the initiatives spread around the city. The management initiatives are based on working experiences with provincial and local government departments, as well as the private sector, on tourism, heritage, marketing, communications and events management projects. They apply an international place making a hierarchy that looks at how cities move from an unpleasant to an exceptional experience of the public space, looking to international experiences and models. The objective of the intervention is directed at creating commercial nodes in the city. Through the mixed use they can become attractive for property owners, investors, tenants, shoppers, residents, tourists and visitors alike.



Figure 19 The Joburg Theatre, example of the City intervention in order to promote a world African city (photo: Laura Burocco October 2012)

According to the Urban Genesis website:

"We have built up excellent working relationships with various local authorities. We have extensive marketing and events industry contacts established primarily through our ongoing work in one of South Africa's premier home of entertainment, the Newtown Cultural Precinct. Through our urban management work and place making interventions in most key nodes in Johannesburg we understand places and what make them special"(accessed on September 2012).

4.3 Private Developers

Private developers are sub-divided among: the main investors (South Point and Play Bramfontein), and small business (restaurants, bars and art galleries in the neighborhood attracted by the transformation of the neighborhood). Most of the commercial spaces are owned by the main investors, except for real estate smaller investors which demonstrate to a better level of autonomy by the bigger real estate investors.

4.3.1 South Point

South Point is the successful result of an entrepreneurial idea of a group of investment bankers who were attracted by the cheap sales for building in the inner city of Johannesburg and decided to embrace a new activity focus in fixed property. It started in 2003 in Braamfontein, where its headquarters is located. It was a national enterprise which specialised in student accommodations and offered apartment and dormitory-style rentals in a number of desirable buildings within walking distance of the University of Witwatersrand and other educational institutions like Rosebank College, Damelin, AFDA, and the Fashion School. The business has been so successful that it spread throughout the country providing "totally safe, fully furnished and more crucially, genuinely affordable student accommodation, all within the heart of South Africa's University communities" (quoted from the South Point's website page). According to the South Point website: "currently South Point Braamfontein portfolio provides accommodation to thousands of students offering first-

class student accommodation in Jozi, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durbs" (ibid).

In Braamfontein the South Point portfolio includes sixteen residential buildings: Argo, Blackburn, Epozini, Diamond, Geldenhuys, KSI, Melridge, Mvelelo, Norvic, Forty6, Pumelela, VDS, Auckland House, One Biccard, Peppermint Place, Clifton Heights. It is possible to declare that the success of South Point's business investment lies in the perception of the existence of a market's niche that needed to be filled, addressing the fact that the only accommodations available to students were poorly maintained or, in the case of University Residents, not affordable. According to the website "student buildings are totally revamped, with pool and soccer tables, laundry facilities, and vending machines, together with 24 hour security and free wireless internet access. Common rooms and kitchens are cleaned daily, as well as study rooms" (ibid).

The student accommodation consists of fully furnished single and double units. The furniture provided consists of one bed, one desk, one fridge, one wardrobe, one chair, one chest of drawers. Although the buildings are not gender specific they provide separate floors for male and female occupants and mixed student rooms are not permitted. Other house rules include: no smoking or alcohol allowed in the building; visiting hours from 09:00 to 23:00 and only 2 visitors are allowed at a time. According to the students' interviewed the most important detail that South Point accommodations provide is the walking distance from the campuses, the easy access to public transport (buses, trains and taxis), and security.



Figure 20 Community kitchen in one of the South Point's residences (photo: Laura Burocco, May 2012)

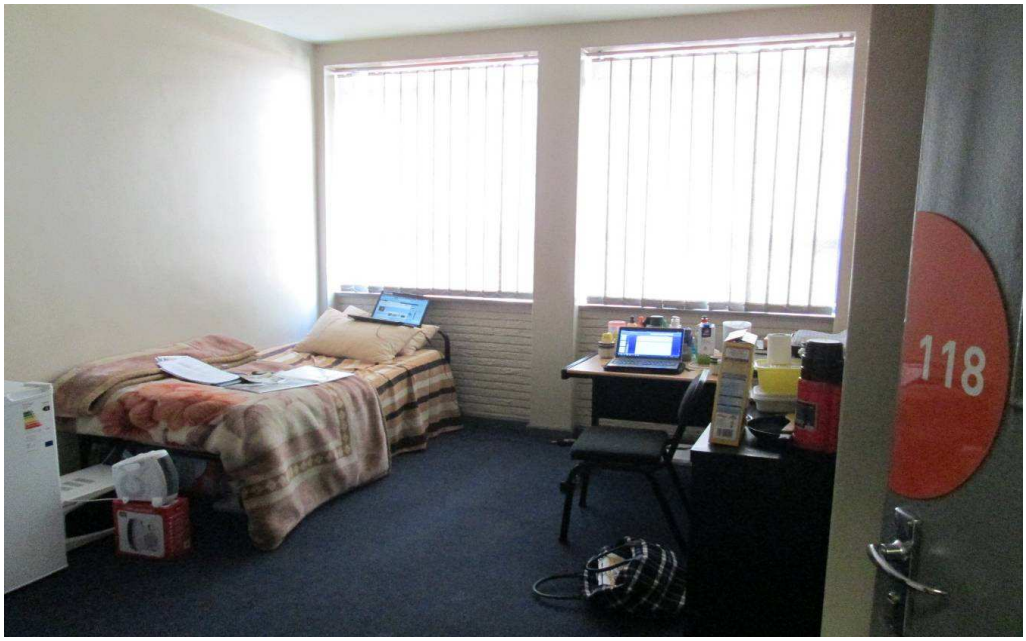


Figure 21 Single room in one of the South Point's residences (photo:Laura Burocco, May 2012)

According to the South Point website:

> *"the company aims to offer accommodation in well-positioned buildings in the heart of university communities promoting a healthy studying environment. One of South Point's biggest commitments is to create a sense of community among our students. We aim to build nor only building but also South Point Student Communities within the buildings" (accessed on June 2012)*

In order to achieve this goal South Point management runs a selection of initiatives in conjunction with the students such as netball, soccer, chess, prayer groups, debating, poetry societies etc, and provides accommodation bursary based on loyalty (being a resident of South Point for a minimum of 2 years, merit and proven financial need) to existing South Point students who fit the criteria as well internships to students needing to fulfill the practical portion of their academic program.

Even if student accommodation is the main company's business it is not unique. In Johannesburg South Point runs two other lines of business, one in hospitality (the Lamunu Hotel) and another addressing commercial and retails spaces (the Landlord Bar, the Student Bar, the #1Bar, and SPCafé and others retails spaces). The South Point portfolio in Johannesburg also offers apartments for tenants who are not students, such as Auckland House and Biccard1. These two buildings have similar characteristics, 24 hours security, finger print access, underground parking, and are newly refurbished in order to offer accommodation to young professionals in fully furnished apartments. They are located near to the Johannesburg CBD and close to major transport links (Park Station Gautrain and the Rea Vaya). Residents have preferential access to Body & Sole Gym, salon and crèche.



Figure 22 Internal view of one of non-student residential accommodations (photo by South Point July 2012)

Observing the characteristic of the facilities offered by South Point, it is possible to define two types of intervention: one specifically addressed to students and another to a more extended audience. The first group

includes the SBar and SPCafé, while the second ones the #1Bar, the Lamunu Hotel and the Landlord Bar. According to the South Point website, the #1Bar aims to attract not only students but also young professionals after work, "following the European model of having a drink after work near the office" (quoted from the South Point Website page, accessed on June 2012). The Lamunu Hotel is used as a hotel destination by professionals coming to Johannesburg for business, most of them for some project or conference connected with the University or international cultural institutes (IFSA – Goethe Institute or ProHelvetia), but it is also used as a gathering place for having dinner or a drink. The last not-student amenity, the Landlord Bar, has completely different characteristics, being defined as one of the most exclusive bars in Johannesburg, located on the 22nd floor of the South Point Tower in Jorissen Street. It is mainly used for private parties and is open to the public who must pay a fee once a month. What is interesting to observe is that at the time of writing the only amenities working were the Lamunu Hotel and the Landlord while the amenities aimed at students and not student residents such as the SBar and SPCafé, the #1Bar and the Gym are closed.

4.3.2 Play Braamfontein

Play Braamfontein is presented in its website as "a property development company dedicated to making a positive impact on the urban landscape of Johannesburg maximising the potential of each space with the utmost attention to detail and design" (Play Braamfontein website). Starting in 2004, its headquarters is in the heart of the renewal programs' area of Braamfontein, Juta corner with de Beer Streets. According to the company's website:

> *"the aim is to create spaces in which individuals with similar vision and passion for the city can live, work and play. For this reason the tenants of the buildings, for residential or commercial use, become*

a vital part of the community and need to share the same vision to revive Braamfontein into the creative networking hub in Johannesburg (ibid)".



Figure 23 The Seventy Juta block, Play Braamfontein portfolio (photo by Laura Burocco July 2012)

The Play Braamfontein portfolio included three buildings in Juta Street; two buildings in Smit Street; one building in de Beer Street as well the Milner Park Hotel better knew as the popular bar Kitchener's; the building that hosted the Neighbourgoods Market in de Beer Street and finally the Alexander Theatre recently completely redone.

The number 62 of Juta Street hosted the Stevenson Gallery, a contemporary art gallery with spaces in Cape Town and Johannesburg and the South African French Institute (IFAS). According to the Play Braamfontein website, "the building has been sectionalized, allowing potential owners to invest in this vibrant area. Each floor is approximately 318 square metres in size and is the perfect location for a creative commercial enterprise". 68 Juta Street is a two store building occupied by Co-Op, an editor that focuses primarily on limited edition contemporary prints and works on paper, and Fireworx Media, a production and distribution film company. "The mix of gallery, product design and manufacture, and film production make this humble little building a hub of

creative activity" (quoted by Play Braamfontein website). The third building in Juta Street represents the icon of the creative hub that the company aims to promote in Braamfontein. The Play Braamfontein website declares:

> *"70 Juta it is home to a diverse range of quirky individuals and companies. From fashion startups to vintage furniture to progressive exhibition spaces. It is the stimulating environment to be in" (accessed on July 2012)*

Opposite to the 70 Juta complex, the number 6 of de Beer Street have been occupied as office spaces by a fashion designer, an architect and planning studio and an art books publisher but, at the time of writing, the spaces are empty. Also in number 73 of de Beer Street the Neighbourgoods Market takes place every Saturday. The market is the Johannesburg version of the original Cape Town ones and brings together an assortment of goods from local artisan producers, purveyors, gourmet merchants, specialty cooks, regional farmers and estates, as well as a selection of local designers. According to the Play Braamfontein website "the market reflects our commitment to urban regeneration and the goal to revive and reinvent the Public Market as a civic institution". Behind Juta Street, at the 155 of Smit Street, a 1950s office block has been converted in 8 storey residential building which represents a landmark project in the city's development and an example of the "loft life style" model for up market residential units that the renewal programs in Braamfontein aims to promote. Afronova gallery occupies the ground floor, further contributing to the rich artistic culture being developed in the area. The number 153 of Smit Street represents architectonically the 68 Juta's twin and, according with the website of Play Bramfontein, "this modest 2 story building shows off the Johannesburg city skyline from an intimate perspective, but the addition of an exciting structure perched atop transforms it into something truly world class, and a fitting home for one of the world's premier sports brands" (accessed on July 2012).

To close the list of Play Braamfontein portfolio there are two of the most popular venues for the night life of Johannesburg: the Milner Hotel and the Alexander Theatre. The Milner Hotel is one of the oldest surviving buildings in Braamfontein, and Kitchener's Bar on the ground floor is officially recognized as the second oldest bar in Johannesburg. Kitchener's is one of the foremost night time entrainment spaces in the city and shares its audience with the recently opened Great Dale Bar. At Saturday during the day, Kitchener's is converted into retail opportunities, with a second hand fashion market while Great Dale Bar offers a courtyard where it is possible to enjoy an early afternoon beverage outdoors. The Alexander Theatre first opened its doors in 1951 and has been closed for a long time, until it was refurbished into a fully functional theatre and entertainment space and reopened in July of 2007. It houses theatrical productions, TV (commercials, shows etc), award ceremonies, conferences, product launches, music concerts, year-end functions, cocktail functions, parties, photo/fashion shoots/music videos, and a dance studio**.**



Figure 24 The Alexander Theatre in Stiemens Street, re-opened by Play Braamfontein in 2007 (source: Play Braamfontein webpage)

4.3.3 Small business (restaurants, galleries, bars, shops)

A range of smaller developers started to invest in Braamfontein, attracted by the successful experience of the bigger investors, as confirmed by the interviews with managers of restaurants, bars and galleries and even with the smaller real estate developer Gatsby Properties. The reason of this popularity lies in the fact that the area, until some years ago, presented

very convenient prices. The affordable cost to buy not only apartments or entire buildings, but also commercial spaces, together with the strategic position of the district bring to the area not only residential investments but also commercial activities as restaurants, bars and shops.

In an overview of the neighborhood, it is possible to define three different categories of amenities attending different publics with specific characteristics: the creative class amenities, mainly concentrate around Juta, de Beer and Melle Street; the amenities addressed to students situated more around Jorissen Street; and the “working class” amenities located especially in the border areas of Smit Street in direction of the Queen Elizabeth Bridge, Biccard and Harrison Streets. Among these amenities the Hotel Lamunu’s square and the little park in front the Rosebank College, in the corner of Smit and de Beer Streets are often mentioned by the interviewers. The Lamunu’s square created by the demolition of a pre-existing building is considered for many of the people interviewed as the main public space in Braamfontein and it is one of the few place in the district that permits having restaurants with tables outdoors and working in day time. Two restaurants (Velo and Ramen) are open during the day from 8am to 4pm, from Monday to Saturday. Just in front at the corner of Melle and Juta streets a new café, Double Shot, opened at the beginning of 2012 and quickly became the “coffee place” in Braamfontein, offering breakfast for people who work in the nearby offices during the week and receive people who go or come back from the Market on Saturday.

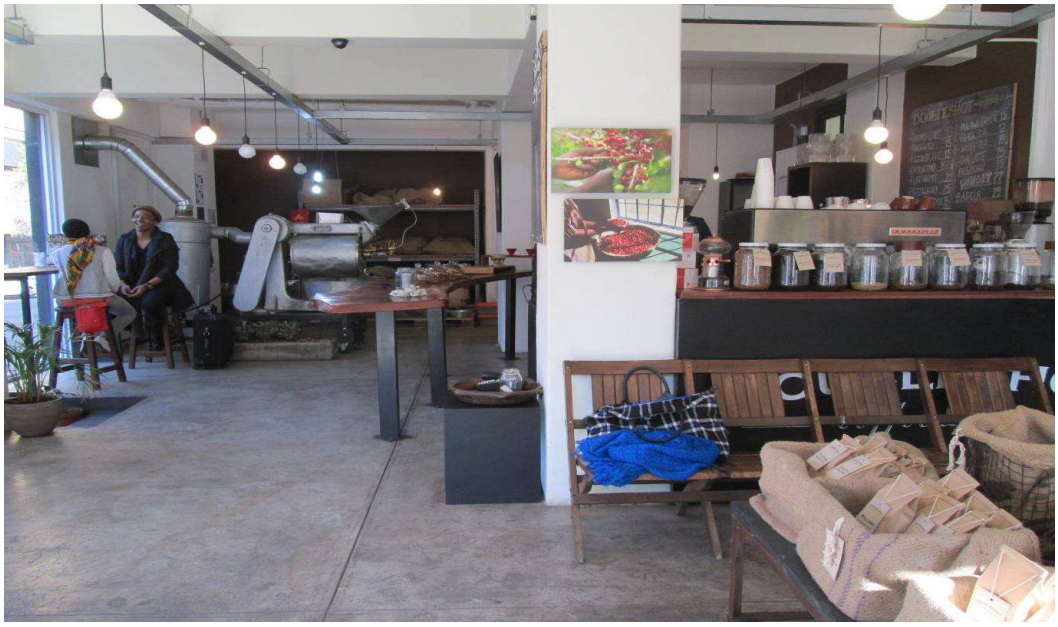


Figure 25 The Double Shot Cafè in Melle Street, corner Juta Street (photo: Laura Burocco October 2012)

The Metro Hotel, a charming hotel, also located in de Beer Street is passing through a process of renovation in order to satisfy more modern hotel-like structure parameters. The owner used to have his photographic studio in the building during the eighties, and in 2000 decided to buy the entire building. During all this years the hotels addressed a public formed by visiting academics at Wits or the University of Johannesburg – UJ for conferences, African businessmen coming to town for business and some young people from out of Johannesburg spending their week end in town. According to the interview with the owner, until the middle of 2012 he never felt the necessity to upgrade or change the structure of the hotel, but was attracted by the possibilities offered by the ongoing transformation of Braamfontein and by the promotion of Johannesburg as a new tourist spot in South Africa. He therefore decided to invest in a big renovation to attend a world class audience coming to the city for business or tourism. The hotel is currently under renovation and it is not possible to predict the changes, but according to the owner “the entire foyer will be changed in order to create an environment more international and modern” (Bannister, pers. comm., 29 August 2012).



Figure 26 The Metro Hotel's foyer in de Beer Street corner Jorissen Street (photo: Laura Burocco July 2012)

Narina Tragon is the only restaurant in Braamfontein that, at the time of writing, is open at night until 11pm with the kitchen closing at 9pm. Even in the icon of modernity and creativity represented by 70 Juta, places close by 4pm, and the decision to keep the restaurant open for dinner represents the assumption of a certain degree of risk against the common trend. The operating hours of bars and restaurants represents an issue between the developers and could be analysed in terms of impact on future habits and as an opportunity to reinforce a real mix use and revitalisation of Braamfontein. According to the willingness expressed by some of the investors, it is possible to imagine that restaurants and bars will be opened until late at night in Braamfontein in the next two years' time, starting a possible competition with the northern suburbs of Melville and Parkview among others. On the top of the restaurant the international brand Puma opened a night club which works until late night during the weekend and sometimes for private parties during the week. The Club is very popular among students, most of them not residents in Braamfontein, but because it has been open only recently it is not possible to value the duration of the investment in terms of popularity. The short life of business in the city of Johannesburg is a common concern amongst investors.

Many art galleries s opened in Braamfontein were initially part of the Play Braamfontein portfolio, or belonged to smaller developers' initiatives. Co-Op, Room and Afronova gallery are part of the first group, while galleries such as Ithuba Arts Gallery and GIfA Office are part of the second. New shops of design and fashion, as well as international brands like Puma and the second hands fashion market at Kitchener's and the Neighbourgoods Market on Saturday, turn Braamfontein into the place of destination for trendy shopping. The growth of these types of shops and facilities mostly directed to a market of creative and freelance artists, seems not to consider the existence and the development in Braamfontein of the other two market's niches represented by students and the working class.

All the areas around Jorissen Street are characterised by the high presence of popular restaurants such as Nandos, McDonald's, Wimpy, Fish and Chips and others and are mainly used by the students and working class people. The main South African banks have their branches in the area, as well as NGO offices and rental housing companies. Moving away from the epicenter of modernity represented by the triangle Juta, Melle and De Beer Streets, a series of popular second hand clothes stores, and tiny super markets meet the needs of working class families. The high presence of African hairdressers, confirm the predominance of a black community of residents. The number of shops selling electronic components and stationery shows the predominance of students, and makes perceive as the primary shops necessities in Braamfontein are more connected with this target rather than creative class. Young followers of hip-hop street culture may find many different shops around Braamfontein, and McDonald's and some spaza shops in Jorisen Street have become meeting points for young people, most of them South Point residents. The supermarket, Pick&Pay, located in Jorissen Street, represents the only big supermarket in the neighborhood and it's open from seven to seven, six days a week except Sunday. Many other small

markets sell long life and canned food, together with an extreme variety of other products including personal hygiene and stationery.



Figure 27 Typical hairdresser Salon in Braamfontein (photo: Laura Burocco July 2012)

4.4 Comments collected through the interviews

The second part of the chapter is represented by comments aimed to create points of contact between issues from the literature and issues touched on during the interviews in order to facilitate the understanding of the logic which drives the data presented in chapter V.

4.4.1 Positioning of the public agencies

The conflicting relation between the private developers and the public agencies responsible for the physical improvements in the neighborhood appears clearly through the interviews with the private developers, and in a certain form is confirmed by the interviews with the representatives of JDA, Department of Art Culture and Heritage, Constitutional Hill and Urban Genesis. The impression is to have two fronts whose fringe between public and private is rather ambiguous, as well their relations. This kind of ambiguity is particularly evident in the case of Urban Genesis and the Braamfontein Management District, legally a no profit organization, and WITS University, which is a public university (though the administration seems oriented towards an entrepreneurial approach).

However, the highest level of conflict is between the private developers, Play Braamfontein and South Point and the JDA and the BMD. I haven't had the opportunity to interview some representatives of the corporative sector such as Sappi or Liberty Groups, and for this reason I am not in a position to affirm the relations existing between the corporative sector and the other actors in the area. An assumption of inequality in terms of investment between the north and south areas of Braamfontein is recognized by the JDA and a certain concern is expressed by the Department of Art Culture and Heritage "the City Improvement District cover the corporative north area, not all Braamfontein. The south side is covered by private investors" (Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012). This inequality in terms of investments is confirmed by the JDA assumption of a tentative response to the Scoping Study 2010.

JDA declared "it was a difficult relation [between private developers and the agency] from the beginning and for this reason was difficult maintain it, differently than in New Town or The Fashion District or Ellis Park where we keep relations with the private developers"(Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2013). This difficulty, on the part of the public sector, makes the relation delicate and ambiguous because of the awareness and recognition that many interventions depend on private developers' investments. The representative of JDA claims that

> *"even with all the marketing and effort that private developer put in their initiative, it is necessary to recognize than there is a huge work done before. Without the previous work [understood, they did] in terms of safety and cleaning, these entrepreneurial initiatives will not have any success because people would not come in Braamfontein" (Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2012).*

In the case of the BMD the problem is that:

> *"property owner[s] are not happy to pay extra money for the services then the city is not in condition to supply. We try to have cooperation with the city and with the private investors, but even if*

> *they [city] really try to improve the level of services, at the end of the day they don't have money. We are honestly frustrated with the city more than any other else, but we need to see the positive part of the relation" (Engelbrecht, pers. comm., 10 September 2012).*

The BMD proves to have a full understanding of the different aspirations that move developers such as South Point and Play Braamfontein respect the corporative ones "Play and South Point have a very similar vision of the area, and this is the reason why their collaboration works well. The big corporative they don't experiment. They just want their office workers fell safe, are interested in the maintenance around their building but not a really development of the area. Basically they want their employees don't need to leave the building, go in the street. Play and South Point want exactly the opposite" (Engelbrecht, pers. comm., 10 September 2012). The same level of understanding is confirmed by the JDA that declares "some of the business developers might be a bit more involved in trying to open to the city, for example Liberty Group, they don't interact a lot with the city but, we hope they don't decide to move their offices because their levy paid big part of the services provided by the BMD" (Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2012).

Even declaring the difficulty in maintaining the relations with the private sector in Braamfontein the JDA admits the success of the private intervention "the private sector has done and continuing to do very well in Braamfontein, even if they need to recognize that the city has played an important role at the beginning" (Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2012), and show a similar complaining as the BMD. The idea that the city has no money to invest and the positive valuation about the private sector intervention is supported also by the Department of Art and Culture and Heritage which declares

> *"the city has made symbolic intervention in Braamfotein that helped to reinforce and stimulate the private sector's investments. In his*

> *two terms office, Masondo [mayor of Johannesburg from 2000-2010] pushed a campaign to improve the inner city through the idea of Public Private Partnership – PPP not only in Braamfontein. In the last three years the support from the city decrease but private investment had been stimulate and continue showing a good management"(Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012).*

Questioning the risk of the private sector to take ownership of part of the city and the administration of public spaces as if they were private property, neither the Department of Arts of Culture and Heritage nor the JDA show any kind of concerning. For example, Lewis points out that, "I'm personally supportive of urban management partnership. It is impossible for cities to have the capacity to maintain their real impact interventions. City don't have budget and if the private sector intervene I have a positive valuation about" (Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2012).

