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Lockdown and the City:

The Dawn of New CID Practices

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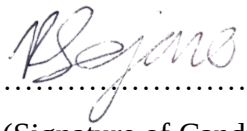


A research report submitted to the faculty of Engineering and Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand. The report is intended to meet the requirements for obtaining a master's degree in Urban Management.

30 September 2022

Declaration

I, Rorisang Sojane, declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for a degree of master's in urban studies in Urban Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



……

(Signature of Candidate)

Signed on the 29th day of September 2022

Abstract

This research report investigates how the Covid-19 pandemic and the subsequent lockdown have impacted City Improvement District management in the City of Johannesburg. CIDs in the CoJ are currently under voluntary status which means that they must rely on the goodwill of the constituents in their areas. The lockdown has required people to work from home bringing to question whether there is a need for CID management if the properties that enlist their services won't be benefitting from their cleaning and security services during the lockdown. Secondly, the lockdown has also brought to question how long CIDs in the city can operate under voluntary status and how the incoming Special Rating Area bylaw will influence CID management post-lockdown.

The research methods that were used to achieve this include interviewing CID managers and city officials, distributing a survey to different CID managers on the Gauteng Precinct Management Association and carrying out observation at two improvement districts to see first-hand how they have adapted to the lockdown.

The initial expectations were that CIDs in Johannesburg would struggle as properties would not see the benefit of CID management. This is also because CIDs in Johannesburg are currently voluntary establishments which means that properties do not have to pay should they not feel they want to. Nonetheless, the main finding is that properties within their areas have found much more benefit from their services during the lockdown period. This is because they have continued to keep their areas clean but most importantly also kept their properties secured. CIDs have offered services that go beyond cleaning and security which have helped properties significantly during the lockdown period.

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List of Acronyms

ASDS – Accelerated Service Delivery Strategy

BID – Braamfontein Improvement District

CID - City Improvement District

CoJ – City of Johannesburg

CRUM – Citizen Relation Urban Management

EN – Ekhaya Neighbourhood

IDP – Integrated Development Plan

IUDF – Integrated Urban Development Framework

GEAR – Growth Employment and Redistribution

GDS – Gauteng Development Strategy

GPMA – Gauteng Property Management Association

JICP – Johannesburg Inner City Partnership

MPRA – Municipal Properties Rates Act

NDP – National Development Plan

NMT – Non-Motorised Transport

NPC – Non-Profit Company

NSDF – National Spatially Development Framework

JDA – Johannesburg Development Agency

JRA – Johannesburg Roads Agency

JMPD – Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department

RRRF – Residential Relief Fund

SACN – South African Cities Network

SCID – Sandton Central Improvement District

SDF – Spatial Development Framework

SAPOA – South African Properties Owners Association

SAPS – South African Police Service

SPRINT - Safer Places Relent Institutions Neighbourhood Together

SPU – Special Projects Unit

SRA - Special Rating Area

USM – Urban Space Management

VID – Voluntary Improvement District

VPUU – Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

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Chapter 1:

Introduction to the Research Report.

1.1) Introduction.

The Covid-19 pandemic has had a devasting impact across the world. It has changed the way people interact with one another and has brought about a new normal. As such, how does this new normal determine how City Improvement Districts (CIDs) execute their urban management practices? A CID is defined as a geographic area in which property owners join with one another to fund cleaning, security, and ad-hoc services for the betterment of the area. These are defined as complementary or supplementary services which is an effort to maintain and enhance their investment (GPMA, n.d.). The chapter discusses why this research topic was chosen and by doing so outlines the problems identified which are addressed in the report. The research topic investigates whether CID management has been impacted by the lockdown and if so, how has it altered their urban management practices. The problem statement, therefore, outlines matters facing CID management and their contribution to the development of Johannesburg Inner City. By exploring the problems identified and how they relate to the topic at hand, this research shows the relevance of this topic to the urban management discipline. This is to provide insights as to how this could change urban management practices, especially when considering the role CIDs have had in the development of Johannesburg. Therefore, the core aim of this study is to understand the implications of the Covid-19 pandemic on CIDs and their urban management practices. Most of this discussion is predominate in chapter 5 of the research report and will highlight how CIDs have adapted to the lockdown. The main research question is then provided, and the chapter concludes by outlining the remaining content of the research report.

1.2) Rationale on the Topic Chosen.

The Covid-19 pandemic and the subsequent lockdowns across the world have initiated the discussion about what this could mean for cities. The growing trend of working from home has brought to question what this will mean for public and office spaces which are crucial city amenities that are used by many people. The research, therefore, seeks to understand what this could mean in the case of Johannesburg and how CIDs manage urban space amid this trend.



Figure 1: The Gauteng Precinct Management Association represents all CIDs in the Gauteng province as a way of developing a collective voice and encouraging best practices. Image is taken from https://www.gpma.co.za/

The lockdown has restricted many aspects of society forcing people to stay home. This has had an impact on businesses that rely on people. In the case of CID management, should contributing properties to the CID not receive any form of income, the chances are that this would have adverse impacts on CIDs who rely on their contributions to manage their areas.

Therefore, the rationale of the research report is to understand whether the lockdown will impact CID management in Johannesburg. This is based on whether the impacts of the lockdown on properties and businesses could also impact CID management. This is because they pay for the services of CIDs to maintain and enhance the public environment on their behalf. Not only is this the case but would businesses who are working from home also want to pay for CID management services if they are not benefitting from them? This is because CIDs are responsible for cleaning and securing their surrounding spaces to further enhance their investments. As such, it is of particular interest to understand how this would work in a period where people must work from home and whether this could be a change in CID urban management practices[1].

[1] The context of the lockdown in focus is between the period March 2020 – December 2021. The reason for the selection of this period is due to how frequently lockdown levels changed which caused uncertainty and change in how country was governed under a specific stage.

1.3) Problem Statement and Background

CIDs have played a significant role in managing and contributing to the development of the Johannesburg inner city. The impact of the lockdown has put CIDs in a precarious position as property owners may be reluctant to pay monies to them to manage challenges facing their properties because of the pandemic. In the context of CIDs in the CoJ that are under voluntary status, this could be expected to cause a challenge for them as properties pay voluntarily for their services meaning that this could impact their ability to generate revenue. Efforts in legislating CIDs as Special Rating Areas (SRAs) are underway and this could change how CIDs, therefore, collect their revenues post-lockdown. Therefore, taking into consideration the impacts of the lockdown, the research report examines how CIDs operated before the lockdown and how are they operating now to draw comparisons and offer solutions to the current challenges brought forward by the pandemic and hence what should be considered.

The CID forum (n.d.) indicates that CIDs are a tool to enhance and protect business and property performance through investments in the trading environment. Their role is to facilitate urban governance matters between stakeholders by using urban management and in doing so manage and maintain the public realm. By doing so, they facilitate private sector relationships with local government for the CID area. This form of governance is the private sector responding to a concern which is businesses leaving the Johannesburg Inner-city due to urban decline (Peyroux, 2008). The urban decline that the inner-city is facing is a result of a lack of maintenance to infrastructure resulting in abandoned buildings, lack of public space maintenance to catering to the ever-increasing population, crime, poverty, and social exclusion (CoJ, 2021). On the one hand, the work done by CIDs benefits the city and the greater public by providing cleaning and security services. However, on the other hand, CIDs intend to promote the interests of businesses in their areas through the services they offer. Although this is not wrong, due to the failings of the city to address inner-city challenges, have led to and can lead to areas that do not have CIDs lacking targeted funding and attention. This brings to discussion the role CIDs play in creating space-based inequalities in service delivery. The city is attempting to develop CIDs in lower-income communities however CID management only works when interested parties are willing to pay for their services.

McGill (2001) indicates that urban management in developing countries has two functions which are understanding the nature of the urban environment and providing tools that institutions can use in carrying out urban management. The Growth Development Strategy (GDS) for 2040 and the current Spatial Development Framework (SDF) for the CoJ highlight that the inner city, with clear urban management guidelines and investment, can continue playing and play an even more vital role in economic growth and development of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2021). According to the City of Johannesburg Draft IDP 2021-2026, the city has earmarked the inner city as a place of opportunity with its vision being:

> A well-governed, transformed, safe, clean, and sustainable inner city of Johannesburg, which offers high-quality, sustainable services; supports vibrant economic activity; and provides a welcoming place for all residents, migrants, commuters, workers, traders, investors, and tourists (CoJ,2021)

CIDs have the role of assisting the CoJ in achieving its vision. This is noted in a report produced by the Blueprint Group in which they highlighted that CIDs had played an integral role in assisting the city to regenerate its spaces through a partnership between local businesses and developing sustainable communities. CIDs address local challenges and provide informal traders with better trading environments within the public realm (Blueprint Group, 2006). This is to make the city more attractive for investors to produce jobs and attain economic growth.

CIDs in the CoJ have made significant contributions to the development of Johannesburg. They have spent R3,9 million on security and cleaning every month which adds up to over R47 million annually, deploying 150 security officers/patrollers and over 120 cleaners in the inner city. CIDs monitor, report, log, track, and escalate service delivery issues on the ground to relevant city departments whilst also assisting in service delivery when they can. Lastly, CIDs ensure that citizens adhere to the CoJ and their by-laws, and provide relevant information on hotspots, criminals, and problematic areas (CID Forum, 2020). This serves as an indication as to how they help the city in achieving their mandates and CIDs and their services would go a long way to assisting the city to achieve its vision for the inner-city as mentioned above.

A second indication is their contribution to the Informal Trade Policy by the CoJ (JICP, 2018). CIDs in the CoJ indicate that an inclusionary approach is needed which may be achieved by refraining from using the term “informal trading” but rather “public space

trading" as a move away from informality (JICP, 2018). The CID forum believes that this will contribute toward sustainable and regulated street trader management through planning, designing, and managing spaces (JICP, 2018). The private sector has been proactive in bringing change, especially when working with the CoJ. Tangible results have been achieved and the urban environment is better managed and maintained (CoJ, 2007). The Johannesburg Inner City Charter notes that for this to continue, CIDs should be involved in the process. It states that CIDs should be included in the broader programme and receive support from the city which comes in the form of assisting property owners to define a new model and assist their start-up for a defined period (CoJ, 2007). The CID forum stresses the point that they offer supplementary services and cannot replace the city's services.

They require the city to support them through cooperation and partnership, private-public-partnerships such as "Adopt a Spot", amending open space bylaws to prevent increased risk of crime and urban decline and clear channels of communication to the city to escalate service issues (CID Forum, 2020).

Taking into consideration the role CIDs play in the maintenance and management of the city, it raises to question of what impact the Covid-19 pandemic will have on CIDs. South Africa and its response to Covid-19 has been subject to many discussions and critiques on how the lockdowns will impact the economy. Currently, they have had a severe economic impact on the country's medium- and long-term economic activity (Arndt *et al*, 2020). To manage the pandemic the government, through the Disaster Management Act No. 57 of 2002, declared the country a state of disaster (Department of Co-operative Governance, 2020). By declaring the country, a state of disaster, the introduction of lockdowns was put in place to manage the spread of the virus. The lockdown levels[2] determine what form of social activity can take

[2] The various lockdown levels determine the restrictions that are applied during the national state of disaster.

(a) Level 1 indicates that there is a low transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a high health system readiness; Level 2 indicates that there is a moderate transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a high health system readiness; Level 3 indicates that there is a moderate transmission of the Covid-19 virus spread with a moderate health system readiness; Level 4 indicates that there is a moderate to a high transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a low to

place and when curfews start and end. This has been ongoing since 2020 and as a result, the lockdown levels have fluctuated based on the number of infections because of the virus. This is identified in the timeline provided in the appendix.

In an article written by Lester Kiewitt (2020) for the Mail and Guardian, he elaborates that as the lockdown levels have eased, tenants have been evicted from their homes or in the case of one resident, had their electricity cut because they have been unable to pay their rent (Kiewit, 2020). This is against the law as Section 22 of the Disaster Management Act indicates that tenants cannot be evicted during the current national state of disaster. The act also stated that landlords should offer rental discounts and deferments on rent and operating costs (Nkaiseng *et al*, 2020). They were, however, able to collect rates, taxes, utilities, and insurance to ensure that they had some form of income. This is a tough situation faced by both groups (tenants and landlords) as on the one hand tenants need a place to stay and or work however some have been unable to pay their rent whilst on the other hand landlords need money to cover their expenses. Warby and Fourie (2021) indicate that because of the lockdown restrictions, landlords have had to reduce levies, rates, and taxes bills as well as bonds. In most instances, landlords state that some of their tenants have not paid rent for a year, which has financially crippled them. As a result of this, landlords have struggled to generate income and have broken the regulations of the Disaster Management Act.

Multiple economic relief packages were announced to address the impact of the pandemic. In terms of the property sector, the economic relief package identified is the Residential Rent Relief Fund (RRRF). The fund intended to help tenants in social housing who were financially affected because of the lockdown (National Department of Human Settlements, 2020). It has been noted however that the monies for this fund had not been distributed throughout the writing of the research report. This is a particular point of interest as one of the CIDs that were interviewed has an extensive amount of social housing in their precinct. How they were and are currently dealing with their social housing partners is of particular interest and will be assessed.

moderate health system readiness; Level 5 indicates a high Covid-19 spread with a low health system readiness (South African government, n.d.)

Given that the pandemic is ongoing, it brings to question what role CIDs play will be going forward given the mentioned concerns above. The pandemic has raised questions about what post-pandemic cities will look like and what will this mean for the built environment (Storring, 2020). This is of particular concern for improvement districts because they must manage areas and if there is a drive towards working from home this could put into jeopardy the work that they do. The South African Property Owners Association (SAPOA) indicates that it is a sector "under pressure" and this could be of concern for CIDs (SAPOA, 2, 2020). This is because CIDs in the CoJ are currently under voluntary status. CIDs in Gauteng are currently under voluntary status given that the Gauteng City Improvement District (GCID) Act was revoked following a Supreme Court of Appeal decision in 2015. The decision was since CIDs were collecting rates and taxes on behalf of the CoJ which is against the law resulting in GCID being revoked. As such, the CoJ asked CIDs to go under voluntary status whilst they work on the drafting of new legislation (CID forum, 2020). The city is currently in the process of drafting the Special Rating Area (SRA) by-law and this will be discussed further in the research report as to what this would entail for CID management in the CoJ. It should be noted that voluntary status means that CIDs in Johannesburg depend on whatever contribution is paid to them by the properties in their areas. This further highlight concerns which could face CIDs as businesses could stop paying their contributions to address other challenges facing them because of the lockdown.

In summary, the problem statement highlights the potential impact the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown could have on an already "unsure" environment for CIDs in the CoJ. As it has been documented, CIDs are currently in the process of working towards new legislation that will safeguard their work however the expectation is that more will be required of them as they would need to adapt to the pandemic. This will be achieved through collaboration with the CoJ who will need to offer as much assistance as possible and CIDs being of many benefits to the properties in the areas that they manage as property owners may be reluctant to pay monies to CIDs due to the impacts of Covid.

1.4) Relevance to the Urban Management Discipline

Urban management and CIDs are focused on managing the space between buildings. CIDs rely on different stakeholders to come together to find a suitable solution as to how the environment will be managed. Over the last two years, I have been fortunate to be involved in the improvement district management sector. This played a significant role in sparking my

interest in understanding firstly how improvement districts manage public space but most importantly how would a pandemic such as Covid-19 alters their practices and impact their business model. Jones and Ward (1994) indicate that urban productivity refers to the activities that cater to improving the efficiency of the urban economy. CIDs have played a significant role in redeveloping and contributing to the inner city's urban productivity. It is important to understand whether this role has changed because of the lockdown and how this will impact CID management.

What will be highlighted throughout the research report is that CIDs in the CoJ are not the same and each has different requirements based on its constituents and local dynamic. CIDs in the CoJ are currently working towards the adoption of the Special Rating Area (SRA) by-law which will enable them to enter into financial agreements with the city (CID forum, 2020). Currently, CIDs in the CoJ are under voluntary status which means that they rely on contributions paid to them by their constituents. Taking this into the current context of the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown, it is important to understand whether these management principles are set to change or if they will stay the same. If they are set to change what does this mean for the urban management practices that CIDs carry out? Furthermore, how will the adoption of the SRA by-law contribute to the development of new urban management practices that originate as a response to the pandemic? This should be considered because the SRA by-law presents a new shift in how CIDs could practice their urban management which is related to but also distinct from the lockdown effects.

1.5) Aims and Objectives

Having identified what, the problem facing CIDs is, the aim of the research report is:

> To understand how CIDs have operated during the lockdown and how it has impacted their urban management practices.

The aim of the research report intends to understand what urban management practices CIDs had before the pandemic and whether the lockdown between March 2020- December 2021 had altered those urban management practices. This will be achieved by carrying out the following objectives:

Identify key stakeholders who carry out CID management in the CoJ by understanding what urban management system was in place before the lockdown and how it has adapted to the varying lockdown stages between March 2020- December 2021.

Explain what the SRA by-law is and what this could mean for CID management post-pandemic.

1.6) Research Question

The research question is as follows:

"How are City Improvement Districts, in the Johannesburg Inner City, adapting their urban management practices in line with changing legislation and to address the lockdown?

The sub-questions are as follows:

How do CIDs raise capital to fund their work and is it sustainable during the current lockdown?
What are the changing relationships between CoJ and CIDs?
How has the lockdown altered the current urban management system in the city and how is it adapting to these changes?
What will the SRA by-law offer CIDs and how will this be beneficial post-lockdown*?*

1.7) Content Outline

The following chapter discusses the central theme of the research report of what an ideal city is. The intention behind the following topic is based on the notion that everyone experiences a city and its spaces in a different way. By having this understanding, the chapter discusses what the role of urban planning is and how its procedure creates an environment for participation in the development of an ideal city. What has been identified how is that in most cases, power is a concern in the development of cities as plans that are meant to benefit all citizens are inverted and used to benefit a select few whilst causing social injustices for others. These understandings will be applied to CID management and how CIDs bring about an ideal city to an extent. This is about their role in developing city spaces for businesses that

will enhance their investment whilst at the same time benefitting cities in addressing urban decay to make the city more attractive for investment. Understanding how CIDs do this provides an understanding of what CIDs may have to consider in their urban management practices to address the lockdown and pandemic.

Given that the pandemic has brought about the need for social distancing and adequate public spacing premature conclusions could be drawn that CIDs would need to play a role in facilitating this change. The conceptual framework hence provides a diagrammatical form of these relationships by focussing on urban planning, urban management, the city and CIDs and what roles these 4 elements play in developing the ideal city.

Having provided an understanding of what an ideal city is and the role of CIDs in achieving this, chapter 3 provides insight into legislative mechanisms put into place to enable CID management in South Africa and more importantly Johannesburg. What is important to state is that CIDs in South Africa assist municipalities in achieving their service delivery mandates and hence CIDs play an important role in urban governance networks. Therefore, understanding the legislative aspects shaping CID management will provide insights into how they carry out their work. This is especially important in the context of the research report as the pandemic is set to change how CIDs provide their services. The chapter hence provides the different legal avenues in which CID management can be enacted and how the different municipalities in the country have used these avenues. Attention is then made to CID management in Johannesburg and provides understanding as to what the GCID act entailed and what the revoking of the act means for CIDs in Johannesburg which are currently working under voluntary status.

The fourth chapter discusses how the research process was carried out. The research approach used was qualitative and included the use of interviews, a survey and participant observation. Identified people approached for the research included CID managers, city officials working for the Citizen Relation Urban Management (CRUM) and the Inner-City Office and the GPMA. Insights are provided as to how these interviews went and why these participants were identified for the research report.

The findings of the research report build on my initial expectations before carrying out the research report. To make sense of those expectations I conducted interviews with the Gauteng Precinct Management Association, four CIDs which are Sandton Central Improvement District, Braamfontein Improvement District, Urban Space Management and Ekhaya

Neighbourhood. The observation was carried out in Braamfontein and Ekhaya whilst I was also able to conduct interviews with city entities known as the Citizen Relation Urban Management and the Inner-City Office. The main findings were that CIDs were able to continue their urban management work during the lockdown. They became more important to their constituents due to their work during this period serving different needs that they had. What was also identified is that there is still a considerable amount of work needed in conceptualising how the proposed SRA bylaw as different CID managers have different opinions on it.

The last chapter of the research report offers a summary of what has been discussed throughout the report. A discussion of the main research question is offered in this section to highlight whether the research question was answered and what this means about CID management post-lockdown. A discussion is then offered on what happens next for CID management in Johannesburg. This is achieved by taking into consideration what the current global trends are during the pandemic and what work have stakeholders done and are planning to do to adhere to the constraints of Covid-19. This is an attempt to highlight where CIDs can get involved and take into consideration their precincts. Recommendations are then offered based on the findings made in the research report.

1.8) Conclusion

The chapter has provided insights as to what the research report entails and what will be focussed on. What was most important was identifying the problem that the research report is intending to address. As such the remainder of the research report will identify what has been discussed in the literature about CID management. This will offer the opportunity to understand how CID management occurred before the lockdown and by doing so give insight as to how the lockdown will impact CID management. This is especially important in the case of Johannesburg as the implications of the SRA by-law will also be weighed as to what it could also mean for CIDs post-lockdown.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Developing the Ideal City.

2.1) Introduction

This chapter explores what an ideal city is. There is no perfect definition of an ideal city because every person has their ideal city in mind. This is especially the case when taking into consideration the need to balance and incorporate multiple socio-economic backgrounds, the environment, and the economy. Dall'Orso (2017) indicates that to achieve such a city, the needs to be a balance and integration of multiple strategies which will assist in giving a holistic overview of what a city can achieve with its current amenities (Dall'Orso, 2017). Therefore, to achieve an ideal city, two aspects should be considered as stated by Dall'Orso (2017) which are identifying the city's soft factors (society) and its hard factors (infrastructure). Therefore, the chapter intends to understand what is considered in the development of the city and how everyone benefits from its development of it. To do this the role of urban planning will be discussed and how its methods are used to create an environment for people to partake in shaping the ideal city. it is highlighted however that urban planning, which is intended to build better cities can also be used to exclude people. This is based on aspects of power and how certain groups benefit over others. As such, planning can be used as a method of creating social inequality which goes against its intention of creating inclusive cities.

What has been discussed about planning is then applied to CIDs and how they are used to develop city spaces for cities and businesses. How they develop cities is discussed as whether their developments benefit everyone or just a select few. This is considering the Covid-19 pandemic and the need to create city spaces that benefit all.

2.2) How do we Build the Ideal City?

Urban and regional planning has been integral to the development of cities. Planning theory in this time has evolved enabling urban planning to be constant whilst facilitating the development of cities across the world. This is important to note especially as we are in a Covid-19 pandemic that may alter the way cities are used and bring about new ways in developing cities. Therefore, there must be an understanding of the impact urban and regional planning has on social, political, and economic relations. For this to be achieved, planning needs to be defined. Planning is a context-based approach and has different meanings for different places. Yiftachel (2002) highlights that in Italy, planning is a part of the aesthetic

design of cities, in the UK it is used to control and regulate development. In the USA it assists the government with policy efforts of voluntary, community and semi-public bodies in the governance of local communities (Yiftachel, 2, 2002). Despite the different definitions, it is imperative to understand how urban planning balances the interests of those involved and whether they benefit from it.

There have been different types of planning theories that have shaped planning practice. This theory has evolved to meet the demands of development and change in the world. To understand how theory has evolved, the practice movement offers insight into this. The movement is an approach to studying individual planners and the planning practice by documenting interactions and the impacts of planning (Ligget, 1996). In summary, the practice movement has shifted from a top-down and state-led approach to a collaborative grass-roots approach.

A starting point to understand how the planning practice has evolved is discussing the rational planning model. Urban planning post-World War II according to Campbell and Marshall (2002) was used as an intervention by the state as a means of "safeguarding the public interest against private and sectional titles" (Campbell and Marshall, 163, 2002). This was the most notable planning approach to the development of cities, especially after the Second World War. Countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom adopted this approach to rebuilding their cities after the damage caused by the war. This approach to planning focuses on the procedure through the application of scientific knowledge (Watson, 2002). This approach to planning was based on five steps which included defining the problem, identifying how to address the problem, evaluating the action taken to address the problem, implementation of action proposed and hence monitoring actions taken (Taylor,1998). The planning model focussed on ensuring that logically sound decisions were made. Despite these intentions, the model had limitations which included a lack of community engagement in communities that were affected by planning.