The economic aspect of the investment in Braamfontein is predominant also in the valuation of the regeneration of Braamfontein by the CEO of Constitutional Hill, who defines private interventions as central in the renewal of the area and stresses:

> *"this is a very strategic project [the Heritage Tourism and the Constitutional Court project] given the location between Hillbrow and Braamfontein and could serve to attract private sector investments in the area. As a major Heritage Tourism project it is a national Heritage site and critical for domestic and international tourism [...] it represents an immense potential for private investors and it's part of a plan to attract diverse sector of stakeholders to the inner city"(Thring, pers. comm., 17 September 2012).*

The impression about integration and mixed use and income of the neighborhood is generally positive. The Braamfontein sector manager of BMD declares:

> *“there is a pocket of different groups in Braamfontein: on the top you have an area more corporative, in the middle more local resident[s] and students and on the down side in a hub of creative people. There is not only one focus in one area; Braamfontein is very successful mixed use district” (Engelbrecht, pers comm., 10 September 2012).*

The same opinion in different terms is expressed by the executive manager of JDA who declares, “I think Braamfontein [will] help the city to be more integrated, to [be] open more, to have people moving around” (Lewis, pers. comm., 15 October 2012) while the Department of Art Culture and Heritage is the only one who raises some doubts on the use of the area saying “it’s a large middle white and black class area. It’s quite cosmopolitan feeling in terms of race and culture but it’s not an area of very poor and it is not representative of South Africa” (Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012).

The last contradictory point that emerges from the interviews is the relation between public agencies and international models. BMD, being the South African application of a Canadian and North American model of regeneration interventions in derelict neighborhoods, can’t escape to referring to the original model and declares to be part of the International Downtown Association and to be close to Project for Public Space.It looks to trends in the UK and USA. JDA declares the agency does not follow any international model but has the impression that the private developers in the area have the aspiration to reproduce international experiences in the district. The Department of Art Culture and Heritage declares:

> *“It is not exactly the application of an international movement, but the model of CID has been developed in Canada and North America in the seventeen and arrived in Johannesburg in 1999/2000 thanks to a political will to apply the same here. Especially exists a north American influence for security private model” (Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012).*

It is curious also to highlight a general disbelief in the capacity of the city to achieve the aspirational world class status. The impression is not only limited to the self-satisfaction of pre-configured parameters but also about the vagueness of the content of this slogan (Gurney, 2012:76). This concern is clearly express by JDA, Department of Art Culture and Heritage, Constitutional Hill and Wits University while meets strong emphasis by the private developers and Urban Genesis due to their direct interest in promoting the city in a global market.

4.4.2 Positioning of the main developers (South Point and Play Braamfontein)

According to the interviews with people who run smaller business and smaller real estate agencies in the neighborhood, Play Braamfontein and South Point are recognised as the main private actors of the changes of Braamfontein and there is no doubt than they represent an inspiration and incentive for the intervention of many smaller developers in the area. There are some common and different reasons why at the beginning of 2000 these two companies decided to invest in the area. The two common reasons are: first the cheap prices which in the late nineties have attracted other smaller developers; the second is the physical configuration of the neighborhood. Braamfontein is seen as a well-defined area due to the presence of WITS University campus, Sappi and Liberty, as well the Mandela Bridge and the Highway. This delimitation of the space give the impression that it is relatively easy manage and more stable in terms of economical investments compared with other areas of the city. But while in its decision to invest in Braamfontein, South Point has been more influenced by the presence of WITS University and the consequent need for student accommodations; Play Braamfontein seems influenced by business opportunities but also by some ideals. According to Adam Levy, the owner of Play Bramfontein, “because I grew up in a suburb I could not relate myself with the city, and I wanted to live in a place like other[s] in the world” (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012).

The corporative groups represented by Sappi and Liberty share a common feeling of distance but while South Point highlights the existence of different interests, Play Bramfontein focuses more on a different approach. This feeling of separation between the corporative developers and South Point and Play Braamfontein, emerging by the interviews not only with the responsiblity of the two companies, but also by some other smaller developers, is reflected in the territoriality division of Braamfontein in north/up and south/down. This physical separation, confirmed by the walking mapping exercises, is also reflected in the different interventions by the Bramfontein Management District - through Urban Genesis – which changes according with the area of the neighborhood. The so-called north or up area, where the offices of Sappi and Liberty are located, is focused on offices and daytime activities during the week days; the south or down area, the creative and student hub, has activities during the day as well in the evening, during the week and the week-end. It is only on Sunday that the neighborhood is quite deserted due the fact that offices as well as retails and facilities are closed in all the area.

The valuation about the City of Joburg's intervention is critical and the feeling which emerges through the interviews with the private developers (the mains ones, as well the smaller ones) is a sense of abandonment by the city. This abandonment is in part confirmed by the public authorities, which in their interviews recognised their inability, after a good starting, in maintaining allocations of resources designed for Braamfontein. The valuation of the Braamfontein Management District by the main developers is not better. Even if some kind of intervention is recognied, the general opinion is that "the Braamfontein Management District could be doing more" (Talotta, pers. comm., 28 June 2012). "The Braamfontein Management District is very quiet" affirms the manager of South Point in his interview. The impartiality of the Braamfontein Management District in relation with the companies which are part of its body corporate is questioned. According with the interview with the owner of Play Braamfontein

> *"the people who are set in the committee of trust, they represent the interest of [Sappy and Liberty]. They have this idea they have to work only in the corporative area. They follow the interest of these people and have the same idea [as put bridges to link their buildings] about how promote Braamfontein" (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012).*

Starting from the statement about different approaches and interests between the big corporations and the other developers, what is reported is the tendency of the Braamfontein Management District to address only the needs of the corporative area. Once again the aspect of the delimitation of the territory emerges as a key element in the management through an explicit reference to the legal border of jurisdiction for the Braamfontein Management District's intervention.

In terms of integration, and mixed use the common opinion is that Braamfontein represents a model of mixed use and mixed people. According to the interview with the owner of Play Braamfontein "Considering all the places in the city have a tentative to be restore[d], I think is the most mixed use" (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012) but the South Point manager expresses some concerns stating that

> *"it's quite democratic but need[s] to be more integrated [..] you have the executive from the north part of Braamfontein, the students, the immigrants, black and white, workers, academic and creative people. But they are [in] quite separate world[s]. They don't connect so much..." (Talotta, pers. comm., 28 June 2012).*

The impression is that there is an attempt to create a mixed use environment, but that the goal has not been achieved. Even if the interview does not refer directly to the gentrification issue, both of the developers introduced the topic by themselves declaring that no kind of gentrification process happened in Braamfontein. According with the owner of Play Braamfontein

> *“Some people think that exist gentrification in Braamfontein. It's not true. None want gentrified places in Braamfontein. There wasn't any movement who said: let's get these people in and those people out. You have some people who are young and creative, who want to do something in an international standard. So you have people which decided to take a plane and come to Joburg to spend one day to see what people are doing here. We are creating a place that inspires enough to spend a day here!” (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012*)

“we will never gentrified Braamfontein. Our intervention aims to have regeneration not gentrification of poor people as happened in New York or Detroit, where the poor have no place” (Talotta, pers. comm., 28 June 2012). Noting that the informal traders do not have permission to work in the area, the common response is that this is the responsibility of JDA and the CID which supported the city in the idea to promote a strict legal framework regarding the permission of selling in the street in the areas they wanted to promote, “I have nothing to do with this, you have to talk with the CID!”(Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012). This point is also remarked in negative terms as a limitation for bars and restaurants in the use of the sidewalks “The legal framework for informal trade in Braamfontein is so straight that even for bars having a table in the sidewalk is a problem” (Talotta, pers. comm. 28 June 2012). There is, however, a shared sense of approval based on the need to regulate the use of public spaces and to maintain a certain degree of control influenced by the fear that the process of deterioration that characterised Johannesburg in the nineties, may be repeated

> *“In the historical perspective, if you have hundreds of informal traders around the buildings that are dilapidated and nobody operate in them, you have an invitation to have slum. The state of rapid decline that happened in the nineties in Johannesburg, didn’t happen in none other place in the World!” (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012)*

The gentrification issue came out relating to the possibility that Braamfontein's Regeneration Project may be influenced by the international model, and with the new definition of Braamfontein as a creative class hub. It is interesting to observe these connections, being the issues of gentrification often connected with urban regeneration in the debate about cities around the world. These distinctions regard terms and contents made by the developers about gentrification and revitalisation as well as the demarcation about the signification of gentrification in a South African context related with the threat of the past decline. This significance is mainly connected with a supposed need for control, which appears as disbelief in the ability of society to create rules for themselves in a democratic and participatory way. According with the interview with the owner of Play Braamfontein: "we need to be able to restore the main infrastructure of the place, and control is part of the process. We need somebody very firms about right and wrong, with an ethical background, and a level of understand that everybody need to feel the benefit" (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012). Both the developers also claim to not be following an international model in their intervention, but recognise the importance of traveling a lot and of having the possibilities to "imagine some projects developed in foreign countries to be adapted to the South African reality" (Talotta, pers. comm., 28 June 2012). The South Point's manager is also not South African.

4.4.3 Positioning of the small business

Confirming the successful aim, by the City of Joburg and the main developers, to transform Braamfontein in a "creative hub" many of the small private investors are represented by the creative class, running art galleries, bars and trendy restaurants or fashionable shops addressed to creative people visiting the area as well as tourists. Many of these small entrepreneurs show a general interest for topics linked with urban development. The issue is the form that these topics cover that becomes more and more fashionable and overexposed, ending in a certain level of

superficiality and the empting of meaning. In this sense it may be interpreted that the program of the City of Joburg Public Art Conference in November 2012, financed by the JDA, was almost entirely dominated by architects and planners rather than artists. One of the interviewed owners of an art gallery declared that

> *"the beneficiaries of this kind of development are white middle class. It's fragmented. I don't think the marginal communities are beneficed so much, because the services they needed are not provided, it is more about entertainment and consumption. A large residential population does no use art galleries or restaurants, because are not affordable for them. The development is for middle-upper class, not for the worker class who lives in Braamfontein. And the big developers feel they are empowered now to take the ownership of the area" (Fidel Regueros, pers. comm., 8 October 2012)*

This perception is also reflected in the feeling that small developers have their autonomy with regards to the use of space in the neighborhood. This feeling does not refer only to the use of office or retail spaces - most of which are owned by the big developers, but extends to the idea of use and intervention in the whole neighborhood, which is described by some of the small business people as "a private space controlled by few investors"(Govender, pers. comm., 16 August 2012). This is also the reason why some of the creative people, which used to have their offices in Braamfontein, start to move away looking for places more affordable and where they can feel more free to expand and manage their business in an autonomous way. In accordance with the comment of one of the interviewed who transferred his office in another revitalised part of Johannesburg at the beginning of 2012, "Braamfontein has been a good place to be. Even if the rent has been always expensive, at the beginning of my business it was perfect. It was a place where people may connect. The problem is that people can connect but they cannot develop anything in a collaborative way" (Govender, pers. comm., 16 August 2012). The

growth of the prices for renting spaces in Braamfontein is also commented in terms of bad value for money due to the fact that commercial spaces, but even the residential ones, are often too small and too expensive.

The perception about integration in the neighborhood is often mediated by economic interests and affects the imaginattion of Braamfontein as a heterogeneous area. “Braamfontein is definitely not a mix place. Most of the people who live in Braamfontein do not interact with the amenities offered in this place. It is not affordable for them” (Fidel Regueros, pers. comm., 8 October 2012), “you see a lot of creative and some students, but I don’t think is a mixed income. The creative with some money don’t want to live here and often they not even want to move their offices here. The wealthy people do not want to stay in the city after 6pm. They move out, going back to their suburbs [..] Also if Braamfontein can be considered mix use, because people live and work and gathering here. Everything closes very early, so it’s a very particular form of mix use. There are no places where you can spend time in the evening, and almost no places where you can spend time without spend money” (Govender, pers. comm., 16 August 2012).

Opposite to the main developers’ intervention, small general commercial activities continue their business in a state of uncertainty due to the unequal power relation between the two scales of business. The relation is organized between these two positions: large investors with immediate capital, who are able to impose the terms of sale; small investor, who often accepted these conditions because attracted by the opportunity to have a quick economic return and unable to understand completely the ongoing process of economic revaluation. The research presents a limitation in data collection on the type of people who live or work in Braamfontein due to language barriers. Few interviews have been done with people working in general shops, which questioned their impression about the changes in Braamfontein. Some of them express satisfaction with the increase of the movement and sales, others are not able to respond.

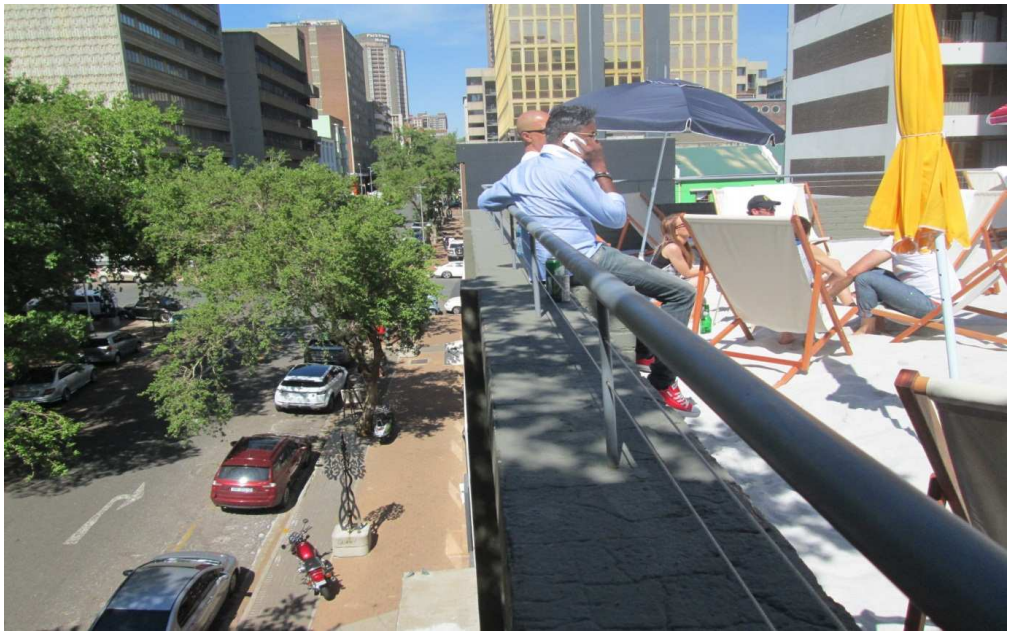


Figure 28 The Beach, a development by Play Braamfotein on the roof top of the 70Juta complex (photo: Laura Burocco October 2012)

4.5 Conclusions

Braamfontein represents a perfect example to showcase the Johannesburg City's regeneration efforts. The City has managed to persuade private property owners - mainly Sappi, Liberty Life, JD Group and others - to make improvements on their buildings and invest in the living condition of the neighborhood while creating a mix of corporative and creative precincts. In creating an improvement district, property owners contribute a levy which is used to fund additional cleaning, security and branding services. This new energy and beautification of the surrounding areas has created a ripple effect among smaller property owners as well, as they have also taken to investing in the area and enhancing the ambient environment, as demonstrated by the presence in the neighborhood of several new shops and possibilities for student accommodations. In November 2005, the City launched the Braamfontein brand, to enable further promotion of the node as a lively area to be and to invest in. The developments have impact on the increased demand of the housing market, especially for young new professionals, and for renting students accommodations. South Point has been able to take advantage of this opportunity and based its intervention mainly in the offer of high

quality standard accommodations for students and the opportunity to belong to the Braamfontein community. This aspect about community ties and belonging appears reinforced by Play Braamfontein. The companies seem willing to sell a vibrant, passionate, inspirational community often driven by moralistic discourses about their role in the redemption of the city from decay. On the other side the public intervention appears limited and discontinuous. If the city starts with a considerable investment in the regeneration project of Braamfontein, this investment doesn't find continuity with the intervention of the Business Improvement District Model turns more evident the differentiation of the services' offer depending on the areas of Braamfontein. This became an issue in the relation between private and public actors which contribute to the general ambiguity regarding responsibilities and autonomy. Another aspect related to the type of regeneration applied in Braamfontein, and the introduction of the BMD model has to do with the concept of mixed use and social mix. The final impression is that there is an attempt by private and public actors to promote and achieve a social mix and this is even linked to the promotion of a creative hub in the city of Johannesburg, but this attempt is still far to be successful. The failure to reach this goal contributed to a contradictory feeling about the aspiration of the city of Joburg and private investors to be considered as a world class city. Furthermore, in relation with mixed use, the lack of recognition of Braamfontein as a residential area and the time of working of most of the facilities, don't permit to refer to the neighborhood as a mixed use destination place. There is no doubt that the regeneration project of Braamfontein is transforming the landscape and the social reality of the neighborhood, as well it being possible to affirm the visible intention, and achievement thereby satisfying international standards. On the other hand, the profitable vision is clearly gaining the upper hand. The economic aspect of the investment in Braamfontein is predominant, and in the shortage of public funds, the private intervention became central in the urban regeneration and management process. The city, and Braamfontein in this specific case, is mainly considered as an

immense potential for private investors giving rise to the concentration of power in the hands of a few people, in accordance with the amount of their economic resources, and the creation of unequal spaces of consumption. The impact of the Braamfontein Regeneration Project in terms of growth of economic interest for the area, is demonstrated by the decision of Wits University to buy properties to be swapped in the future, or by the tendency of the main developers to centralize the control, which is the reason why some smaller business prefer to move in other areas of the city.

Who is affected by this dynamic are the users of Braamfontein? Ordinary residents, most of them students and workers, who have a very limited possibility to intervene in the planning for the neighborhood. If the newly attracted middle-upper class consisted of young professionals the development of Braamfontein meets their aspiration to be part of a creative vibrant community, this does not seems to happen for students, and even more for middle-low workers. If, as many private developers affirm it is not possible to see evident cases of gentrification in Braamfontein because the neighborhood never has a history of residential areas and most of the actual resident accommodation are the result of the transformation of offices spaces, it is not possible to ignore how the increase of the cost of renting in the neighborhood will indirectly move out some people in the next five years.

Chapter V – People's place in the Braamfontein regeneration project (analysis of data)



Figure 29 Melle Street, Braamfontein, photo: Laura Burocco, 2012

5.1 Introduction

The analysis of the data aims to address two different issues. The first is to analyse how the spatial and social transformations resulting from the Braamfontein regeneration proposed by private investors and public agencies, is understood by the people living and using the territory of Braamfontein and contributes to the creation of a sense of belonging and community in the neighborhood. Special attention will be paid in the relation between the development strategy of social mixes and the implementation of the City Improvement District model and how the beneficiaries of the intervention are involved and respond to these approaches. The second issue regards the relation that people, residents and users, have with the territory of Braamfointein. The research tries to understand how the different actors presented in chapter IV interact with each other and contribute to the place-making processes in terms of using of places and public spaces. The place-making process will be analysed

as well in terms of access to the city, creating a link with the joint nature of the right to the city.

Starting from commenting on the implementation of the Braamfontein Management District and the interventions of the main private developers (South Point and Play Braamfontein), the chapter analyses the distortion of the concept of social mix and identity in order to satisfy, and in some way force the vision of Johannesburg as a creative hub and a World African Class city. The chapter looks at how this achievement may represent an attempt to the right to the city in Braamfontein, inner city Johannesburg.

Even if in chapter IV the main private developers (South Point and Play Braamfontein) have been presented separate from public agencies (JDA, Urban Genesis-BMD, Department of Art Culture and Heritage) in the analysis of the data, Urban Genesis and Wits University will be treated together with private developers due to their capacity to mobilise and manage private resources. The final section is dedicated to the presentation of the vision of users and their considerations about the overall issues touched upon with private and public developers during the interviews conducted.

5.2 Private Developers Interventions and their place-making work

In South Africa the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) models started to be applied for in 1990 during the democratic transition at the same time that South African adopted its neoliberal agenda at national and local level (Bond, 2000). At a national level the ANC government started with a developmentalist orientation encouraging competitiveness and promoting foreign investments. Even at the local level neoliberal policies have been largely applied as well. In Johannesburg this tendency started with the “iGolie 2002”, a three year policy and planning process drawing on cost-recovery and business principles, followed by a participatory and multi-stakeholders visioning process aimed to define the City Development

Strategy called “iGoli 2010”. This process continued with the “Joburg 2030” strategy in 2002 and completed, at least for now, with the GDS2040 in 2007, whose aims are promote an outward –oriented economy to achieve a vision of Johannesburg as a “World Class African City” (Rogerson, 2004 in Didier et al 2012:7). The strategic continuity is based on marketing of the metropolitan area, privatisation, infrastructural redevelopment and inner city regeneration.

The implementation of City Improvement Districts CIDs is part of the “Inner City Regeneration Strategy developed by the City of Joburg and has become an important part of the urban regeneration policies”(Peiroux, 2008:155 in Didier et al, 2010:5) in order to response to urban blight, rising crimes rates and residential and business abandonment. The feeling of a loss of control over the environment spread between members of the private sector in the nineties and:

> *“by 2002 it became clear that the urban decay in Braamfontein desperately required attention. Problems at street level included broken sidewalks, dirty pavements, and inadequate rubbish and refuse removal. Homelessness, informal traders, traffic congestion, unauthorized taxi ranks and a myriad of associated problems all compounded to the rapidly developing perception that Braamfontein was an area not in control of itself. Because of the magnitude and complexity of the problems linked with urban decay, a variety of solutions and interventions are required, most specifically excellent urban management, to deal with these issues on a practical on-going basis” (Didier et al, 2012:4)*

The establishment of a CID in 1992 was identified as the most viable intervention to reverse the downward spiral caused by the failure of public authorities to deliver appropriate standards of services, and becomes possible through the establishment of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP). The City of Joburg defines CID as “a geographic area within which property owners and/or tenants agree to pay for certain

services supplementary to those supplied by the Local Authority and which will enhance the physical and social environment of the area" (CJP 2001: 4) and applies the distinction between improvement and management districts spatially located between the inner city and suburban nodes. This distinction is based on "Improvement Districts refers to areas of regeneration that address crime and grime, mainly in the inner city, while Management Districts whit a focus on place marketing refer to competitive nodes in the northern suburban areas (Rosebank, Sandton, Illlovo, Randburg)" (Peyroux, 2008:146) and reflects the socio economic disparity still existing in the post-apartheid city. The peculiarity of Braamfontein has a management district located in the inner city of Johannesburg represents a significant exception in terms of injection of capital by the City, and demonstrates the key role that the district assumes in the remaking of the city.

Responsible for the management of the Braamfotein Management District is Urban Genesis, whose website shows clearly the economic interests and profit orientation which shape the company. The goals of the company on their website and it state it:

- Enhances the environment and strengthens investor confidence;
- Enhancing the safety, cleanliness and economic vitality of different business, retail and commercial nodes strengthens the competitiveness in the region";
- Supports investment by business: the perception of crime, grime and general environmental disorder in most urban areas has a negative impact on staff and willingness of customers to visit the area, and in turn on business growth and development.

If the Urban Genesis ability in terms of security and cleaning services cannot be questioned, on the other hand, their ability to "support communities" and "develop and promote exceptional sense of place" raises some questions.

Urban Genesis highlights their capacity in creating a positive identity of the area. They state that: the establishment of a management initiative provides a new and positive identity from which to launch a concerted effort to maintain and enhance the asset base in the area thus attracting continued investment and development"(Urban Genesis Webpage). The emphasis on creating a new identity seems not to consider the preexisting community or the different typologies of actors that make up Braamfontein and focuses almost exclusively on the economic effect of the redemption of this positive identity. if it is true that Braamfontein is not a neighborhood with a tradition of residential use, the common statement about the lack of identity in Braamfontein may be used by developers in order to reinforce a moralistic discourse about their providential intervention in an area otherwise destined to decline. Urban Genesis indicates that:

> *"By focusing on effective management and the appropriate and timely implementation of key services, Urban Genesis is able to elevate selected nodes within cities, differentiating them from other areas and continually improving the offering, thereby giving stakeholders a reason to be there" (Urban Genesis Website page).*

Considering themselves as the agents of the change which brings back stakeholders to Braamfontein, the automatic effect seems to be the transference of ownership of an urban space that has to be considered a public space. According to the Urban Genesis website, "the unique identity of place is what provides people with a broader, richly layered sense of that place and what connects them to it, giving them a stake and a sense of ownership in it" Urban Genesis Website page). But ironically, the absence of a sense of ownership and autonomy in the decision-making process of the Braamfontein social space is one of the most recurrent complaints coming from smaller developers, and one of the reasons why some of them decided to move into other areas of the city. The capacity to create a sense of community and belonging is also questioned by the level of knowledge and interaction with the space that

many people living and using the area express in their interviews. The experience of Braamfontein by most of the students interviewed is limited by the place where they stay and the route to go to University that they showed through the drawing of their maps. On the other hand, non-resident users seem to experiment with Braamfontein only through a predefined route connecting the main attractions (70 Juta, the Neighbourgoods market, Lamunhu Hotel and the main bank's branches) through Juta, de Beer, Melle and Jorissen Streets and almost exclusively on Saturday.