Although the practice emphasised logically sound decisions, the negative aspect of these decisions made is that those that were being planned for were not involved in the planning process. The projects focus on large-scale infrastructure developments through blueprint planning. Because these projects were carried out using a top-down approach, not much consideration was taken about how these projects would affect citizens who would need to use them. An example is identified with Robert Moses and his increased focus on the use of

this planning system. His focus on the development of large-scale highway networks which would contribute to economic development can be said to be a great intervention. Albeit the case, the lack of community involvement for this development and use of power was met with much criticism for lack of promoting community involvement in projects that were meant for "their benefit" (Caro, 1974). Therefore, the use of this planning model brought confusion within the planning movement because it could not direct nor explain planning activity (Watson, 2002).

Due to the limitations of the rational planning model, there was a need to develop approaches that would address the needs of those benefiting from the practice. An example is collaborative planning. The approach sought to enable different interest groups the ability to have a say in the development of their cities which benefits the public interest. Burke (2012) defines public interest as the representation of all interests when they are correctly determined through rational deliberation (Pitkin, 1967). Booher and Innes (2002) indicate that collaborative planning brings multiple stakeholders together to produce plans and policies on controversial public issues. This collaborative effort is what establishes network power which is defined as "the flow of power" (Booher and Innes, 221, 2002). The flow of power is described as people using their collective agency together to address matters that would infringe on their wellbeing. Doing so is a means of wrestling back and ensuring that they too have a say in processes that may affect them. This type of power is achieved when the planning process is diverse and interdependent and allows for authentic dialogue. Allowing authentic dialogue in the planning process offers the opportunity for open and honest conversations that allow for the exchange of thoughts and ideas. This exchange of information assists in finding solutions to challenges faced and hence correcting errors (Wright, 2017). This is important in an age where there is constant change. What may have worked today may not work tomorrow and this type of dialogue must happen in the planning process to meet everyone's needs.

An example can be identified with the New Urbanism movement and how this movement hence sought to give people the opportunity to relate to the development that was implemented. The movement sought to address the decay in the inner cities of American cities post World War II (Saab, 2007). New Urbanism approaches sought to create sustainable neighbourhoods which were to a human scale. In doing so, the intention was to ensure people could live healthy active lives. This is different to what rational planning sought to achieve which focussed on large developments in the hope of economic growth.

The differences in approach can be identified from a more economic-centred approach to a more societal-centred approach. This can be identified by the fact that the movement sought to develop bigger neighbourhoods that focused on adopting community-centred approaches by integrating social aspects of life such as work, live and play. This was incorporated into pedestrian-friendly, mixed land-use neighbourhoods that had reliable public transportation.

The development of different approaches to planning such as rational and collaborative planning has resulted in different roles for planners. These include being advocacy and community-based planners whilst other approaches included questioning the role of the planner within capitalism (Watson, 2002). Within these changing roles of planners, Flyvbjerg (1998) discusses the role of power and how this influences the rationality of the decisions made in community development and planning. Urban planning is meant to address context-based challenges. Challenges faced by communities are not the same hence planners requiring to be adaptable in the roles that they play. Planning is based on decisions that need to be executed. Taking into consideration blueprint planning and the influences of Robert Moses, that was based on a decision and executed by those that are in charge which is the state. They had the power to make that decision and ensure that the project is implemented. Power is used to blur the dividing line between rationality and rationalisation (Flyvbjerg, 1998). What this means is that decisions that are made based on reason or logic cannot be explained or justified with logical reasons because power has been exercised. Therefore, collaborative approaches have been adopted to talk through why decisions have been taken and what those decisions could mean should those decisions be implemented. In doing so it offers logic to the reasons taken and offers the opportunity for critique should they not benefit them.

Yiftachel (2002) indicates that power finds ignorance, deception, self-deception, rationalisation and lies more useful to get what it wants rather than the truth (Yiftachel, 11, 2002). It is important to understand where power lies within the planning process. When identifying rational and collaborative planning, it can be identified that planning has transitioned from focussing on the process to ensuring everyone is accommodated. This was to give people living in cities the to make decisions for themselves in the planning process. Despite this, the issue of power is a matter of concern. Planning is a complex procedure and managing interests between different groups has required planners to be aware of these dynamics. Forester (1987) highlights that in most instances, a planner may have to serve the interests of politicians, private and community interests and serve professional mandates all

at the same time. Therefore, planners need to be mediators in these planning processes however this may pose a challenge. The challenge is understanding what the planners' interests are during this process. A case can be made when referring to Flyvbjerg (1996) who mentions a case of a planner who "reluctantly but repeatedly adjusted patronage figures upward and cost figures downward to satisfy a local elected official" (Flyvbjerg, 386, 1996). Another case mentioned by Flyvbjerg (1996) highlights those planners had manipulated the public into having a bus terminal in an area closer to the mayor's office. How planners are used to justifying planning decisions highlights that in most instances planning processes may be unfair and the very people who are meant to ensure that this does not happen, allow it to happen. This highlights that the more powerful interests of politicians or other groups might override planning interests. This may cause existing inequalities to remain present and keep existing power intact (Forester, 303, 1987).

Noting that planners have various roles to play in the planning process and are required to represent the interests of certain stakeholders, these characteristics can be applied to CIDs as well. Taking into consideration that CIDs are meant to manage and maintain public spaces for those that enlist their services, how CIDs carry out this process and who benefits is of interest. This is especially the case considering that the pandemic will require stakeholder management and reasoning as to why certain decisions are taken and to who those decisions will benefit. Having noted these points of interest it will be interesting therefore to understand how planning navigates these aspects and works with different stakeholders in bringing about ideal cities.

2.2) Urban Planning: Planning for Social Wellbeing or Creating Social Injustices?

Planning has needed to adapt and facilitate transitional periods of change. Robert Fishman (1982) questions what the ideal city looks like and whether it expresses a certain amount of power, uses technology, or embraces social justice. Although this is what an ideal city could express, there is no knowledge of what it would or could look like. This is because most discussion on ideal cities is based on utopian thought. Therefore, utopian thought on cities and what they intend to achieve is important to understand as their ideas form the basis of how cities are designed. Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier were planning theorists who used the concept of utopia in their respective designs to depict what

an ideal city should look like. Each of their ideal cities was in response to addressing the industrial city and the health concerns it brought to those living in cities in Europe between 1760- 1840 (Burnete and Pilasluck, 2015).

The industrial revolution was a period in which factories consumed many raw materials to produce goods. In doing so, large amounts of waste were produced which impacted the environment (Burnete and Pilasluck, 2015). Although the revolution provided substantial economic growth, social and environmental wellbeing were hampered. The argument can be made that economic growth translates to better standards of living for those that are working and contributing to it; however, this is not always the case. The industrial revolution put a strain on families and their well-being. The working conditions and the inability of people working to take a break and look after themselves were the main reasons for this. This put a strain on family life and altered the way society behaved because of the increased consumption of alcohol and substances to cope with stress (De Vries, 1994). Urbanisation was constantly increasing as people were moving into cities for jobs however they were subjected to overcrowded cities as this urbanisation was not planned for.

Inadequate planning of cities led to overcrowding and the spread of diseases such as cholera and typhoid as there were no adequate waste management services (Burnete and Pilasluck, 2015). There was a need for better planning to create liveable cities that would benefit social, economic and environmental aspects simultaneously. As a result, each of the cities proposed by these proponents was based on utopian visions that would address the social, political, and economic challenges of those cities. This was because the industrial revolution presented challenges in these three aspects resulting in problematic relationships for those that lived in those cities (Hoch, 2016). The points raised are of particular importance with the research report being that it brings to question how CID practices will address the Covid-19 pandemic and whether will they be beneficial for those involved. This is especially the case as their practices may have to adapt and change to meet the demands of the pandemic. Each of the proponents believed that urban design and the distribution of wealth gained from the machine age were the underpinnings of an ideal city (Fisherman, 1982). An example of this is the Garden City Movement. It was a utopian city that aimed toward societies living harmoniously through nature (Howard, 1965). The movement prioritised planning control using road schemes, functional zoning methods, maximum densities, parameters in the design and quality of buildings and skilful planting and landscape garden design (Howard, 1965). The intention of focusing on planning control was to address the industrial city and its lack of

adequate planning. Introducing these measures enabled the opportunity for the development of better housing which would cater for urbanisation and prevent overcrowding and the challenges that come with it. To facilitate the development of the Garden City, architects, public health officials and social workers were essential (Erickson, 2012). The intention of having these professions involved in the development of the city was to promote organisation and structure. This was important for the city to address the ills of the industrial revolution which were unplanned cities, cleanliness of the environment and family wellbeing. By introducing these measures, the Garden City Movement sought to bring about better order and control to the development of cities. This is because the cities of the industrial revolution were unplanned which hence negatively impacted society despite the economic growth achieved. Fisherman (1983) states that "good planning creates social harmony which is achieved if there is genuine rationality and justice in the structure of society" (Fisherman, 28, 1983). This is what the Garden City sought to do by prioritising nature in the design of the city and by doing so, creating better living settlements. Le Corbusier highlights however that this would be difficult to achieve as society was in "an Age of Greed" (Fisherman, 28, 1983).

What does greed look like in a city? Greed can be identified by looking at the differences between those who have and do not have it. Between 1909 and 1910, the United States faced a societal progressive challenge. During this period, all cities in the country were required to have a plan that would address the economy, hygiene, and aesthetics (Peterson, 2009). To address these challenges, the McMillan Plan was developed. The challenges faced by the United States at the time drew parallels with the industrial revolution in Europe. The McMillan Plan, just like the Garden City Movement, was an attempt to address the challenges faced by cities.

The plan focussed on keeping the city clean and beautiful whilst addressing societal issues (Peterson, 2009). The plan was coined "City Beautiful" and intended to attract people who left the city into the suburbs and back into the city (Peterson, 125, 2009). Erickson (2012) notes however that during this period, urban planners were being used by city officials to divide cities. Cities were divided using beautiful spaces at the expense of the poor which would create racial inequalities. African American and immigrant populations were impacted because of this (Peterson, 2009 and Erikson, 2012). This is further highlighted by Caro (1974) who states that Robert Moses used urban planning in New York to bulldoze homes that belong to black and Latino residents which were to make way for parks. His planning methods also centred around identifying minority neighbourhoods that would be used as the

location for highways and doing this led to excessive noise and air pollution. Another method used by him was designing bridges on the parkways connecting New York City to beaches on Long Island to be too low for buses from the inner city to access the beaches (Caro, 1974). That meant longer travel times for people living on the outskirts of the city to access places of work and opportunity.

What has been identified is that utopian visions such as the Garden City and City Beautiful movements, which intended to address societal challenges, have been used as mechanisms to create inequalities and bring to question the role of planners and planning. The points raised above can be applied to the earlier discussion about rationality and power. City Beautiful intended to ensure social reform and clean cities. Despite its intended aims, what has come to the surface is that those that are in power (city officials and politicians) have used planning and planners to make beautiful spaces at the expense of others. The rationalisation behind separating people is based on stereotypes and connotations attached to specific racial groups. An example of this is the bubonic plague which led to the Sanitation Syndrome. Swanson (1977) discusses how infectious disease, and the use of public health were used as a social metaphor to develop racial attitudes by the British toward black South Africans. The bubonic plague, which was an infectious disease, was said to be carried only by black people in the Cape Colony. Connotations such as these resulted in black people being removed from urban areas and led to the development of racial-based zoning. This is further elaborated on by Parnell (1993) who indicates that black people were seen as the "native menace" and that the introduction of early-town planning regulations was used to develop segregated locations which controlled the urbanisation of black workers.

This brings to question what an ideal city is. As it was described by Dall'Orso (2017), ideal cities should take into consideration soft and hard factors in their creation. For this to be achieved, planning has an important role to play. Sandercock (2004) in her article "Towards a Planning Imagination for the 21st Century" it is highlighted that urban planning is a process which never ends and has the responsibility of managing society and the built environment (Sandercock, 2004). Given this task and taking into consideration the rapid rate of urbanisation and development of cities, this is not easy. This is especially the case as planning must deal with social realties which differ across many cities. As such, she refers to the term, "The Spirit of Haida Gwaii" which is a new urban condition in which difference, otherness, diversity, and plurality prevail. This is important to take into consideration,

especially amid the Covid-19 pandemic which has altered many living circumstances and presented different challenges to many in different cities across the world.

An ideal city should represent a substantive amount of human thought and endeavour (Windsor Liscombe, 2005). Taking into consideration the discussion about City Beautiful, it did present human thought and endeavour as it sought to address the challenges faced by cities. Albeit the case, the movement was used to separate people based on racial lines. Ideal cities should address challenges faced by those that live in them however the visions and plans used coupled with the motives of those in power bring to question whether everyone benefits. Lynch (1960) states that the urban landscape should be seen, remembered, and delighted in and this presents a specific design problem as to how to achieve this. In the case of ideal cities, the design problem should always be thought out and involve multiple stakeholders to address the city's challenges. The ideas generated about an ideal city should be towards addressing challenges faced and intended to affect substantive improvement in the daily social lives of individual citizens (Windsor Liscombe, 2005).

Developing an ideal city should also take into consideration, urban resilience, and disaster management planning. As it has been discussed, planning has had a fundamental role in shaping the development of cities however higher levels of strategic planning are required to support the design and zoning principles implemented. Meerow and Newell (2016) elaborate that we are in a "resilience renaissance" which talks to the fact as cities are experiencing increasing urbanisation trends questions arise as to how adapt cities are in addressing disasters. Given the diverse nature of cities, resilience is not a blanket solution that can be applied uniformly. It requires adequate planning and involvement of a diverse range of stakeholders to address their needs should any disaster happen. Taking into consideration CIDs and how they manage their spaces, what form of "urban resilience" will be required in their spaces to address the impacts of the covid-19 pandemic? Questions that may arise include "how does one then build a resilient CID". Although this question may be relevant, resilient urban systems require varying degrees of change such as incremental, transitional, or transformational changes in their urban resilience plans (Chelleri *et al*, 2015).

In the case of the CoJ, and with particular interest concerning the Covid-19 pandemic, work has been undertaken in the development of a coherent operational plan that will assist in the management of the city during the pandemic. The plan is enacted through the implementation

of different pieces of legislation[3]. It can be identified that it took a considerable amount of work to put a plan of this nature in place to mitigate the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. As such, the plan was the city's attempt to update its risk profile which would assist in the further development of risk reduction strategies. Furthermore, this allowed for the opportunity to build capacity, enhance stakeholder relations to mitigate economic risks and ensure business continuity. These are all pertinent aspects which require the involvement of CIDs.

It is of interest therefore to identify what role CIDs play in the development of ideal cities if they do at all. How do they work with relevant city authorities in developing the city whilst at the same time meeting the mandates of the businesses and properties they serve? Identifying this relationship through the literature review will give a base understanding of what will be required of CID management during the lockdown.

2.3) What Role Do CIDs Play in Developing the Ideal City?

Urban planning is important in shaping and controlling the development of cities. All cities are facing the challenge of underused and utilised spaces resulting in urban decay. Urban decay can be defined as spaces in the city that were once functional due to a variety of

[3] The different pieces of legislation used include Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, Act 108 of 1996, Disaster Management Amendment Act, Act 57 of 2002, as amended, Act 16 of 2015, Disaster Management Framework of 2005, City of Johannesburg Disaster Management Framework of 2006, 2019/20 City of Johannesburg Integrated Development, National Health Act, Act 61 of 2003, Occupational Health and Safety Act, Act 85 of 1993, Municipal Finance Management Act, Act 56 of 2003, Public Finance Management Act, Act 1 of 1999, Gatherings Act, Act 205 of 1993, Safety at Sports and Recreational Events Act, Act 2 of 2010, Fire Brigade Services Act, Act 99 of 1987, Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000, National Building Regulation and Building Standards Act, Act 103 of 1977, National Key Point Act, Act 102 of 1980, National Environmental Act, 107 of 1998, Basic Education Laws Amendment Act, 2015, Housing Act, Act 107 of 1997, Fundraising Act, Act 107 of 1978, Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, as amended in 1999 and 2000 and the Municipal Demarcation Act, Act 27 of 1998 (CoJ, 2021)

economic and social activities. As a result, these spaces in the city are not maintained leading to uncleanliness otherwise referred to as “crime and grime” (Amirtahmasebi *et al*, 2016). These types of areas bring a negative perception for those that live in the city and make it difficult for cities to attract businesses as it taints how the city is viewed and used. The role of CIDs will therefore be identified in this regard as to how they address these challenges. With CIDs offering complementary and supplementary services, it offers the opportunity for the development of glocal policy. This type of policy approach is focused on thinking about attracting global attention by addressing local issues (Guimarães, 2021**)**. By doing so, it assists cities in attracting businesses to their cities. This will give us a basic understanding of how they carry out their work and what this could mean during the pandemic.

The CID model originated in Canada before it was adopted in countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and South Africa. CIDs have been conceptualised in a manner enabling them to be incorporated into a country’s national legislation and urban planning practice (Guimarães, 2021**)**. The first CID that was developed in Toronto, Canada sought to enhance the city’s economic and cultural development (National Treasury, 2016). In New York City, the CID model adopted aspects of the Canadian model and the first CID was established in 1984. It has been found that countries that have stronger neoliberal approaches such as the USA and the UK that embrace private actors in urban revitalisation have had increased success with CID management. Success in this regard refers to how CIDs have contributed to the redevelopment of city spaces for businesses.

CIDs are a part of an urban regeneration process intended to address urban decay and enhance the quality of city spaces (Guimarães, 2021**)**. Urban regeneration intends to address urban problems by linking them to sustainability goals by promoting an integrated economic, social, and environmental vision (Amirtahmasebi *et al*, 2016). CIDs are structured as Public-Private-Partnerships with an entrepreneurial framing of urban management. The premise of urban management was developed to cater for improving cities and their contribution to the economy, improving society, and reducing poverty (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Bačlija (2011), who cites Rakodi (1991) and Davidson and Nientied (1991), goes on to state it is towards fostering efficient economic development in cities and their urban economy. The urban economy is dependent on its urban productivity which are activities that contribute to a city’s economy (James and Ward, 1994). Therefore, CIDs have the responsibility of imploring urban management toward cleaning and maintaining city spaces for businesses and the city at

large. Therefore, it can be said that CIDs to some extent play a role in developing the ideal city for those that enlist their services. This is because by addressing visible urban decay, they make spaces attractive for them which may attract more investment and economic opportunities (Keith *et al*, 2008).

CID management is a means to assist to help cities and businesses across the world address the decaying urban spaces which are a result of increasing urbanisation rates and a lack of institutional capacity in urban governments. These factors have led to the need for different societal and public goods (in this case, CIDs) to address matters of environmental degradation, poor infrastructure management and increasing societal challenges leading to crime and violence (Bačlija, 2011, Obeng-Odoom,2012, and Smit 2018). The CID model, therefore, offers a different form of urban governance that is retail-led urban regeneration. Retail-led is based on the premise that properties and businesses pay monies to CIDs to carry out daily urban management work on behalf of city governments. This is because city governments have created complex processes to address urban challenges through their governance processes. The World Bank indicates that governance is meant to provide efficient and effective service delivery that contributes to the advancement of competitive cities (World Bank, 2015). Kauffman and Kraay hence define governance as "how power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development" (Kauffman and Kraay, 5, 2007). Urban governance is difficult to carry out as it is between many actors who require their needs to be met. Furthermore, having noted the challenges of increasing urbanisation rates and institutional capacity, although urban governance is carried out it is not sufficient for specific groups. Therefore, where city governments have fallen short for businesses or the general maintenance of city spaces, CIDs have taken up the mantle of enhancing their spaces to their standard which contributes to their investment.



Figure 2: Cleaners working for a Business Improvement District (BID) in New York. Most critiques are levelled against CIDs for how they use this service to clean their spaces at the expense of the unfortunate Image is taken from https://www1.nyc.gov/site/sbs/neighborhoods/bids.page

There is a growing need for cities to be competitive. CIDs being implemented in cities are to not only manage and maintain spaces but to also contribute to the development of the city to make it attractive for more investment and development opportunities. A competitive city is therefore a city that creates an opportunity for businesses to provide jobs, increase productivity and increase the incomes of citizens (World Bank, 2015). The definition serves as another indication of CIDs and their reason for being. CIDs assist businesses and the city itself by not only making sure that the city is attractive but can also manage the urban space. This is because competitive cities experience an increase in urbanisation as people look for jobs as businesses move to these cities resulting in a demand for labour and subsequent labour opportunities. These are known as agglomeration economies (OECD, 2006). To enhance the competitiveness of cities, managerial governance approaches have been taken to provide an environment for CIDs to carry out their work. The approach is tailored toward enhancing the efficiency of public services and introduces an environment for private-sector management. Most urban governments are moving towards entrepreneurial governance requiring them to be competitive to attract investment and businesses to their cities. Osborne and Gaebler (1992), who are cited by Klijn (2012), indicate that businesses require certain products and services that can enhance their ability to grow and gain profits.

The products and services required are offered by CIDs as their management of the urban space through the provision of security and cleaning services enhance their property investment within the geographic area of the CID Klijn (20120. CIDs also offer them placemaking and city branding opportunities which may add to their business or city identity which further adds to their attractiveness. What can be identified is that CIDs play a crucial role in the development and maintenance of the city. This is especially the case as those that require their services need it as it contributes towards their further development. CIDs act on behalf of those that need them and in turn develop what is ideal for them. This is a very crucial aspect to understand as these forms the basis of CID management work and it will be of further interest to see if this changes during the lockdown.

CIDs are private actors acting on behalf of those that enlist their services to manage and maintain urban spaces. Having been defined as private actors, there have been insights offered into the role of non-profit organisations (such as CIDs) and being labelled as “private governments” (Mendel, 718, 2010). A private government can be defined as one that does not

partake in public matters which include policy and societal decision-making (Mendel,2010). CIDs have the responsibility of managing public space which will contribute to the enhancement of an area however they have been criticised for how they do it. It can be argued that the enhancement of these spaces addresses cities and their challenges of urban decay which hence contributes to the city and its competitiveness. Whilst that may be the case, others may argue that these spaces are for a select few who enlist the services of CIDs. Hoyt (2005), who is cited by Keith *et al* (2008), believes that CIDs have prevented the inclusion and the subsequent right to the city for residents in cities.

The reason for this standpoint is that it is believed that CIDs do not embody the beliefs of the right to the city as imagined by Lefebvre (Harvey, 2008). CIDs can be said to be an example of the commodification of the city in which their presence enables cleaner and safer spaces in the hope of attracting economic development. As such, they prevent citizens from being the main protagonists of the city which the right to the city strives for but instead, business is the focal point in the pursuit of capital. This is explained further by Rivlin-Nadler (2016) later in the literature review who discusses how CIDs have led to small businesses being forced to leave CID areas due to not being able to pay increase rates and taxes in New York City. Therefore, the right to the city considers the agency of those who interact with the city and its resources and their ability to make a change in the city. The example provided about New York City indicates that and therefore supports Keith *et al* (2008) that CIDs prevent those of lower financial status from the ability to make the change in the city that benefits them (Harvey, 2008). Considering how CIDs are viewed, they may be further seen as private governments acting on behalf of the few. To understand what a private government is, there must be a thorough analysis of what the consequences are of policies implemented and how they have either improved or exacerbated challenges specific areas are facing. Hoyt and Gopal-Agge (2007) discuss the main questions and debates surrounding CID management which include are BIDs democratic and accountable, do they create wealth-based inequalities in the delivery of public services, do they create spill over effects and do BIDs over-regulate public space (Hoyt and Gopal-Agge, 2007).