Another interesting aspect related with the application of the CID model and its ability to create a shared sense of community regards the valuation of the level of satisfaction with the intervention. According with the website page of Urban Genesis "effectiveness is constantly measurable: by mounting regular opinion surveys" (quoted from the Urban Genesis website page). Questioned about the regular opinion questionnaire, none of the residents or users of Braamfontein interviewed declared that they knew about these valuation processes, doubting the existence of them and raising a question about who are the recipients of this type of survey. Increasingly, research on the effects of regeneration processes have been addressed to the newly attracted audiences rather than to pre-existing ones which are removed and for this reason raise some questions about their reliability (Slater, 2006:738; Watt:2008). A similar kind of limitation has been experimented during the data collection phase of this research as well. Difficulties related to languages, gender and willingness to answer the questions, linked with the short time available, have clearly limited the survey of this research project. In relation to Urban Genesis' intervention, a critical point lies in the weakness of their informative processes and the lack of attention in directing part of the budget for this type of advertising activities addressed to the resident community. If the marketing phase of the implementation, addressed to attract new investors is very well conducted it is difficult to see the same in regards to the place management approaches in the production of a participatory shared vision

which informs the residents and users about the place-making work in the community. Very few people except the main private investors, part of the board of the CID, know about the existence of the City Improvement District, how it is working and who is responsible for its management, and there is a general confusion about services offered by the City or by the Braamfontein Management District in terms of security, cleaning and maintenance of urban furniture.

The statement in Urban Genesis' website that "through our urban management work and place making interventions in most key nodes in Johannesburg we [Urban Genesis] understand PLACES [their emphasis] and what makes them special" is concerning, two reasons. The first, is the continues reference to their experience in the "South Africa's premier home of entertainment, the Newtown Cultural Precinct" which may be considered as a successful intervention considering the generally commentary about, and the abandonment of the place. The second and most serious lies in their understanding of places limited exclusively to their economic value. If there is no doubt about the capacity of Urban Genesis in "developing and implementing innovative places and destination marketing strategies" which enable cities "to move from an unpleasant to an exceptional experience" (Urban Genesis website page), it is also impossible not consider how this form of management is predominantly oriented towards a profit vision, which often considers the value of exchange more than the value of use (Lefebvre, 1991; Brenner N., Theodore N., 2005). The continuing referring to place management and place marketing expresses the profit orientation of this kind of management. The trend relates to the privatization of public spaces and aims to transmit the impression that Braamfontein is a "managed public space" (pers. comm., Itzkin, 25 October 2012).

South Point follows the City Improvement District strategy and focuses most of its attention on security, cleaning, and maintenance which are recognised as high quality even by students dissatisfied with other

services. According to the enthusiastic tone used in the South Point website the impression is that the company is sailing not only a residential accommodation but a specific life style: “Heita! If you’re looking for student accommodation in Jozi, then you can expect a lifestyle that is fast and furious: if a shot of adrenaline and a massive dose of the good life is what you’re after, then you have landed in the right city” (South Point website page). The “Jozi vibe” is often cited as something having to be part, and the “inspired South Point community” seems to open the door to this possibility of belonging. If Urban Genesis gives to Braamfontein a new and positive identity, differentiating it from other areas of the city, South Point specifies the elements that characterise this uniqueness.

The description of what South Point offers to its audience, refers to an idea of speed, movement, productivity and circulation that, according to Simmel (1950), Benjamin (2002) and (Parker, 2004) constitute the main features of metropolitan life (Mbembe and Nuttal 2008:17), and contribute to creating the illusion of being part of the ongoing phenomenon of transformation. But the reality is different, and often appears through student’s responses. Few of them have the possibility to afford the “inspired and vibrant community” of Braamfontein. Answering if they go out in Braamfontein, a student responded that “if you come here during the week end you see a lot of fancy cars, and probably they are not living here, because most of the people who lives here are students who can’t afford… cars and go out to that places” (pers. comm. Student A, 2 July 2012). Another responded that, “I don’t walk around. I use to go to Pick and Pay” (pers. comm. Student B, 9 July 2012); and another says that “In campus. I always go to Campus. I know a lot of places but I don’t go. My destination is always from WITS to my room. Or when I go to play and training soccer” (pers comm., Student C, 8 July 2012). Most of the students in the street interviews declared that they socialise inside their buildings, without the possibilities to interact too much with the places that Braamfontein offers due to the fact that bars and restaurants are not affordable. Questioned about the fact that several cheaper places existed

in some areas of Braamfontein, out of the “hipster corner”, how Juta and de Beer are described by some guys interviewed in front one building in Jorissen street, most of the students simply respond they prefer to buy drinks and consume in their rooms because they feel more comfortable in their buildings than outside in the streets. These responsess have been collected in the random short interviews conducted looking for students seats in front their buildings or coming back home with soft drinks or foods.

These data permit to deduce, on one hand a weak sense of belonging to the neighborhood, and on the other hand reveals how many of the students who live in Braamfontein are far from representing the creative class on which should be based the future Worls Class city of Johannesburg. The awareness about the discrepancy between the South Point primary audiences (students) and the consumer audience attracted by the renewal program of Braamfontein appears evident in the interview with one of the managers of South Point, and encourages the company to extend its business to retails and hospitality addressed to a more affluent target. According to the repeated complaints of students regarding services offered in the buildings (hot water, equipment for common areas and furniture in the rooms) and the closure of most of the bars dedicated to them (the Student Bar, the # 1 Bar and SP Café), the company seems to invest most of its budget in hospitality (the Lamunu Hotel) and retails – even more than in the maintenance of student accommodation.

5.3 Social mix and identity. The distortion of two concepts in order to justify gentrification processes

Many of the people interviewed affirm Braamfontein is a place without identity but exists as a different form through which this statement is used and understood. On the one hand it is used by developers to reinforce the moralistic discourse about their providential intervention in an area otherwise destined to decline, justifying their taking of ownership of the place. On the other hand it demonstrates a mechanical mental

reproduction to which the majority of respondents, mainly students and users, when asked have no ability to give a justification. This demonstrates a certain lack of consciousness about their presence in the territory of Braamfontein.

Contrary to the common statement about identity, one of the effects of the implementation of the Braamfontein regeneration project emerging out of the analysis of the data collected is the fragmentation in a triple identity consisting of different social groups which rarely interact: student, creative and working class residents. Executives occupying the corporate area of Braamfontein, may be considered the fourth identity of the neighborhood, although, due to the physical configuration of their offices which determine their isolated presence, are almost invisible. Any of these actors occupies its own territories from which rarely come out determining an existing, and fragmented, sense of community. Students move around Jorissen and Biccard Streets; creative arts people stay around Juta and De Beer Streets; workers live in the edges of the neighborhood.

Going back to the history of Braamfontein as presented in chapter III, Braamfontein started in the late nineteenth century as a farm where people lived and worked contributing to create a sense of community. It is also the area of up-market houses, some of them still visible, but because they faced south and never had any sun, quickly people started to move away. Beavon describes the area, in the fifties, as a white working class area living in semi-detached cottages, small flats, and cheap hotels (Beavon, 2004). The rezoning of the area for commercial and development use in the late fifties, and the relocation of the seat of the City of Joburg contribute to the replacement of these residents and the transformation of residential construction in offices buildings. This mainly commercial use lasted until the nineties when the inner city of Johannesburg went through a process of extreme decay. Even in this period of decay the maintenance by some large corporations of their seats in the neighborhood, determining the containment of this degradation and

avoiding the phenomenon of occupation of buildings for residential use as common in the CBD. For this reason it is not possible to affirm that there is a break of community ties, as in many regeneration projects. No cases of massive relocation of people, which are typical in the regeneration intervention of the City of Joburg in the CBD, as the emblematic case of Turbine Hall demonstrates, have been reported in Braamfontein. Even so, the selection of people and businesses that have access to the neighborhood contributes to the difficulty that people have to create a strong relationship with the place, which appears hardly definable in the middle of the extreme contradictory reality of the city of Johannesburg.

Urban Regeneration is also often linked to the nostalgic narrative of a past harmony and present decline of future regenerations, with references to a sense of identity; the same happens in the case of the Braamfontein Regeneration Project. These is relevant literature which describes Johannesburg's identity mainly in material terms, connected to the gold and the mines and as the byproduct of colonialism in the era of globalization (Chipkin, 1993; Beavon, 2004; Bremner, 2010). This nostalgia of the golden age and the redemption of the city from the decline of the nineties, constantly referring to the wealthy city, characterise the speech of most of the private investors and confirms the impression that life in Johannesburg is "dominated by private interest and consumer choice, serve for many as their only experience of some form of public life" (Brenner, 2010:256). "Johannesburg is both a material entity and an imagined place, or a state of mind (Robert Park, 1925 quoted in Murray 208:2). It is a restless, unsettled city whose own self-identity has always resolved around its vitality, its novelty, its crassness, and its seemingly boundless opportunities and insatiable appetite for material gain" (Murray, 2008:2).

The moralistic discourse is rooted in two fundamental points: the need of rescuing the city from a destiny of abandonment, and of restoring a sense of community through the implementation of social mixed neighborhoods

as promoted by most of the regeneration projects around the World. This became particularly complex in a society such as the South African one, marked by deep racial and social divisions (Bremmer, 2010:166) and elevates the private developers as benefactors of the city. Their intervention, where a public authority does not seem to take responsibility, seems to permit the application of a strategy of colonization of the city landscape piece by piece (Murray, 2008:196; Freeman, 2008:713). This personal positive vision of private intervention is confirmed by the fact that it is common, among private developers and in policy language to avoid use of the word gentrification. Instead of these terms others, such as revitalization, urban regeneration or sustainability are used in order to avoid the negative connotation with the process involved including class constitution and displacement (Slater, 2006:745). In the statement which avoids the existence of a process of gentrification in the neighborhood, made by the main actors of the transformation of Braamfontein in a creative hub, is implied a process of “class reconstruction", involving a gradual contraction of the working class, [basically never cited in the interviews] and its replacement by an expanded middle class (Hamnett, 2003b:2421, quoted in Watt, 2008:208). Questioned on the need of providing facilities for resident’s daily life, such as supermarket or ordinary shops, more than a "fake beach", Adam Levy answered “I don’t want to have conventional things in Braamfontein” (Levy, pers. comm., 2 July 2012) making clear the indirect ongoing process of gentrification in Braamfontein. Without requiring a visible displacement of people, a subtle form of selection, based on economic and aesthetical parameters, contributes to the creation of a selected environment.

The result of this selection is the creation of a space of homogeneity which avoids any kind of criticism or disagreement, and the creation of a non conflicting environment which reinforce the positive representation of Braamfontein’s transformation which private developers and public agencies are strongly committed to support. Investors are conscious that homogeneous places are more easily controllable, because they avoid the

tensions between different economic, social and culture interests. This is evident in the harmonious relation between the creative developers and the creative users in the neighborhood, which share the same conception of use of the “new city”. But in a better observation, the conflicting relation between the corporative and the creative developers demonstrates a different approach in terms of investments and expressions of socio-economic and cultural differences. What appears interesting is the position assumed by the public authorities (JDA Department of Culture and Art and Heritage), probably more than by Urban Genesis, in favor of the new creative developers: “South Point and Play Braamfontien share a very similar vision for Braamfontein, and they do a lot of positive things; South Point brings Puma and fixed so well with the Market that Play brings there” (Engelbrecht, pers. comm., 10 September 2010). This positive valuation on the part of public authorities, even if difficult to understand given the often public negative declarations by the private developers about the city's intervention, is perfectly in line with the will of the City Council to define Johannebsurg as a World Class City, synonymous with modernity in the interior of the African continent. It is interesting to observe how the effort of the city of Joburg to redefine the positive imagine of Braamfontein is in line with the promotion of the world class city, and how this redefinition of the imagine sometimes seems to be nothing more than a slogan, used by the city to convice private developers to invest in the city in order to guarantee the availability of resources (Gurney, 2012:58; Herson et all, 1990:221). If the slogan world class city works for an international scale, the marketing program of the BMD works in a local scale. On the other hand it is interesting to notice how this effort at changing the imagination of the city is extended to the CBD, and considering the number buildings beginning to be transformed for rental houses for students and the working class, this points to a direction of an enlargement of this revitalisation to the CBD in a short period. The future effects could be, the losing by Braamfontein of its quasi-monopolistic

position regarding student accommodation, and a probably impact in renting prices.

In the middle of this complex relation between private and public actors of the transformation of Braamfontein. The most problematic issue is represented by the third side of this triangle: the residents, mainly students and workers, with a very limited possibility to be part of the decision-making of the area. This exclusion avoids the emergence of different interests, and contributes to the representation of Braamfontein as a space of no conflict, no identity, and as a neutral space in the middle of the inner city of Johannesburg, exactly the opposite of other close areas such as Hilllbrow or the CBD. But this vision of no identity, no evidences of a process of gentrification, except for the case of informal traders, whose removal appears as a complex topic, often avoided by the developers seems not to consider the existence of a large part of ordinary people living in Braamfontein, as well as a part of the history of the city of Johannesburg.

The difficulty in creating a real social mix society depends not only on economic, but also and maybe more, by social and normative convergences:

> *"Not only would the working class have to acquire middle-class economic status, but they would have to demonstrate similar cultural and social behaviors. While there was evidence of economic convergence, there was little evidence of social and normative convergence. It was not simply that the middle class wanted to accept the affluent working classes into their communities, there was little evidence that the affluent workers want to join them" (Lees, 2011:2462).*

This evidence in terms of cultural and social behaviors appears in the case of Braamfontein regarding the use of the space of the Good Neighborhood Market in de Beer Street. While the first floor, sealing organic and farmer

food, is mainly composed of middle-aged white people and many families, the terrace, a space more for socialisation and drinks, is occupied predominantly by young people, more mixed in racial terms but prevalently black. In terms of the mix of classes, it is not possible to define a mixed form of occupation of the market because the cost of the goods which are sold automatically exclud low income people. Even for the students living in the area, the market is not affordable. But it is not only a problem of affordability. One of the foreign black students living in a South Point building commented that she can't understand why white people are "floating" in the streets of Braamfontein on Saturday; "Especially in the week end, I don't know why, but there are so many people, a lot of white people, I don't have idea what they are doing, but people comes here to go to this market. White people floating on the streets, families and kids" (pers comm, Student A, 2 July 2012). Most of these "white people" are going to the market which, surprisingly, attracts few of the students interviewed. Rather than interested, they show misunderstanding and surprise about the attractions offered by the market. In this sense the revitalisation of Braamfontein, how it happens in many urban revitalization processes, seems to produce consumption spaces more than mixed neighborhoods. The belonging to these spaces is conditional on the sharing of a specific aesthetic model and a certain minimum income that allows the users to participate in the new type of consumption that the district offers. The result is the creation of a "micro-world seeking to coerce compliance and compatibility from that which does not fit with their operative principles" (Easterling 2005, 1-5, 48-49, quoted in Murray, 2008:205).

5.4 Johannesburg as a Creative Hub and a World Class African City?

A global city is one of the results of the globalization of the economy and a response to the need to concentrate on functions of coordination, control and management in a few leading financial centres. The command and control functions that global cities play have an important impact on their

spatial, social and political configuration and development, which become more complex when applied in societies with historical issues of inequality and segregation. In the Johannesburg case, with regards to the willingness of the city of Joburg to achieve the status of a World Class City, the spatial implication becomes evident in Braamfontein, through the creation of an island of modernity and creativity on the border of the CBD. This break with the surrounding space (CBD / Hillbrow / Newtown/Brixton) has two main effects: first, an internal fragmentation between the users of the neighborhood; and second, an evident differentiation in terms of public infrastructure and basic services. The creative class that the revitalization project brings back to Braamfontein seems don't have connection, or a little one, with the rest of the social environment existing in the neighborhood (students or working class people). At the same time the basic infrastructure's deterioration (roads, lights, traffic lights, garbage collection) becomes more and more evident the more one moves away from the "creative center" of Braamfontein. The fact that this area matches with the jurisdiction of the Braamfontein Management District, reinforces this perception of separation and differential treatment. It is common, for people interviewed, to mention the Mandela Bridge as a border demarcation of cleanliness, safety and, in some way, social acceptability. Residents interviewed declared: "Most people don't have [any] idea where is Braamfontein. They think [it] is the CBD, they think you live in the CBD like, together with the Nigerian, or drug's dealers" (pers. comm., Resident A, 22 August 2012); "I moved here because I like the idea of city leaving and CBD is too remote, the traffic is bad and buy food as well. The location of Braamfontein is good, you have the train that divide the city, and we are in the suburban side what makes you feel safer" (pers. comm., Resident B, 27 August 2012). Politically this phenomenon is permitted by a public sector's abdication of their role, which is hired by the private sector determining an increasingly entrepreneurial local government (Shatkin, 2007:5). The reason why this is permitted seems to

lie in the economic unviability of the city of Joburg, but demonstrates also a certain level of political weakness.

Another aspect related to global cities is their capacity to exercise control, not only economically but also through the image that the city transmits to the outside. In the case of Johannesburg the intention is to present the city as a hub of modernity and creativity into the African context. "A global city is therefore not simply a global market place for finance. It is a city that has developed a capacity to produce and practice global control" (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008:3). This understanding helps explain the duality and complexity of the recognition of Johannesburg not only as a world class city, but as an African world class city. If Johannesburg in one hand represents the imaginary of modernity into the African, breaking with the traditional anthropological and historical vision of African as rural, and of African cities as an emblem of irresolvable crisis, on the other hand it is true that this vision has a possible application restricted to the African continent. The constant referring to European or North American standards by private and public developers, allows a glimpse of an unresolved "inferiority complex". It is often commented by the representatitve of the public agencies interviewed, that the private developers are "people well-travelled". This means that they know what international standards are required in order to be effectively recognised into the circuit of world class cities around the World. Having a fake beach in the heart of Braamfontein is actually a novelty since in the United States and Europe (thinking to Miami or Paris) has had this for several years. This useless facility, recently added with great success to the urban supplies offered by Play Braamfontein, may be used as a good example of the complexity that the regeneration project brings to Braamfontein, and Johannesburg on the level of a creative city. Although the novelty, or modernity, offered by this artificial beach, attracts a large number of people, developers and some of the creative people know that is something new for Johannesburg, and maybe the African continent, it is not the world class cities network they want to be part of. If it is possible to

say that Johannesburg has the capacity to create a certain level of control inside the African continent, its level of participation into the world economy system does not achieve the capacity to produce and practice global control and influence. The awareness of this dual position in a regional and global level contributes to create a double feeling about the world class and African city.

The difference between the global city and world city lies in its timeline definition: the global city is structured in the contemporary period; the world city refers to a city existing over the centuries (Sassen, 2005:28). Considering the definition of Johannesburg as a World Class African city two elements can be analysed: the complex definition and necessity of remarking the African identity, and the importance attributed to the historical redemption of the past of the city of Johannesburg (Sassen, 2005:10). In one of the interviews Johannesburg is cited as a “World Class City in the nineties”, and this idea is shared also with regard to the earliest times. In some way, referring to its capacity to control and influence the global market, it is possible to affirm that Johannesburg has been a world class city in its glorious past, more than in the present (Beavon, 2004:50, Mbembe, 2008:39). In 1930 the city had a population of half a million of inhabitants, its inner city acquired one of the biggest concentration of art decorated buildings, and “the economic upheavals of the Rand impacted instantaneously on the London stock exchange” (Hyslop, 2008:122) while now, even for some of the respondents, the idea of the city as an African city is often connected with negative images of cities, characterised by intense and wild traffic, dirt and noises. In this sense, Braamfontein represents an acceptable middle term between the “savage CBD”, so descript in public forum of discussion mainly attended by upper-middle class people (the Face Book page of the Johannesburg critical mass group, accessed 29 of September 2012), and an imaginary urban version of the wealthy northern suburbs (Mbembe and Nuttal, 2008:5). The reason why the South African middle class young professionals chose to live in Braamfontein is because this place possesses urban attributes not

found in newer residential areas. But, the Simmel's vision of "the emotional hyperstimulation of the metropolis acting as a prompting to self-definition, both from the desire to escape from anonymity and from the need to cope with the demands of the city life" (Hyslop, 2008:121) meets a little application in the specific case of the transformation of Braamfontein. The new supposed creative users of Braamfontein present a high level of homogeneity in terms of self-definition and identity, and are mainly plagiarised by the fashion of the moment, which limits the possibility of understanding the space as mixed and truly creative.

Returning to the history of the city, and to its vision as a world class city which connects the past and the present it is possible to observe an imaginary change of Johannesburg transmitted by media along these years. If at the end of the nineties the inner city of Johannesburg was treated by the main newspaper in alarmist and negative tones (Murray; 208:69) negatively impacting the city's image and its own self-identity. Starting from mid-2000, the tone in many websites and published articles has changed, confirming the optimism of urban regeneration interventions expression of emancipator, liberal and trendy urbanism that characterize other aspirant world-class cities (annexed website and recent articles appeared in social media). A huge effort is made by the City to reinforce the imagination of Johannesburg as a good place for affluent residents, and especially targets the so-called creative class (cf. Florida, 2005). The launch of the Johannesburg Tourism Agency in September 2012, the opening of a Bus City Tour in January 2013 and the continuing increase of walking tours offered not only to tourists but also, and especially, to residents who go to explore the city as strangers, show us the spirit of regeneration that pervades the city.

But a creative city is considered a city where creative industries are concentrated and supported (Montgomery, 2005:335) and its economic successes are determined by the presence of the creative class. According to Florida "to appeal to these groups, cities need to promote

culture, cultural diversity and entertainment" (Florida, 2008:147). "Successful cities seem to have some things in common, visionary individuals, creative organizations and a political culture sharing clarity of purpose. They seemed to follow a determined not a deterministic path" (Landry, 2000:3 – quoted in Comunian, 2011:1174). This does not seem to be the case of Johannesburg where, according to the interviews with the Department of Art Cultural and Heritage and the JDA representative, the city does not have a proper plan for the inner city: "Braamfontein is just something in between. It' not inner city, it is not northern suburbs. There is no clear strategy from the city, more come from the private sector, and has been gentrified" (Itzkin, pers. comm., 25 October 2012). This limit is reflected as well in policy documents addressed to increase economic and social growth (such as the iGoli 2010, the Johannesburg 2030 or the Inner City Regeneration Charter) which "appear more an assemblage of pragmatic and opportunistic policies than the implementation of a coherent long-term strategy" (Didier and all, 2010:7) in the absence of any real means and concrete contents attributable to the slogan world class African city (Guerney, 2012:58). This lack of long term strategy and management is visible in the bad state of the maintenance of several interventions of public art in Braamfontein, for example. To achieve acceptable standards in order to be considered as a creative city, it is not sufficient to adorn the city with public art or embellishment interventions. The "index for culture, is not the simple presence of the assets that must be counted, but also how many citizen (and tourist) utilize it, the type of participation / outreach programs developed" (Comunian, 2011:1174).

Accepting the idea that the creative city must satisfy the four unorthodox cases defined by Florida, it's hardly possible to affirm that Johannesburg satisfies them. The first index is defined as Melting Pot index, or mixes of ethnic groups indicative of high levels of technologically-based industry in the United States; the second is the gay index considered as a group more inclined to be tolerant of others and having higher disposable incomes; the third is the bohemian index, measuring the numbers of

creative people in a city (writers, designers, musicians, actors, directors, painters and sculptors, photographers and dancers); and finally the good lifestyles index, refers to places of long-established artistic pedigree, high culinary and a variety of entertainment (Montgomery, 2005:338). Linking together this list of requirements with the theory of the 3Ts (Tolerance, Technology and Talent) it is hard to fit the city of Johannesburg within the definition of the creative city and it becomes even worse considering the form of use of public spaces by the people and the near absence of pedestrian life in the city.

5.5 Privatization of Planning and the Right to the city

As an effect of the revitalisation of the inner city of Johannesburg "city officials, municipal authorities and real estate developers have joined their voice in proclaiming the coming Manhattanization of downtown Johannesburg" (Murray, 2008:191). In order to reach this goal Municipal authorities have deliberately subordinated their urban redevelopment to the logic of capital and profit, and placed their faith in a revitalisation strategy based on Private Public Partnerships, subsides, tax abatements, and other incentives to attract private real estate developers back to the inner city. These strategies are clearly presented in a series of policy documents such as the Joburg 2030 strategy launched in 2002; the Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan for 2004/2007 presented by the city of Joburg in March 2004; the Braamfontein Regeneration Development Business Plan in July 2004; the Inner City Regeneration Charter in July 2007 and finally, the Joburg 2040 GDS strategy than together with the five-yearly Integrated Development Plan (IDP), the last policy document having the aim of promoting the World Class city. Even if there was no sufficient time in this research to analyse deeply all these documents, the reading of the main paragraphs about strategy, vision, implementation and opportunities, together with the huge amount of materials available in the website of the City of Joburg, demonstrate the promotion of an outward –oriented economy aiming to

achieve the recognition of Johannesburg as a “World Class African City” through productivity and competitiveness.

In the case of Braamfontein, the privatisation of planning expressed by the place management of the Braamfontein Management District and by the private sectors interventions, is justified in part by the public sector failure to achieve the goals they propose and also by the idea that the private sector has a better understanding of the operation of economic growth, the desires of multinational corporations and of an emerging new consumer class. The recognition of the unavailability of the City of Joburg idea supported especially by Urban Genesis “they [the City of Joburg] are really struggling; if you have to wait the City, it took long time, their budget is so tiny. The City doesn’t have money and if they don’t meet their commitments someone has to do” (Engelbrecht, pers. comm., 10 September 2012), reinforces the assumption, on the side of the public sector, of an accommodating position while permitting than the inner city revitalization is mainly driven by private sector investments. In this context privatization becomes part of the new model of governance and a number of multinational architectural and planning consulting firms, as well the most influent local investor, facilitated by government assistance, become responsible for the vision of urban futures and the definition of social goals (Shatkin, 2007:12) allowing the creation of a private urbanism in which the urban landscape is created by enclaves of consumption (Beavon, 2004; Murray 2008).

The result is “a collage of semiautonomous urban villages, each consisting of mixed residential, commercial and office spaces [..] a patchwork assemblage of almost semiautonomous and disconnected localities” (Murray, 2008:194). These islands bring together the essential features of privatize urbanism, where the control of public space is into the hands of capital. “From Los Angeles’s Bunker Hill to Sandton in Johannesburg, private interesst have created fortified downtowns and urban sub-centers,

protecting an increasing array of pseudo-public and private properties against the possible intrusion of the undesirables" (Hou, 2010:6).

Because Braamfontein seems to assume an important symbolic function, as many interviewed mentioned, as a link between the two cities northern suburbs and the CBD), the creation of an area under the control of private capital may be an impediment to the development of a just city (Harvey, 2009, Fainstein, 2010). This phenomeon of provatization of planning demonstrates as "Urban revitalization in downtown Johannesburg must be understood as the complex interaction of such supply factors are availability of land, the marketing strategies of real estate entrepreneurs and firms, and interventions of municipal authorities, operating in tandem with such demands factor as perception of economic opportunity, shifting consumer tastes, and evolving land uses" (Murray, 2008:196).

According to Murray:

> *"Johannesburg is a city almost entirely constructed around a forbidding architecture of enclosure. The gradual expansion of such fortified urban enclaves as citadel offices complexes, city improvement districts, gated residential communities and sequestered shopping malls have produced a spatially uneven and hierarchically arranged landscape where large-scale property owners clash with the claim of the property less urban dwellers who assert their right to the city by demanding a more egalitarian and collective understanding of land use" (Blomley 2004, xiii-xxi quoted in Murray, 2008:16).*

While this claiming for their right to the city is, although often unsuccessfully, exercised by low income people and informal settlement's residents (Wanjiku Kihato, 2010:213), there is a lack of awareness on the part of the Johannesburg's upper middle class about the economic and social processes ongoing in the city, and their possibility and willingness to influence these processes. This weak understanding is demonstrated in trivial articles and public comments that appear on many magazine and

websites (annexed website and recent articles appeared in social media), and it is one of the causes that allow the intense privatization process of the city dominated by few people and exploited by many others, not necessarily the biggest investors.

If urban regeneration has a positive effect on someone, it can't be disregarded that the effect may have an element of exclusion for some others. This effect becomes even more evident in cities in developing countries where the level of inequality is strengthened by the aspiration to achieve a World class status. The logic of entrepreneurial urbanism subsumes the right to the city under the rational calculus of market competition (Huchzermeyer 2010:27) with the result that public authorities invest more in a process of revalorization of the real estate value for people with upper-middle income in central areas, rather than in a real revitalization of the city that can benefit the greatest number of people possible, including low income people. The final result is that only affluent urban residents have access to the city and are able to enjoy a meaningful citizenship (Holston, 2008:17)) determining a phenomenon of segregation not based on race but on social class belonging and economic availability (Bond, 2000). Issues such as affordabile housing for the working class is not an items addressed by the renewal program of Braamfontein not only by the private investor, who does not have an interest or obligation to address socio-economic issues, but even by the public sector who, on the contrary, is supposed to have this constitutional duty. According to the JDA's website "together with the private sector, the JDA has been pivotal in the turn-around of precincts such as Braamfontein, Newtown and Ellis Park by upgrading the public urban environment with new pavements, lighting and other aesthetic touches". What the public sectors seems to do is more an intervention of beautification of the city, aimed to change the imagination and imaginary of Johannesburg, rather than deal with real social and economic urban problems.

If historically Johannesburg was a city of various boundaries “a city regulated according to the principle of proximity and social distance” (Mbembe and Nuttal, 2008:21), the Braamfontein transformation shows us how power relations, embedded in the spatial form of the city, clearly define who and which kind of businesses are attracted and dismissed in the process of revalorisation of landed property. If we recognise the joint nature of the right to the city as a "demand... [for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life’ (Lefebvre, 1991), we can’t limit its meaning as a simple synonymous of opposition to gentrification. It is necessary expand this meaning to concepts such as participation and socialization in order to create a social environment promoting thinking and actions, inside the urban regeneration process, which truly extend the enjoyment of the city and of citizenship to a greater number of people possible (Lopes de Souza, 2010:317). In this sense the form that urban space in the inner city of Johanneburg are appropriated by privileged users become questionable. Starting from Lefebvre’s quote “the right to the city should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller (*citadin*) and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the center, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the ‘marginal’ and even for the ‘privileged’” (Lefebvre, 1991:34). Recognising the influence of the western cultural interpretation of modernity on the spatial organisation and urban life of cities in the southern hemisphere (Appadurai, 1996), the observation of Braamfontein raises some questions about its appropriation as a consumption of spaces or, sometimes and for someone, as “an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for middle classes” (Lees, 2008:2449). In the eighties, yuppies considered as a consumption group, became a cultural phenomenon as “educated middle class men and women and artists began to renovate and occupy dilapidated housing in commercial, industrial and working-class

neighborhoods. Their movement into these neighborhoods, where some of their parents had been born and worked, represents a generational movement back to the city" especially in North America and Canada (Zukin, 1998). But if the Canadian yuppies have become a critical infrastructure for the city (Caufield, 1989) the hipster community in Braamfontein, coming back to use the inner city of Johannesburg, does not look to understand their movement as something related toclaiming for their city. Even when this declaration becomes a common used slogan, It is in this point that lays the main issue. Lefebvre's right to the city is not exclusively claimable by low income people but "even for privileged". Obviously the forms and the contents that the right is claimed are different but, analysing the form that African cities are often represented as a territory of crisis and the resulting sensation that the everyday of the inhabitants is a crisis, the free experimentation of the city by its dwellers may be represent their claiming for an everyday. But it needs to be filled with contents. Observing from a racial point of view, the bio-politic of the apartheid system allowed non-citizens (black people) to live in non-town (townships). According to Posel "the rights of black people to live in the city were constantly under threat, if not denied in full, which is the reason why most social struggles of the post-apartheid era can be read as an attempt to reconquer the right to be urban (Posel 1991:61-180; 203-26 quoted in Mbembe, 2008:52). The new black middleclass hipster young people, who represent a significant number of the audience of the creative Braamfontein, can be seen as a new form to claim their space in the city. The concern is represented by the lack of understanding on the part of these people about their social function within the process of change (Sennet, 1990; Appadurai and Breckenridge, 2008:354), and consequently their ability to be manipulated by private investors. The aestheticization of their tastes implies detachment and stylisation, and becomes even worse when it is accompanied by racist comments about who has the right to claim the city. The issue raised is about "how an aesthetic of the everyday

life is fully compatible with life on the margins and life as a terrain of dangerous and suffering" (Appadurai and Breckenridge, 2008:353).

5.6 An overview of the positioning of the residents and users

The majority of the resident population of Braamfontein is composed of students who are represented as being responsible for the return to life of a neighborhood which has never been popular for residential use. It is made up of people who have been excluded from the making-place process of the area for economic and social reasons. Braamfontein was for long time considered mainly a commercial and office space. The fact that it hosts WITS University campus, and is very close to the University of Johannesburg, presents a huge potential for student accommodation development. This was the intuition of South Point which explores this market's demand and opens the way to the subsequent development of a real estate market not only for students. The result has been the development of a growing real estate market, which in an immediate second step, added the promotion of a creative pole in terms of facilities and housing solutions. This process happening in an area where there is already a community, although with fewer residents. Three typologies of residents living in Braamfontein have been identified during the participatory observation research process and interviews.

The first one, the bigger and more visible, consists of black students, not only residents of South Point accommodations. The second group is represented by a certain number of young professionals, mainly white, who started to move to Braamfontein attracted by the idea of a "city life style" but reassured by the fact of not living in the CBD. Even if this number is not still so big, they represent a group in growing permit to imagine that probably, in the next five years, the landscape of the neighborhood could be different. The third group is less visible, but it is probably more numerous than the second group, and it is composed of working class people living in affordable houses offered by AFCHO or other rental housing. The existence of this third group is often

underestimated in the planning for the revitalisation of the neighborhood, not only by the private developers, to which you cannot require an extended social responsibility, but also by public authorities.

The lack of full awareness on the part of the residents about the changes which characterise the district, is confirmed by the declaration of some of the residents interviewed, especially young white professionals, who express the superficial idea that Braamfontein represents a comfortable middle space between the northern suburbs and the inner city and demonstrate a relation with the place based more on ambiguous feelings of transgression and novelty. Asked about the reason why they decided to move to Braamfontein (and some of them to buy their property in the neighborhood) they respond: "because I want to live in the city [..] Johannesburg is very unactractive but has got the city that is beautiful! It's very Africa. It is dirty, apartment full of people. It is not a European city, but you have the sensation to live in an African city" (pers. comm., Resident A, 22 August 2012); "I like the idea of the city leaving and the CBD is a bit too remote. I like the location of Braamfontein: you have the train that divides the city and we are in the suburban side of the city, what makes you feel safer. It is a bit of mix living industrial area but with some suburb idea" (pers. comm., Resident B, 27 August 2012). The link between Braamfontein and the sensation to live in a city is almost always cited by the respondents. What appears understandable is that the African city is often linked to negative aspects, while Braamfontein seems to escape to this negative connection. In its process of transformation in a "creative city" in the African continent, Johannesburg attracts many foreign creative people; it is the case of one of the interviewed from Australia who declared: "I never lived in a suburb, and I don't like it. I want to live in the city. I wake up in the morning and I can go down to the bakery opposite my door, walk around the corner and buy cigarettes with the Congolese guy […] In Braamfontein there are facilities open later and is the place where I go out. The vibe is different than in a suburb. How can I live in

Africa without see[ing] black people around me?" (pers. comment., Resident C, 19 July 2012)

This positive perception of Braamfontein is not supported in terms of valuation of the services and facilities offered in the neighborhood. Asking people randomly in the street in Braamfontein how they value the unique supermarket existing in the area, pick and pay in Jorissen Street, a large majority of people, independently of their age, gender, class and race, complain about the quality of the shop. This impression was confirmed also by the interviews: "I love that in Braamfontein we have taken away food and the basic need[s], but I really don't enjoy the pick and pay [..] I think for student it is fine but I use to do my daily shopping out of Braamfontein"(pers. comm., Resident A, 22 August 2012); "There are some places in Braamfontein, but is not enough. It is a problem for buying food. You need to go to Melville or in some suburbs to have food" (pers. comm., Resident B, 27 August 2012). Student residents decide to live in Braamfontein for convenience, the walking distance to the universities and for safety, but the relations they have with the neighborhood is mainly limited to their life in campus and inside their buildings and through the interviews is possible to deduce that few students have thorough interactions with the neighborhood. Probably due to the limited use of the facilities offered by the district or to the different ages and exigencies, contrary to the young white professional residents, students evaluate facilities in a positive way: "shops have easy access and everyplace you go you can find what you need"pers. comm., Student D, 10 August 2012); "I shop here. There are a lot of shops. I like shop in Braamfontein" (pers. comm., Student B, 9 July 2012). People who do not live or work in Braamfontein, but simply decided to going out in the neighborhood declared that they come because: "the place is a mix of very interesting cultures and it is a student village. Students are everywhere and you can work and have fun in the same place. It is good for networks" (pers comm., User A, 8 August 2012), "I come here because of the great vibe, interesting people, friends and new exciting things to see and to buy"

(pers. comm., UserB, 12 August 2012), showing as Braamfontein, that never was considered as a cool or interesting place but has become now a magnet for a bohemian and alternative scene. For the people who work in bars and restaurants, some of them coming from Soweto or the south of Johannesburg, the valuation about the transport and the access is positive: “there are bus and taxies and now also Park Station, so it’s very easy arriving here” (pers. comm., Worker A, 8 August 2012) but it’s interesting to see how this target prefers to shop in other areas of the city like Sandton, East Gate and even the CBD.

The limit of this research lies in the limited interview with residents of affordable housing in Braamfontein, or workers in spaza shops. Some of them quickly answered random questions through which it was possible to deduce that they do not have a clear idea about the changes of the district and it was difficult to have comments about the neighborhood.

5.7 Conclusion

Analyzing the spatial and social transformations resulting from the Braamfontein regeneration proposed by private investors and public agencies the border between public and private intervention became very ambiguous. The ambiguity does not lies in the aims, which look very similar, economic growth, achievement of a world class status, competitiveness and consumption encouragement - but in the power relations between the different actors. This reflects the relation that users have with the neighborhood. Power relations are obviously strictly connected with economic power that, in the relationship between the City of Joburg and the main private developers, sometimes appears balanced in favor of the latter.

The result is internally the occurrence of confusion between responsibilities and duties on the part of public and private actors, and an overlapping of their roles. Externally, between the users, it is common to perceive a lack of information about the ongoing process and who is

responsible for what. This ignorance expresses a difficulty in participating in the place making process that the Braamfontein Management District often cited, and as such is an obstacle to the creation of a meaningful feeling of belonging and community among residents and users in Braamfontein.

What appears to the developers is a huge effort, and a quite well achieved result, in the intention to recreate Braamfontein as a vibrant new spot in the middle of the inner city of Johannesburg. At first sight the "groove Braamfontein", how it has been defined in an article appeared at the end of 2012 and it is indicated in the touristic stop of the Red Bus City Tour of Joburg, started in January 2013, seems to have achieved the world class standard to which the City and the private developers aim. But this achievement addresses only some selected people. The moralistic discourse about the rescue of the city affected in the reality only few people and represents a dangerous attempt to the right to the city understood as a collective right of citizens to have access and use of their city. The strategy applied in many regeneration projects about social mix not only has already been disproved by many case studies, but even in the case study of Braamfontein raises some questions about the kind of space and social mix that is possible.

The relationship between private and public developers allows the privatization of planning and the creation of spaces of consumption mainly dominated by a homogeneous audience represented by people having economic access to the city. If it is true that Braamfontein offers spaces of encounters and sociability, as Lefebvre encourage in his idea of lived space, this possibility is limited to the possibility to consume. In some ways, spaces of encounters are often spaces of business and consumption which contribute to create that representation of Braamfontein as a vibrant community part of a metropolitan life style required by global cities.

The profitable vision of the city which considers the exchange value above the use value represents a common trend and determines several common urban issues in many cities around the world. It is the case for example in the debate about gentrification. In the South African context, historically marked by the highest level of inequality and a legally codified racial division, the specific case study of Braamfontein becomes alarming when related to the lack of awareness of users about the ongoing processes of economic and social development.

Chapter 6 - Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

In an overall view, Braamfontein is a successful neighborhood in terms of urban development, and social and use mix. It brings together different social classes of people and permits something quite especial in the reality of Johannesburg: the use of the same area for residential and commercial use. Another peculiarity of Braamfontein is the fact that at present there are many pedestrians, not only during the day but also at night. Although the adjacent neighborhoods of Hillbrow, Yeoville and Fordsburg also have some street life/use, in Braamfontein this possibility is experienced by the users with a greater sense of security. The issue lies in, how much of this success is due to public and private intervention and how much is the result of a natural evolution of the reality of the city as a social space in continuing transformation.

Considering the public and private intervention limited to the implementation of the Management Business District and the direction of private investment in the specific quadrangle defined by Juta, De Beer, Melle and part of Jorissen Streets, the intervention achieved a positive result in terms of marketing strategy, not so much in terms of making place. A new imagery of Braamfontein is sold to potential buyers in a very effective manner, helping to change the collective negative view on the inner city of Johannesburg, especially in terms of safety and cleanliness. On the other hand the type of development and transformation promoted by public and private investors is exclusively related with exchange value of the space and almost no consideration of the value of use. In this sense the private and public intervention in Braamfontein does not seem to reinforce a socially mixed neighborhood policy, on the contrary it seems to promote a spatial and social fragmentation of the neighborhod. The Braamfontein Urban Regeneration Project, as many other urban renewal interventions, has clear economic interests and goals to satisfy. This

became evident in the increase of standardised consumption spaces, which promote a homogenous environment of consumers more than a differentiated social space. The result is the political and social neutralisation of the urban scenario, which goes hand in hand with the occurrence of an ambiguous relationship between private investors and public authorities.

6.2 The potentiality of the spatial configuration of Braamfontein

The Braamfontein spatial demarcation is clearly designed by the streets of the neighborhood. Bertha Street, which becomes Jan Smuts Avenue, represents a line of division between two different Braamfonteins: the developed area where the Braamfontein Regeneration Project is more active, and the developing area where the project is going to act more in the close future. The same happens with Jorissen Street which plays two functions: creating an imaginary line of division between the corporative area and the creative; connecting the creative and the ordinary users (residents or not). Smit Street offers a natural border due to the presence of the train station, and Loveday Street represents the line of division to the next neighborhood of Hillbrow. This extreme demarcation of the territory makes the space more easiy controllable in terms of management, and less subjected to a possible uncontrolled growth in terms of density. These characteristic together with the fact than Braamfontein is a meeting point between different places in the city, transmit a sense of greater security in terms of investment and makes the area particularly attractive for future investors. Another important characteristic of Braamfontein is the easy access offered. Access and mobility are guaranteed not only to cars, through the highway and Jan Smuts Avenue, but also to pedestrians by the huge number of taxis circulating, the old commercial train station and the recent opening of Park Station.

6.3 The application of the CID Model

In the case of Braamfontein the City Improvement District-CID model found a peculiar application, due to the fact that it is not an Improvement District, which refers to areas of regeneration, mainly in the inner city, that addresses crime and grime. It is a Management District, which has a focus on place marketing of competitive nodes in the northern suburban areas as Sandton or Rosebank. This reflects the economic importance that the neighborhood plays in the urban development of the city of Johannesburg, whose management and design seems not to be addressed through a truly participatory process. In the application of the City Improvement model the starting point is represented by the lack of identity and community ties of the area. This statement permits the ownership of the urban space by the developers. This transference of ownership is a common attitude among the investors, and it is explicitly declared by Urban Genesis in order to link with their place-making role. But, if the marketing strategy of the company is working very well in promoting a renovated imagination of Braamfontein as a safe and cool place to be, the participation by the users on the planning process and the sense of belonging amongst the residents of the Braamfontein's community is very weak. Even if presented in the website page of the company, no process of participation and information is known by the people interviewed, raising doubt about its effective existence, or at least the ability and will of Urban Genesis to make public this process and to disseminate information.

6.4 The socially mixed neighborhood model

The assumption of the lack of identity of the area is linked to the absence of a preexistent residential community in Braamfontein and is part of the reinforcement of the moralistic discourse, especially applied by private investors, about the need of rescuing the city from a destiny of decline. The solution offered is the implementation of the socially mixed neighborhood model. Through the alleged absence of pre-existing community ties, developers can manage to avoid the issue of

gentrification, limiting the idea of gentrification to eviction cases and replacement of people, but not taking into consideration the reality of Braamfontein considered in its entirety. On the contrary, Braamfontein seems to have different identities cohabiting in the same area; the groups have little interactions which determine a weak sense of community. The four identities that occupy the Braamfontein's spaces are made by: students, probably the bigger group; creative class people, who represent the second evident group of people but less numerous than the next one; the working class people, living in the border of the neighborhood are not very visible. But they rae quite large; and finally the corporative working class almost invisible but occupying all the corporative areas of Braamfontein. In the implementation of the socially mixed neighborhood model these groups are rarely considered. On the contrary greater importance is given to the creation of a heterogeneous space of consumers who respond to pre-defined aesthetic and economic parameters. It is possible to affirm that Braamfontein does not present a case of removal, but a case of high selection.

6.5 The Global City Model application

The Global City model is considered in terms of the aspiration of the city of Johannesburg to be part of the circuit of global cities, and the implication of this desire in terms of political, social and spatial impacts. In the specific case of Braamfontein Regeneration Porgram it is possible to assist to with abdication by the public authorities of their public governmental role, which determines an ambiguity in the relation between private developers and the City of Joburg. The relation between the two parts is characterised by a mutual necessity. On the one hand the private developers often need the authorisation by the city for implementing new development; it is the case for example of the authorisation for bar sailing in the street or maintaining the restaurants opened at night. On the other hand there is an economic dependency of the city of Joburg on private funds which determine the fact that sometimes private developers play the role of the public (or example in the provision of basic services as the

garbage collection) and vice versa (Wits University operating as a real estate agency). The result is the exclusion of users and residents by the places' decision making process and in the case of Braamfontein, the fragmentation of the territory, a differentiation in terms of infrastructure and services supply and the encouragement of a selective space of consumption.

6.6 The World African City Concept

The definition of Johannesburg as an African World Class City raises contradictory valuation about the capacity of Johannesburg to exercise control and command in a regional and global scale. If it is recognised that the city of Johannesburg breaks with the idea of African cities as exclusively problematic, and offers a new imagine of African modernity that escapes the usual vision of the African continent as rural; it is also true that this new modernity is mostsly confined to the regional scale and not always finds application in a global scale. This duplicity determines a contradictory feeling especially among the private developers, which are more supportive of the idea of achievement of international standards. If private developers need to embrace and support the idea as part of their marketing strategy, a certain level of concerning is presented among the public authorities, which see the "World African Class City" as an empty slogan whose achievement is still far to be satisfied. The same thinking, though not in a totally conscious form, seems to be shared by the users that, while declaring himself satisfied and in some way taking pride of the changes in the city, continue to link exclusively negative connotations to the term "African city."