The questions asked are of importance taking into consideration what role CIDs will play during the lockdown and post-pandemic. This is the case as the questions posed are based on

their current practices and critiques. This could be subject to change as the lockdown may result in the need for them to change their urban management practices as there will be a need to address challenges that come with the pandemic. Hoyt (2005) believes that the questions raised require more research and evaluation to understand the consequences and "systematic impacts" of CIDs.

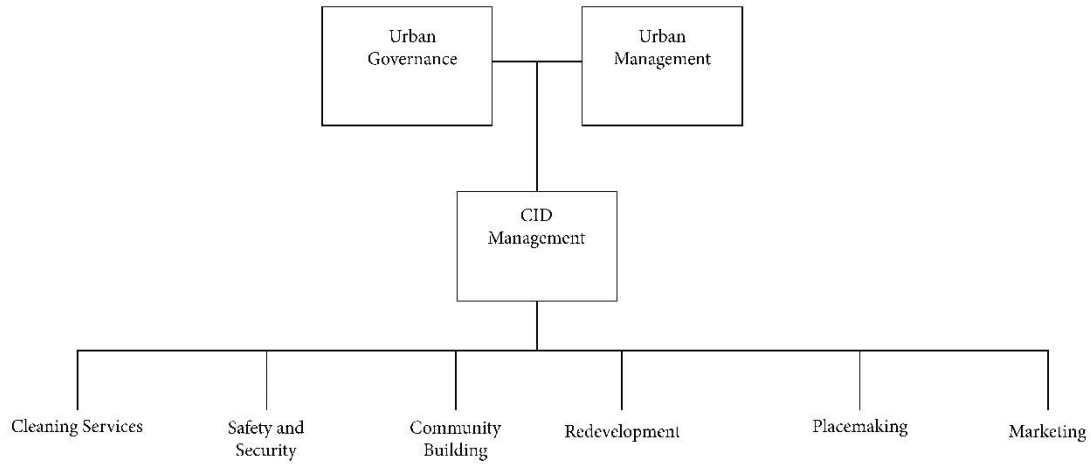


Figure 3: Depiction of how urban governance and urban management come together to birth CID Management. CIDs offer many options which make their services to businesses.

The systematic impacts referred to by Hoyt (2005) are because CIDs have been critiqued for the privatisation of public spaces. By privatising these public spaces, they have been labelled as private governments with the vision of creating a world-class city (Paasche, 2012). The creation of these visions has subsequently led to the labelling and application of criteria on groups of people entering spaces managed by CIDs. The labels and criteria otherwise known as "place branding" form a big part of the critiques of CID management as it noted that if do not fit the criteria, you are kicked out of the area (Paasche, 2012). The pursuit of being identified as a world-class city, as Miraftab (2007) indicates positions CIDs as being solely focussed on the interests of formal business, foreign investors, global tourism, and the national elite. This era's elite inclusion privileges consumer rights over citizen rights. As such it is further elaborated upon that CIDs in developing countries such as South Africa suppress collective memories, obliterating the capability to construct alternatives from within (Miraftab, 2007). What this means is that CIDs do not offer the opportunity to address historical injustices but rather use their pursuit of pristine spaces to "develop" the city.

In the case of CIDs in South Africa, labels and criteria are based on race and aesthetics which have been perpetrated by the influence of Apartheid which is what Miraftab (2007) refers to as the collective memories that are suppressed. This has resulted in a sense of fear of those that do not meet those criteria in which most cases are based on the colour of the person's skin. The labels and criteria are also attached to poor people who are excluded from these spaces. This is because if they beg in the area, they may put people off from coming into those spaces (Paasche, 2012).

The use of labels and criteria mentioned by Paasche (2012) resonates with what was discussed about the Sanitation Syndrome and how that was used by attaching stereotypes to people. It is important to take note of these stereotypes, especially during the period of the pandemic. This is because there have been instances on social media during this period where news agencies make headlines about Covid-19 but only use images of black people. Stereotypes such as these should be guarded and done against as people negate the difficulties of the pandemic.

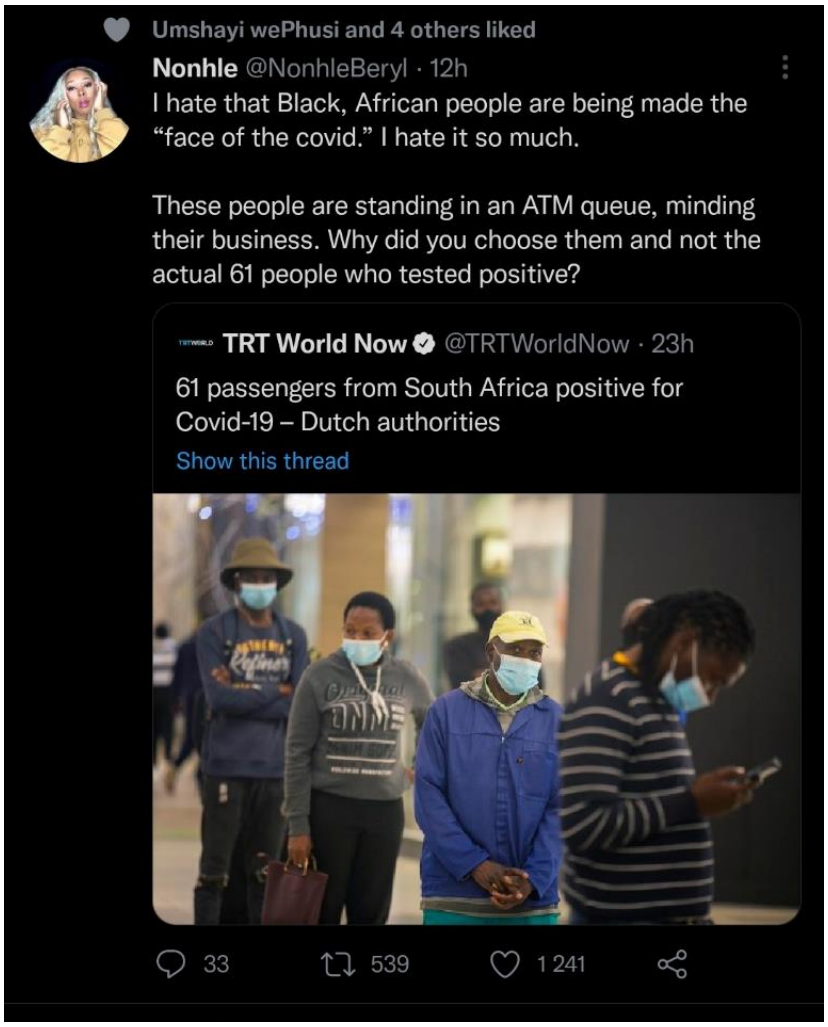


Figure 4: This is an indication that in most cases people of different racial backgrounds are attached to carrying Covid-19 which should be guarded against to Covid-19 capable cities. Image is taken from Twitter https://twitter.com/NonhleBeryl/status/1

CIDs and their exclusionary qualities are further discussed by Rivlin-Nadler (2016) who elaborates that CIDs have been responsible for increasing commercial rent prices.

In the case of Johannesburg, more specifically in Maboneng, it is no different. In an article written by Gwen Ansell (2021), details are given of how Maboneng can be described as a tale of two cities. In the article, Ansell (2021) profiles an artist who was a casualty of the rapid development and gentrification of the area. The title of the article "A tale of two cities" is a testament to the fact that the existing population surrounding the Maboneng area cannot afford the amenities of the area and as such labelling it an island but also brings to question "an island for who" (Ansell, 2021).

Although the boards of these CIDs consist of community members and small businesses, their input is frowned upon as they are not the majority. Those that are in majority are big businesses that are profit-driven with a focus on ensuring that the areas where their businesses are well maintained. This suggests that CIDs do not embrace collaborative efforts toward their development approaches. Rivlin-Nadler (2016) indicates that this trend is likely to continue in New York City as the city council increased the amount of funding for CIDs.

The funding going towards CIDs is to continue their urban management work in the city. This is because the city lacks the capacity in cleaning and maintain its spaces, hence the reliance on CIDs (Rivlin-Nadler, 2016). It has also been identified that in New York City that the city council has no control over commercial rent control (Rivlin-Madler, 2016). This stance prevents public authorities from having a say in the areas managed especially as people within the area may not be eligible to vote for the approval of a CID. This may further indicate that CIDs could be private governments acting on behalf of the few. This means that some groups of people within the CID may be situated in a void that concerns their representativeness. This brings to question who CIDs serve with most classifying them as private governments which brings new challenges for urban governance (Meltzer, 2012). Clarno (2013) states that the services offered by CIDs are a part of a broader effort by the city to decentralise service provision just as was mentioned by Rivlin-Nadler (2016) and New York City. Although they are acting on their mandate of providing these services, it is believed that they are of political significance (Guimarães, 2021). Political significance refers to policies that are designed pertaining to urban regeneration by city governments (Mendel, 2010). Taking into consideration the discussion raised by Rivlin-Nadler (2016) it could be said that the New York City government increased funding to the CIDs is a political act, especially being that the city cannot offer these services hence conferring them upon CIDs.

By decentralising service provision, Benit Gbaffou (2008) believes that this is how CIDs create space-based inequalities and believes that this is a cause for concern. This is because it enables the city to have an exclusionary attitude toward the urban regeneration policy developed by them without taking the blame for the actual activity happening on the ground (Benit Gbaffou, 2008). Activity happening on the ground includes private security and public authorities taking “zero tolerance” measures to bring about order within the CID (Benit Gbaffou, 1938, 2008). This is to ensure that there are no informal traders and poor people within the area. As such CIDs create character profiles that are based on prejudice and are exclusionary. This signifies the elements of the sanitation syndrome and the connotations

attached based on people are still present. Samara (2005) indicates because of the security services offered by CIDs; they turn public spaces into heavily policed enclaves. Peyroux (2008) elaborates that as a result, CIDs are responsible for enabling the disconnection of local issues from CIDs which is why they are seen as private islands that are not a part of the broader framework of analysis related to issues facing cities. Having noted the critiques levelled against CIDs it could be said that they are responsible for creating ideal cities for a select few. This is because CIDs are primarily focused on land improvement projects that include improving property values, focusing on addressing economic development over social issues, and the increased security presence preventing informal traders from using those spaces (Paasche, 2012).

Taking into consideration the questions raised by Hoyt and Gopal-Agge (2007) and the definition of private governments by Mendel (2010), how do CIDs promote inclusivity in their areas whilst at the same time promoting the interests of the businesses and the cities that they serve? Jha (2020) states that cities that have credible urban planning and governance networks that promote the development of livelihood strategies for the urban poor will achieve more in addressing urban poverty. Guimarães (2021) mentions that Spain and Portugal which promote the urban poor and strategies to address the challenges of the urban poor are utilising CIDs to address these challenges. In essence, CIDs that are developed and aligned with the country's overall vision, in this case addressing the urban poor, will address challenges facing the urban poor. This goes the same way for the United States and the United Kingdom which embrace neoliberal approaches and focus on creating suitable environments for businesses. CIDs will then focus their efforts on catering for businesses (Guimarães, 2021). What has been realised however is that there needs to be a balance in how these outcomes are achieved. It may be argued that because this is what has been mandated through the country and its policies, CIDs are doing their job according to that mandate.

Due to the mandates given to CIDs, Briffault (2010) believes that we should accept inequality in neighbourhoods as it cannot be addressed. He states that CIDs function better in areas that pay their taxes and that we should recognise them as business associations and not profit-generating community organisations or public institutions wielding public powers. He also mentions that these organisations may never adhere to the democratic values of inclusion and collaborative planning to meet the interests of all **(**Briffault, 2010). The sentiments can raise various arguments such as inequality should never be accepted; however, CIDs are not mandated to address inequality in neighbourhoods, which would be the role of government.

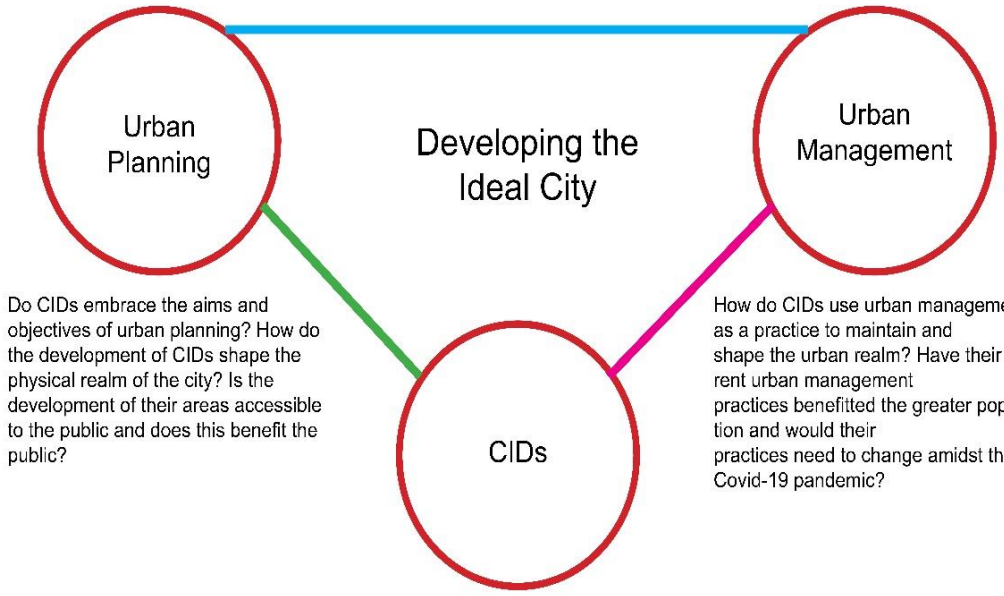
Essentially what should be made of these comments is that there must be a better understanding of exactly the role of CIDs in cities across the world. This is because the current pandemic may see its role change according to the challenges faced by its stakeholders.

CIDs do have the ability to reimagine spaces; however, the argument is that only a select few benefit. This is because they can create their own spaces which Benit Gbaffou (2008) labels as “islands of safety” (Benit Gbaffou, 2008). Although CIDs may be addressing issues of urban decay, these efforts are carried out in siloes creating disparities across the city. This resonates with the point of “what does greed in the city look like”. To address these connotations, city governments will have to take a more active role in regulating how CIDs carry out their urban management work. CIDs would also need to adopt more collaborative approaches between the private and public sectors to bring about better urban planning and management practices. This highlights why integrated interventions to address urban problems are necessary (Guimarães, 2021).

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2.4) Conceptual Framework

How does urban planning and management practice work with one another in shaping and developing the city? Are their current practices able to adapt to issues of crisis? Furthermore in this moment of crisis, can they enable broad participation in their processes to allow people give inputs on their challenegs to bring about solutions?



Do CIDs embrace the aims and objectives of urban planning? How do the development of CIDs shape the physical realm of the city? Is the development of their areas accessible to the public and does this benefit the public?

How do CIDs use urban management as a practice to maintain and shape the urban realm? Have their current urban management practices benefitted the greater population and would their practices need to change amidst the Covid-19 pandemic?

The literature review has attempted to highlight what an ideal city is and how it should be brought about. As it was defined, an ideal city should represent a substantive amount of human thought and endeavour (Windsor Liscombe, 2005). It is important to understand this as we are in a pandemic that has resulted in restrictions and the way space is used. Thoughts on how to help cities adapt to the current lockdown will require substantial human thought especially considering regulations that have come with the pandemic such as social distancing. How are these factors taken into consideration in the design of cities and how will they benefit all?

Taking into consideration how to adapt to the current lockdown, the main themes that are focussed on are our urban planning, urban management, and CIDs. This is because these themes each have a role to play in bringing about the ideal city. The relations between each of these aspects are important and discussed below.

The relationship between CID management and urban planning focuses on the role CIDs play in developing space. As noted, urban decay is a challenge that impacts cities and can be considered not ideal. Therefore, how CIDs transform spaces for cities and businesses is important. Furthermore, this brings into question what role CIDs will play in shaping city spaces during the pandemic. This is because the pandemic has brought to attention the need for better public spacing to meet the demands of social distancing.

The relationship between CID management and urban management focuses on how city spaces are managed. CID management intends to ensure that businesses and city spaces have well-maintained public spaces that enhance their value. Addressing the critiques levelled against CID management is important to address as they have been labelled as private governments acting on behalf of a self-few. This is especially the case as connotations, including aspects of the Sanitation Syndrome, have been applied to people which has prevented them from using urban spaces. The intention of highlighting this is because the Covid-19 virus should not be attached to a specific group of people to prevent them from using urban spaces.

The relationship between urban management and urban planning focuses on how both practices shape the development of the city. Urban planning contributes towards shaping and controlling the development of the city whilst urban management assists city governments in addressing service delivery concerns. These two elements by and large do influence how CIDs practice their work. As a result, the pandemic has brought to question how CIDs use

these two aspects in shaping and maintaining city spaces and would their original practices have to change.

2.5) Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to highlight what an ideal city is and how it is developed. Urban planning has been central to the development of cities. The chapter highlights various aspects which shape urban planning and how that determines the visions of intended cities. The visions and plans proposed are an attempt at creating an ideal city that benefits all. What was identified is that those that are in power in most instances use these visions and invert what they were intended to achieve by separating people based on connotations attached to them. In essence, therefore, the role of power cannot be ignored as it influences how cities are developed and who benefits from such. In most cases, it has resulted in glaring disparities which hamper society.

Therefore, creating an ideal city requires multiple stakeholder negotiations and the will to act. What has been highlighted is that CIDs do act on behalf of cities and businesses to address urban decay. In doing so it contributes to the attractiveness of the city prompting the investment opportunity. However, how CIDs have brought about development has been critiqued and offers the need for much deliberation. This is especially the case as the research reports attempt to understand whether the lockdown will change any CID management practices. Furthermore, what would be their role in developing the ideal city that is Covid-19 capable

The conceptual framework has depicted how urban planning, urban management, and CIDs work with one another hence bringing about the ideal city. This has been done by understanding how each of these elements works with one another and how those individual relationships determine the development of the ideal city.

The next chapter of the research report focuses on CID management in South Africa and the mechanisms that enable the practice. Further insight will be provided on the City of Johannesburg as this is the site where research was carried out

Chapter 3:

The Context of CID Management in South Africa and the CoJ.

3.1) Introduction

The chapter examines the context of CID management in South Africa and provides an understanding of how it is practised in the country. The chapter outlines the current legislative footing of CID management in the country and how municipalities enact CID legislation. The current legislative footing of CID management in Gauteng will also be discussed as to what the revoking of the Gauteng City Improvement District Act of 1997 means for CIDs in Johannesburg. This is because CIDs in the CoJ are currently under voluntary status raising concerns over their sustainability. Concerns would be further highlighted due to the current covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown and hence attention will be made as to what trends are occurring during this period and how this may determine CID management post the Covid-19 pandemic. By doing so, the chapter hence provides an opportunity to understand what CID management is in South Africa and this framing will provide much better insights as to how the lockdown will shape CID management in the country and Johannesburg. This is especially the fact that there is an impending by-law that is set to be implemented in Johannesburg bringing to question what CID management will look like post-lockdown.

3.2) CID Management: The Case of South African Cities.

Municipalities in South Africa have the responsibility of addressing inequalities caused by Apartheid. These responsibilities are found in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Municipal Systems Act (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 and Municipal Systems Act no 32, 2000). These pieces of legislation provide guidelines as to how municipalities are meant to function and what their mandates are. The main mandates of municipalities are to develop strategies on how they are going to provide basic service delivery. These strategies include Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs). Municipalities especially metropolitan municipalities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and eThekwini are required to base their urban policies and strategies on the objectives of the national and provincial governments (Didier *et al*, 2012). Despite these functions being bestowed upon them, municipalities have struggled to carry out service delivery. This is a result of previous Apartheid spatial planning which has caused urban segregation and social inequality due to the lack of basic service provision to

black South Africans. Local governments are required to address these challenges putting them under pressure to address unemployment, income and spatial inequality which have caused glaring social divides (Pieterse, 2019).

Whilst cities have been identified as effective drivers for local, provincial, and national development, this approach coincides with a strong drive towards urban management in the country. The National Department of Treasury has been instrumental in the development of the City Support Programme (CSP) and the Urban Management Districts Review of Current Status and Enabling Framework (which was produced in 2016) indicating the importance of urban management. The Urban Management Districts Review of Current Status and Enabling Framework discusses at length management districts and the role that they play in the country's cities. National Treasury believes that these areas merge urban development and management which contribute to the improvement in the value of an area. CIDs are a tool that offers the opportunity to reimagine derelict spaces in South African cities. The ability to reimagine these spaces is a part of a broader framework to make South African cities attractive for investment and provide suitable economic environments to compete in the global market. By doing so, the reimagination of these spaces is tailored toward attracting businesses to cities and offering the opportunity to develop. In essence, it could be said that the ideal South African city should be able to create an environment for businesses and therefore the role of CIDs in this is vital to understand. To do so there has to be an understanding of the legislative framework of CID management in South Africa.

CIDs in South Africa have had to operate without an existing national policy framework for urban management tailored towards CID management. Municipalities across the country have used different legal avenues in creating legislation to enable CID management. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa read with the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 are key in this process. They provide a framework that enables the determination of valuing property which is identified in section 229 (2)(b) of the Constitution (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). All CIDs should be established under the Companies Act No.71 of 2008 under Section 21 of the act that determines the structure of a CID as a "not-for-profit company" (National Treasury, 2016). Being classified as a "not-for-profit" company means that CIDs should elect a board and executive committee that are responsible for appointing a CID management company (Kagiso Urban Management, 2006). Additional legislation that also

plays a role in developing CID management in the country includes the Local Government Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998, the Municipal Finance System Management Act No 58 of 2003 and the Municipal Fiscal Powers and Functions Act 12 of 2007 (National Treasury, 2016).

CIDs can be developed through these different legislative routes and as a result, the following types of legislated management districts exist. The first is a Special Rating Area (SRA) which is enacted through the Municipal Properties Rates Act of 2004 (National Treasury, 2016). Municipalities that have undertaken this avenue include the City of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and eThekwini. The second avenue is through a local by-law. The municipality of Mbombela has created a by-law for CIDs to operate (National Treasury, 2016). The last is voluntary establishments which are found in Gauteng.

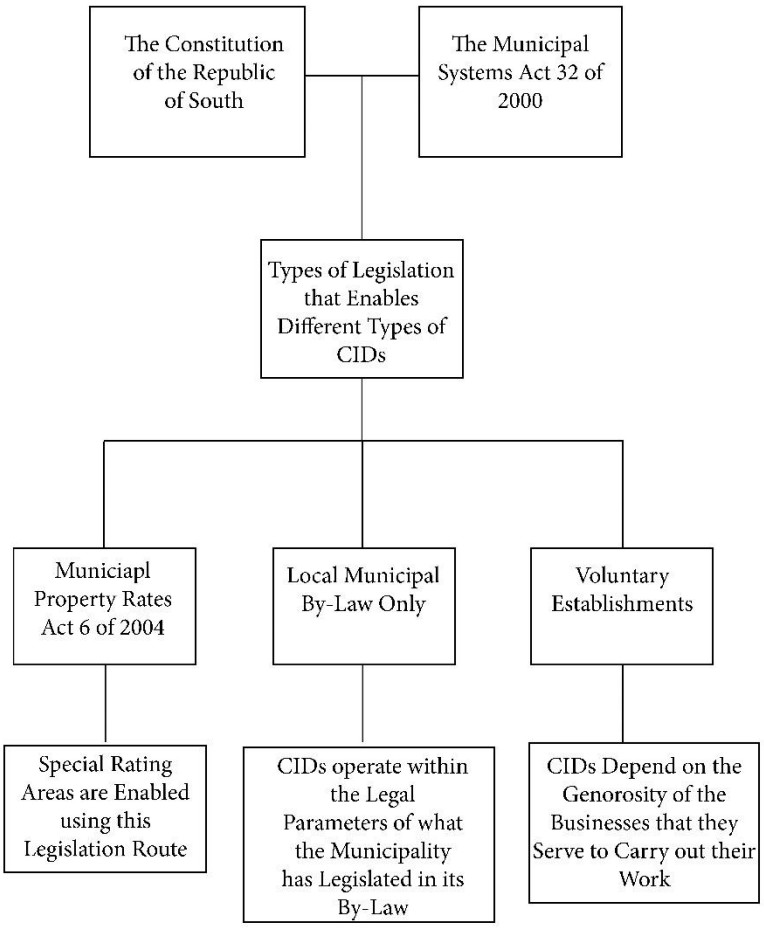


Figure 5: Legal framework that shapes CID management in South Africa. There are many avenues that a municipality may take in enabling CID management

In a presentation compiled by Kagiso Urban Management, a diverse picture of what CID management looks like in South African cities was provided. It was stated that CIDs in South Africa must change mandates which have also been identified in cities in the SACN reports. The overarching mandate that CIDs in South Africa have is to create an exceptional sense of place using two CID management styles which are improvement districts which are meant to address crime and grime and management districts which are tasked with place marketing (Kagiso Urban Management, 2006). The two types of management styles are adaptable and can be applied to commercial districts that are tailored toward businesses, retail districts which are tailored towards stores and vendors on the street, industrial districts which are tailored towards light industrial businesses and residential districts which are tailored towards improving inner city experience (Kagiso Urban Management, 2006).