6.7 Braamfontein as a Creative Hub

If Urban Genesis gives to Braamfontein a new and positive identity, different from other areas of the city, the private specifies the elements that make this vibrant and inspired creative community. South Point and Play Braamfontein are not sailing just commercial or residential

accommodations, they are sailing a life style which aspires to satisfy the requirement of a creative city. But the creative city model, which found in Braamfontein its focus of implementation, requires the satisfaction of a series of a checklists of requirement including mixed income housing opportunities, the creation of apedestrian-friendly environment, clean public space, gay-friendly environment, all characteristics not completely satisfied by the urban planning of the city of Joburg. In the specific case of Braamfontein, there is little possibility for students to be part of this vibrant and inspired creative community due to the unaffordability of the places provided by the regenerative intervention. On the other hand, there is no real interest by the developers to integrate the students to the target of consumers. Play Braamfontein declares no interest in ordinary commercial business (and consumers) meanwhile South Point seems to divide its target in rental profit coming from the rents of the students, and commercial profit through retails addressed to a different type of consumer. This makes clear the differentiation between students and ideal consumers (the creative class) demonstrated also by the not functioning of several South Point student's Facilities. The Braamfontein Regeneration Project seems to promote more an intervention of beautification of the area than an effective revitalisation intervention. There is a lack of a long-term strategy by the City of Joburg, confirmed by the bad maintenance of public art, and by the lack of attention in the implementation and promotion of truly public, open spaces. What appears is more the promotion of Braamfontein as a space for entertainment, essentially on Friday night and Saturday which raises some doubts about the sustainability of the intervention.

6.8 The use of Public Space in Braamfontein

The use and planning for public space is strongly connected with the near absence of a social function attributed to the open and public space due to the country's history. In this sense the idea of public space linked with the use value of the city, considered as a space for socialising is almost not

considered in the Braamfontein Regeneration Project, or at least not considered from this perspective. If South Point makes a big effort and Urban Genesis as well as Play Braamfontein show interest in re-activating public spaces, their interest is to work always from a profit perspective. The result is the privatisation of public spaces and the creation of a managed public space that is highly controlled. This idea is the opposite of the common understanding of what makes a space a public space: opened to differences, supportive of encounters and exchange, the subject of free appropriation by the user. In their intention to promote a managed public space, the private developers, as well the public authority, avoid the possibility of creating a space not easily controllable; having the possibility to encourage social and political conflicts. In this sense the promotion of a homogeneous consumption space, neutralises the political function of urban space and weakens public participation.

6.9 The exercise of the Right to the City in Braamfontein

The growing interest in the discovery of the neighborhood, and probably of the whole city, is demonstrated by the presence of numerous walking tours and general interest for topics linked with urban development. The issue lies in the form that these topics are covered that becomes more and more fashionable and overexposed, ending in a certain level of superficiality and the emptying of meaning. In the same way the users have no clear ability to overcome negative connotations attributed to the definition of “African city”. The users show a lack of awareness about the economic impacts in spatial changes in Braamfontein. This tendency confirms the achievement by the private (and public) developers of their will in creating a politically neutral space. The result is the creation of segregated (on the base of aesthetical and income parameters) consumption space for consumers, more than citizens, who are easily manipulated by private developers. Even recognising the importance of the appropriation of space in the South African context as a form of exercise of the right to the city, it is difficult to legitimate this claim when,

most of the time, becomes an aggressive re-possession of the inner city by middle-up class people, independently of its race. The claiming for the city exercised by these users becomes an empty slogan as the World Class African City Slogan unable to answer to the questions from who we are claiming the city? For whom? Why and in which way?

6.10 Recommendations

In the planning for the future urban development of the city of Johannesburg, social and historical elements need to play a central role more than exclusive economic growth. In this sense it becomes important to promote urban interventions and policies which look at the city as a social space more than a space of consumption. The promotion and activation of public space have to be seen as an opportunity for a truly social mix, and requires the ability to support a politics of difference in the production of urban space and the meaningful engagement in the promotion of processes of participation. In this sense the promotion of single interventions in specific spaces offers greater chance of success rather than an action for the entire neighborhood. It is important to bring back the value of use of the city and understand participation as the possibility of socialisation in open spaces. In this sense the alleys, presented in Braamfontein, represent a huge potential of interactions, connecting streets and people around the whole neighborhood. But to achieve a truly reactivation of these residual spaces, it is important to look at them not only as a source of profit.

References

Amin, A., 2007. Re-thinking the Urban Social. *City* 11, (1), pp 100-114

Amin, A., 2010. Collective Culture and Urban Public Space, in Kihato, Massoumi, Ruble, Subiros and Garland, (eds) *Urban Diversity, Space, Culture and Inclusive Pluralism in Cities Worldwide*, pp.21-50, chapter 1. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Andreatta, V., Chiavari M.P., Rego H., 2009. *O Rio de Janeiro e a sua orla: história, projetos e identidade carioca*. Published by Instituto Pereira Passos, Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Nº 2009/1201 Dezembro – 2009. pp. 1-16.

Appadurai,A., 1996. *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A., 2004. The capacity to aspire: culture and the terms of recognition. In Rao, V. and Walton, M. (eds), *Culture and Public Action*. pp 59-84, Chapter 3. Stanford University Sciences, Stanford.

Appadurai, A., and Breckenridge C., 2008. Afterword: The Risk of Johannesburg, in Nuttall S., and Mbembe A. (ed.) *Johannesburg the Elusive Metropolis*, pp. 351-354. WITS University Press

Barthes, R., 2010. "Semiology and the Urban." Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory. Neil Leach. London: Routledge, 1997.

Beavon, K., 2004. *Johannesburg the Making and Shaping of the City*, published by Unisa Press, University of South Africa

Becker, B., 1991. "Modernidade e gestão do território no Brasil: da integração nacional à integração competitiva." *Espaço e Debates*, n.32, ano XI, p. 47-56.

Benjamin, W., 2002. *The Arcades Project*. Edited by Rolf Tiedemann, Harvard University Press

Berman, M., 1982 *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*. New York: Simon and Schuster

Bianchini, F., Landry C., 1995. The Creative City, Demos, London

Blomley, N. (2004) *Unsettling the city: urban land and the politics of property*. Routledge, New York.

Bond, P., 2000. *Elite Transition*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

Bond, P., South Africa's Frustrating Decade of Freedom: From Racial to Class Apartheid, *Monthly Review,* accessed on line http://monthlyreview.org/2004/03/01/south-africas-frustrating-decade-of-freedom-from-racial-to-class-apartheid in March 2013

Borda, O., 2001. Participatory (action) research in social theory: Origins and challenges. In Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (eds.) *Handbook of Action Research*, pp. 27-37. Sage, London.

Borja, J., Castells, M., 1997. Local y global. La gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información. Madrid : United Nations for Human Settlements/Taurus/Pensamiento.

Bremner, L., 2010. *Writing the city into being. Essays on Johannesburg 1998-2008*, Fourthwall Books, Johannesburg

Brenner, N., Pek, J., Theodore, N., 2010. After Neoliberalization? , *Globalization*, vol 7 (3) pp.327-345

Brenner, N., Pek, J., Theodore, N., 2010a. Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways, *Global Networks*, 10(2), pp 188-222.

Brenner, N., Pek, J., Theodore, N., 2005. Neoliberalism and the urban condition, *City*, vol 9, n.1

Butler, T., 1997. *Gentrification and the middle class*. Ashgate, Aldershot

Byrne, J.P., 2003. Two cheers for gentrification. Howard Law Journal, n.46, vol 3, pp- 405-432

Caldeira T. P. do Rio. 2000. *Cidade de Muros: Crime, Segregação e Cidadania em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Editora 34/Ed usp.

Caulfield, J., 1989. Gentrification and Desire. *Canadian Review of Sociology and critical social practice*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Chipkin C.M., 1993. *Johannesburg Style: Architecture & Society, 1880s-1960s*. David Philip Publisher

Clarke, D.B., Bradford, M.G., 1998. Public and Private Consumption of the City, *Urban Studies*, vol.35, nos. 5-6, pp. 865-888.

Comunian, R. (2011). 'Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy.' *Urban Studies*, 48: 1157.

Deutsche, R., 1996*. Eviction: Art and Spatial Politics. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press*

Duany, A., 2001. Three cheers for gentrification. *American Enterprise Magazine*. April/May, pp. 36-39

Duarte, Horta R., 2012. '*It Does Not Even Seem Like We Are in Brazil': Country Clubs and Gated Communities in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1951–1964*", Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 44, (03), pp 435 466

Fanstein, S., 2010. *The Just City*. Cornell University

FloridaR., 2000. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Book

Florida, R., 2005. Cities and the Creative Class. New York: Routledge

Florida, R., 2008. *Who's your city? How the creative economy is making where to live the most important decision of your life*, New York: Basic Book

Freeman, A., 2008. Community reinvestment legislation and access to housing finance in post-apartheid South Africa. *Housing Studies*, 23 (5), pp.697-716

Freeman, L., 2006. *There Goes the Hood: View of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press.

Friedmann,J., 1995. Where we stand? A decade of world city research. In *World Cities in a World System*, (eds) P Know and P Taylor, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.21-47

Friedman, J. 1998. The new political economy of planning: The rise of civil society. Chapter 3 (19-35), in Friedman J. and Douglass, M. (eds.), *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.

Glass, R. (1964). *London: aspects of change*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.

Gurney, K., 2012. A Visionary Statement. *CityScape,re-thinking urban things*, Issue 02, winter 2012. pp54-71

Harvey, D. 1992. *A condição pós-moderna* , São Paulo, Loyola, Parte I

Harvey, D. 1982. "O trabalho, o capital e o conflito de classes em torno do ambiente construído nas sociedades capitalistas avançadas", *Espaço & Debates*, São Paulo, n.6, jun./set, pp 6-35

Harvey D. 2008. The right to the city. *New Left Review*, 53, 23-40.

Harvey, D., 2009. Cosmoplitalism and the Geographies of Freedom, Columbia University Press, New York

Herson, L. and Bolland, J., 1990. *The Urban Web: Politics, Policy and Theory*. Nelson-Hall, Chicago. (Chapter 10: The styles and stages of urban policy, pp.215-226)

Holston, J., 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship. Disjunction of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton University Press.

Horta Duarte R., 2012. 'It Does Not Even Seem Like We Are in Brazil': Country Clubs and Gated Communities in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1951–1964. Journal of Latin American Studies, 44, pp 435-466

Hou J., 2010, *Insurgent Public Space, Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, Routledge Ed.

Hoyt, L., 2006. Importing Ideas: The Transnatinal Transfer of Urban Revitalization Policy, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 29, pp. 221-243

Huchzermeyer M., 2010. The Policy Context for Informal Settlements: Competitiveness, Slum Eradication and a Right to the City?, *Trialog* n. 104 (1) pp. 25-28

Hyslop, J., 2008. Gandhi, Mandela and the African Modern, in in Nuttall S., and Mbembe A., ed*. Johannesburg the Elusive Metropolis*, pp. 118-136. WITS University Press

Jacobs, J., 1961. The Death and Life of the Great American Cities. New York: Vintage Books

Kingwell, M., 2008. The Prison of Public Space, Literary Review of Canada, 16 (3), pp 18-21. available in http://reviewcanada.ca/essays/2008/04/01/the-prison-of-public-space/ accessed in March 2013

Kipfer, R., 2002. Toronto Inc? Planning the competitive city in the new Toronto. *Antipode*, 34 (2), pp. 227-264

Lees, L, Slater, T., and Wyly, E., 2008. *Gentrification.* New Yoirk, Routledge

Lees, L. (2008). 'Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance.' *Urban Studies*. 45.12: pp 2449-2470. (*)

Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The production of space*. New York: Blackwell

Levy, P.R., 2001. Paying for the Public Life, *Economic Development Quarterly*, Vol. 15 No. 2, 124-131

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

Madanipour, A., (Ed.), 2010. *Whose Public Space? International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development,* Routledge.

Maricato, E., 1997. "*Brasil 2000: qual planejamento urbano?*". Cadernos IPPUR, n. 1 e 2, Ano XI, p. 113 – 130.

Mbembe, A., 2008. Aesthetic and Superfluity. In *World Cities in a World System*, (eds) P Know and P Taylor, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.37-68

Miraftab, F., 2007. Governing Post-Apartheid Spatiality: Implementing City Improvement District in Cape Town. *Antipode*, vol 33 (4), pp 602-626

Montgomery, J. 2005. Beware the creative class: creativity and wealth creation revisited, *Local Economy*, 20(4), pp 337-343.

Nuttal S., and Mbembe, A., 2008. Introduction: Afropolis, in Nuttall S., and Mbembe A., ed*. Johannesburg the Elusive Metropolis*, pp. 1-33. WITS University Press

Nigel Mandy, *A City Divided*, 1985, Published by St. Martin's

Odhiambo T., Muponde R., 2008. The Arrivants, in Nuttall S., and Mbembe A., ed*. Johannesburg the Elusive Metropolis*, pp. 248-259. WITS University Press

Osborne, David and Ted Gaebler. 1993. *Reinventing Government. How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. New York: Penguin Books

Parker, S., 2004. *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience*: Weber, Simmel, Benjamin and Lefebvre. Ed. Routledge

Payne, G., 1999. Making Common Ground: Public-Private Partnerships in Land for Housing. Intermediate Technology publications, London. (Chapter 1: Introduction, pp. 1-16)

Peck, D. (2005). 'Struggling with the Creative Class.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol 29:4.

Peyroux E., 2008, “City Improvement Districts in Johannesburg: An examination of the local variations of the BID model”, in Pütz R., (ed.), *Business Improvement Districts. Geographische Handelsforschung 14*, Passau, L.I.S. Verlag, pp. 139-162.

Philip, L., 1998. Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to social research in human geography – an impossible mixture? *Environment and Planning* A., 30, 261-276

Pinder, D. (2008)’ Urban Interventions: Art, Politics and Pedagogy.’ *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* Volume 32.3, September 2008. (*)

Pires, T., 2000. *Cidade de muros: crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo*. Editora 24, USP

Purcell, M., 2002. Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant, *GeoJournal* (58), pp99–108

Rose, D., 2004. Discourse and experiences of social mix in gentrificying neighborhoods: a Montreal case study, *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 13(2), pp. 278-316

Sachs, W., 1997. “Anatomia política do desenvolvimento sustentável”. *Democracia Viva*, Rio de Janeiro, n.1, p.12-23

Sanchez F., 2001. A reinvenção das cidades na virada de século*:* agentes*,* estratégias e escalas de ação política. *Revista Sociologia Política*, Curitiba, 16, p. 31-49

Sarantakos, S., 2005. *Social Research.* Third Edition. Palgrave Macmillan, London. (pp. 321-339)

Sassen, S., 2001. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd ed Princeton University Press

Sassen, S., 1993. A cidade global. In: LAVINAS, Lena; CARLEIAL, Liana Maria da Frota; NABUCO, Maria Helena (Org.). *Reestruturação do espaço urbano e regional no Brasil. São Paulo*. Ed. Hucitec, p. 187-202.

Sassen, S., 2005. The Global City: Introducing a Concept, the *Brown Journal of World Affair*, vol XI (2), pp.27-42

Sennet, R., 1990. *The conscience of the Eyes*, New York: Norton

Sennet, R., 2006. *The Open city*. Urban Age Cities Programme London. News Paper Essay of the London School of Economic and Political Science.

Sharp, J.,Pollock, V and Paddison, R. (2005). 'Just Art for a Just City: Public Art and Social Inclusion in Urban Regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42: 1001.

Shatkin, G., 2007 Global cities of the South: Emerging perspectives on growth and inequality, *Cities*, vol.24 (1), pp1-15

Simmel, G., 1950. The metropolis and Mental life. In *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings*, ed. Donald N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Slater, T., 2006. The eviction of Critical Perspective from Gentrification Research, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 30(4), pp. 737-57;

Smith, Neil (2002). 'New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy.' *Antipode* (*)
Turok, I. (2004). 'Cities, Regions and Competitiveness.' *Regional Studies* 38, 9: pp. 1069-1083.

Stren, R. (not still published). *Can Toronto be Run Like a Business? Observations on the First Two Years of the Ford Mayoralty in Toronto*, Cities Centre, University of Toronto.

Silva, E.R, 2012. O planejamento estrategico sem plano: uma analise do emprendedorismo urbano no Brasil. *Revista de Geografia e Ordenamento do Territorio*, n.2, Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Territorio. pp.279-306

Souza, Lopes de M., 1995. "O território: sobre espaço e poder, autonomia e desenvolvimento", In: Geografia: conceitos e temas. CASTRO, I; GOMES, P; CORRÊA, R. (orgs.). Rio de Janeiro: Bertand Brasil, p. 78-107

Souza, Lopes de M., 2010. Which Right for which city? In defence of political-strategic clarity. *Interface a journal for and about social movements,* Vol 2 (1), pp 315-333

Vainer, Carlos, 2000. "Pátria empresa e mercadoria. Notas sobre a estratégia discursiva do planejamento estratégico urbano ", in Arantes et

all, *A Cidade do Pensamento Único: desmanchando consensos*. São Paulo: Vozes.

Villagomes E., 2010. Claiming residual spaces in the heteregenous city, published in *Insurgent Public Space, Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, pp. 81-97. Jefrey Hou, Routledge Ed.

Wanjiku Kihato, C., Blair A. Ruble, and Mejgan Massoumi (Ed.), 2010, *Urban Diversity: Space, Culture, and Inclusive Pluralism in Cities*. Worldwide, Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University

Watt, P. (2008). 'The Only Class in Town? Gentrification and the Middle-Class Colonization of the City and the Urban Imagination. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research***,** Volume 32.1 March 2008: pp206–11.

Williams A., Robles E., Dourish P., 2009. Urbane-ing The City: Examining and Refining the Assumptions Behind Urban Informatics. In *Handbook of Research on Urban Informatics: The Practice and Promise of the Real-Time City*, organize by Marcus Foth, chapter III pp. 1-20

Zukin, S., 1998. Urban Lifestyle: Diversity and Standardization in Spaces of consumption. *Urban Studies*, vol. 35, nos. 5-6, pp 825-839

Zukin, S and Kosta, E., 2004. Bourdieu Off Broadway: managing distinction on a shopping block in the East Village. *City and Community* 3.2, pp 101-114;

Zukin, S., 1989. *Loft Living*. Rutgers UP

Websites:

- **Chapter I**

Porto Maravilha, Municipalidade do Rio de Janeiro
http://www.portomaravilhario.com.br/

Laboratório de Cartografias Insurgentes
http://cartografiasinsurgentes.wordpress.com/

Festival Com.Posições.Políticas http://www.cpp.panoramafestival.com/

- **Chapter II**

Public Space
http://antipodefoundation.org/2012/10/01/intervention-the-right-against-the-city/

Gentrification and Public Art

http://www.pps.org/
http://southwarknotes.wordpress.com/art-and-regeneration/

History o Joburg
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2657&Itemid=58

- **Chapter III**

South Point http://www.staysouthpoint.co.za/

Play Braamfontein http://playbraamfontein.co.za/

JDA http://www.jda.org.za/

Urban Genesis http://www.urbangenesis.co.za/

Department of Art, Culture and Heritage http://www.joburgculture.co.za/

WITS http://www.wits.ac.za/

Constitutional Hill http://www.constitutionhill.org.za/

- **Chapter IV**

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=128&Itemid=58

- **Chapter V**

Critical Mass Johannesburg Group Page
http://www.facebook.com/groups/18066062816/?ref=ts&fref=ts access daily and every last Saturday of the month

Articles M&G and JHBlive website

http://www.jhblive.com/live/review_view.jsp?review_id=117163
Accessed November 2012

http://www.jhblive.com/live/review_view.jsp?review_id=112374
Access November 2012

http://www.jhblive.com/live/venue_view.jsp?venue_id=9369
Access November 2012

http://www.jhblive.com/live/event_view.jsp?event_id=109213
Accessed November 2012

http://www.jhblive.com/live/review_view.jsp?review_id=84689
Accessed November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2010-11-17-braamfontein-from-dumpster-to-state-of-the-art
Accessed November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-23-00-best-little-bookshop-in-braamfontein
Accessed November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-02-00-how-the-inner-city-got-its-groove-back
Accessed November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-23-00-rooftops-open-new-horizons-in-the-city
Accessed in November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2012-10-26-streets-ahead-in-the-realm-of-public-art
Accessed November 2012

http://mg.co.za/article/2012-09-14-00-the-shape-of-our-cities-to-come/
Accessed November 2012

Inner city regeneration strategy

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=126&Itemid=9

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=126&Itemid=9

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1705&Itemid=49

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2267&Itemid=58

http://www.jda.org.za/developments/inner-city/overview

List of Annexes

1.1 Questionnaire private developers
1.2 Questionnaire public agencies
1.3 Questionnaire residents South Point
1.4 Questionnaire residents
1.5 Questionnaire workers

Mapping Exercise
1.6 Questionnaire for the first mapping group (11 August 2012)
a) Map A
b) Map B
c) Map C
d) Map D

1.7 Questionnaire for the second (25 August 2012) and the third (22 September 2012) mapping groups
a) Map E
b) Map F
c) Map G
d) Map H
e) Map I
f) Map L

1.8 Map Residential in Braamfontein
1.9 Map Facilities in Braamfontein
1.10 Map Alleys in Braamfontein

1.11 Mental Maps Students 1 and 2
1.12 Mental Maps Students 3 and 4
1.13 Mental Map Student 5
1.14 Mental Maps Residents 1 and 2
1.15 Mental Maps Workers 1 and 2
1.16 Mental Map people go out 1 and 2
1.17 Mental Map people go out 3 and 4
1.18 Mental Map people go out 5

1.1 Questionnaire private developers

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…

From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification. As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, while the apartheid regime ended in South Africa in 1994. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized principally around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How democracy and these aspirations can coexist in so divided societies?

First part > Factual Information

Name
Age
race
Sex
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
Position in the business?
From where they came from (nationality or district)

Second part > controversial or subjective questions (ideas, opinions, perceptions) Factual questions

What kind of business?
How many people work with you?
Which kind of professionals you employ?
When the business started? Where?
When move to Braamfontein?
Who is your audience/public?
Why do you move away (in case)?
Why decide to move to Braamfontein? (the influence of UDZ) ?

Attitudinal questions

How do you value the services and business facilities (seminar rooms, hotel, taxi, security) offered in Braamfontein?
How do you value facilities for resident in Braamfontein (shops – restaurants – school – library etc etc) ?
And services (transport / parking / security) offered by the city**?**
What is your opinion about others developers' intervention?
Do you have some international model/influence in the decision to start/move your business in Braamfontein?
What means for you World African city?
What do you think the CoJ is doing to make Braamfontein more attractive?
Do you use to come here before?
Do you think in moving/expanding your business in some other areas of the city?
Where (if yes)?

Socio psychological questions

What is your opinion about integration (race-class-interest)?
Do you think is a mixed-use?
How do you define public space?
According to your definition where do you see public space in Braam?
Do you think people use public space in Braamfontein?
Do you think that Braam is a Creative hub in the city of Joburg?
Do you think creative people interact with the space of Braamfontein?
How you imagine Braram in the next 5 years?
Do you feel that you playing role in the changes that are happening?

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish.

1.2 Questionnaire public agencies

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification. As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, while the apartheid regime ended in South Africa in 1994. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized principally around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How democracy and these aspirations can coexist in so divided societies?

First part > Factual Information

Name
Age
race
Sex
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
Position in the business?
From where they came from (nationality or district)

Second part Factual questions

Which kind of projects are priorities for your agency in the Braamfontein's intervention?
Which is the most important project currently ongoing?
Do you have some partnership with private developer?
(if yes) How do you value this partnership?

Attitudinal questions

Why do you decided to invest in Braamfontein?
Do you see some difference between other projects developed by the agency in other part of the city?
How do you think urban management results in urban development?
Regarding their entire project in the city. Which one you consider be the most successful and why?
How do you value business facilities (seminar rooms, hotel, taxi, restaurants) offered in Braamfontein ?
How do you value private intervention in Braamfontein?
How do you value public services (road maintenance/cleaning/street light/transport/parking) offered by the City in Braamfontein?
How do you value the partnership between public and private developers in the Braamfontein regeneration project?
What is your perception about the changes of the area in the last 5 years?
How do you imagine Bramfontein in the next 5 years?
Do you think Bramfontein's changes have been driven by an international model/influence?
Do you think Bramfontein is representative of a World Class African City model? What's means?

Socio questions

What is your impression of security in Braamfontein?
And your impression about integration (in terms of class/income-race-interests)?
How do you value the use of public space in Braamfontein?
Do you think Braamfontein is a mixed use area?
Do you think Braamfontein is a creative spot in the city?
Do you think Johannesburg has the aspiration to become a creative city?
Do you think has the elements to achieve this status?
How do you feel that the agency plays a role in the changes that are happening? (if you perceive some changes happening)

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish.

1.3 Questionnaire South Point Students

QUESTIONNAIRE SOUTH POINT STUDENTS

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification. As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, while the apartheid regime ended in South Africa in 1994. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized principally around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How democracy and these aspirations can coexist in so divided societies?