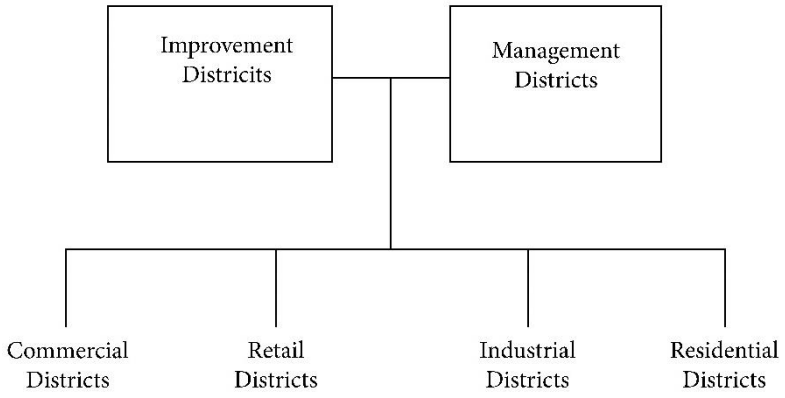


Figure 6: CIDs are either characterised as improvement or management districts and within those parameters, they are responsible for making sure that certain land use areas are taken care of and serviced

The adoption of CID management was a means of providing local-level urban management which was welcomed to relieve pressure off cities. This is because municipalities have struggled to provide basic services and work towards the eradication of Apartheid spatial planning which has put massive strains on city budgets. It was identified post-Apartheid that, the city of Johannesburg and Cape Town experienced significant decreases in their tax revenue collection resulting in constrained budgets hampering service delivery. Maharaj (2002) elaborates that this was a result of the transformation process undergone (the Municipal Systems Act) by the country which resulted in the fragmentation and duplication

of government systems. The fragmentation and duplication have resulted in the current billing crisis[4] in metropolitan municipalities hampering revenue collection. Without sufficient revenue and the need to prioritise municipal budgets towards townships to improve infrastructure, budget cuts followed which led to a decrease in property taxes and other fees. This meant that municipalities would need to find new ways to finance themselves (Maharaj, 2002). CIDs offered relief as they were able to renew and upgrade city spaces without requiring money from municipalities (Didier *et al*, 2012). Didier *et al* (2012) go on to say that this gave rise to the "technopoliticians" which refers to the new age of collaboration and partnership between private and state actors. This led to the development of new governance arrangements in which CIDs were and remain crucial. They provide a basic form of urban governance by forming credible relationships with their respective municipalities and providing their inputs for the development of IDPs and SDFs.

[4] The crisis had started when new municipalities were formed because of the implementation of the Municipal Systems Act. To accommodate this change, the revenue collection software was upgraded to streamline operations however the process collapsed, resulting in glitches in its rollout (Fourie, 2017). The glitches have resulted have in many problems for residents in the CoJ. In an article written by Mkentane (2020) for Business Day, it was documented that a resident was required an R77 000 bill because of the long-standing billing crisis in the city.

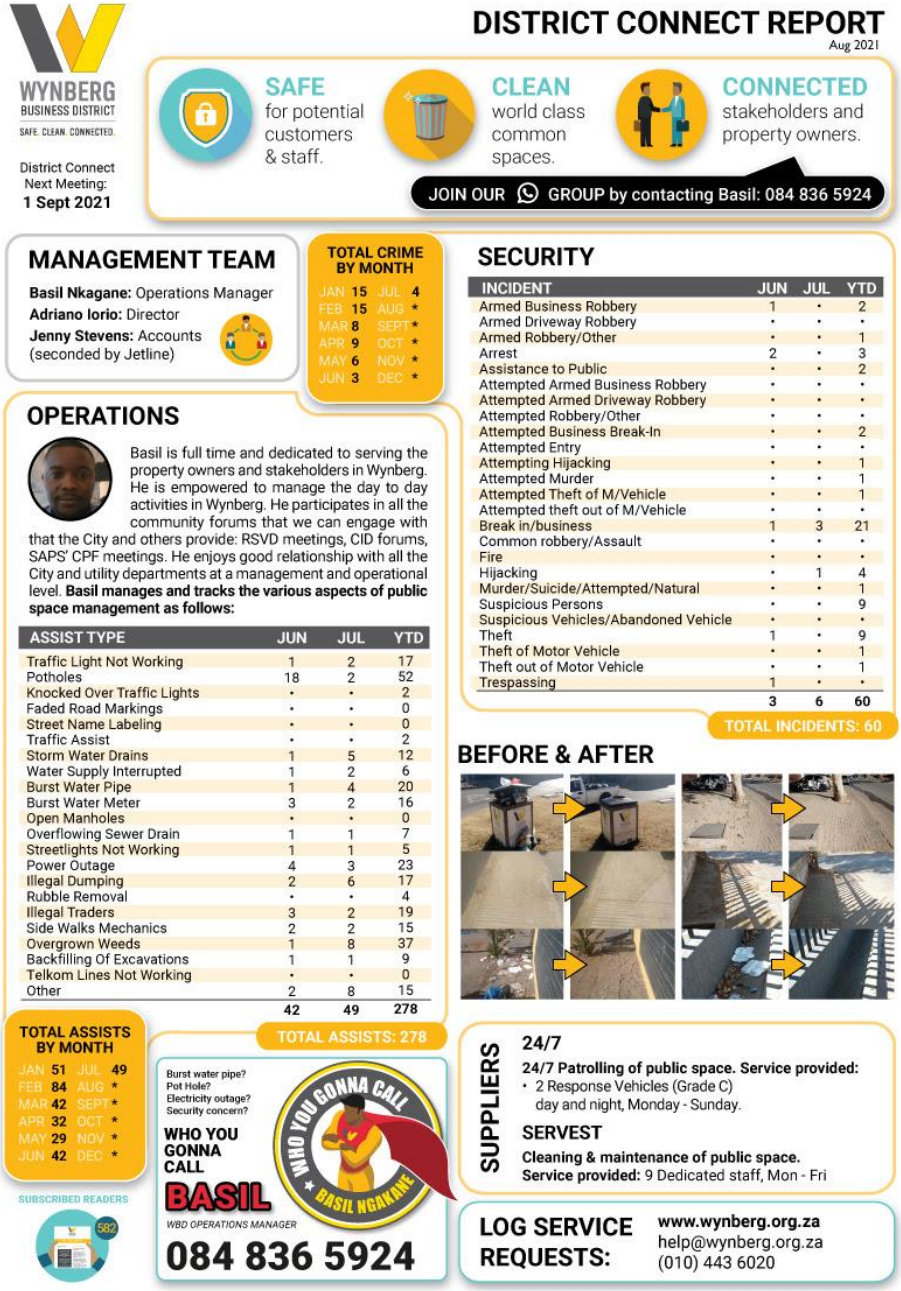


Figure 7: This is a depiction of the work that CIDs offer their respective areas. They go above their mandate offering basic service delivery, aspects which should be carried out by the city. Image is taken from Wynberg Business District monthly newsletter from August 2021

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have required urban governments to possess adequate powers and financial capacity to achieve the 17 SDGs (Pieterse, 2019). In the case of African cities, specifically South African ones, matters surrounding urban governance and the provision of service delivery coupled with increasing urbanisation rates are a cause for concern. Having mentioned this, CIDs play a vital role in assisting municipalities to achieve their mandates through collaboration. By doing so, their partnership allows them to develop city spaces for the benefit of businesses and create safe, liveable spaces for residents of the city. Much attention will now be paid to Gauteng and what this means for CID management more specifically in Johannesburg.

3.3) CID Management: The Case of Gauteng and its Municipalities

CID management in Gauteng was developed through the Gauteng CID (GCID) Act of 1997. The act was the first of its kind as it set the precedent as to how CIDs would operate in the province (National Treasury, 2016). The legislation gave CIDs in Gauteng the ability to enact their responsibilities however this was subject to change due to the Randburg Management District v West Dunes Properties (451 of 2013) [2015] ZASCA 135 (30 September 2015)[5]. The result of the case put CIDs in legislative limbo as the City of Johannesburg asked CIDs to become Voluntary Improvement Districts (VIDs). VIDs have no standing or legislative backing and are dependent on the goodwill and consistency of their constituent property owners to remain viable. This poses serious risks to their sustainability (National Treasury, 2016). The Johannesburg CID forum has taken active steps to address this challenge by asking the City of Johannesburg to create new CID legislation (CID Forum, 2020). This gives CIDs in Johannesburg the opportunity to start on a new slate with a new policy and legislation that may safeguard their work.

[5] Local government – formation of a city improvement district under the Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act 12 of 1997 – municipal council may not delegate authority to approve a city improvement district to mayoral committee by reason of s 59(2) of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 read with s 160(2)(*c*) of the Constitution – levies imposed by a city improvement district not validly formed not recoverable – such levies in any event offending s 229 of the Constitution as imposed by provincial and not national legislation (Supreme Court of Appeal, 2015).

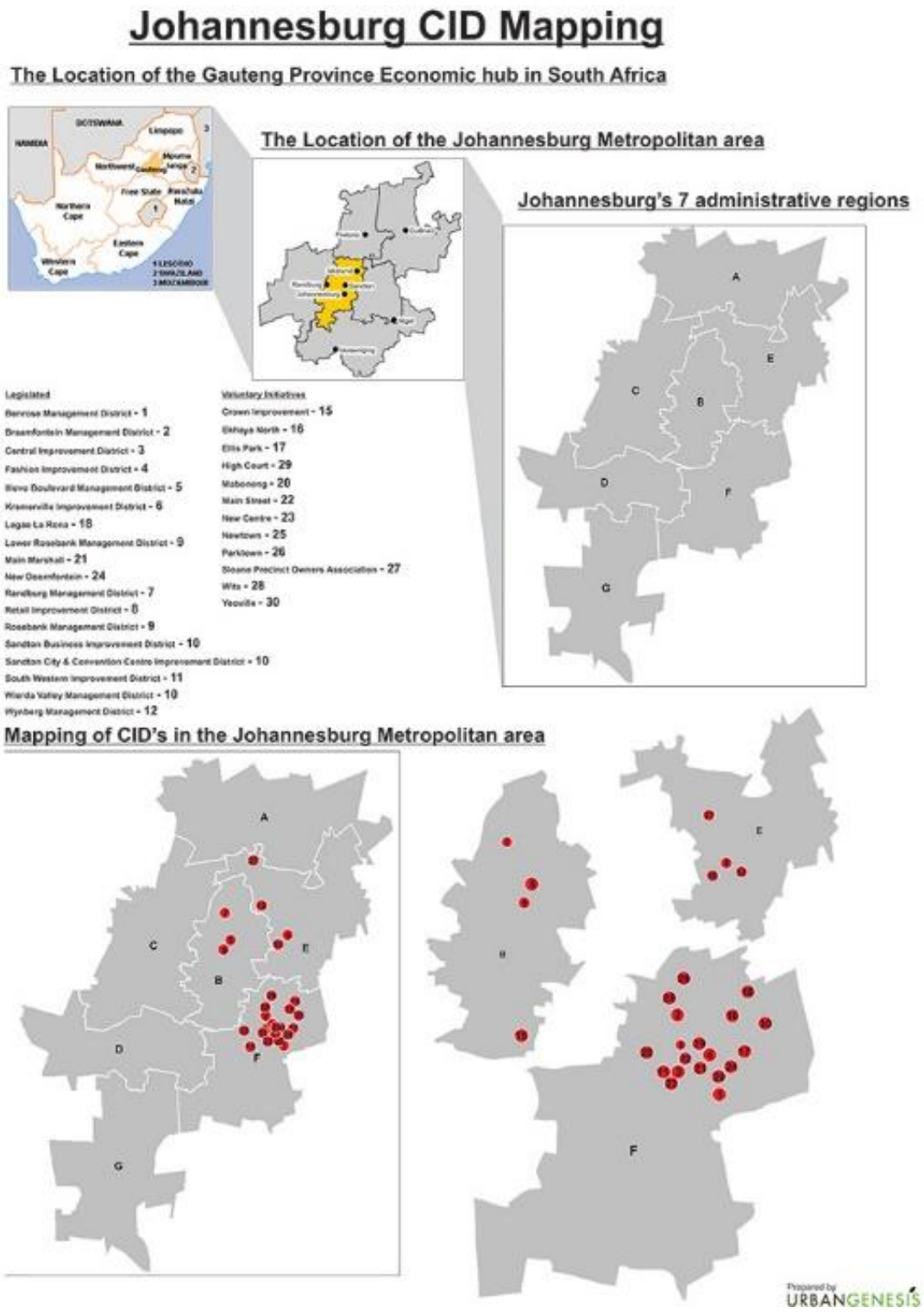


Figure 8: Depiction of the presence of CIDs in the City of Johannesburg and where they are located. Image is taken from https://www.cidforum.co.za/maps/

The CoJ is developing legislation in line with the Municipal Property Rates Act and by doing so will enact the Special Rating Area (SRA) by-law. This is the same by-law that is being used in the City of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and eThekwini. The difference between the SRA by-law and the GCID Act is that it offers property owners, by agreement, the opportunity to pay an additional property rate whilst the GCID act just required properties to pay rates and taxes to CIDs (CID Forum, 2020). The SRA by-law would mean that rates and taxes will be collected by the CoJ and require CIDs to enter a financial arrangement with the city. Currently, the City of Johannesburg has approved the Special Ratings Area by-law and created a task team to "relook" into CIDs however this process has been stalled because of Covid-19 (Phalatse, 2021).

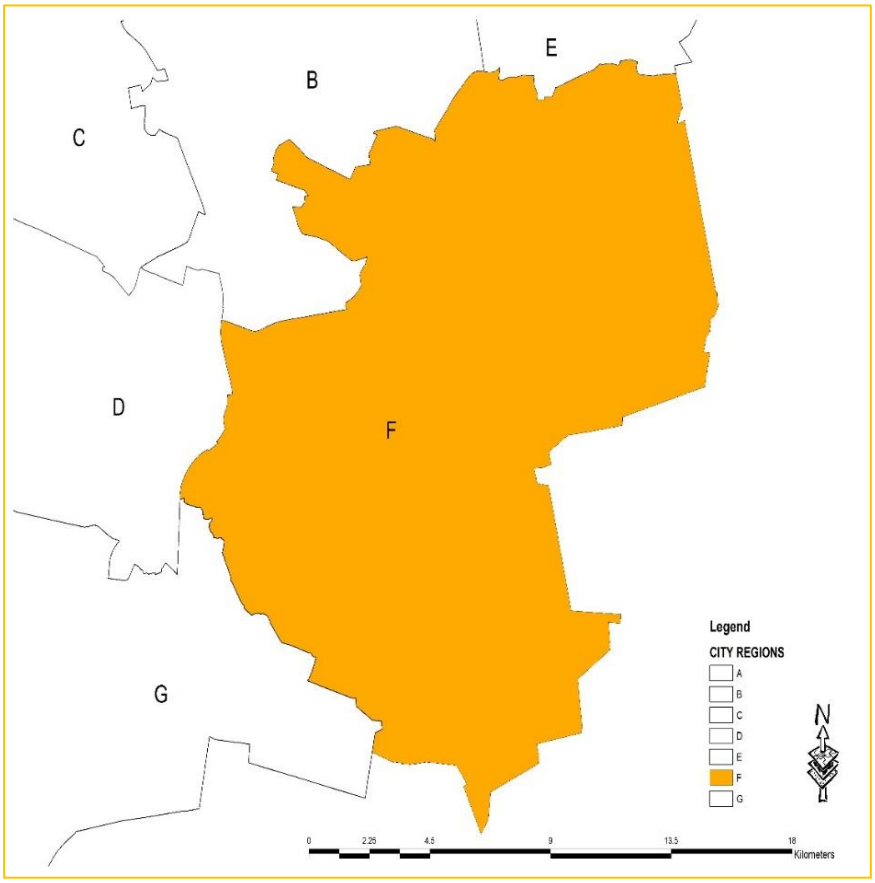


Figure 9: The Johannesburg Inner City is in Region F of the CoJ. Image is taken from CRUM presentation to Wits urban management students (2021).

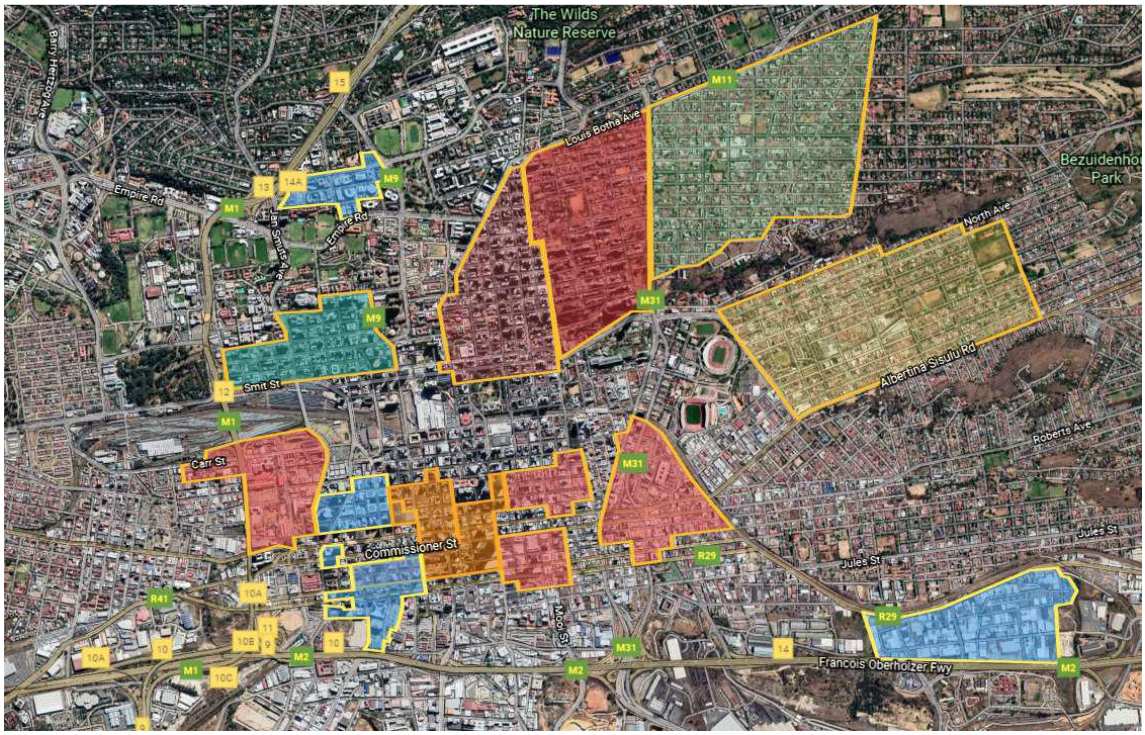


Figure 10: CIDs in the Johannesburg inner city. Image is taken from CID Forum presentation to CRUM (2020)

The SRA by-law would mean three things for CIDs in Johannesburg. Firstly, a financial agreement between the SRA and the CoJ will result in the city needing to pay over an agreed amount of money to the SRA monthly, regardless of whether they collect the money. This means, that to manage their debts, the city will require the SRA to have paid 95% of its rates and taxes for its established SRA. The SRA will be required to submit its establishment applications within the CoJ budgeting timeframe as the SRA has to be included in the city's budget planning process. Secondly, should the SRA have a significant presence of state-owned property it is advised that it should not be established as in terms of the current rates policy, not all state-owned property is rateable meaning that the SRA will not be financially viable. Lastly, in terms of the MPRA, sectional title owners will each have one vote when establishing the SRA. This will make it extremely difficult for many areas to receive the required 50%+1 "Yes" vote (CID forum, 2020).

The SRA by-law presents an avenue for CIDs to gather revenue and further support their work. What cannot be ignored is the CoJ and its billing crisis especially if they are to collect revenue on behalf of CIDs. This in hindsight could have an impact on the SRA by-law as the crisis has resulted in sharply higher property revaluations for different parts of the city. This

is a problem because higher values for real estate determine the rates a property owner must pay (Mkentane, 2020). This would mean that should property owners within an SRA not be happy with the rates that need to be paid to the city, it could pose a challenge to the SRA in collecting its monies owned. Over and above this the SRA by-law may be beneficial in some areas and not in other areas. This is because the by-law requires properties within the CID to have paid 95% of their rates and taxes. This is a challenge because most properties within the inner city have little to no history of rate collection. This may pose a firm debate between CID managers on the forum on the best approach to adopting this by-law.

Taking into consideration the revoked GCID Act of 1997 it further brings into question what role the CoJ does, most notably planners, have in affecting change in cities and mostly CIDs. The GCID Act provided the opportunity for city officials to sit on the board of CIDs which enhance and allowed them to provide opinions and assist CIDs with service delivery concerns. Given that this is not the case anymore, CIDs must rely on themselves in making decisions for their areas. this however should not be taken with the assumption that CIDs can do whatever they want in their spaces without city approval. To further promote development in the CoJ, the city has implemented the nodal review system[6]. With this system, the city has implemented specific development controls and practices across the city which all should adhere to. With this in place, depending on what node CIDs fall in, they may have little to no say in how spaces within their precinct boundaries are developed as developers who develop within the city guidelines will be favoured according to what the city seeks to achieve.

[6] The Nodal Review is enacted terms of section 20 (3) Of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (no. 16 f 2013). The review replaces the Regional Spatial Development Framework and hence offers a new method in identifying 'transect' or 'development zone' approach which is an evolution of the nodal strategy. It further indicates the development guidelines that should be applied in each of the development zones of the city.

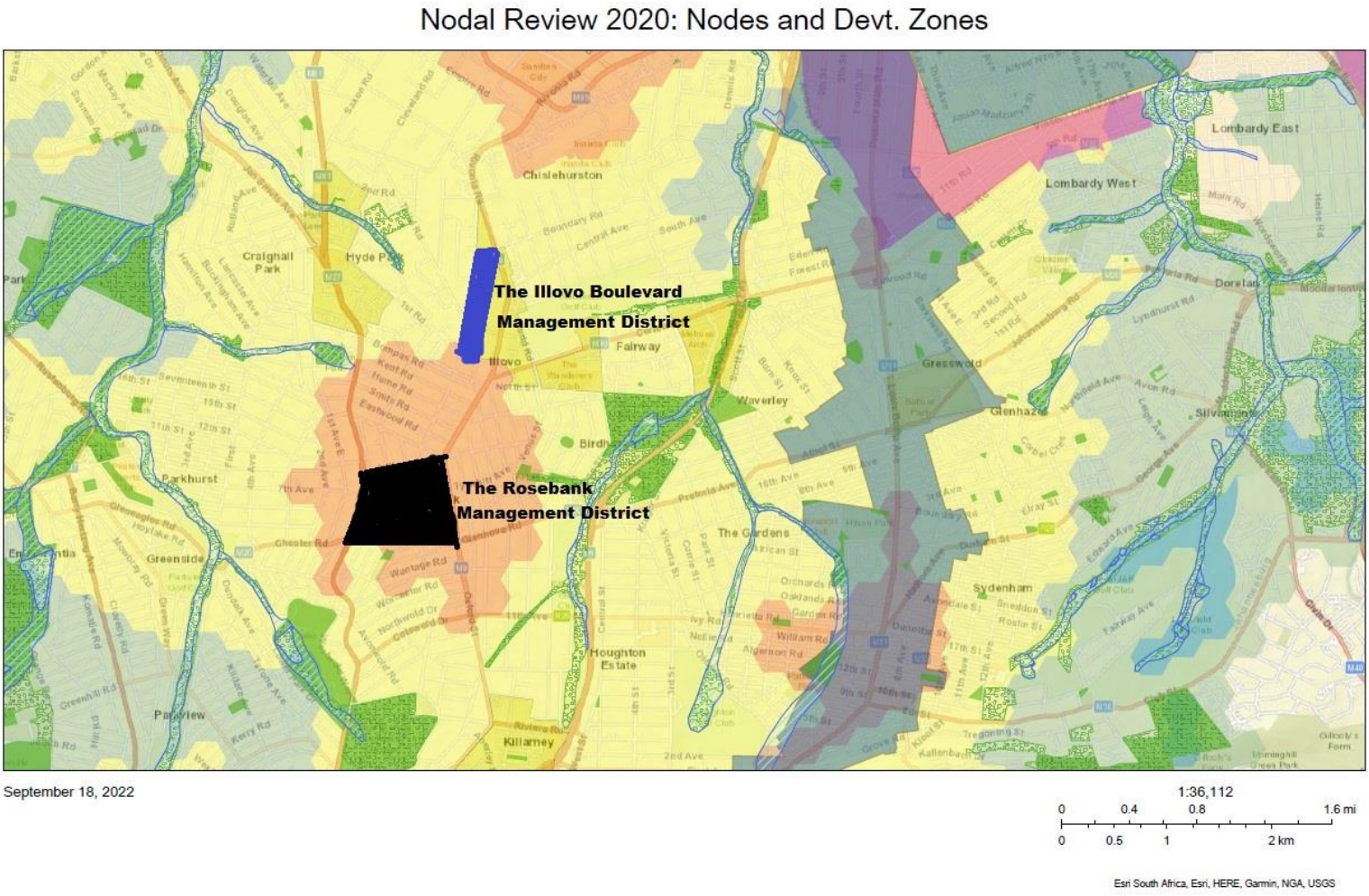


Figure 11: this is an example of what the nodal review looks encompasses. Areas that are zoned as red are metropolitan nodes and areas in yellow are regional nodes. The Rosebank Management District and Illovo Boulevard are highlighted as they fall under metropolitan and regional nodes respectfully. Taking this into consideration, different nodes present different development opportunities in those areas according to the city's guidelines. Hence, in these cases, CIDs such as Illovo and Rosebank may not always have a say as to how their spaces are imagined and may have to resort to objections to prevent specific developments which do not align to the CIDs objectives to protect the interests of their contributing members.

The Nodal Review provides insight that the city and planners can affect specific changes within improvement districts. To ensure that happens seamlessly, however, it will require CIDs and the CoJ to work with one another to create spaces that benefit everyone and in hindsight create ideal cities. As was discussed in the literature review, soft and hard factors should be focused on and be met with consensus to ensure city spaces benefit everyone.

3.4) Conclusion

It has been identified that CID management in the country is developing. Where they have been established, they do have working relationships with the municipalities and are key to service delivery. Nonetheless what is of concern is the general legislative standing of CID management in the country as there is no urban management policy framework guiding how they should be implemented. This is further identified with the GCID, and the legislative limbo faced by CIDs in the CoJ.

Taking into consideration the legislation of CID management in the country more specifically in Johannesburg, it brings to question what CID management would look like during the pandemic. Will the lockdowns and their restrictions on people working from home add another strain on CID management? This is because properties may not see the value of CID management. After all, them not using the spaces cleaned and maintained by CIDs could result in properties stopping to pay. This is because the revoking of the GCID Act resulted in CIDs becoming voluntary establishments bringing to question whether CIDs will survive the impacts brought by the pandemic and lockdowns. The research report considers these aspects, and this is identified in chapter 4 which highlights the identified participants who are each involved in these elements with the findings being discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Research Methods

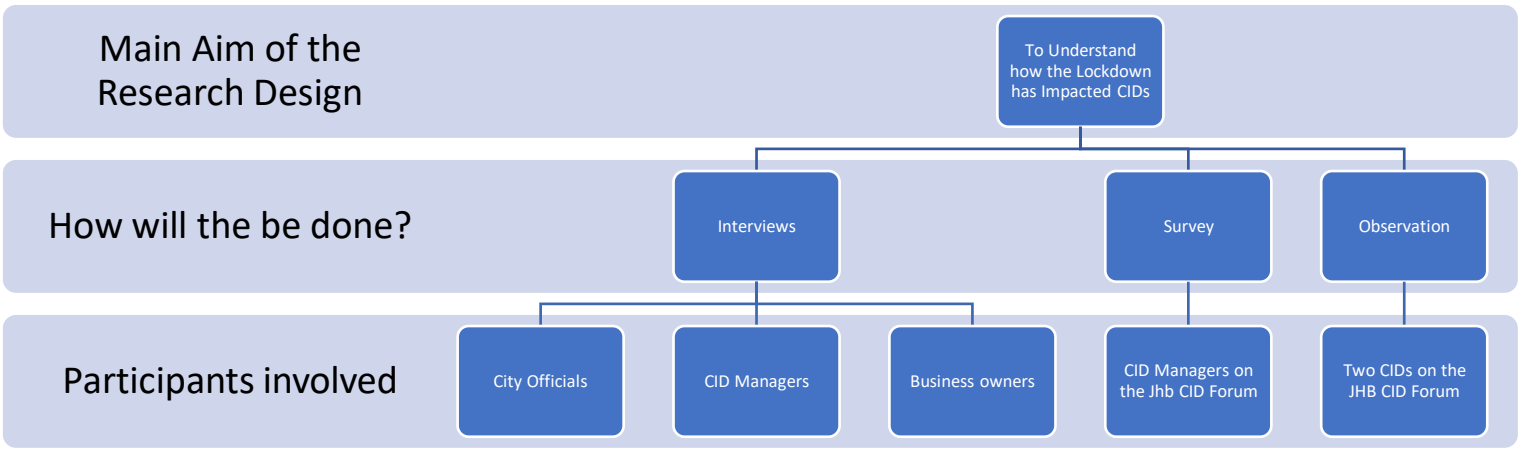
How Did I Find Out About CID Management During the Pandemic?

4.1) Introduction

This chapter describes the research process that was carried out and the methods used. This research report shows that covid-19 has brought challenges but also a need to rethink space bringing into question CID management and its practices. To understand the topic at hand the chapter will outline how the research process was carried out and what methods were used. These methods include the use of interviews, a survey and participant observation. Identified participants included CID managers and city officials who work with CIDs in Johannesburg. These identified methods were found to be the best way to get an understanding of the challenges that Covid-19 presented to CIDs and what the current legislative challenge facing CIDs in Johannesburg may mean for them, especially after the lockdown.

4.2) Research Design

The research design was based on using a qualitative approach to find out how CID management would be impacted because of the lockdown. Qualitative research is identified as the most applicable form of research methodology as it offers the opportunity to focus on the identified problem and work towards understanding it (Elliot, 2005). In the case of the research report, the underlying problem identified is the legislative challenges faced by CIDs in the CoJ and hence would the lockdown compound those challenges and cast a further impact on their sustainability and their urban management practices? For this to be achieved the research design used a combination of research methods which were interviews, participant observation at two improvement districts and a survey distributed to CID managers. This was to understand how CIDs had operated during the lockdown and how it impacted their urban management practices. This was achieved by focusing on the GPMA, CIDs, the Inner-City Office, and Citizen Relation Urban Management.


Main Aim of the Research Design
To Understand how the Lockdown has Impacted CIDs
How will the be done?
Interviews
Survey
Observation
Participants involved
City Officials
CID Managers
Business owners
CID Managers on the Jhb CID Forum
Two CIDs on the JHB CID Forum

4.2.1) Interviews:

Richards (1996) indicates that interviews are an important part of qualitative research. Interviews provide a great source of information and provide personal experiences which are not recorded elsewhere. Groups that were identified for the research report were CID managers, a member of the Gauteng Precinct Management Association and city officials working at the Citizen Relation Urban Management (CRUM) and the Inner-City office. The identified CID managers represent the Sandton Central Improvement District (SCID), Braamfontein Improvement District (BID), Urban Space Management (USM) and Ekhaya Neighbourhood.

The intention behind interviewing the mentioned participants was because they offered the opportunity to provide much-needed background information regarding how urban management occurred before the lockdown, the challenges faced and how they are currently adapting to the challenges of the lockdown. By doing so it offered a holistic perspective and understanding of CID management (Richards, 1996). This is especially the case as these groups of people work with one another in carrying out urban management work in the CoJ.

The interview period for research took place between September – October 2021. This offered me enough time to transcribe interviews held and go back to participants to ask any follow-up questions. Due to the restrictions of the lockdown in South Africa, interviews were carried out on the online platforms Zoom and Microsoft teams and were recorded with the permission of the interviewees to ensure that when the findings are documented, the information relayed will be accurately documented.

My interview with the GPMA offered insight into the association and how it intends to increase the impact of the CID forum. Whilst drafting the research report, the JICP, which is responsible for the establishment of the Johannesburg CID Forum, established the GPMA. It is a non-profit company and will function and offer the same services as the Johannesburg CID Forum. The interview offered an overall picture of CID management in the CoJ and gave a holistic view of factors that influence CID management in the CoJ. My interviewee, who has extensive knowledge of CID management, is a part of the GPMA and is responsible for bringing all CIDs together and channelling communication to and from the city concerning matters facing CIDs

For my interviews with the CID managers, I intended on focusing on different areas throughout the city. The reason for this decision is that not all areas in the city are the same. This was to get a better understanding of how these improvement districts address the challenges they are met with and how they work with the CoJ and relevant city departments. This was achieved by asking questions about how they practised urban management before the lockdown and whether their urban management practices changed because of the lockdown. Questions raised to the CID managers also focus on their thoughts about the SRA by-law and whether it would be beneficial for their improvement districts post-lockdown. These questions were raised because of the current legislative limbo that improvement districts find themselves in.



Figure 12: Demarcation of SCID. Image provided to me by SCID manager (2021)

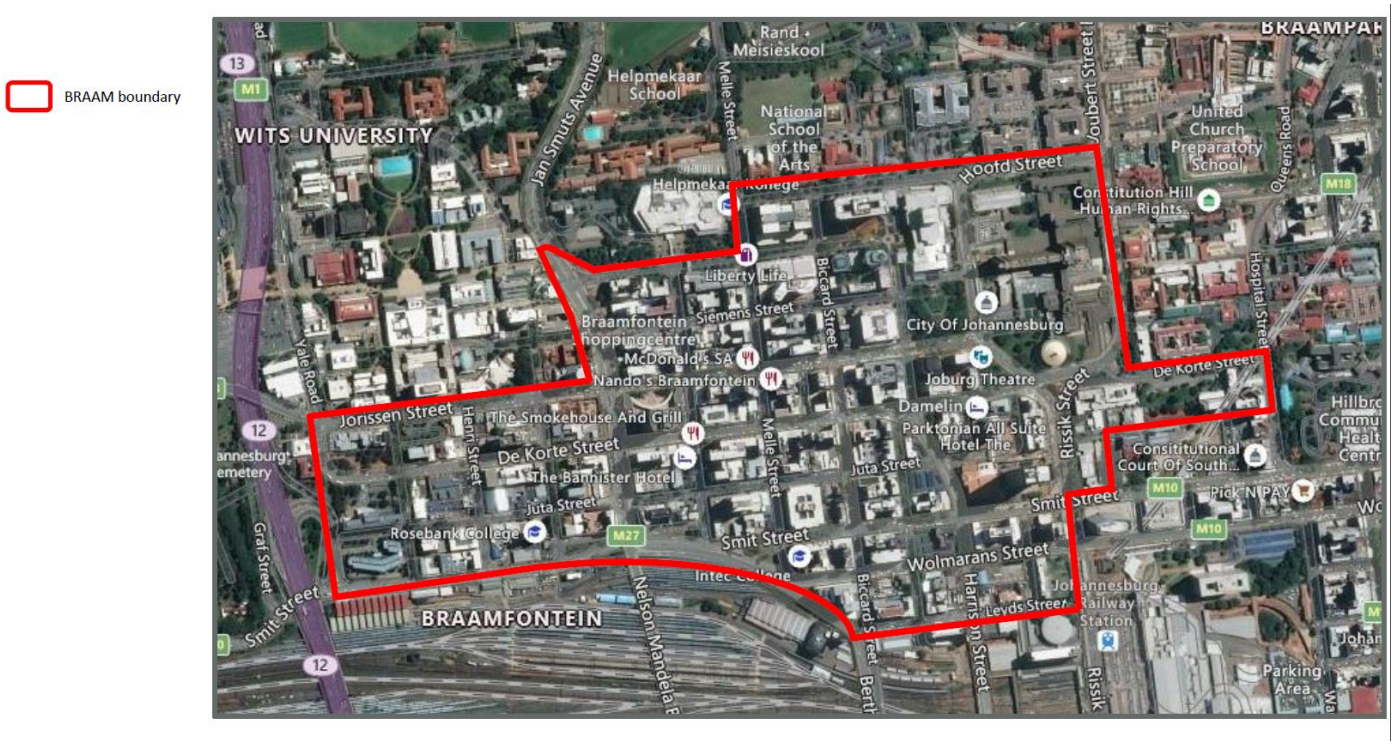


Figure 13: Demarcation of BID. Image provided to me by BID manager (2021)

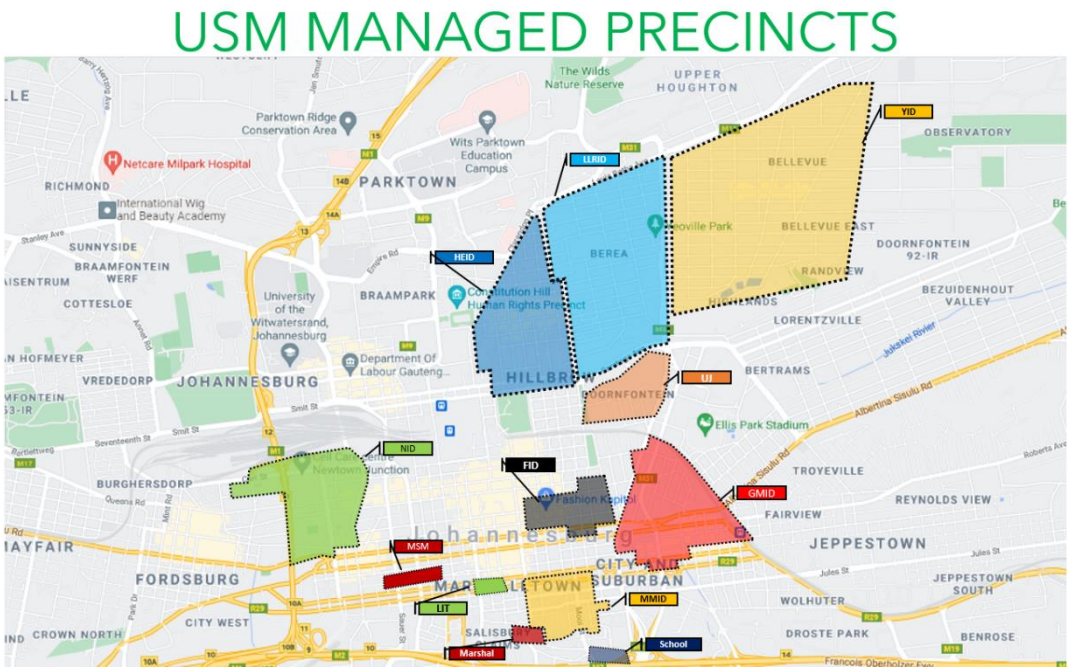


Figure 14: Demarcations of properties managed by USM. Image provided to me by USM manager (2021)

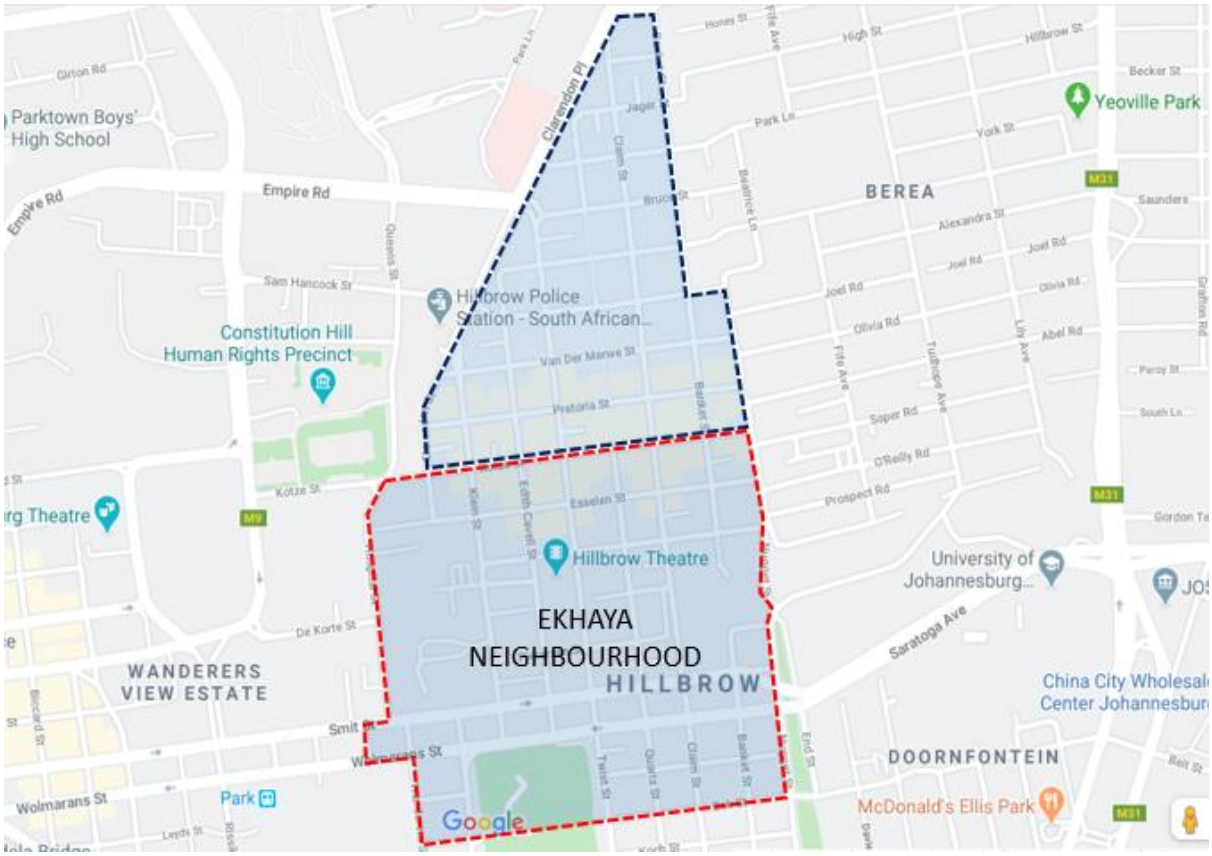


Figure 15: Demarcation of Ekhaya Neighbourhood. Image provided to me by Ekhaya manager (2021)

The interview with CRUM provided insight as to how they work with the CIDs. CRUM ensure regional service delivery governance, urban management, and citizen relationship functions. This is aimed at achieving service delivery excellence by ensuring that the city is responsive to the needs of the community through regional coordination. The department ensures that they integrate, monitor, and enforce service delivery standards at a grass-roots level within communities. By doing so they intend to ensure a clean, green, healthy, and safe urban environment towards the achievement of a "Livable and Sustainable City" (CRUM, 2021). As the department responsible for urban management in the city, this interview was important as they work closely with the CIDs.

The interview with the Inner-City Office offered much insight into the SRA bylaw. Although they are known as the Inner-City Office, the interviewee reiterated that they are the Special Projects Unit (SPU). As a unit, they offer oversight and assistance to other projects that are happening in the city whilst prioritising the inner city. They prioritise urban management issues and capital projects offering strategy and coordination between city departments by working from a "helicopter view". This interview was important because of the role that they play in the drafting of the SRA by-law. As it has been indicated, CIDs in the CoJ are under voluntary status after the Supreme Court ruled that the GCID Act of 1997 was invalid. Therefore, the Inner-City office has been tasked with drafting the by-law. The interview was important because it gave insight as to what the challenges are regarding the implementation of the by-law and what needs to be done to resolve those challenges.

4.2.2) Observation:

The use of observation as a research method offered the opportunity to provide an in-depth description of the work being undertaken at a CID during the lockdown. Observations offer the reader the ability to understand the life worlds experienced by the CIDs in the current lockdown (Mouton, 2001). To carry out my observation work I identified BID and Ekhaya Neighbourhood. The intention behind choosing the two CIDs was to understand how CIDs are working during the lockdown. The intended observation period for each CID was for 3-days. Throughout my observation period, photos were taken of people doing their work, I spoke to different people within the organisation to understand how they have adapted to the lockdown and understand what their current relationship is with the businesses that they serve

in their areas. Observation at the CIDs offered me the chance to rely on my personal experience and the work that I am doing at the Makers Valley Partnership.

My observation process at Ekhaya Neighbourhood offered me the opportunity to partake in a workshop that I attended on the 10th of September 2021. The workshop focussed on the redevelopment of the El Kero Recreational Park. This session was facilitated by Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) and offered insight into the work Ekhaya does as an improvement district during the lockdown. The day started with an overview of what the VPUU team and the community members achieved over the last 2 days and the plan for the last day. The last day of the workshop was to observe the park (which is currently under development) and then chart a way forward as to how the park would be managed. The walk to the park allowed me to discuss with one of the members from VPUU who was facilitating the workshop. The facilitator indicated that they do projects such as these in Cape Town and briefly spoke to me about a project they were doing in Khayelitsha with businesses and the community. The facilitator mentioned the importance of community involvement as a means for them to take ownership of community amenities. When we reached the park, we met the community liaison officer for the project who gave an overview of the project and its timelines for completion. By being a part of this process, it offered insight as to how CIDs would be working during the lockdown and their attempts at addressing community matters with the community.



Figure 16: Participant who was a part of the El Kero Park redevelopment workshop. Image taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

My observation work at BID took place on the 7th of October. I met the operations manager on Juta Street and Melle which were surroundings that were familiar to me. Being on the ground with the operations manager of BID, however, offered a new perspective on the area. It was explained to me who the key stakeholders in the area are and how they contribute to the improvement district. Not much was happening in the area at the time as it was still in the early afternoon. Nonetheless, I was able to be shown where areas of challenges are and how they work with relevant city departments in addressing these concerns.