Factual Information

Name
Age
race
Sex
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
Position in the business?
From where they came from (nationality or district)

Factual questions

Where you were living before move to Braamfontein?
Where do you live in Braamfontein?
How long have you lived here for?
Are you renting or did you buy your place?
How much you do you pay for rent?
Do you share room?
Who own your place?

Attitudinal questions

Why did you choose to live in Braamfontein?
Did you check other possibilities in Braamfontein?
Did you found SP before coming to Johannesburg?
Which is your own perception about the changes of the area in the last 3 years?
Do you have plans to move in another area? Why?
How do you value the services and facilities for dwellers in the area?
And the services/facilities offered by South Point?
Do you want something different in your SP accommodation?
How is the relations whit other students living here?
Where you use to go in Braamfotein?
What you define as public space?
Do you think Braamfontein has public space?
Do you use public space according your definition?
Do you think that people in Braamfontein use?
Do you use public transport?
If yes. Which type? To go where?
What is your opinion about public transport, working well?

Socio psychological questions

What is your impression about security?
Do you feel safe in your building?
And about integration in your building?
Are more female or male?
Do you think is a mixed (income/race/ interests) area?
Do you think possible to say that exist street life in Braamfontein?
Do you see some differences in the area between Saturday and Sunday and the days of the week?
Do you feel that you playing role in the changes that are happening? (if they perceive some changes happening)

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish.

1.4 Questionnaire Residents

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification. As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, while the apartheid regime ended in South Africa in 1994. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized principally around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How democracy and these aspirations can coexist in so divided societies?

Factual Information

Name
Age
race
Sex
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
Position in the business?
From where they came from (nationality or district)

Factual questions

Where did you live before move to Braamfontein?
Where do you live in Braamfontein?
Are you renting or did you buy your place?
How long have you lived here for?
How much do you pay for rent (if renting) ?
How much did you paid if you bought? How many mtsquare?
Who own your place?

Attitudinal questions

Why did you choose to live in Braamfontein?
Did you check other possibilities in Braamfontein?
Which is your own perception about the changes of the area in the last 2 years?
Do you have plans to move in another area?
How do you value the facilities for residents in the area?
How do you value the services in Braamfontein?
Where you use to go in Braamfontein?
How is the relations whit other neighbors who are living here?
What you define as public space?
Do you think Braamfontein has public space?
Do you think people use public space in Braamfontein?
Do you use public space according your definition?
Do you use public transport?
If yes. Which type? To go where?
What is your opinion about public transport, working well?

Socio psychological questions

What is your impression about security in Braamfontein?
Do you feel safe in your building?
Do you think is a mixed (income/race/ interests) area?
Do you think possible to say that exist street life in Braamfontein?
Do you see some differences in the area between Saturday and Sunday and the days of the week?
Do you feel that you playing role in the changes that are happening? (if they perceive some changes happening)
Do you think Braamfontein is a creative hub?

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish.

1.5 Questionnaire People working in Braamfontein

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification. As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985 and was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, while the apartheid regime ended in South Africa in 1994. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized principally around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness. How democracy and these aspirations can coexist in so divided societies?

Factual Information

Name
Age
race
Sex
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
Position in the business?
From where they came from (nationality or district)

Factual questions

Where do you work in Braamfontein?
What you do?
How long have you worked here for?
Where you were working before?
How you came to work (transport)?
Where do you park (if drive)?
Where you use to have lunch?

Attitudinal questions

How do you value the services and business facilities (seminar rooms, hotel, taxi, security) offered in Braamfontein ?
What about transport?
And about shopping?
Would you like to change something in the area? What?
Which is your own perception about the changes of the area in the last 5 years (if possible to respond)?
Would you like to work in another area?

Socio psychological questions

What is your impression about security in Braam?
And integration (race-income and interests)?
Do you think is a mixed-use?
Do you think is different during the week and weekend?
And in different times of the day?
What you define as public space?
Do you think Braamfontein has public space?
Do you think people use public space in Braamfontein?
Do you use public space according your definition?
Do you feel that you playing role in the changes that are happening? (if they perceive some changes happening)

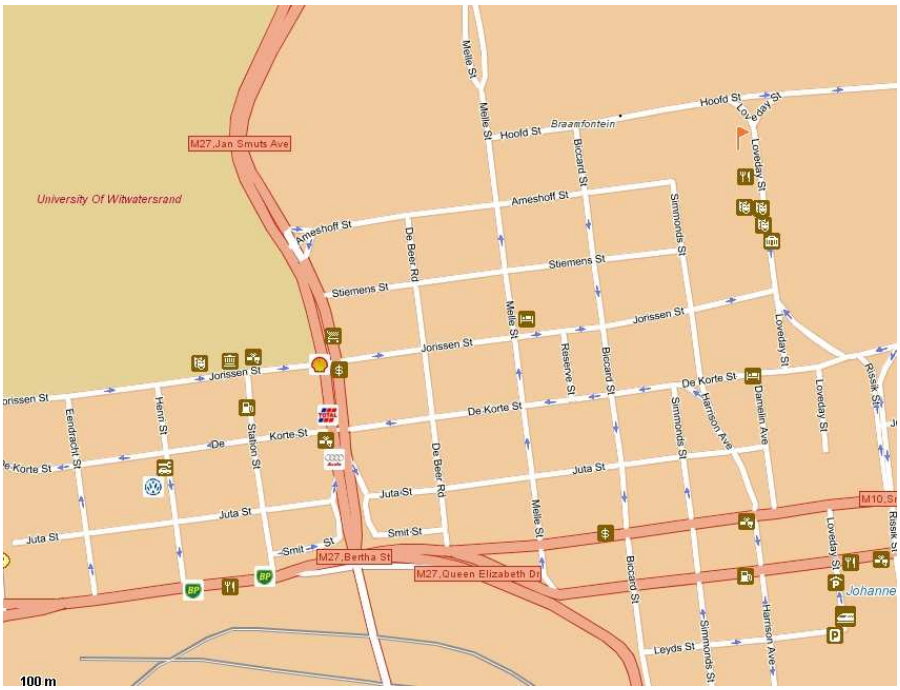
Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish.

1.6 Questionnaire for the first mapping group 11 August 2012

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.



Research aim:
Observe how the changes in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what “the users” of Johannesburg think about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as example of “emerging world class southern cities”

Explaining where this idea comes from…
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As result of the economic growth of the country, Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in

order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification.

As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. Both the countries share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context. This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy. How democracy can coexist with these aspirations in so divided societies?

Research Questions:

- Which opportunities and challenges have the changes in Braamfontein created?
- To what extent has the transformation of Braamfontein resulted in an increase of inclusion and of integrated use of the city?"

First part > Factual Information

Name
Age
Sex
Marital status
From where came from (nationality or district)

Second part > controversial or subjective questions (ideas, opinions, perceptions) Factual questions

Where they use to go in Braamfontein
When they used to come in Braamfontein
When they started to come to Braamfontein for fun?
Do you know who run the places where you use to go?

Attitudinal questions

Why they chose to come to Braamfontein?
Their perception about the changes of the area in the last 5 years
What you think is different (if you think is) between Braamfontein and Maboneng Precint (Arts of Main and Main Street Life)
Their valuation about services and rentals and facilities (shooping – parking- etc)

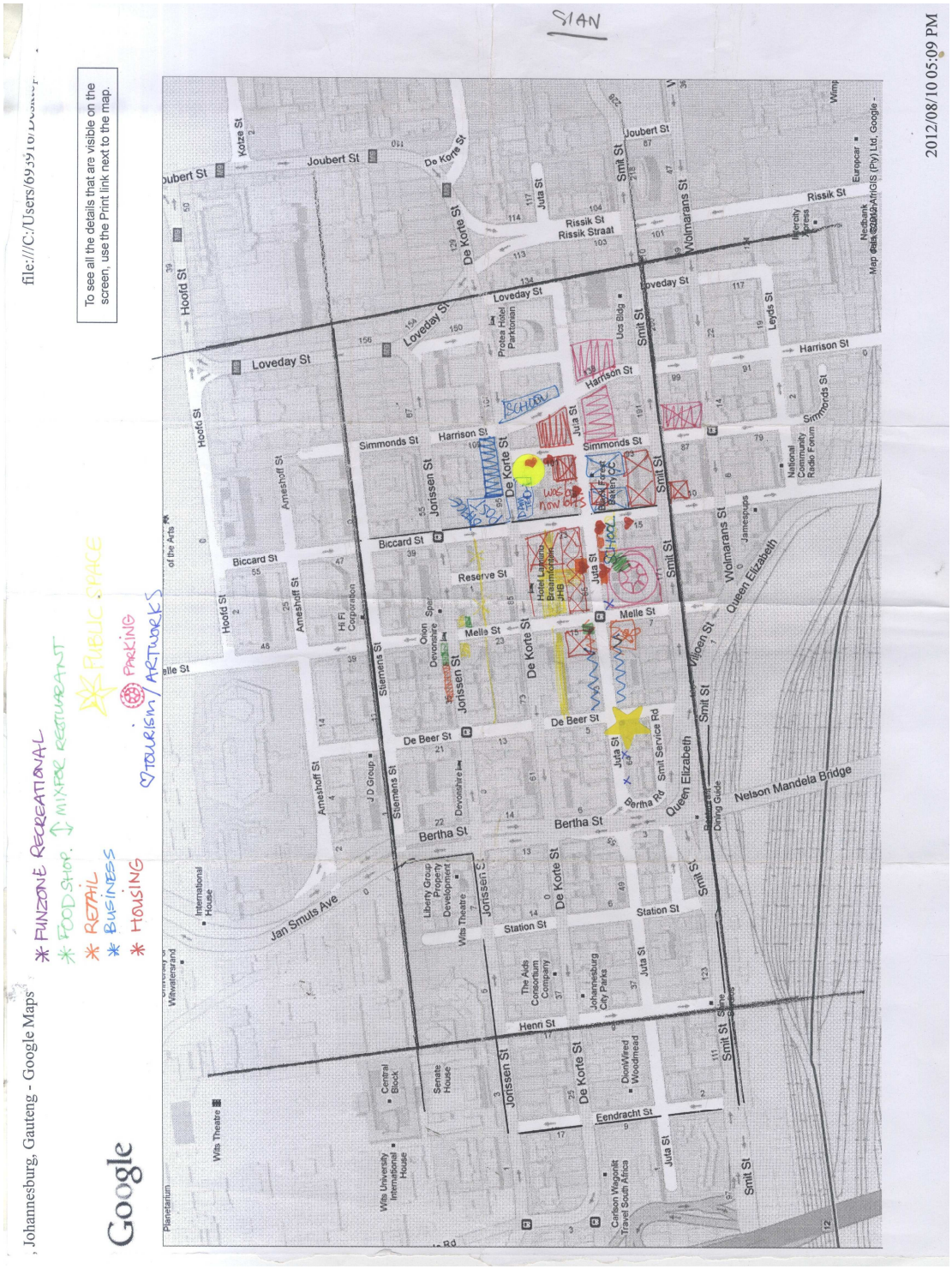
Socio psychological questions

Their impression about security
Their impression about integration
About the changes in the area > Do you fell having some role in this changes? (if you perceive some changes happening)

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish, but please be corrected in the other factual information. If you are invited to mapping with the researcher, some of the materials products could be use for a visual exhibition at the end of the research. Please, let me know if you are not agree.

Thank You! Date _____

Map A


SIAN
2012/08/10 05:09 PM
file:///C:/Users/69359101/Desktop/
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
* FUNZONE RECREATIONAL
* FOOD SHOP. MIXED RESTAURANT
* RETAIL
* BUSINESS
* HOUSING
PUBLIC SPACE
PARKING
TOURISM/ARTWORKS
Loveday St
Joubert St
Rissik St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Jan Smuts Ave
Nelson Mandela Bridge
De Korte St
Jorissen St
Smit St
Juta St
Wolmarans St
Queen Elizabeth
Hoofd St
Amshoff St
Siemens St
Leyds St
Smit Service Rd
Bertha Rd
Dining Gate
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Wits University International House
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
Johannesburg City Parks
The Arts Consortium Company
Liberty Group Property Development
Protea Hotel Parktonian
Hotel Lapiazza Braamfontein
Uos Bldg
Hi Fi Corporation
Orion Devonshire
Devonshire
J D Group
International House
Planetarium
National Community Radio Forum
Jamespups
Europcar
Nedbank
Map data ©2012 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

Map B.


file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.htm
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
2012/08/10 05:09 PM
Google
Joubert St
De Korte St
Rissik St
Rissik Straat
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henn St
Eendracht St
Hoofd St
Ameshoff St
Jorissen St
Juta St
Smit St
Wolmarans St
Leyds St
Queen Elizabeth
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Jan Smuts Ave
Smit Service Rd
Bertha Rd
Protea Hotel Parktonian
Black Forest Bakery CC
National Community Radio Forum
Hi Fi Corporation
Liberty Group Property Development
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Wits University International House
The Aids Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
DionWired Woodmead
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
International House
Planetarium
Dining Guide
Nedbank
Europcar
Mercury Express
Uos Bldg
Jamesrupps
Map data ©2012 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

Map C.


2012/08/10 05:09 PM
file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.htm
ein, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
HOUSING/ACCOMODATION
PUBLIC SPACE
PARKING
TOURISM/ART
TRANSPORT
FUN ZONE/LEISURE
FOOD SHOPPING EQUATION
RETAIL
BUSINESS/SERVICE/OFFICES
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
Joubert St
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Rissik St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Jan Smuts Ave
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Queen Elizabeth
De Korte St
Jorissen St
Juta St
Smit St
Hoofd St
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
Wolmarans St
Villoen St
Smit Service Rd
Bertha Rd
Hotel Lamunu Breamfontein JHB
Black Forest Bakery CC
Protea Hotel Parktonian
Uce Bldg
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Planetarium
International House
Liberty Group Property Development
The Aids Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
DomWired Woodmead
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
Wits University International House
J D Group
Hi Fi Corporation
Orion Devonshire
Spar
Devonshire
Restaurant Dining Guide
National Community Radio Forum
Jamesways
Europcar
Map data ©2012 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

Map D.


2012/08/10 05:09 PM
file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.htm
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
Joubert St
De Korte St
Rissik St
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Jan Smuts Ave
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Queen Elizabeth
Smit St
Juta St
Jorissen St
Hoofd St
Ameshoff St
Wolmarans St
Leyds St
Villoen St
Smit Service Rd
Bertha Rd
Hi Fi Corporation
Black Forest Bakery CC
National Community Radio Forum
Protea Hotel Parktonian
Uos Bldg
Liberty Group Property Development
Wits Theatre
The Arts Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
Senate House
Central Block
Wits University International House
International House
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
DionWired Woodmead
Nedbank
Europcar
LD Plaza
Ighere
Ok vone

1.7 Questionnaire for the second (25 August 2012) and the thirth (22 September 2012) mapping groups

Research Title:
People's place in the “World Class” Braamfontein renewal program

Research Topic:
How urban redevelopment and upgrading district programs affected the everyday use and the imaginary representation of cities areas in order to respond to international “standards”

CASE STUDY: Braamfontein. Delimited in Eenndracht ST / Biccard St – Stiemens St. / Smit St.

Research aim:
Observe how the changes promoted by local authority as well private developers in the contexts of “Johannesburg an African World Class City” respond to international “standards” and what is the impression/satisfaction than “the users” of Johannesburg have about these transformations.

The research aims to be the beginning of a future comparative project between the renewal program of the inner city of Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro taking the two cities as an example of “emerging world class southern cities”

From where this idea comes …
From 2009 to 2012 I have been engaged in a project aimed at low income people removed from the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro, as the result of the project “*Porto Maravilha”*, a large-scale urban waterfront revitalization project that covers a five million square meters area centrally located. The project, conducted by the municipality in partnership with local investors, aims to redevelop the port area increasing the city center attractiveness as a whole and enhances Rio’s competitiveness position in the global economy. As a result of the Brazilian economic growth Rio de Janeiro has taken a strategic position nationally in order to attract potential domestic and international investors and lives an intensive process of gentrification.

As an outside observer I think Johannesburg is going through a similar process. South Africa and Brazil began their process of democratization at a time quite close. Brazil has been the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery in 1888, and had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, while South African is marked by a long story of legal racial discrimination and apartheid regime ended only in 1994. They share the major indices of inequality in the world and, at the same time, they play an important role as newly industrialized countries and emerging economies in their own continents and in the international context (BRICS). This determines an internal contradiction between the necessity to remedy the effect of this historical inequality and the aspiration (and in part the achievement of this aspiration) in being part of the global economy organized around privatization, liberalization and high level of competitiveness.

How these aspirations and democracy can coexist in so divided societies?

Map points: *****Urban Renewal – Public Spaces – Global/Creative Cities – Right to the city

How we do: Following these key issues* any participant has to choose what want to map.

Everyone will be provided by a map and some stickers which will be used to indicate the specific issue that you decided to show me.

Eg. Where do you see public investments? = red star / Where do you see private investments? = green point

As you can see, some questions require an explication (eg. Why do you think these changes happened and are still happening?) In this case you can choose to write a short answer in a paper or to send me by email in a follow time (but please send me and make a note in order to remember ...)

Please remember. I'm not interest in intellectual concepts but in your own impression about the your everyday use and imaginary representation of "your" city!

Feel free to choose questions from different issues* and explore with fun!

Urban renewal
"The term "Urban Renewal" defines a plan of redevelopment intervention in areas of moderate to high density urban land use involving relocation of business, demolition of structure and neighborhoods and often relocation of people. As an integral part of many local governments, urban renewal has been seen by proponents as an economic engine and a reform mechanism and by critics as a mechanism for control and exclusion"

Recognizing the urban regeneration of Braamfontein, resulted in revaluation of new buildings or the refurbishment of existing buildings, has led not only an economical change of the value of the area but also has influenced its different use and determines a social change.

- **Which changes can you remind? (What there was before/ What there is now)**
- Why do you think these changes happened and are still happening?
- Which is your opinion about these changes (appreciations/criticism)?
- **Where do you see public investments?**
- **Where do you see private investments?**
- How do they work in your opinion?

Public Spaces
"*Public spaces mirror the complexities of urban societies: as historic social bonds have weakened and cities have become collections of individuals public open spaces have also changed from being embedded in the social fabric of the city to being a part of more impersonal and fragmented urban environments. Can making public spaces help overcome this fragmentation, where accessible spaces are created through inclusive processes?* " (Madanipour, 2010:1).

In the observation of the everyday use of Braamfontein and its public spaces, how do the interventions promoted have changed (and changing) the character of the area and influenced its level of accessibility?

- What is your definition of public space?
- **According to your definition where do you see public spaces in Braamfontein?**
- How do people use them?
- Who use them?
- **Where do you identify the highest flow of people?**
- **Coming from where? Going to where?**
- **Where do you feel safe?**
- **Where you don't feel safe?**
- Why?

Global Cities

The use of the term global city was popularized by the sociologist Saskia Sassen in 1991. A global city (also called world city or alpha city or world center) is a city generally considered to be an important node in the global economic system because of its dominance in world affairs, linked to population size and political, economic, social and cultural infrastructure. A new generation of Global Cities seems likely to emerge in the developing regions of the South where, due to index of poverty and to the limit of resources, the increase in spatial polarization and aspirations for global competitiveness becomes problematic. Global cities are marked by large-scale in-migration set in motion by flows of foreign direct investment into poorer countries, and because 'producer services' drive immigration through a demand for low-paid jobs and increasing disparities in income and occupation

Creative city

The culture-centric orientation sees the creative city as a place with strong flourishing arts and culture, creative and diverse expressions, and inclusivity, artistry and imagination. Creativity is conceived of as having some relation to identity, rights, beliefs, and general social wellbeing. "The key to successful cities able to compete in an increasingly globalised, hyper-competitive world, [is] the ability to attract… the 'creative class'… the creative class is the driving force of economic growth as the world shifts away from heavy industry and manufacturing… so cities with gay-friendly cultures that embrace ethnic diversity and unconventional people – writers, artists, musicians – do better than cities that don't… cities need uber-cool risk taking types who're looking for urban grit rather than instant lawns in gated estates." (Corigall 2009:2)

The economical impact of Johannesburg becoming part of the global/creative cities network will be analyzed in relation with housing development and private and public investment in the defined area of Braamfontein. Many authors suggest that the possible link between global city development and inequality is based in the analysis of local urban governance and private sector's intervention in relation to "neoliberalisation experimentation" focuses on the formation of public–private partnerships and in the spatial implications of the privatization of planning at local and national level.

- **Where in Braamfontein do you feel in a cosmopolitan context?**
- Why?
- **Where in Braamfontein do you "not feel in Africa"?**
- Why?

- **Where in Braamfontein do you "feel in Africa"?**
- Why?
- What appear "strange" to your eyes?
- **Where do you see international brands?**
- Which one?
- **Where can you see public art?**
- **Where do you feel in a "creative" context?**
- Why?

Right to the city

"*The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights*"(Harvey, 2008:23).

The joint nature of this right is an expression of the necessity to extend the access to the city to as many different people as possible, and expresses the importance to create a heterogeneous context in order to develop an inclusive and just city. How do the users of Braamfontein reclaim their right to the city?

- **Where do you identify mixed (in terms of race, income, interests) places in Braamfontein?**
- Why?
- **Where do you have the impression people feel that they belong to that place?**
- Why?
- **Where do you identify mixed use of the space?**
- Why?

Questionnaire

First part > Factual Information

Name:
Age:
Sex:
Race:
Do you live alone? Do you have children?
From where do you came?(nationality or district) If foreigner – How long do you live here for?

Factual

When did you start to come to Braamfontein for fun?
Where did you used to go out before?
Where do you go out in Braamfontein?
When? (Day or Night / week or weekend)
Do you know who runs the places where you used to go?

Attitudinal

Why do you come to Braamfontein?
What is your perception about the changes of the area in the last 5 years?
What do you think is different (if you think it is) between Braamfontein and Maboneng Precint (Arts of Main and Main Street Life) ?
How do you value the services and facilities for residents in the area? (shooping – parking- etc)
Would you like to live here?
Do you think there are any differences between going out in Braamfontein during the week and at weekends?
And during the day and night?

Socio

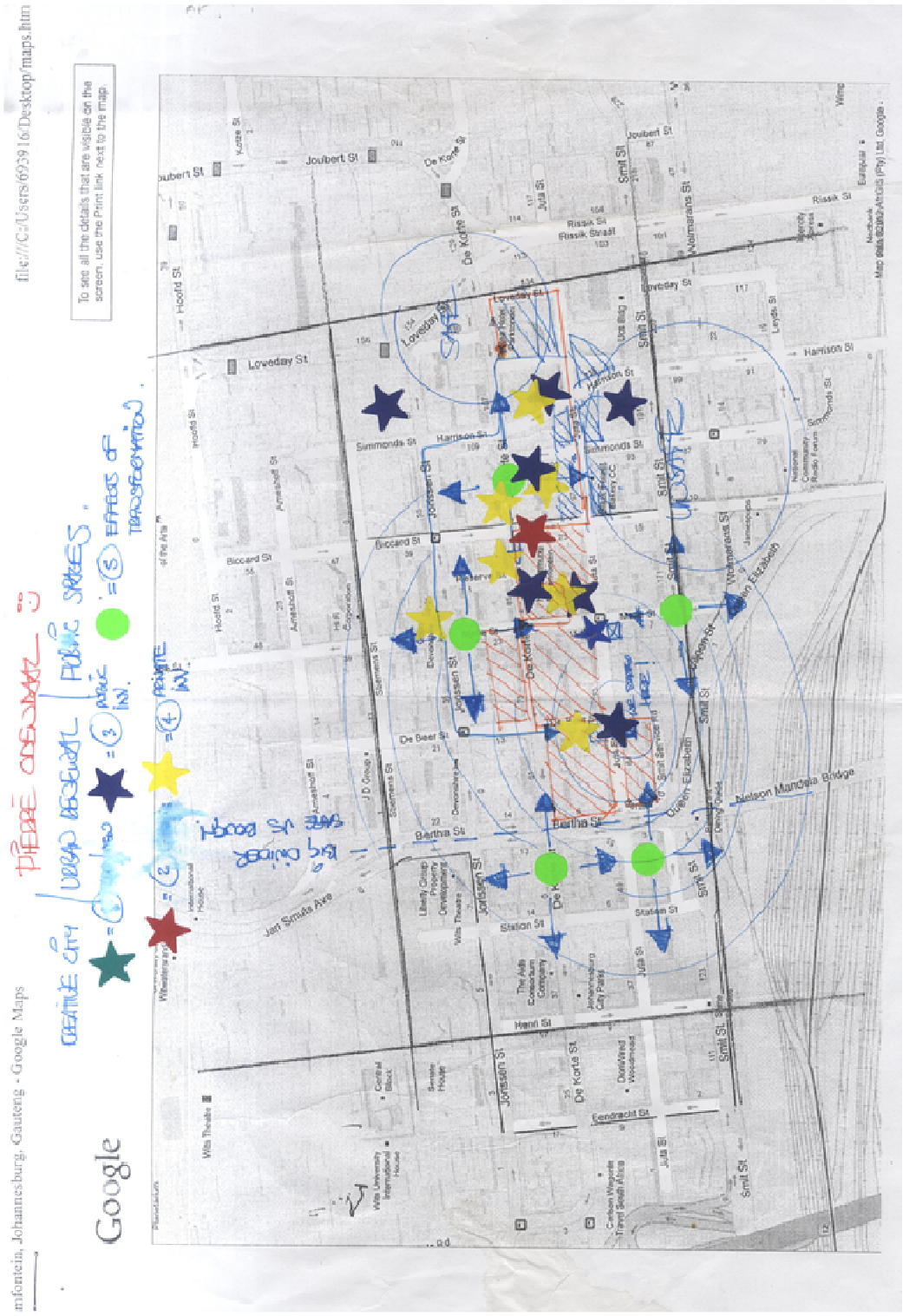
What is your impression of security in Braamfontein?
And your impression about integration (for class/income-race-interests)?
Do you feel that if you play the role in the changes that are happening? (if you perceive some changes happening)

Your anonymity will be preserved and you can use a fictitious name if you wish, but please be corrected in the other factual information. If you are invited to mapping with the researcher, some of the material products could be used for a visual exhibition at the end of the research. Please, let me know if you do not agree.