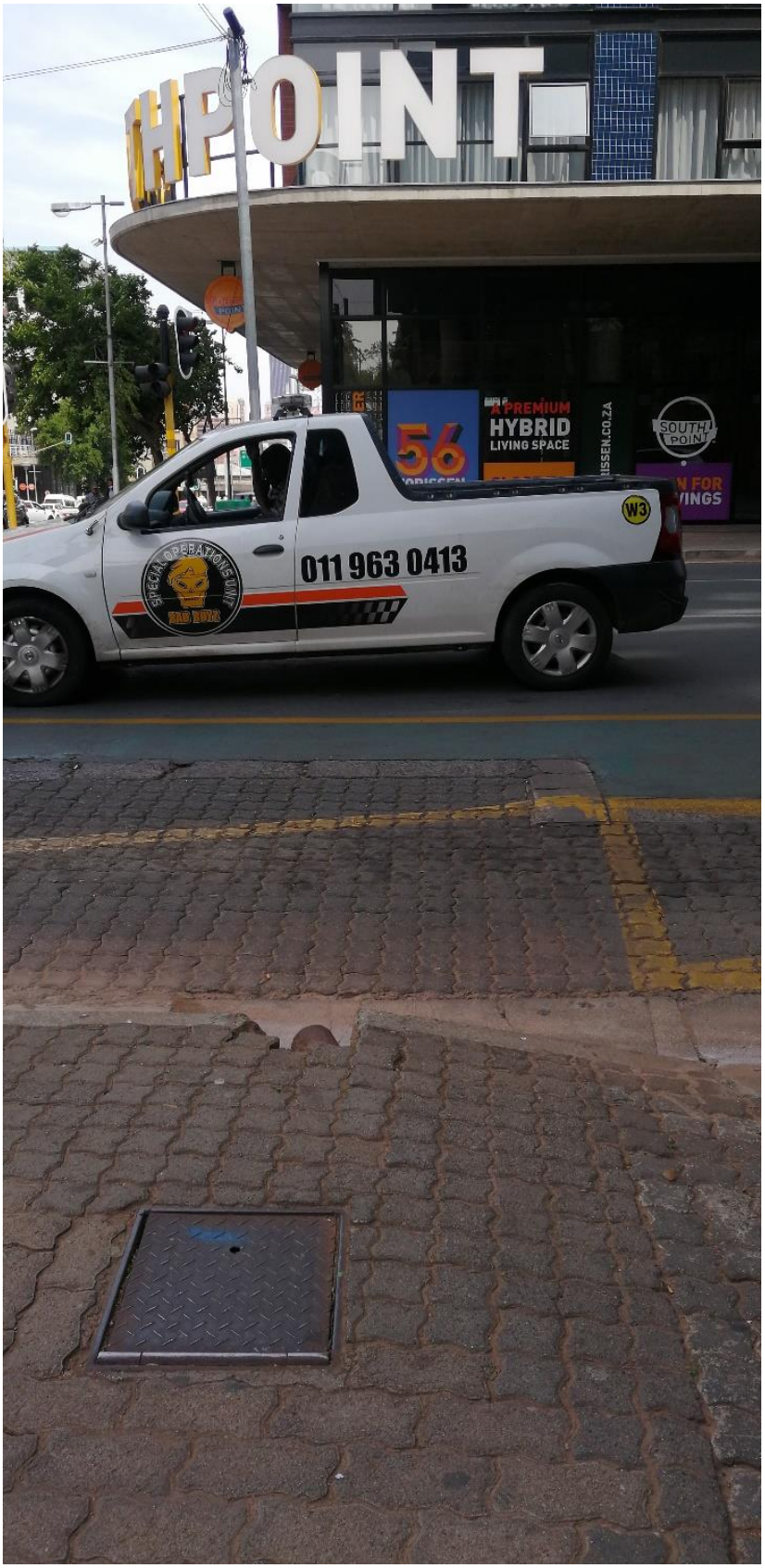


Figure 17: Security vehicle patrolling Braamfontein Improvement District. Image taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

4.2.3) Survey:

During the research process, I issued a survey (see appendix 6) to the CID managers on the GPMA. The reason for using a survey is because they are effective with a group of people that are involved in a particular field. The survey is semi-structured and offers the opportunity to obtain perceptions about the thoughts that CID managers have (Simon, 2006). The survey was issued through Google Forms and was distributed by the JICP's social media manager to all the CID managers in the CoJ.

The response to the survey was positive. It offered the chance to gauge responses from various CID managers on the questions asked. The most helpful aspect of the survey came in the form of the written responses section which gave the CID managers that responded the opportunity to share what they really thought was needed for urban management in the CoJ. That is the most important part as their suggestions could go a long way to benefitting the work that they do and ensuring that property owners continue to see the benefit of CID management. The survey offered the opportunity to use the responses given to reinforce responses given to me during interviews with the CID managers, the GPMA, CRUM and the Inner-City Office.

4.3) Limitations, Challenges and Ethical Considerations for the Research Report

The research design offered the opportunity to carry out the research report in a well-organised manner. Albeit the case, there were a few limitations and challenges that hindered the research process.

4.3.1) Securing interviews

My interviews with the city officials were difficult to secure. Throughout the research period, a significant amount of time was spent trying to get into contact with the identified officials. This is evident as I had an interview with the Inner-City official on the 2nd of November which was a month after I completed my interviews with the other participants. This stalled the research process slightly as I had to adjust my research work and accommodate new information which put me under pressure in completing the overall research document. I overcame this challenge by asking the GPMA member to assist me by introducing me to the

Inner-city official via email communication. Once the GPMA member had done this, it was much easier to liaise with the Inner-city official which enabled me the opportunity to carry out the interview.

4.3.2) Observation

With regards to my observation process, I was not able to spend 3 days at either Ekhaya Neighbourhood or BID. The reason for this is because of delays in getting responses from the relative CIDs. To make up for this I spent a day at Braamfontein Improvement District and Ekhaya Neighbourhood. The intention of spending 3 days at the CIDs was to get a better picture of the different activities they may carry out throughout the week. By doing so, it would have given a better scope of whether their urban management practices did or did not change because of the lockdown. This would have allowed me to ask how these tasks were done differently and how have they been able to cope with these challenges. Despite not being able to observe for the number of days I intended to, being on the ground in the respective CIDs remained valuable because the conversations with staff helped me understand the broader changes during the lockdown.

4.3.3) Survey

Although responses were given on the survey, it was hoped that more managers would have responded as I was not able to achieve the intended number of responses. The survey was distributed by the GPMA to 20 CID managers in Johannesburg however I only received responses from 5. This was disappointing as the intention of the survey was to build on responses given to me during the interviews held with the different participants. That way it would have given a better picture as to whether all the CID managers agree or disagree with one another and what that could mean for their CID management practices post-lockdown.

4.3.4) Ethical Consideration

The ethical considerations for the research report include ensuring that interviewees have their confidentiality protected. Throughout the research period, interviewees will be identified as either Interviewee, Urban Manager or City Official. Throughout the research process I took photographs whilst carrying out observation and because of this, photos taken of people

did not show their faces to conceal their identities. The same approach was also applied to their assets such as their cars in which their number plates were not revealed to prevent any opportunity of gaining information about the organisation. The most important aspect that required consideration is the storage of information for the research project however is how information gathered will be stored. All recordings and photographs have been stored on a hard drive that belongs to me and is password protected. Information has also been stored on my laptop which is also password and biometric-protected. None of the information gathered will be distributed or used for private reasons.

4.4) Conclusion

The research methods indicated how the research process was carried out which involved some small challenges along the way. These challenges were addressed eventually, and I was able to conduct all my interviews and was received well by my interviewees. The research process was beneficial as it addressed initial expectations which were that CIDs would struggle during the lockdown due to businesses working from home who would not see the need to pay for the services offered by CIDs and the legislative challenges. These understandings contributed greatly to the findings which are discussed in the next chapter.

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Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

CID Management During a Pandemic and Lockdown.

5.1) Introduction

The chapter presents findings that were gathered throughout the research period to understand how the lockdown between March 2020- December 2021 impacted CID management in the CoJ. The main findings include a change in the relationship between CIDs and the City due to their lockdown requirements of working on skeleton staff, differences in opinion on the proposed SRA by-law and what this could mean for CID management in the CoJ, and measures put in place by CIDs to address challenges faced by their properties during this time. These findings highlight a change in CID management practices before the lockdown and will be discussed against what their original mandates are of cleaning and security services in their area. The findings suggest that CIDs have gone above their mandate and helped according to the needs of properties, businesses, and society to address the impacts faced by the lockdown. This is an indication of what change has occurred in the practice and what it could mean for CIDs post-lockdown.

5.2) Urban Management Before the Lockdown

This section provides an understanding of urban management practices before the Covid enforced lockdown. This was done to foreground findings on how these practices changed because of the onset of lockdowns. The improvement districts have a responsibility of ensuring that they keep the areas they manage safe and clean. This is achieved by providing cleaning and security on the ground making sure that this occurs. The improvement districts also face challenges as demonstrated in my interviews with the CID managers. In the SCID, their main challenge was a common robbery which included cell phone and high-end jewellery theft (SCID manager, interviewed 2021). Another challenge that they faced was that of transportation and mobility as it is difficult to access public transport in the area. This has resulted in a higher rate of private vehicular usage in the area which contributed to additional traffic in the area (SCID manager, interviewed 2021).

The BID manager indicated that theft in their precinct was also a challenge that is usually targeted at students. Public space management is another challenge that they must address as most people in their managed area drink in public (BID manager, interviewed 2021). The challenges faced by SCID, and BID are indications as to why properties in those areas enlist their services. To make sure that efforts are effective, CIDs work closely with respective city

departments to ensure that these challenges do not arise again. In the case of addressing criminal activity, BID and SCID security staff can arrest the perpetrators and then hand them over to either the Johannesburg Metro Police Department or the South African Police Services. In other instances, their relationship with the respective city departments enables CIDs to escalate service delivery concerns that property owners in their areas face so that the city can address them.

Although CIDs focus on cleaning and security services offered to the properties in their areas, how they respond to matters that go against city by-laws that may hamper businesses is why they enlist their services. These urban management challenges are not unique to CIDs as they deal with them but having working relationships with the city makes it much easier to deal with them.

Each of the improvement districts enlists different services from the respective City of Johannesburg (CoJ) (hereafter referred to as the City) departments. The consensus amongst the CID managers interviewed was that they do have good working relationships with the relevant departments. The city is responsive to its work, and they play a supportive role in this regard. The CRUM official stated that CIDs are a crucial component in assisting with service delivery and urban management as they are "key to the development of the inner city" (CRUM official, interviewed 2021). These sentiments are also shared by the GPMA member as they communicate regularly with CRUM. This is evident as CRUM officials partake in the CID forum meetings to provide one voice and prevent working in siloes to address challenges that CIDs have. This is because CRUM implement various projects throughout the city in areas run by CIDs hence communication about those projects contributes to the CIDs urban management practices. An example of projects between CIDs and CRUIM is including CIDs in the Integrated Intelligence Operating Centre which is the surveillance hub of the Johannesburg inner city. The City has realized that they do require CIDs and their surveillance to have a greater overview of the city. By incorporating CIDs into the Integrated Intelligence Operating Centre, the City attempts to involve CIDs within City projects. This is to contribute to the enhancement in the quality of service that they are providing to citizens and businesses in the inner city and Johannesburg as a whole (CRUM official, interviewed 2021).

SCID have different relationships with city departments according to what the need is within their precinct. The most notable project is the development of the Rea Vaya[7] 1C route. The project has been in the pipeline for "a number of years" and is a result of the Sandton master plan developed by the CoJ (SCID manager, interviewed 2021). The plan has identified the need for a public transport component. The route includes stops in the Johannesburg inner city, Hillbrow, Wynberg and Alexandra.

What can be identified from this project with specific linkage to the conceptual framework is that CIDs are utilising their role to influence the development of their spaces. Being that they are the ones responsible for the management of the area, their understanding of the area has been key to guiding the project in partnership with the relevant City departments. In essence, this relationship between them highlights their role in assisting their city in developing an ideal city. in this case the prioritisation of transport for citizens and making the Sandton area more accessible. SCID also works with the JMPD who have deployed officers that patrol the precinct[8]. SCID manager concluded by stating that their role is to escalate service delivery issues to the various city entities, and this is how the improvement district serves the needs of the properties and businesses in the area (SCID manager, interviewed 2021).

The BID manager (interviewed 2021) stated that they are a part of the Regional Joint Operating Committee (RJOC) where they meet on a bi-weekly basis with CRUM. These meetings intend to guide communication between the city and stakeholders within their respective regions and improve stakeholder engagement efforts. The improvement district has a working relationship with JMPD and carries out joint operating tasks together to enforce by-laws that prevent drinking in public and clamp down on the trade of drugs. The intention behind doing these joint operating tasks is well and good as CIDs want to protect properties

[7]Rea Vaya is a bus rapid transit system operating in Johannesburg, South Africa. The transit system links places within Johannesburg such as the inner-city and Braamfontein to Soweto and other places within the city of Johannesburg. The project is currently expanding towards Sandton as mentioned by SCID manager and to areas in Rosebank and Midrand as well

[8] SCID fundraised money to buying a new car which the JMPD offices use to patrol the precinct. This is to further assist their security teams in enforcing local by-laws

however CIDs have been criticised for how they enforce these by-laws. As it was mentioned by Paasche (2012), the method by which CIDs exercise their security mandate has resulted in the creation of connotations being attached to different groups of people. As a result, they are scrutinised when entering these spaces. This brings the serious question as to whether the spaces managed by CIDs are for everyone or just those that have properties in the CID.

Taking into consideration SCID and BID, although they work with JMPD, how they work is not the same. In SCID, JMPD officers patrol the precinct daily whereas in BID the joint operating tasks happen once to two times a week in partnership with SAPS and JMPD to address the drug trade or drinking of alcohol in public. What should be realised is that, based on the challenges faced in either precinct, the city will assist in whatever capacity they have in addressing their challenges. This is further highlighted as BID have developed a local joint command centre and the intention over time is to have a member from SAPS and the JMPD in this centre. That way should there be a problem on the ground, SAPS or JMPD officers may be able to escalate this to the police station for backup (BID manager, interviewed in 2021)



Figure 18: This is one of the cameras which the precinct uses and feeds into their new developed command centre. This photo was taken on the corner of Juta and Melle. Image taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

What can be identified is that SCID and BID do have working relationships with the relevant City departments that they require assistance with. The CRUM official stated that they have a good relationship with CIDs and described them as "a force multiplier" (CRUM official, interviewed 2021). The term "force multiplier" refers to the CIDS enforcing city by-laws in their respective areas. In most cases, they do enforce these by themselves such as in SCID or work with local authorities through joint operating task teams such as in Braamfontein. By being force multipliers, CIDs relay different types of information to the city and hence assist them by noting where there are problems that require the city's attention.

This serves as an indication of how CIDs work with the City together to carry out daily urban management in the CoJ. The role of CIDs is to escalate matters to relevant city departments and the city departments have the responsibility of ensuring that service delivery occurs. These relationships between both stakeholders highlight the urban management and CID relationship in the conceptual framework. The relationship between the two ensures the management and maintenance of the city for the betterment of those that interact with the inner-city daily which is towards ensuring the ideal city.

Given that the research report is trying to see how CIDs and their urban management practices changed because of the lockdown, a survey question was issued to the CID

managers. The question asked was how satisfied you were with your relationship with the CoJ before the pandemic and subsequent lockdown.

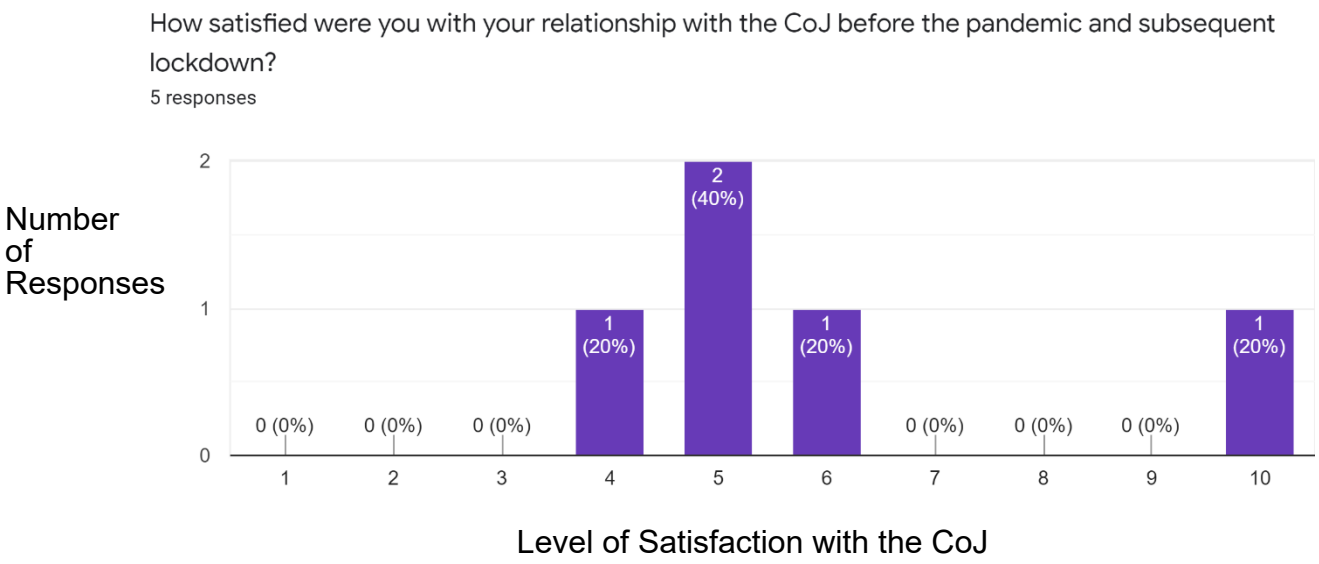


Figure 19: Results taken from survey issued out to CID managers on the GPMA about the level of satisfaction with the CoJ before the lockdown

The graph indicates that CID managers have a satisfactory relationship with the city. The graph shows that they are somewhat satisfied with the City however there is more room to improve. This is important because CIDs offer top-up services that complement the services offered by the city to the properties in their areas. CIDs are reliant on the City to carry out their role of addressing service delivery concerns that CIDs have and cannot address. Therefore, both stakeholders must have good working relationships with one another as it contributes to the development of the city. These insights offer understanding as to how they worked before the lockdown and now further insights will be provided as to whether this relationship changed because of the lockdown.

5.3) Urban Management During the Lockdown

The pandemic and various levels of lockdowns have presented some nervousness for CID managers as stated by the GPMA member (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). This is because some CID managers have feared that properties would not see the value of CID management during the lockdown. The reason for this concern is that the lockdown required people to stay home. As a result, the general feeling surrounding CID managers was that because of this, properties and businesses would not need cleaning and security staff on the ground. Despite these fears, the GPMA member indicated that CIDs had become much stronger during this period. This is because CIDs provided property owners with detailed information about what was happening on the ground whilst they were working from home. This was made possible because cleaning and security staff who work for the CIDs were classified as essential workers (GPMA member, interviewed 2021). Therefore, during level 5 of the nationwide lockdown in South Africa between March and April 2020, property owners relied on the information relayed by CIDs as to what was happening on the ground. Hence, properties within the CIDs have valued the importance of the work that they have done during the lockdown.

SCID manager indicated that there was not much to do during the initial period of the lockdown in March 2020. The streets were quiet and clean, traffic was non-existent and there was little to no crime (SCID manager, interviewed in 2021). The fact that there was little to no activity in the precinct is one of the reasons for the nervousness presented by CID managers on the CID forum. Despite these concerns, the SCID manager indicated that because of the lockdown, they became a prominent partner to the properties within the CID. This is because of assistance offered to properties during the period which was much appreciated. Most of this help included giving information on their WhatsApp groups about what is going on in the precinct and educating them about the different levels of lockdown and what this meant (SCID manager, interviewed 2021). SCID manager (interviewed 2021) indicated that as the lockdown levels eased in May 2020 and people could go back to work, they had a dedicated tab on their website which provided businesses with a directory in which they could procure Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) (SCID manager, interviewed in 2021). Keeping in mind the main research question, this serves as an indication of SCID adapting its practices to address the needs of the lockdown. The implications of such gestures

by the improvement district highlight the importance of the CID to businesses. This is because SCID was able to access resources that the businesses did not have.

Despite offering these services during this period, SCID faced a few concerns concerning properties paying rates to them. These concerns were also faced by USM, and the challenges faced by their properties in their areas. These concerns highlight the general nervousness that was explained by the GPMA member (2021) that because of the struggles faced by properties they may not see the benefit of CID management. In the case of SCID, the tourism sector had "suffered immensely" due to the impact of the lockdown (SCID manager, interviewed in 2021). The Sandton Convention Centre and hotels could not host people because of the lockdown restrictions. Since the initial stages of the lockdown some hotels have re-opened however, they are much busier on the weekend than during the week. This is different to how they operated pre-Covid as there are fewer conferences happening in person. Therefore, people are using the hotels more for leisure and entertainment throughout the weekend (SCID manager, interviewed 2021). Although the tourism sector did struggle because of the lockdown, the properties were and still have been making contributions to the CID. It could be said that because of the struggles faced by the tourism sector, the improvement district would struggle. This did not occur however because the precinct has a diverse activity which is predominately office and retail outlets that still paid their levies to the CID. Despite the struggles faced by some of their tourism partners, some were able to pay their rates but negotiated reduced rates whilst they get back on their feet. SCID negotiating with their tourism partners serves as an indication that there is a healthy relationship of collaboration between them. This level of collaboration is why despite the challenges their tourism sector partners faced they still paid. This is also because they need their surrounding areas to be clean irrespective of their circumstances (SCID manager, interviewed 2021).

None of the properties in SCID pulled out because they all realised the importance of the services offered by the CID Furthermore, it was indicated that "the asset is immovable and needs to be secured" (SCID manager, interviewed 2021). The asset is immovable a reference to the property itself. This shows that businesses and property owners needed their assets to be secured being that they were not in the area as frequently as they were before and as a result, services offered by SCID helped in that regard. The sentiments raised by the SCID manager resonate with the situation in Braamfontein. During the current lockdown, they have been able to onboard new members. This is because they have continued cleaning and

security services that were offered throughout the lockdown (BID manager, interviewed in 2021). BID manager indicated that because the streets were quiet, most properties feared the safety of their properties and hence enlisted the services of the BID. This emphasises that cleaning and security services are the most important services offered by CIDs. Over and above the place marketing and placemaking initiatives that they offer, the initial stages of the lockdown (March 2020) brought to the realisation that there is a need for the protection of their properties despite them not being used as often.
Just like SCID, some of the properties and businesses in BID were impacted by the lockdown and they continued to support them because they see the value of the work that they do.

USM manager mentioned that their main concern about the lockdown was that because properties were paying voluntarily, they would stop contributing. The voluntary payment is a result of the GCID Act of 1997 which was revoked and was discussed in chapter 3. Despite serious challenges, properties in their areas were still able to contribute. The serious concern faced by CIDs managed by USM is that they consist of social housing. As a result of the Disaster Management Act, the National Department of Human Settlements was allocated R600 million from the treasury to use for the Residential Rent Relief Programme however this did not happen (Maqhina, 2020). With this being the case, it put USM in a tough position not knowing whether the social houses that depend on the RRRP would pay their contributions to USM. Despite these concerns, just like SCID, USM were able to offer properties a reduction on their rates. The difference between both CIDs should be kept in mind as although they offered reduced rates, SCID has had good collection rates even before the lockdown whereas USM's rate collection has been difficult, and a lockdown of this magnitude could have made it worse. Despite the hardships faced by some of the properties in their CIDs and offering relief in the form of reduced levies, USM were still able to onboard new members during the lockdown which shows the importance of the work in the eyes of property owners (USM manager, interviewed 2021).

The lockdown brought many challenges for people within USM precincts. During the lockdown, their precincts have offered social assistance by providing food parcels and organising soup kitchens. This is an indication that CIDs, through their connections, can bring communities together. The GPMA member relayed the same comments highlighting the importance of community. Throughout the lockdown, CIDs (such as the ones managed by USM) have been able to bring communities together channelling relief (mostly food parcels)

to distressed groups and being at the centre of relaying information about the lockdowns. What can be identified about the role of CIDs during the pandemic is that their urban management services go beyond offering cleaning and security. This is further identified in the role they played in assisting with clean-ups during the July riots in 2021. The riots resulted in extensive looting and damage to property. USM manager (2021) indicated that the riots served as an indication as to why properties still require the assistance of CIDs to secure their assets. The CIDs in the inner city did not have enough personnel to prevent looting in their areas however their clean-up efforts were appreciated and benefitted those that were affected. The clean-ups after the riots served as a key indicator of their importance as "1 week of clean-ups made up for one year of levies" which were paid by the properties and businesses in their areas (USM manager, interviewed 2021). This is elaborating on the point that due to the amount of damage caused by the riots; the CIDs clean-up efforts serve as an indication as to why properties and businesses enlist their services.

The results of the survey that was distributed resonate with the interview data about the importance of CID contributions (survey responses, 2021). Despite the challenges that they have faced, properties still do contribute. The assistance that CIDs offered to them to address their various needs during the pandemic is the reason why they contribute. As was discussed in chapter 3 of the research report, CIDs have been crucial in assisting municipalities and their social relief assistance during the lockdown has gone beyond their general service delivery mandate. It highlights that there is a desire from CIDs to assist where they can for those that interact and depend on the city and its spaces. Taking into consideration critiques levelled against CIDs in chapter 2 of the report about CIDs offering services they offer to create "islands of safety" which are exclusionary (Benit Gbaffou, 1938, 2008). The question that hence arises is what post-lockdown efforts will be undertaken by CIDs and the city to afford other areas that are not managed better safety and address uneven development and inequality in the city? This is important to take into consideration especially when considering the challenges faced by property owners that may have knock-on impacts on the CIDs. This was demonstrated by a CID manager's response to the survey who indicated that:

> "Many of the smaller companies were impacted by the lockdown and a significant loss of voluntary revenue was lost to support the CID efforts. I don't believe the lockdown was necessary" (CID Manager, survey response 2021).

The financial impacts faced by the properties in the area have a knock-on impact on the CIDs as they depend on their revenue; bringing to question the sustainability of CIDs and if they would be able to continue offering these services post the pandemic.

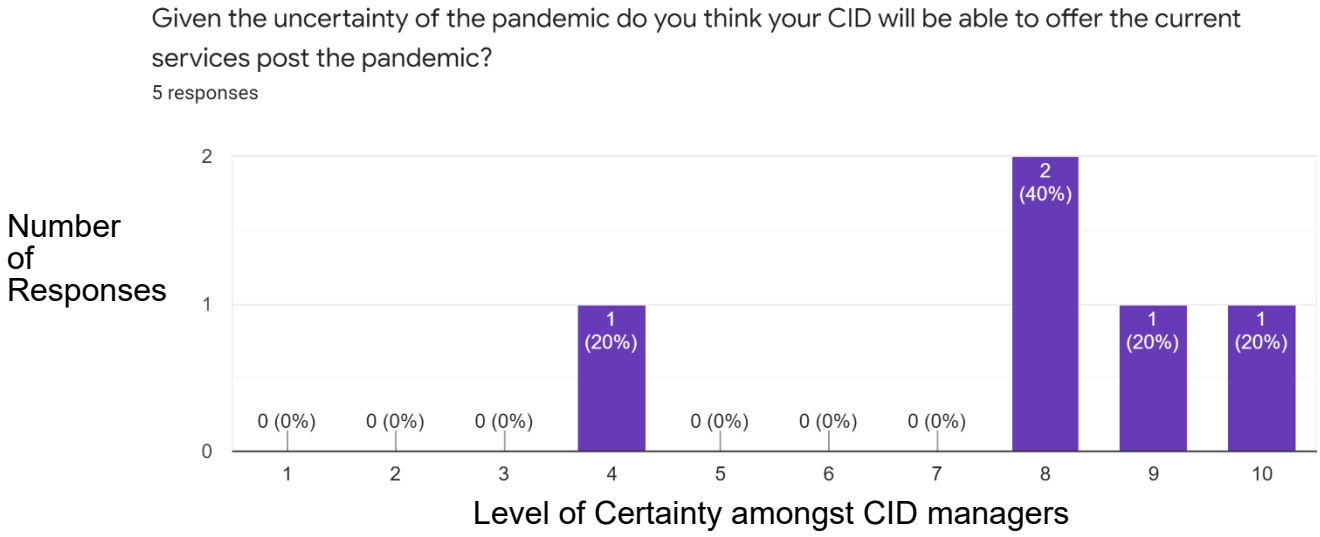


Figure 20: Results taken from the survey issued out to CID managers on the GPMA indicating whether they will be able to provide their urban management services post the lockdown.

What can be identified is that they would be able to offer their urban management services should the lockdown continue taking into consideration that the lockdown still is ongoing in 2022. However, it should be mentioned that if the lockdown were to continue, CIDs may struggle because of properties not being able to contribute anymore.

The implications of this could result in the improvement districts having to stop providing their current urban management services. As it has been identified, the lockdown has shown however that CIDs offer more than just cleaning and security services. The lockdown has highlighted their importance to their stakeholders who have relied on them whether through offering social relief in the form of soup kitchens or providing access to PPE for businesses in their precincts. CIDs during this period have played an active role in ensuring community

cohesion. Where CIDs struggled, the CID forum played a massive role by becoming "the glue" between all CIDs in the CoJ (GPMA member, 2021). They had monthly meetings online where all the different CID managers met to discuss matters facing their CIDs during the pandemic. These meetings are helpful as they learnt what have CIDs done during this period and how they can learn from one another from the challenges they are facing. As such, looking beyond their cleaning and security services is important as they have become an important facet for communities which was identified during my observation period at EN.

I was able to observe for one day on the 10th of September 2021 at EN and it offered much insight into the work that they do especially during the lockdown. It should be noted that the workshop happened during level 3 of lockdown, 3 days before it was announced on the 13th of September 2021 that the country would be moved to adjusted alert level 2. Throughout the week they hosted a workshop that focused on the redevelopment of the El Kero Recreation Park. EN played the role of facilitator throughout the session which created an environment for members of the community to engage and discuss the challenges that were facing them about the park. They offered the chance to share what they hoped the redevelopment of the park would bring about. Attending the workshop during the current lockdown served as an indication that CIDs still do play an important role in the improvement of their areas. In the case of EN, they emphasise social projects to address challenges facing communities and this is identified in their role in the El Kero Park development. The redevelopment of the park is a step in the right direction for Ekhaya.



Figure 21: The "brainstorming session" we had after our walk to the park. In these sessions we came up with ideas as to how the park will be managed and the activities that can happen. Image was taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

Compared to the other CIDs mentioned, EN is still finding its feet because the lockdown had prevented most of the social projects which assist people in their area. The projects in mention include organising children's football events which happened once a month or markets that were tailored towards assisting business owners in the area. These were most of the activities that were happening in EN before the lockdown started in March 2020. Because of the lockdown restrictions, these events that help the community have not occurred. As a result, the lockdown has subsequently impacted the area as many people in the community lost their jobs leading to higher criminal activity and substance abuse (EN manager, interviewed in 2021). The lockdown has exacerbated these challenges as drug dealers (who use abandoned buildings) are now using children to sell drugs because children do not go to school every day as per the lockdown regulations. With the lockdown levels easing during the time of observation, it afforded them the opportunity to host the workshop and the opportunity to resuscitate some of the projects that they run. EN offers respite in this regard as the work that they do aims at ensuring that people in the community are actively partaking in the community. This is because most people in the area are not working and is a way to ensure that people do not get themselves involved in criminal activity or substance abuse.
It is therefore important to Ekhaya to have their social projects happening as it enables more community engagement and better ways to deal with the challenges facing them (EN manager, interviewed 2021). Their relationship with housing managers in this regard is also important. They represent residents who live in the flats and are key in assisting the precinct to understand where the challenges are and escalating matters to the correct city departments (EN, 2021).



Figure 22: A derelict building in Ekhaya Neighbourhood. Image taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

CIDs have played a crucial role in assisting their properties however their relationship with the city during the lockdown is important to note. As mentioned, before the lockdown, CIDs had generally good working relationships with the respective city departments they work with.

The lockdown had an initial impact on city operations as all departments and teams had to observe Covid-19 regulations (CRUM official, interviewed in 2021). Despite working with smaller teams, the CRUM official stated that City Power, Johannesburg Water, JRA, JMPD, EMS and environmental services had not stopped working. These entities used Level 5 of the lockdown as an opportunity to do as much maintenance and service delivery work. This was because the streets were quiet and went on to state that "service delivery was at an optimal level" (CRUM official, interviewed 2021). Although indicating that service delivery was at an optimal level, some of the CID managers do not agree. When I was conducting my observation work in Braamfontein on the 7th of October 2021, the BID manager indicated that they were "quite annoyed" with Joburg Water who had dug up on the street and left a mess (BID manager, 2021). The BID manager stated that the City was working on a skeleton staff roster which was a hindrance. They were not happy with the resolution rate of their escalated concerns. Ekhaya's manager indicated that their relationship with the city during this period was fine despite the slow service delivery. This was explained when referring to Pikitup who were able to assist to some extent concerning dumping removal. As a result, the relationship between the City and the CIDs took strain due to the lockdown considering that before the lockdown, CID managers were somewhat happy about the work that they do.



Figure 23: A part of the road that was dug up by Johannesburg Water in Braam. As it has been discussed, the lockdown had impacted the number of staff on the ground deployed by different MoE's and as a result led to instances such as the image where reinstatements could not be done timeously. The BID manager was unimpressed at how this was left and expects them to come to fix this. Image was taken by Rorisang Sojane (2021)

To ensure that service delivery was at an optimal level during the lockdown, the city's broader efforts in achieving it were through the Accelerated Service Delivery Strategy (ASDS) which arose during the initial stages of the Covid-19 pandemic of March 2020. The strategy seeks to ensure that all city entities work in a coordinated manner and deal with service delivery pressure points that will address the negative public perception. The matter of coordination is crucial as the City has been known to work in siloes bringing to attention how exactly the strategy seeks to address the matter. The ASDS requires a clear distinction of roles and responsibilities, frequency of engagement and escalation protocols that are key to managing the successful delivery of this initiative (CRUM, 2021).

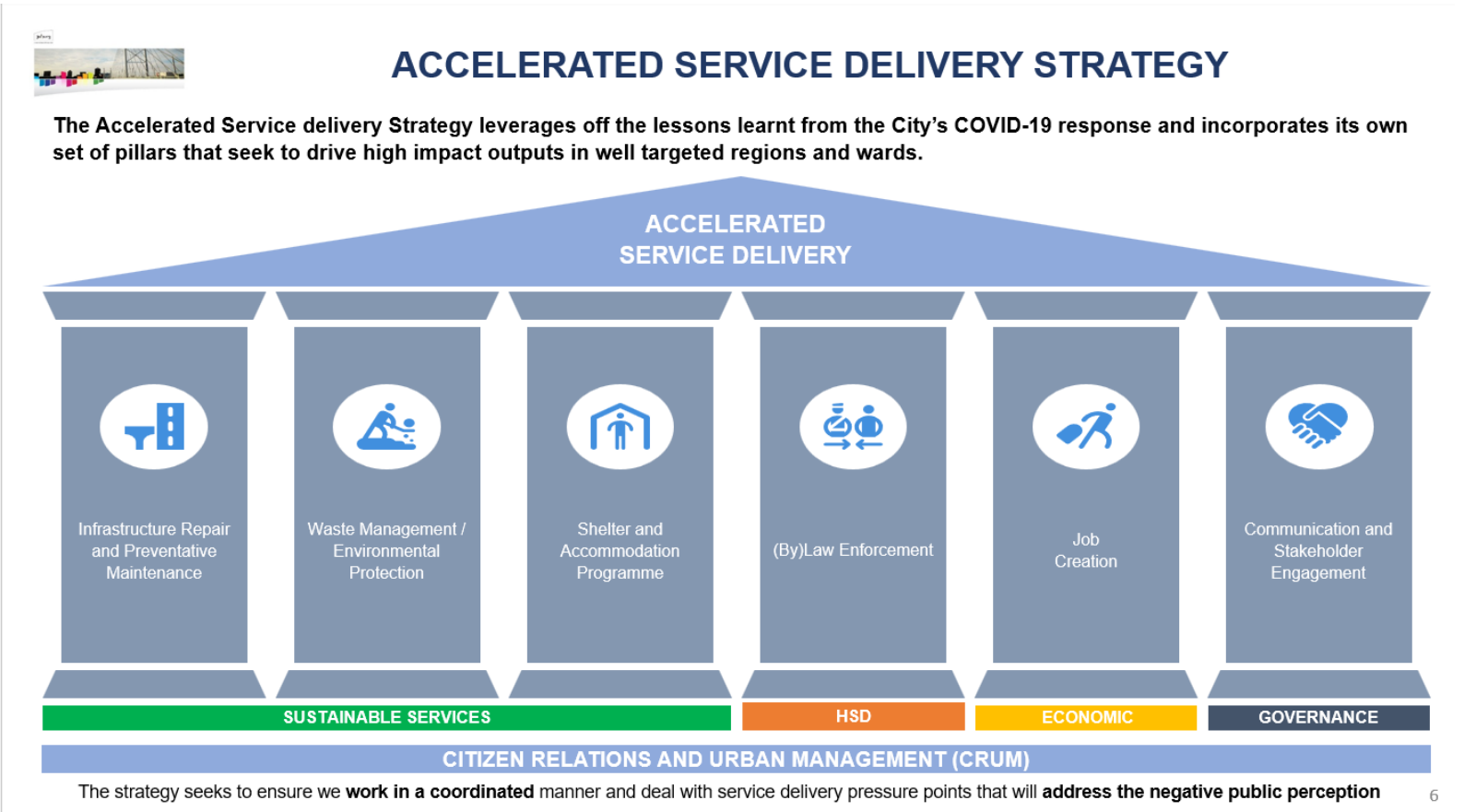


Figure 24: CRUM Accelerated Service Delivery Plan is tailored towards addressing service delivery concerns in the city with a strong emphasis on working with communities to address negative public perception (CRUM, 2020)

The ASDS is an indication that "the city can pull its resources together in a short time" (CRUM official, 2021). As a result, the lockdown has strained the working relationship between the CIDs and the CoJ due to them working on a skeleton staff roster. There should be adherence to Covid-19 regulations however the City should make greater attempts at addressing the challenges faced especially when it pertains to service delivery. This indicates that the city does not have sufficient capacity in addressing all urban challenges.

Taking into consideration the conceptual framework brings to question whether the city's urban management practices are responsive and address the needs of the CIDs. This is because urban management, especially in the case of South Africa and its municipalities, is a relationship between CIDs. Urban management takes place when both CIDs and municipalities work together to ensure that the city is cleaned and maintained which benefits those that have businesses or properties within CIDs. This resonates with Smit (2018) as he states that urban governments are reliant on the services of third parties because they lack capacity. This has important implications for CID management and their relationship with the City going forward, as discussed in the conclusion/recommendations.

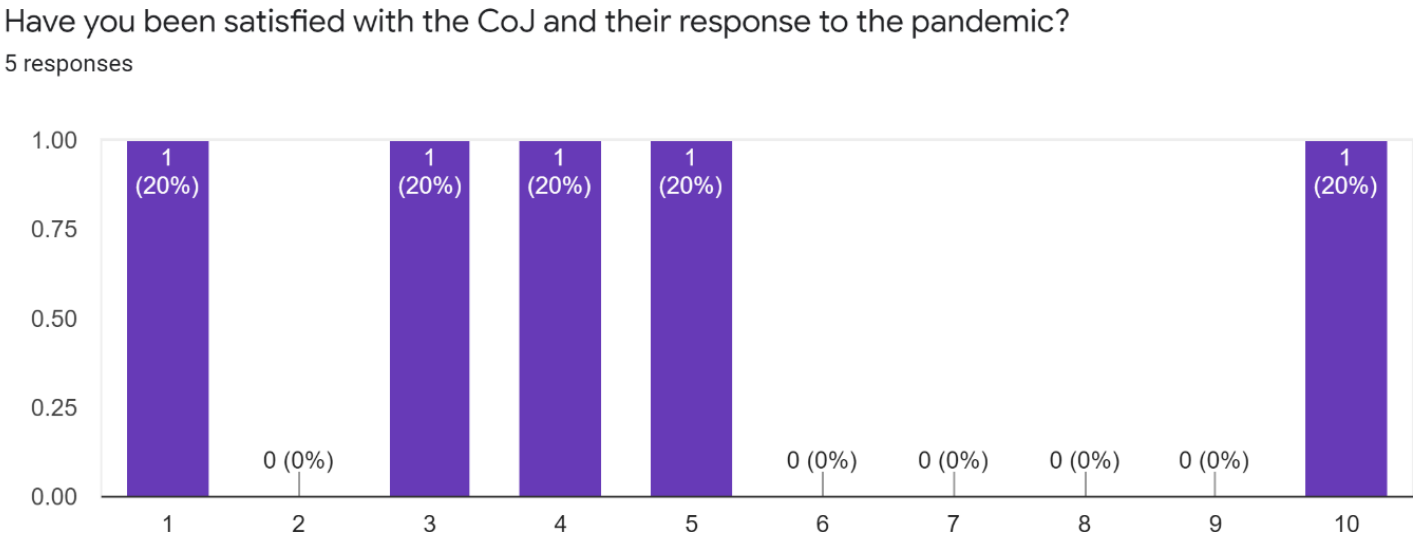


Figure 25: Results are taken from survey issued out to CID mangers on the GPMA about the level of satisfaction with the CoJ about their response to the pandemic

The City not being able to meet its service delivery mandates during the lockdown has resulted in the relatively low perceptions[9] of them by CIDs. This is concerning considering that we are in a pandemic that requires the state to be at its most responsive. This as a result has hampered CIDs and their ability to carry out their urban management work. When interviewed, the CRUM official stated that the lockdown has shown that the city can pull its resources together in a short period (CRUM official, interviewed in 2021). Despite pulling these resources together not much has happened in terms of service delivery during the lockdown. The argument that can be made is that there is a growing loss of faith in local government and its ability to meet the needs of citizens and interested stakeholders. This is the very reason why CRUM had developed the ASDS to address these perceptions however that has not been successful in gathering responses from CID managers.

5.4) The SRA By-law

CIDs were able to continue providing their core services and, in some cases offered different forms of relief to the properties in their areas through levy reductions, food assistance and access to PPEE just to name a few. Each of the CIDs faced challenges however some faced more challenges, and the lockdown adversely affected their relationship with the city. Another key process affecting the sustainability of CIDs is the SRA by-law. As has been highlighted throughout the research report, CIDs in the CoJ are currently operating under voluntary status. This means that they depend on the generosity of the property owners in their areas.

[9] The sentiments shared by the CID managers resonate with the South African Customer Satisfaction Index which measures the level of trust in service delivery across all metropolitan municipalities. In the case of the CoJ, the city performed below par which reflects declining citizen trust in service delivery. These insights correlate with the latest Auditor General report and concerns raised by the Executive Mayor (CRUM, 2021). The survey highlights that the city is not meeting its residents and businesses expectations on service delivery.

The pandemic has highlighted the need for resilience and sustainability and the SRA by-law may assist. This is because it allows CIDs to enter into a financial agreement with the City being able to collect levies at a sustainable level. The reason why CIDs are currently under voluntary status is that the Gauteng City Improvement District Act (GCID) no 12 of 1997 was deemed not constitutionally correct due to its "loose drafting" (ibid). This is further reiterated by the Inner-City office official who stated that the ruling made by the Supreme Court of Appeal in 2015 against the GCID Act "essentially meant that CIDs were illegal" (Inner City Office official, interviewed in 2021). The reason for this is that the GCID Act allowed CIDs to collect a tax on behalf of the city which is against the law. Therefore, CIDs became voluntary establishments and lost a substantial amount of revenue. The GPMA member believed that the Act did not require it to be revoked however the CoJ had asked the CIDs to go voluntary whilst they draft new legislation.

The Inner-City Office has been tasked with drafting new legislation for CID management in the CoJ. They intend on enacting this legislation using the SRA by-law which is in line with the Municipal Property Rates Act, section 24. The by-law requires the CIDs to enter into a financial agreement with the city, however for it to work the CoJ needs to get its standard operating procedures correct. How CIDs are currently operating in the CoJ is that they receive a certain amount of money from properties in their area every month voluntarily. The introduction of the by-law would hence prevent this as there would be a set rate that the city collects on behalf of the CID which is then paid over at a specific percentage. Therefore, the standard and operating procedures require the City to collect levies correctly and improve the billing system to accommodate CIDs. Furthermore, what is crucial for this by-law to be enacted in CIDs across the city, is the by-law requires properties within the CID to have paid 95% of their rates and taxes for the city to consider an SRA application. The by-law has been adopted in different metropolitan municipalities such as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. The by-law currently being drafted by the CoJ is an exact copy and paste of the by-law used in the City of Cape Town (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). It should be stressed that not all municipalities are the same and in the case of the CoJ, the GPMA member stated that it is not appropriate and difficult to implement (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021).

The main challenge identified with regards to the by-law is that when comparing CIDs in the inner city and the northern suburbs there are differences in opinion as to how this by-law can

benefit their areas. In the case of SCID, it was mentioned that they collect 99% of their levies. This means that the properties in their areas have paid 99% of their rates and taxes. As such, all their properties in their area contributed every month. It was indicated that SCID would only be comfortable with the by-law should the city be able to collect rates on there at this percentage and pay it over to SCID every month. This is because "it doesn't make sense for them to legislate themselves as an SRA if the city is comfortable to pay back 70% of the levies every month if Sandton is already collecting at a 99% level" (SCID manager, interviewed in 2021). Should that be the case, it was indicated that the SRA may work in the inner city where most CIDs are collecting levies at a 60% level. Should the city offer to pay them back at a 70% level it improves the CIDs (in the inner-city) levy collection. This highlights the differences between areas in the city and the level of rate collection within improvement districts. Therefore, the SCID manager indicated that Sandton Central "is sitting on the sidelines" until the city can provide a better rate of collection turnover that can benefit them (SCID manager, interviewed in 2021). Nonetheless, it was stated that the by-law may be beneficial for SCID in one aspect as the by-law ensures that should a property (within a CID) want to sell, they must ensure that their rates are fully paid.

SCID, therefore, are hesitant to become an SRA until they know the willingness and capability of the CoJ to collect rates on behalf of the CID. Whilst SCID is hesitant, the BID manager indicated that the SRA by-law would be "really helpful". This is because by having the by-law the city would be paying over a set amount of money every month which is much better than depending on voluntary contributions which may fluctuate every month (BID manager, interviewed 2021). However, it is noted that they are sceptical about the city collecting the rates. This is because the city has had challenges with collecting rates and stated that it would be better if the CID collected the rates. Taking this statement into account, CIDs collecting rates and taxes on behalf of the City is what caused the legislative limbo faced by CIDs in Johannesburg as a private entity collecting rates on their behalf.

USM manager stated that the by-law will depend on how the CoJ defines its financial details. It was stated that it would be difficult to implement it in the areas that they manage. This is because it requires 95% compliance with paying rates and taxes and "this is only possible in areas like Sandton" (USM manager, interviewed in 2021). As it was stated above, properties in Sandton have their rates and taxes at a 99% level and are also paying their levies monthly however in the case of USM, they are collecting at a much lower rate and not all the properties in their areas have their rates and taxes at the required level. This would make

them ineligible to implement the by-law as they do not meet the requirements. EN manager believes that the by-law will assist in improving the area. This is based on the same answer provided to me by the BID manager and was reiterated to me by the EN manager that because by having the by-law the city would be paying over a set amount of money every month which is much better than depending on voluntary contributions which may fluctuate every month. Keeping in mind that EN is under USM, the EN manager noted that it would be difficult to implement because most of the properties in the area offer inclusionary housing and are not paying their rates which is important should an area be defined as an SRA (EN manager, interviewed in 2021).

The range of responses regarding the SRA from different CIDs shows key differences in the areas they operate in. These differences are highlighted by the ability of each CID must collect levies. On the one hand, the GPMA member states that the by-law could work in areas such as Sandton and Rosebank. This is because they meet the 95% requirement and have their rates up to date enabling them to enter into a financial agreement with the city. However, they may not want to implement the by-law because should they enter into a financial agreement with the city, the city will pay them at a lower rate between 60-70% compared to 99%. This in essence would harm their income revenue. On the other hand, the CIDs in the inner-city would be grateful for the by-law especially as it would improve their rate collection. The only problem that is hampering the inner-city CIDs is that the by-law requires properties to have paid their rates at a 95% level which the GPMA member believes is difficult to achieve as they are not paying their rates (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). What is evident and has come across significantly is the issue of how the monies collected will be paid over to the CIDs. Furthermore, what CID managers would want from the City that is proposing this by-law is to refine how they intend on doing this so that it may benefit all the CIDs. This is especially the case as this is the only current option available to CIDs to be legislated within the parameters of the legislation.