Thank You!

Johannesburg, (day)

Map E.


file:///C:/Users/69391 6/Desktop/maps.htm
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
Joubert St
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Kendracht St
Smit St
Jorissen St
Wolmarans St
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Queen Elizabeth
Wits Theatre
Wits University International House
Jan Smuts Ave

Map F.


Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.htm
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
DANIELA COSTA
NO
AFRICA
SAFE
UNSAFE
Google
ART
AFRICA
Public space
Lots of people.
Joubert St
De Korte St
Juta St
Rissik St
Rissik Straat
Smit St
Wolmarans St
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Hoofd St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
Jorissen St
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Jan Smuts Ave
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Queen Elizabeth
Nelson M
Bridge
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Planetarium
Wits University International House
International House
Liberty Group Property Development
The Ads Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
DionWired Woodmead
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
Black Forest Bakery CC
Hotel Lamuru Braamfontein
Onion Devonshire Spar
Hi Fi Corporation
J D Group
Devonshire Inn
Restaurant Dining Guide
Pretas Hotel Parktonian
Ucs Bldg
Leyds St
National Community Radio Forum
Nedbank
Europcar
Map data ©2013 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

Map G.


Alison /Ally – CREATIVE CITY
International Context
Not Africa
Africa
Strange
International brands
Public Art
creative context
AKUHLMANN
file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.h
akuhlmann@uwpat.ca.za
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
ontein, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
Joubert St
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Rissik St
Rissik Straat
Hoofd St
De Korte St
Jonssen St
Smit St
Juta St
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
Devonshire St
Jan Smuts Ave
Queen Elizabeth
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Wolmarans St
Leyds St
Bertha Rd
Smit Service Rd
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Wits University International House
International House
Liberty Group Property Development
The Ads Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
DionWired Woodmead
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
Protea Hotel Park
Black Forest Bakery CC
National Community Radio Forum
Nedbank
Map data ©2012 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

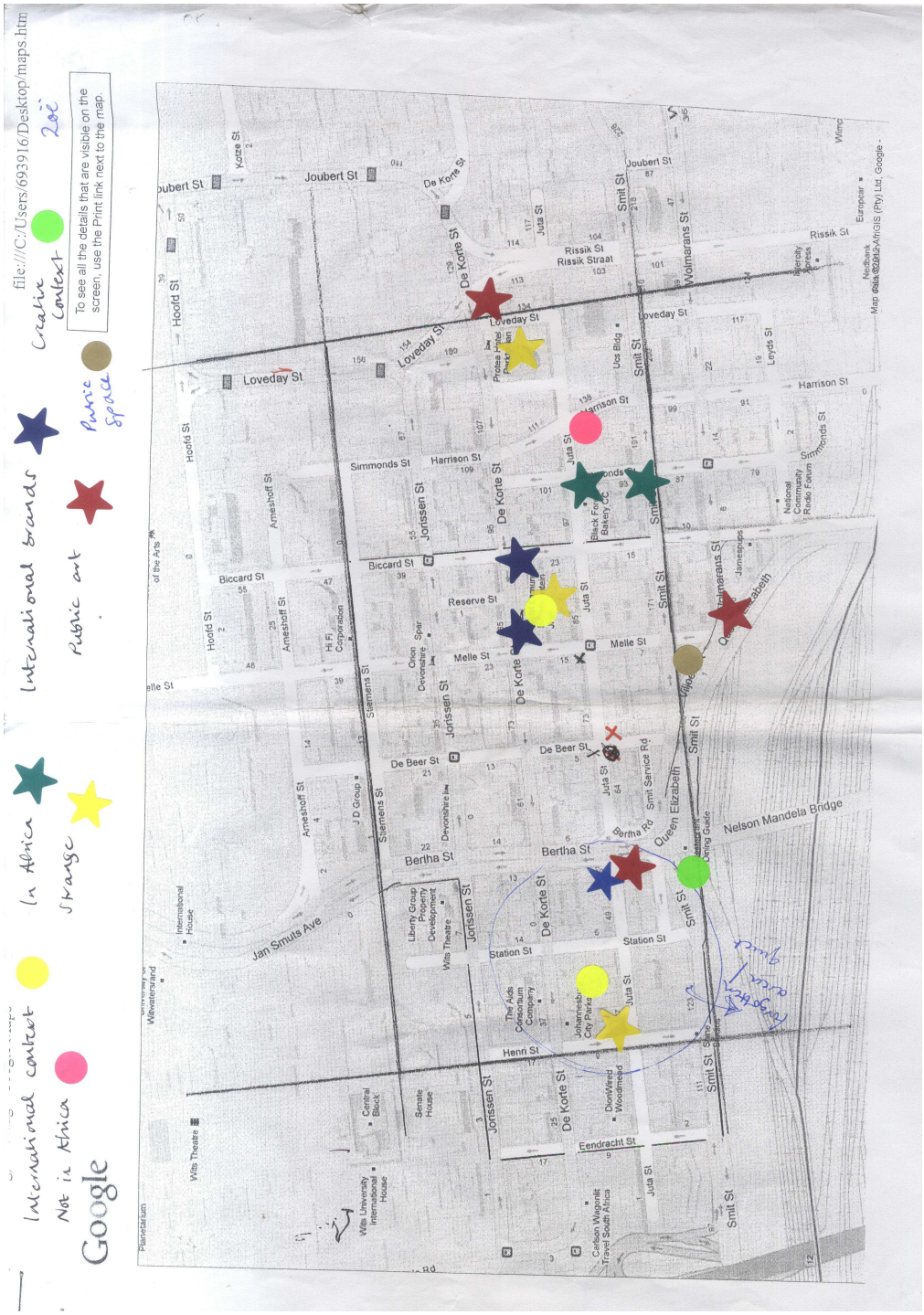
Map H.


Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
Google
public invest
private invest
public space
safe
unsafe
High flow of people
African
not African
strange
creative
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
file:///C:/Users/69316/Desktop/maps.htm
Smit St
De Korte St
Jorissen St
Juta St
Station St
Berlha St
De Beer St
Melle St
Bicard St
Loveday St
Hoofd St
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
Harrison St
Leyds St
Wolmarans St
Joubert St
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Queen Elizabeth
Jan Smuts Ave
Wits University International House
Senate House
Central Block
Wits Theatre
Planetarium
Carlton Wagonit Travel South Africa
Johannesburg City Parks
The Arts Consortium Company
Liberty Group Property Developments
Devonshire
Hotel Lanuru Braamfontein JHB
Black Forest Bakery CO
Hi Fi Corporation
J D Group
Joe Bldg
National Community Radio Forum
Map data ©2012 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google -

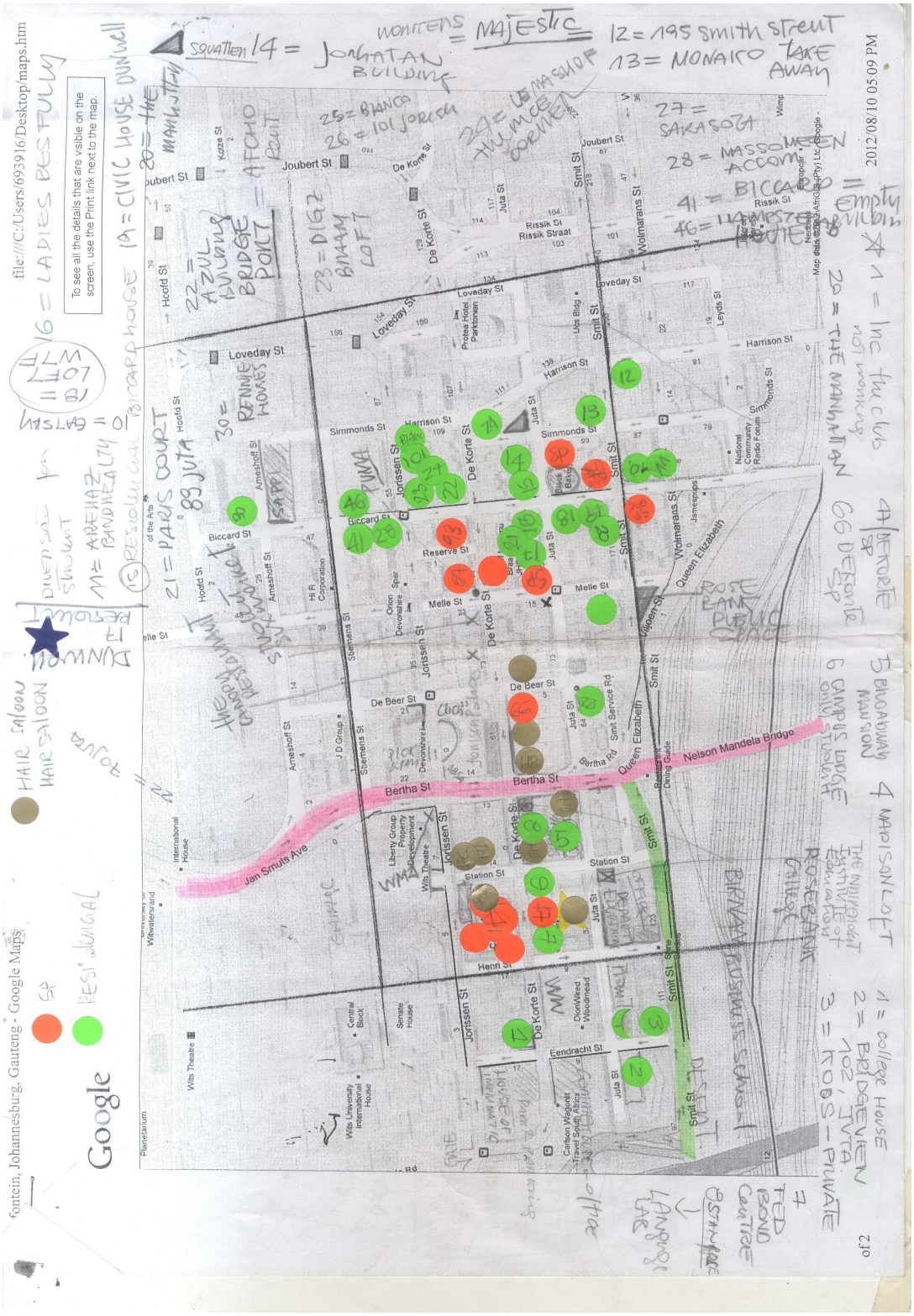
Map I.


file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.h
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Gauteng - Google Maps
Google
public space
private space
public art
public investment
private investment
international context
non-African
African
stranger
Joubert St
De Korte St
Rissik St
Rissik Straat
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Fendracht St
Jan Smuts Ave
Hoofd St
Jorissen St
Smit St
Wolmarans St
Queen Elizabeth
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Juta St
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
Bertha Rd
Smit Service Rd
Wits Theatre
Senate House
Central Block
Planetarium
Protea Hotel Parktonian
Black Forest Bakery CC
Hi Fi Corporation
Onion Devonshire
Devonshire
J D Group
Liberty Group Property Development
The Aids Consortium Company
Johannesburg City Parks
DaxWired Woodmead
Wits University International House
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
International House
Restaurant Dining Guide
National Community Radio Forum
Jamesgrupp
Leyds St
Uds Bldg
Netbank
Europcar
stefanie.wodnag@gmx.net

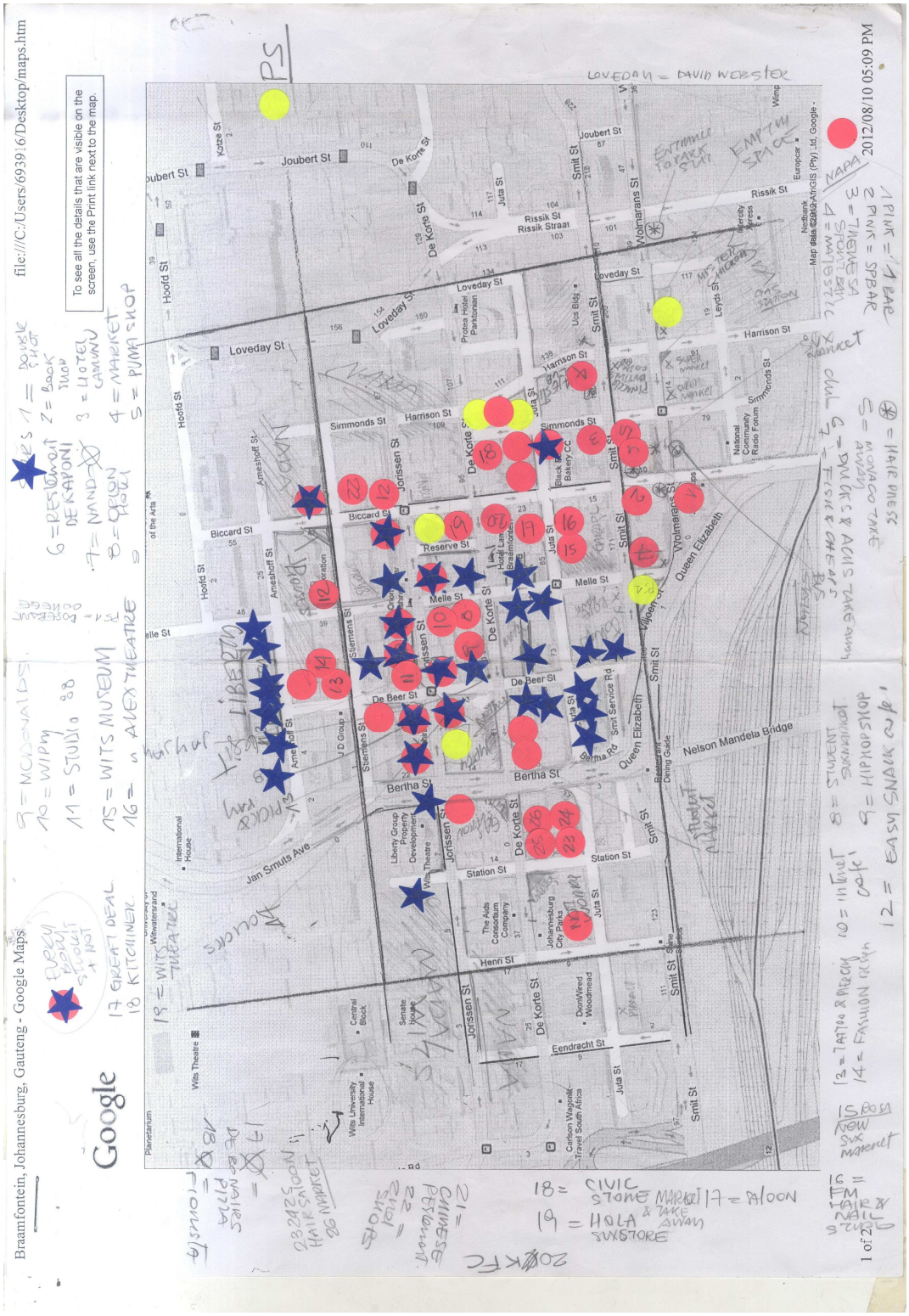
Map L.


file:///C:/Users/693916/Desktop/maps.htm
To see all the details that are visible on the screen, use the Print link next to the map.
Google
Loveday St
Harrison St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Rissik St
Joubert St
Hoofd St
De Korte St
Jorissen St
Smit St
Wolmarans St
Juta St
Queen Elizabeth
Nelson Mandela Bridge
Jan Smuts Ave
Bertha Rd
Smit Service Rd
Wits Theatre
Planetarium
Central Block
Senate House
Carlson Wagonlit Travel South Africa
Johannesburg City Parks
Liberty Group Property Development
J D Group
Hi Fi Corporation
Onion Devonshire Spar
Black Forest Bakery CC
National Community Radio Forum
Uct Bldg
Leyds St
Jameshops
Ameshoff St
Siemens St
Devonshire Ln
Harrison St
Loveday St
Rissik St
Rissik Straat
Joubert St
De Korte St
Smit St
Wolmarans St
Juta St
Hoofd St
Jorissen St
Simmonds St
Biccard St
Reserve St
Melle St
De Beer St
Bertha St
Station St
Henri St
Eendracht St
Loveday St
Harrison

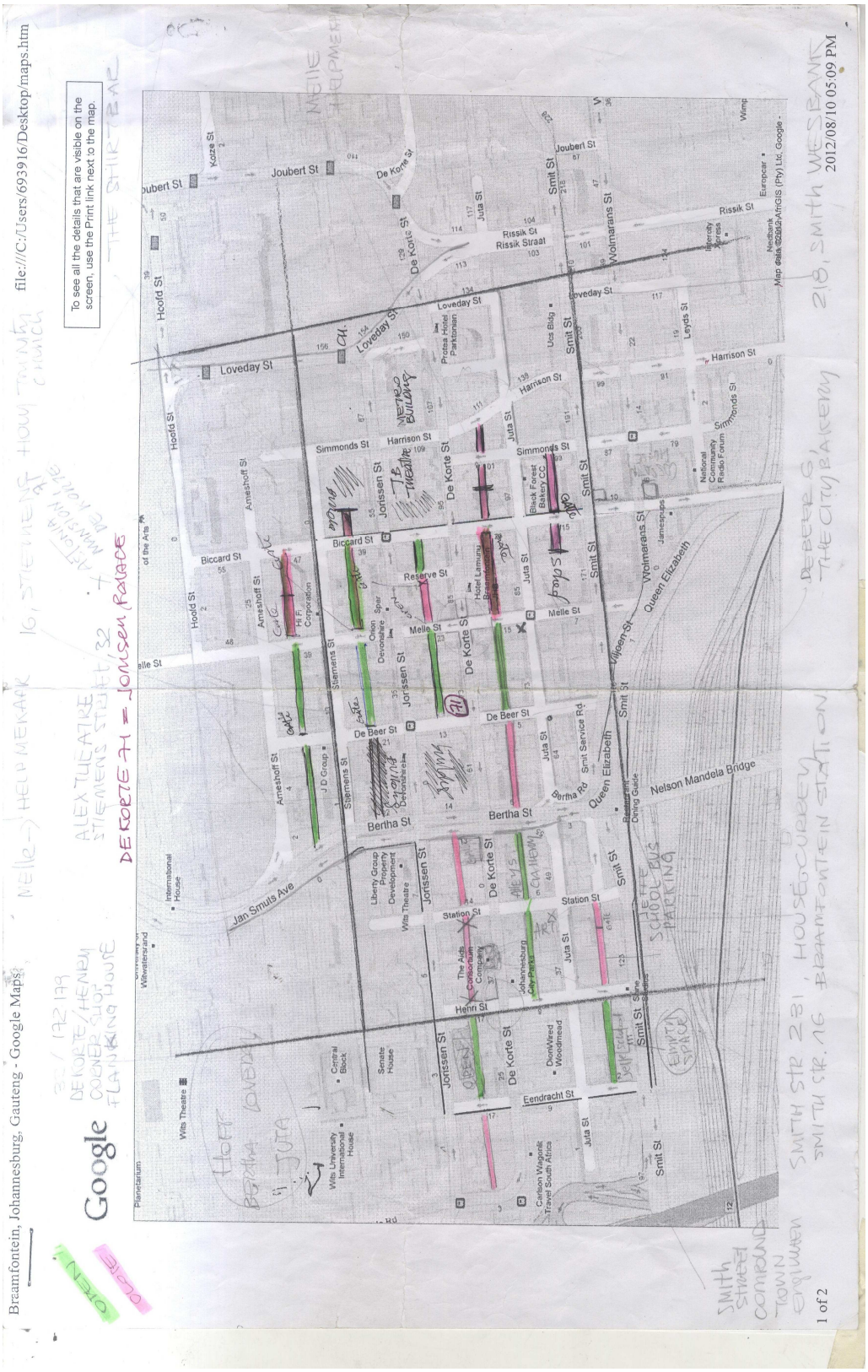
1.8 Map Residential in Braamfontein



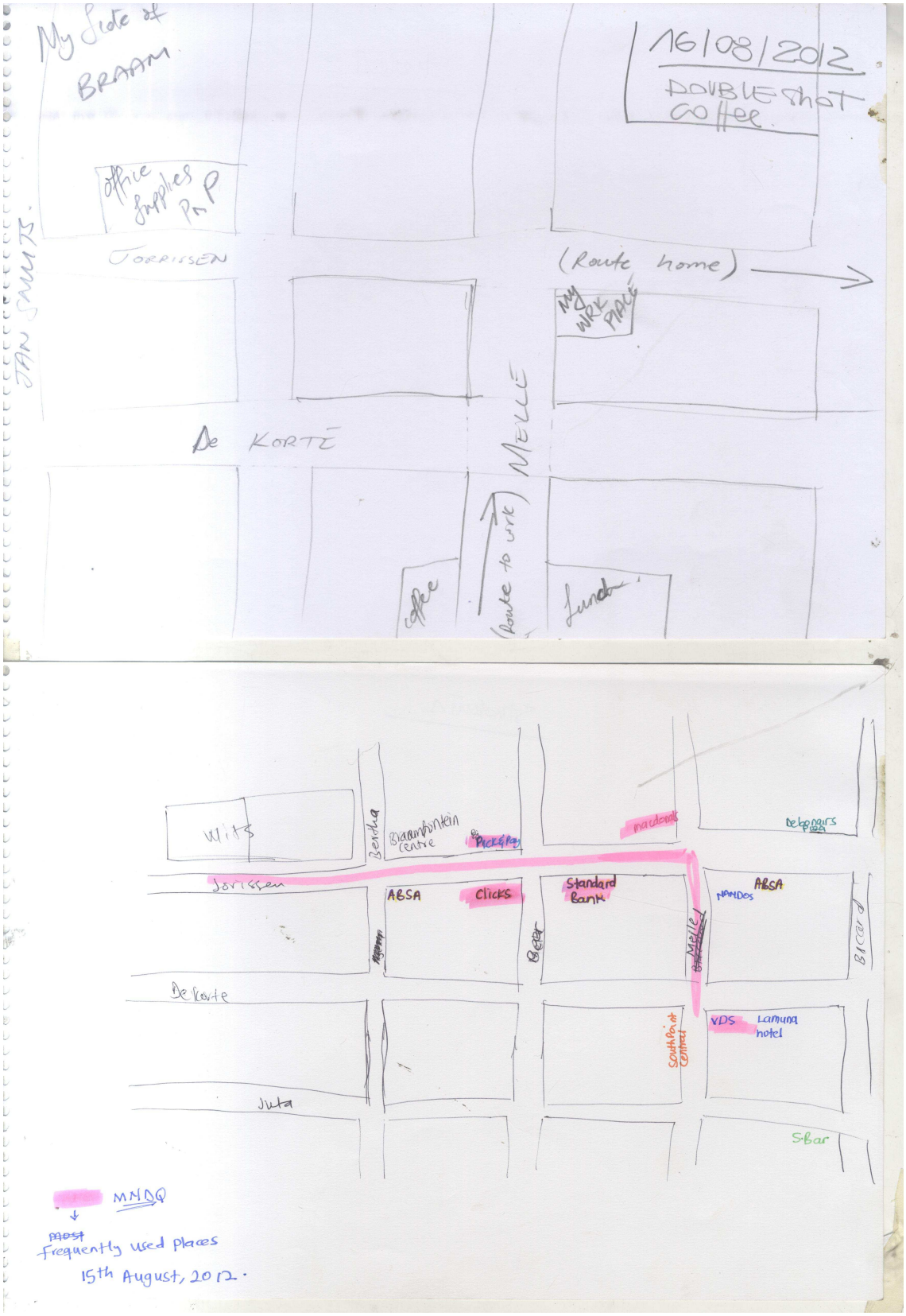
1.9 Map Facilities in Braamfontein



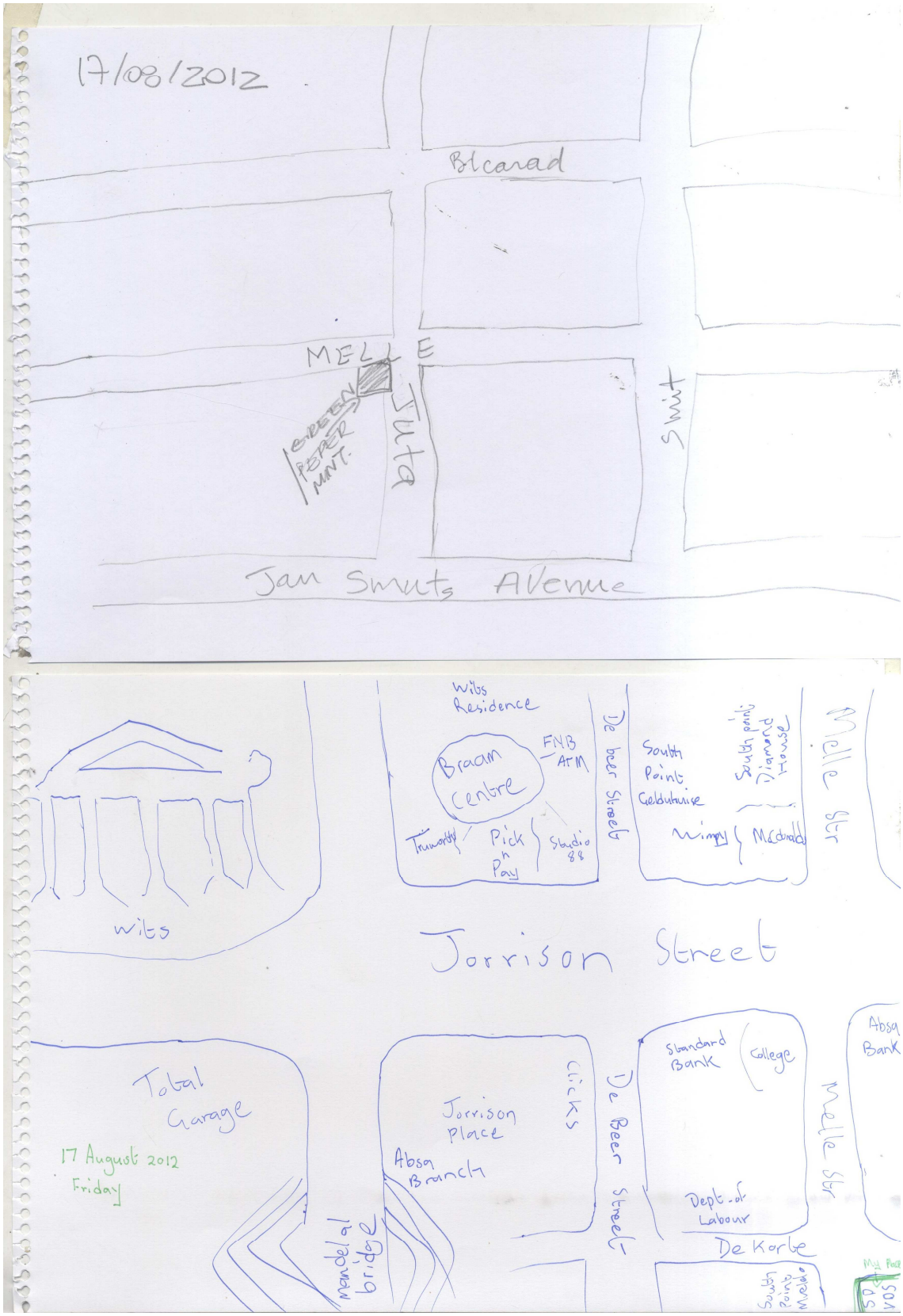
1.10 Map Alleys in Braamfontein



1.11 Mental Maps Student 1 and 2



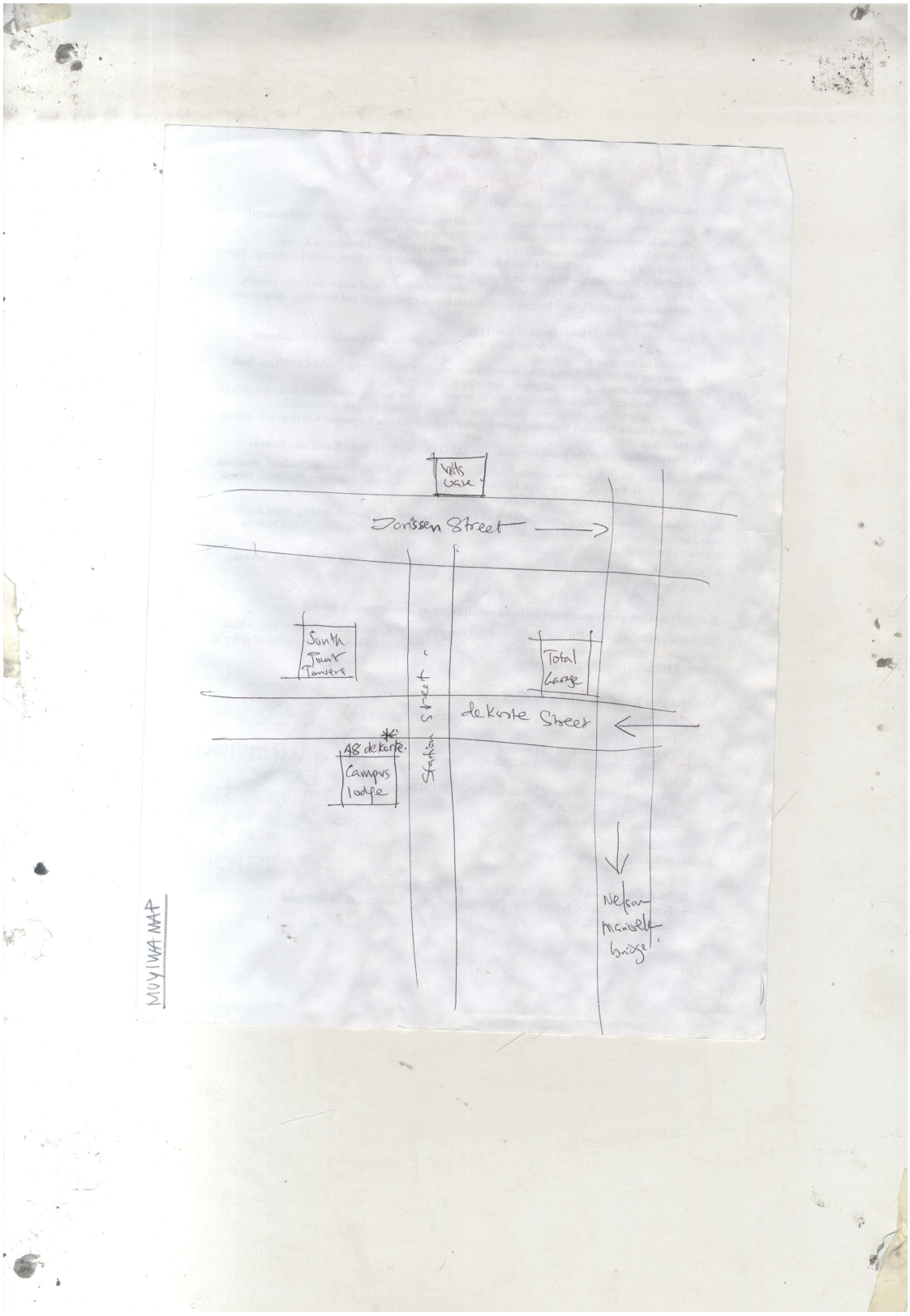
1.12 Mental Maps Student 3 and 4



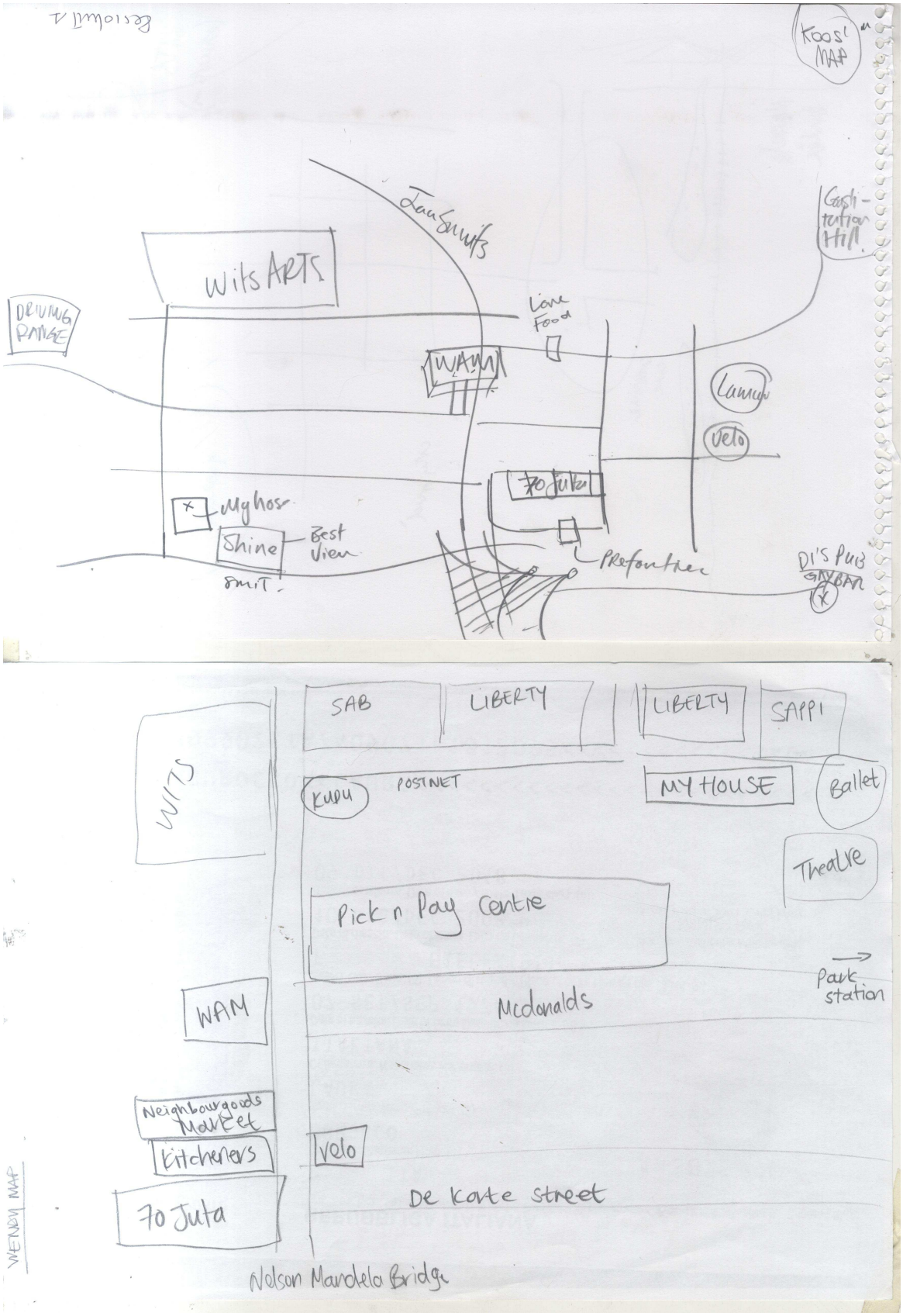
1.13 Mental Maps Student 5 and 6



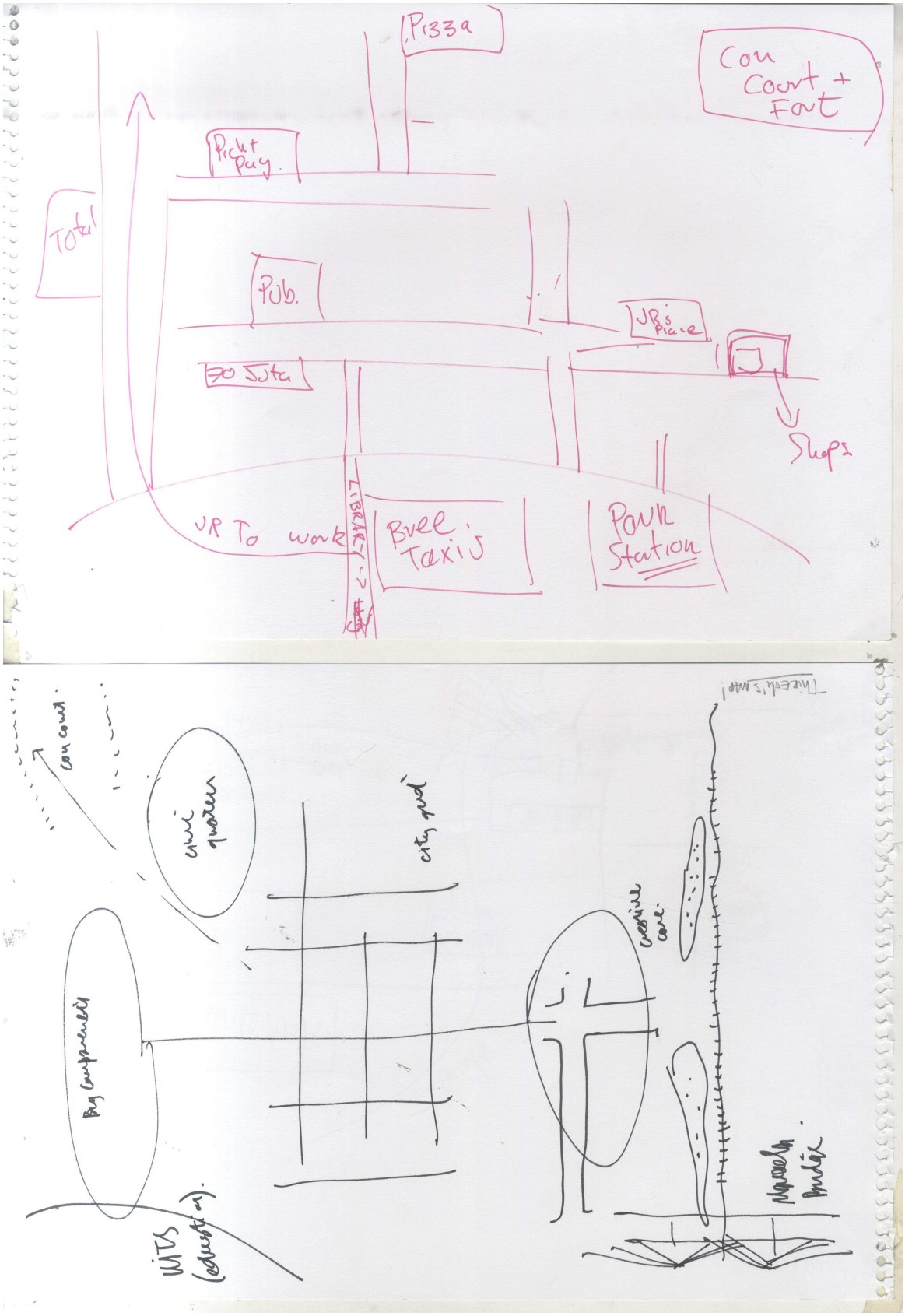
1.14 Mental Map Stundet 7



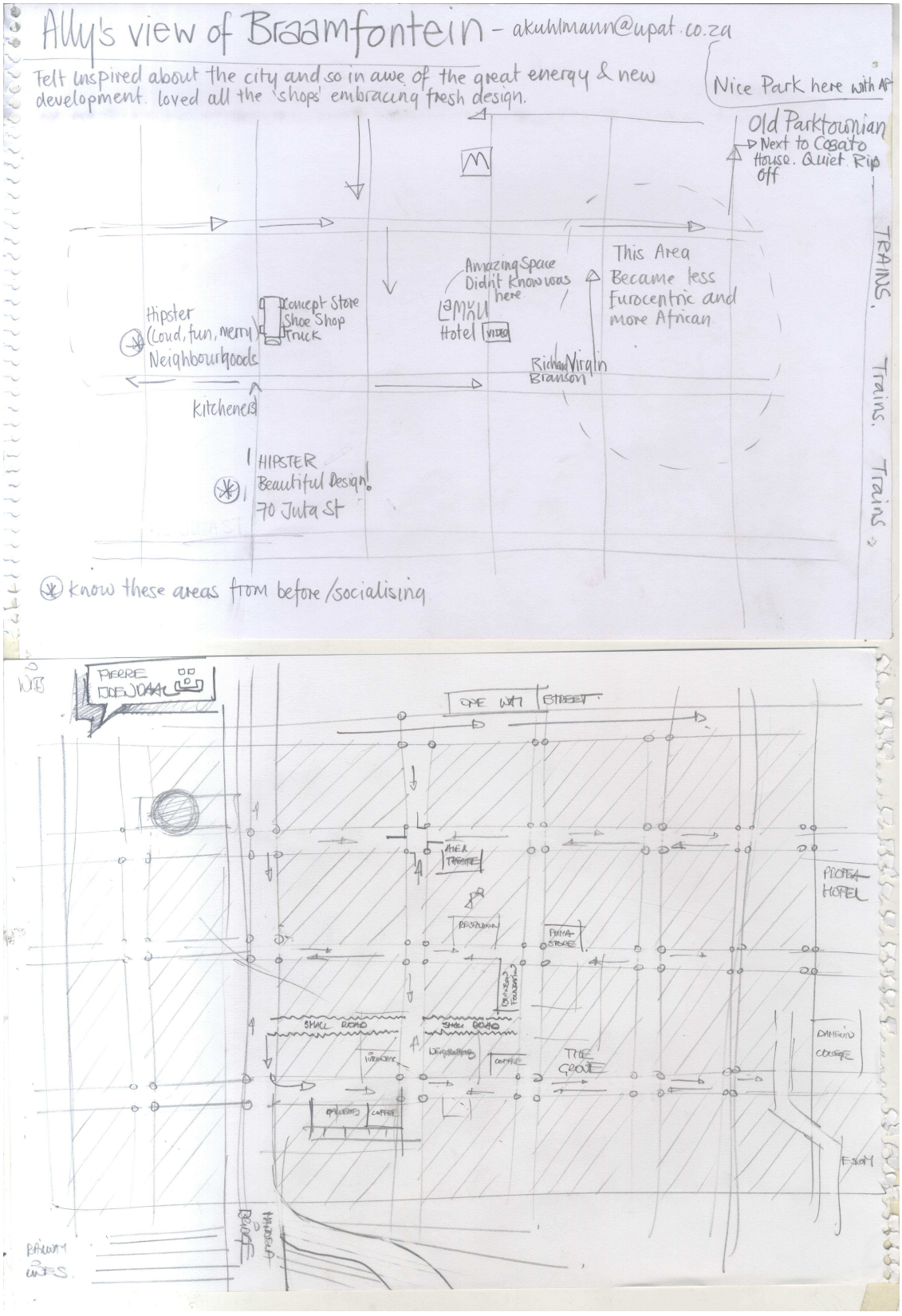
1.15 Mental Maps Residents 1 and 2



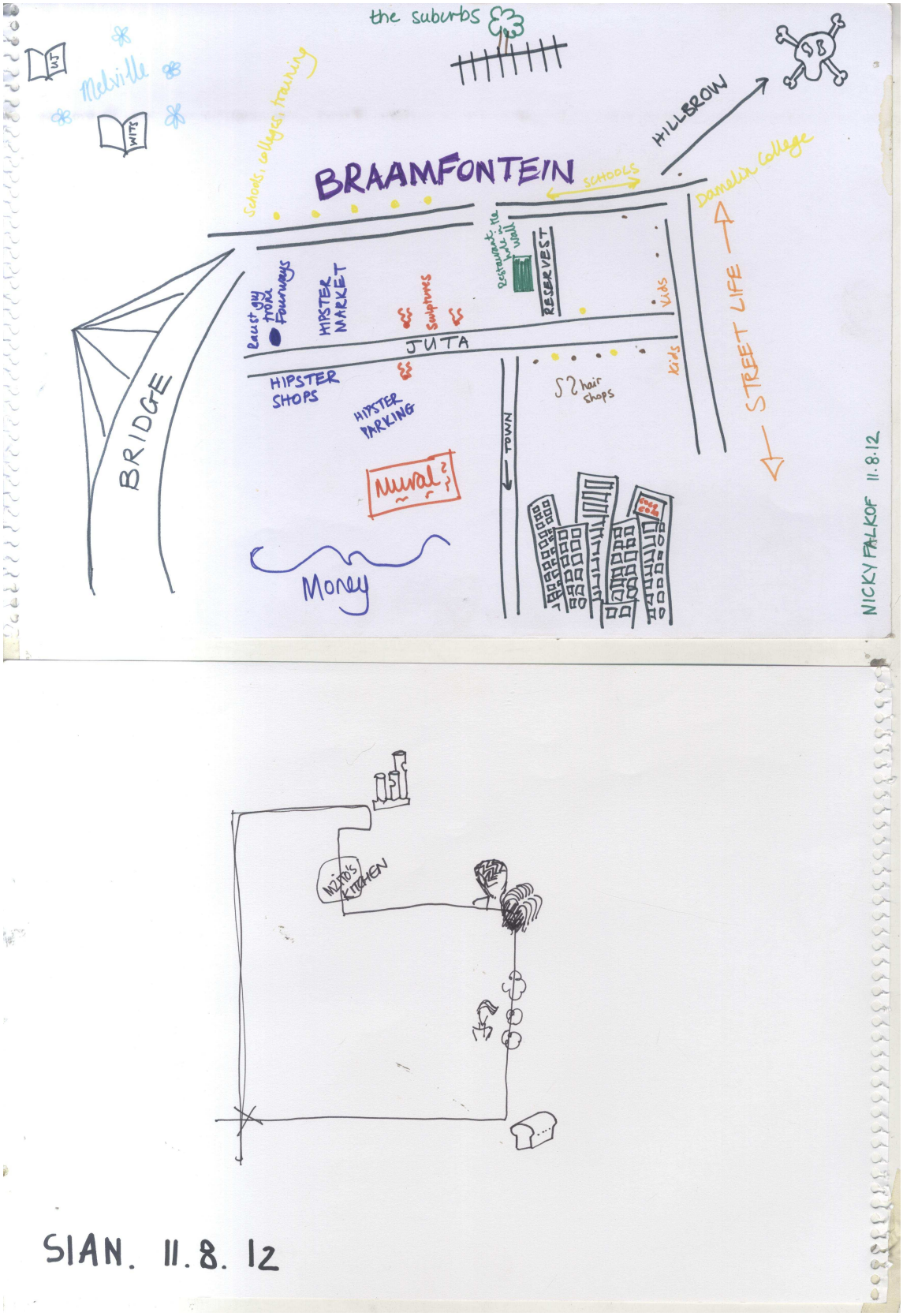
1.16 Mental Maps Workers 1 and 2



1.17 Mental Maps people go out 1 and 2



1.18 Mental Maps people go out 3 and 4



1.19 Mental Map people go out 5