Having offered a summary of what the by-law may entail, the survey below shows that CIDs in general would be appreciative should the by-law be implemented.

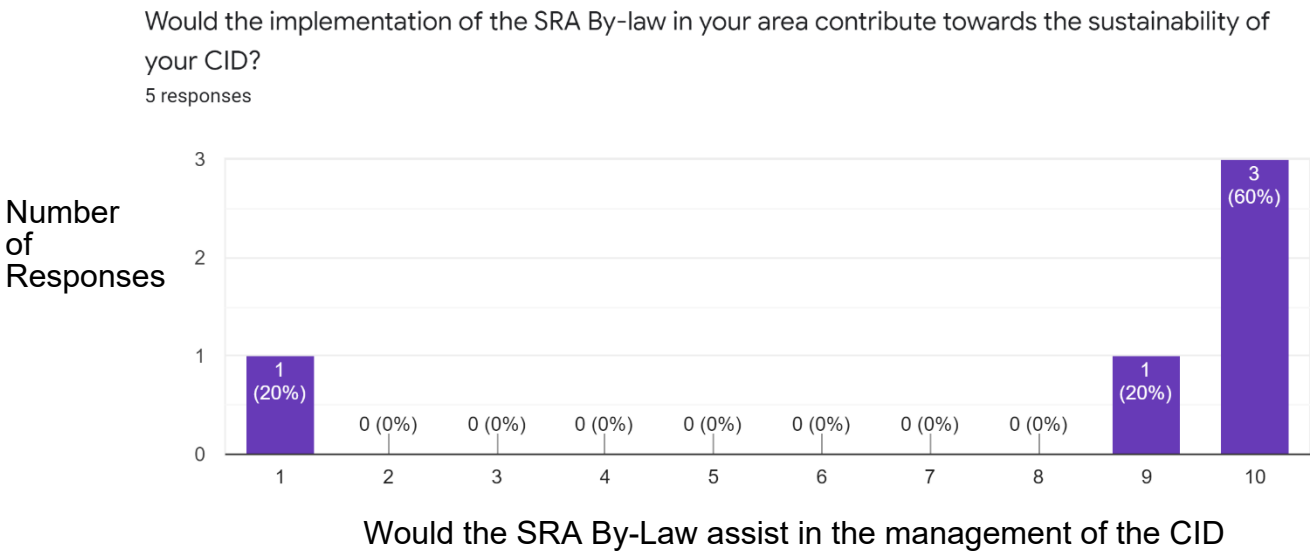


Figure 26: Results are taken from a survey issued to CID managers on the GPMA about their views on the SRA bylaw and whether it would be useful in their area

The differences between areas in terms of financial status need to be taken into consideration when developing the by-law to benefit CIDs in the CoJ. Should this not be done, in hindsight everyone loses in the situation as CIDs do not get legislated and the City loses out on the opportunity to further enhance its relationship with CIDs. This goes back to the relationship between urban management and CIDs concerning the conceptual framework. It reiterates the point that urban management is successful when there are credible relationships between stakeholders involved. It is in the best interest of the City to ensure that the by-law works for the CIDs. This is because it provides CIDs with a better stream of income which in turn assists the city in developing and enhancing the city's spaces. It is also in the best interest of the City to ensure that the by-law works for CIDs because the GPMA member stated that the city is desperate to set up CIDs in run-down areas of the inner city (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). With the revenue department requiring 95% of the properties rates and taxes within the area of the CID to be paid it would be impossible to implement an SRA in those areas which goes against what the City wants to achieve in setting up CIDs in the run-down parts of the City.

Having noted the differences in opinion about the SRA by-law between the CID managers interviewed, the Inner-City Official stated that there are further challenges that need to be addressed to implement the by-law. The first challenge is concerning the substantial amount of highjacked buildings and most properties in the inner city using sectional titles. The challenge of having sectional titles within an SRA is that sectional title owners have one vote each when establishing the SRA[10]. Whilst sectional title holders may only have one vote whilst representing the interests of many, other properties are solely owned by one person or a company, and they also have one vote. In essence, what is being articulated is that the SRA by-law would be easier to implement in areas that have sole proprietary (single ownership) compared to areas that have sectional titles as these would require extensive delegation. In the case of a body corporate, the trustees represent the interests of residents and negotiate on their behalf how much they can each contribute above their additional levies to contribute to the CID. When comparing the CoJ to the inner city of Cape Town, most of their properties are under sole proprietorship making it easier for them to implement the by-law as it has been easier to reach a common agreement. This further emphasises that the city needs to rethink their approach to the adoption of the by-law. Responses gathered from the survey answered the question of what is required for CID management to prosper in the CoJ, a CID manager responded by stating that:

> *"*The CoJ needs to URGENTLY implement the SRA Policy by establishing a unit to deal with the levy collection. In addition, the 95% compliance rate is outrageous currently. It should be set far lower*" (*CID manager, survey response in 2021).

The response suggests that the CID manager is within the inner city of Johannesburg. This is based on the general feedback provided during interviews with the inner-city CID managers who indicate that having rates and taxes being paid at 95% is not possible. This indicates that they do require the by-law however it would be difficult to achieve this because the properties in the area do not have their rates up to the 95% standard.

[10] The challenge with having sectional titles is because they are properties that comprise of flats. This is noted as a challenge by the Inner-City official as should the by-law be proposed those living in those flats will have to pay an extra rate which they may not agree to. Therefore, the owners of the sectional titles must take into consideration the concerns raised before tenants before agreeing to be a part of the SRA and could be a tedious process.

The second challenge was that of administration. The Inner-City Office is in the process of handing over the functions of the SRA by-law from the revenue department to CRUM. The reason for this is that it is an urban management function, and CRUM would have the capacity of having urban inspectors on the ground and offers better coordination.

Albeit the case, CID managers have concerns as to how the city would collect rates on their behalf. The inner-city official stated that the city is working towards updating the city's accounting system to accommodate CIDs. That way, there will be a system in which the monies will be paid over to them (Inner City official, interviewed 2021). A CID manager indicated that they would need

> "enabling legislation that allows ring-fencing of a portion of rates collected within a CID to be spent directly within that CID at the discretion of both the CID members and the City. As well as a mechanism for government / non-rateable properties to contribute toward the CID either financially or through resource allocation" (CID manager, survey response 2021)

The sentiments raised by the respondent echo that of the SCID manager and their concerns about rate collection and how it would be done especially since they were collecting at a very high level.

5.5) Conclusion

The responses provided by the urban managers indicate that they all faced a variety of challenges regarding their precincts because of the lockdown. Despite these challenges, the CIDs offered financial relief to contributing properties and social relief in the form of soup kitchens and the provision of PPE to businesses which were extremely beneficial to their stakeholders.

Although they have been playing the role of being community binders, it has been difficult for them to carry out their urban management work due to constraints faced by the city because of the Covid-19 pandemic. As a result of the regulations, service delivery was hampered due to various Municipal owned Entities working on skeleton staff. This is quite concerning considering that CRUM developed the ASDS to ensure that service delivery would be much more efficient throughout the lockdown. Furthermore, CIDs require the city to act on their service delivery mandates. This is because the CIDs escalate service delivery concerns to the respective city departments meaning that should those needs not be met, properties may not see the need for a CID. Over and above the main issue which has resulted from the pandemic, the matter of legislation and by-laws is an ever-present reminder that CIDs are not safeguarded despite properties still contributing voluntarily to their services.

The legislative challenge faced by CIDs cannot be ignored. The pandemic has highlighted that sustainability is important and the by-law offers the opportunity to safeguard CIDs within a particular legislative framework. This is based on the premise that the by-law enables there to be a financial arrangement between CIDs and the City which will see the City collecting levies on behalf of CIDs which will then be paid over to them. The SRA by-law in its entirety brings about different views from the CID managers on the forum. CIDs in the northern suburbs of the CoJ (Rosebank and Sandton) would need the by-law to match their standards of rate collection, whereas the CIDs in the inner city would not be able to develop an SRA as not all the properties in their area have paid 95% of their rates. The last chapter of the research report refers to the findings above and makes recommendations for CID management following the lockdown. This is taking into consideration the role CIDs have in bringing about ideal spaces for the businesses in their areas whilst at the same time

considering the implications and what the lockdown has meant for CID management in the CoJ.

Chapter 6:

Conclusions and Recommendations

What Now for CID Management in the CoJ?

6.1) Introduction

The chapter provides recommendations for the findings of this research. The findings provided indicate that CIDs have had to be adaptable to the challenges faced by their stakeholders; however, the importance of their work indicates that property owners are and will still be reliant on the CIDs to address their concerns.

The chapter summarises the research report which allows the opportunity to provide an understanding of what are the main findings and what this means for CID management in the CoJ. The chapter also provides insights as to what is next for CID management in the CoJ. This is based on trends identified during the lockdown and what CIDs in the CoJ should consider in their urban management practices going forward. Recommendations will then be made as to how to achieve the mentioned outcomes set out concerning what is currently happening with CID management in the CoJ.

6.2) Summary of the Research Report

CID management in the CoJ has experienced a change in approach to assist the properties in their areas to manage the lockdown. There was an expectation that CIDs would struggle because of the lockdown as it was believed that property owners would not see the benefit of CID management due to trends of working from home. Nonetheless, properties within CIDs have continued paying their levies towards CIDs as properties realise the need to protect their asset which CIDs have done by offering cleaning and security services. Properties have continued to pay their levies because CIDs have gone above their mandate by providing social relief, reducing levies to assist properties that were struggling due to the implications of the lockdown on their businesses and providing information and understanding as to what the different levels of lockdown mean. These are just a few instances of how CIDs have helped their areas

What is important to realise is that CIDs are dependent on the CoJ in carrying out their urban management mandate for their properties. As such their relationship has taken a strain due to measures put in place by the City to work on a skeleton staff rooster which has hampered service delivery. Highlighting this is crucial especially in the context of the research report as the literature discussed to an extent what an ideal city is and how it can be achieved. What was identified in that is that cities do depend on stakeholders, in this case, CIDs, to assist

them in developing these cities which may contribute to the development and enhancement of a city's space. Therefore, the lockdown has put a strain on this relationship and the City will be required to find solutions to service delivery challenges faced by CIDs during the lockdown.

The matter of the SRA by-law is also important to take into consideration. The by-law will require CIDs to enter into financial agreements with the CoJ. By doing so, CIDs would not need to depend on voluntary contributions paid to them as the City would collect a set fee monthly on behalf of the CIDs and pay it back to them. Although that provides a sustainable source of income for CIDs, matters on how the by-law will be implemented and how CIDs will benefit need to be addressed. This is because where the areas the by-law could work in CIDs do not want it and the areas that want it, the by-law could not work. This serves as an indication that the by-law needs to be reworked to benefit all CIDs.

6.3) Research Question

The main research question for the research report is as follows:

> "How are City Improvement Districts, in the Johannesburg Inner City, adapting their urban management practices in line with changing legislation and to address the lockdown?

The research report has provided much understanding as to how CIDs in the CoJ carried out their urban management practices throughout the Cvodi-19 pandemic. In addition to their mandates of cleaning and security, they offered social relief, assistance to businesses who needed PPE and reduced levies to support properties that were struggling to pay amongst other efforts by the CIDs. This serves as an indication that CIDs have the intention of helping as much as they can. Furthermore, taking into consideration the critiques of CID management discussed in the literature review, CIDs have attempted to make the city inclusive and responsive to the needs of those that require their assistance. This is despite the highlighted concern of the lack of a legislative framework which does not support their work. There are growing calls from CID managers alike who need the SRA by-law to be implemented however that requires further work as it does not suit all CIDs across the city

6.4) What Now for CID Management in the City of Johannesburg?

The main concern identified by the CID managers was that businesses would not see the value of CIDs because they would not be able to benefit from those services whilst working from home. Having highlighted how CIDs worked during the lockdown, questions about what CID management in the CoJ should be considered. Although CIDs had gone above their mandate by helping different forms of affected groups, much more consideration must go into what will CID management look like post-lockdown. The pandemic has led to a growing trend of remote working which is likely to stay (BusinessTech, 2021). Corporate companies are beginning to set up working-from-home systems. The article discusses research carried out in which it sampled 66 employers who stated that although most of their workforce would return once it was safe to do so in adherence to the Covid-19 regulations, remote working has been earmarked as a long-term strategic change (BusinessTech, 2020).

Despite the trend of working from home being one of the most common outcomes of the pandemic, Storring (2021) provides six trends that have arisen because of the pandemic which should be considered when designing the new "Covid-19 city". Chandra (2020) states that the pandemic has shown that the traditional strategies and methods developed for cities are unstable. There is a need to develop new foundations on which these cities stand that will make them more capable. At the heart of the trends mentioned by Storring (2021) placemaking is central to bringing about this new city. Six themes originate in the development of this new city which include technology innovations, health equity and access, street adaptation, justice, advocacy and policy, creative programming, and economic opportunity (Storring, 2021). There is a need for much improved public space which has been the centre of discussion across the world amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. Chabot (2021) mentions that the pandemic at a global level has brought about conversations about how public space can and should be used. Although that may be the case, most cities do not have adequate strategies for public space management (Chabot, 2021). Taking into consideration the six themes mentioned and the need for spaces that promote safe social distancing it highlights what the ideal city during the pandemic should embody. Furthermore, it indicates that CIDs would have a key role in helping achieve these embodiments.

Central to achieving these embodiments is that CIDs would need to provide digital infrastructure and technologies that will allow the opportunity to bring about transparency and new ways of city planning and management (Enel, 2020). The role of citizens in the

participation process is important in the bottom-up and top-down approaches to planning and designing the city. An example can be taken from the technological innovation theme. In the article, Storring (2021) states that placemaking organisations in the United States used different community amenities such as libraries and community centres as digital tools which enabled people to connect online in a safe manner during the height of the pandemic. This is something that urban management should consider especially when trying to build new cities in the digital age. The re-designing of spaces that promote informal trading is what is most crucial during this period. The informal sector has been the hardest hit by the pandemic and as such for people in this sector to be more sustainable, placemaking and the re-production of space are crucial in this regard. Spaces that adhere to social distancing and make it safe to be outside will benefit them a great deal. Approaches toward urban management and the economy moving forward must factor in this to make cities more resilient and sustainable (Chandra, 2020).

The CoJ has begun working on strategies that will address the impact of Covid-19. In its draft IDP for 2021-2026, the CoJ has different priorities for the next 5-year period. The most notable priority is priority 11[11] which is "Minimising the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic and future pandemics" (CoJ, page 57, 2020). As a result of this priority, there has been a drive towards improving public spacing in the inner city in partnership with CIDs. The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP) has begun working on the development of the Walkable Network which will create a partnership-based package. The Walkable Network will focus on streets and public spaces to create safe, clean, and welcoming experiences (Van Niekerk, 2021).

[11] The priority intends to ensure a high standard of hygiene and environmental care for all residents within Johannesburg. This will be done by adhering to the World Health Organisation (WHO) guidelines to reduce the spread and infection rate of the COVID-19 by providing basic services infrastructure and in doing so addressing informality and housing. These have been found to have a high potential of being super spreaders of the virus due to high densities which go against the COVID-19 guidelines of adhering to social distancing. The priority also intends on supporting the national and provincial efforts to ensure that the social security net is resilient to responding to the demands of the measures designed to reduce the spread and infections of the COVID-19 (CoJ, 2020).

Most of these routes will cut across CID boundaries which means that they will play a big role in the actualisation of this project. The routes will start from all major transportation hubs within the inner-city and because of this, the city has incorporated the Walkable Network as a key non-motorised transport (NMT) project in the Inner-City Transport Master Plan.

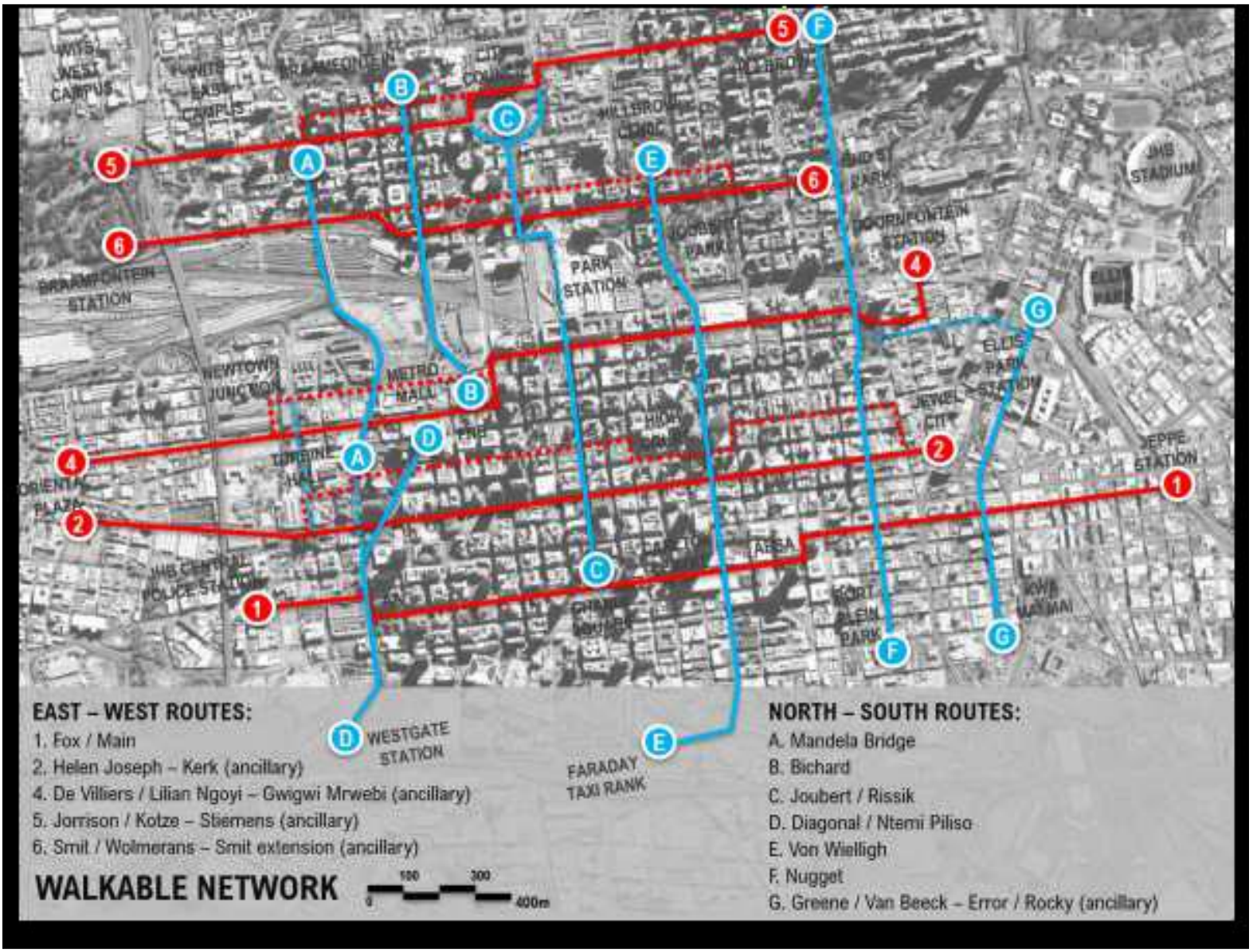


Figure 27: Depiction of the proposed Walkable Network routes in the CoJ. Image is taken from JICP (2020)

Whilst there are plans in establishing and developing the Walkable Network, there have been attempts to pilot ways in which public space can be adapted in the Johannesburg inner-city. In June 2021, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) piloted the Hello Joubert tactical urbanism study on Joubert Street, between Plein and Kerk Street. The project intended to find ways to make streets for people by enhancing existing streets and public art through activations. The intention was to offer pedestrians moments of safe pause, play and buy from the traders on the street (JDA, 2021). This was achieved by providing trees for shade, places to eat and rest, benches for people to sit, more bins and streets and spaces for children to play (JDA, 2021). Although the findings from the project have not been released, this route is a part of the walkable network (see route C on the walkable network route map). The findings will provide the city with insights as Joubert Street is a "critical north-south spine in the inner city" and will determine how the pedestrianisation of other streets across the city (JDA, 2021).



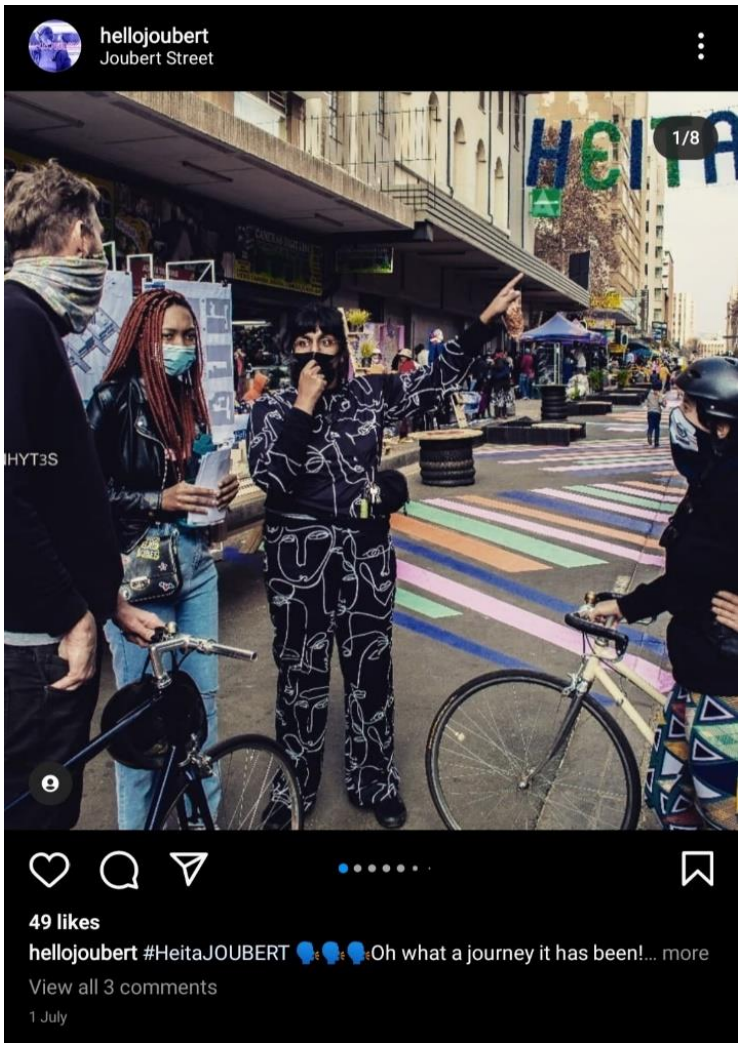


Figure 28: Both images are taken from the Hello Joubert Instagram page which documented the closure of the route as they sought to make it walkable

How businesses have and will continue to operate during the lockdown will determine how CIDs will provide their urban management services. A CID manager indicated that:

> "The shift in how businesses operate will have a tangible impact on the use of office space, for CIDs with high commercial makeup this will pose a considerable challenge that has yet to fully materialise. Further the pandemic has illustrated the critical need for well-managed public open space which is sufficiently flexible to adjust to changing needs" (CID Forum, page 3, 2021).

Another comment from a CID manager regarding the project indicated that

> "It is critical to look at sustainability and the long-term impact especially including factoring limitations such as additional security and cleaning on the ground" (CID manager, page 4, 2021).

The Hello Joubert Pilot and the Walkable Network are projects which CIDs should take notice of and be involved in contributing to the development of the City. By doing so, not only will this benefit the properties in their precinct, but it will contribute to the further development of the inner city. These aspects should be taken into consideration and will require much stakeholder engagement to bring about city spaces that will benefit all during the lockdown. Therefore, CIDs in the CoJ will have to navigate aspects of legislation, their relationship with the City and the lockdown as they continue practising their urban management practices. This can be highlighted in the diagram as follows:

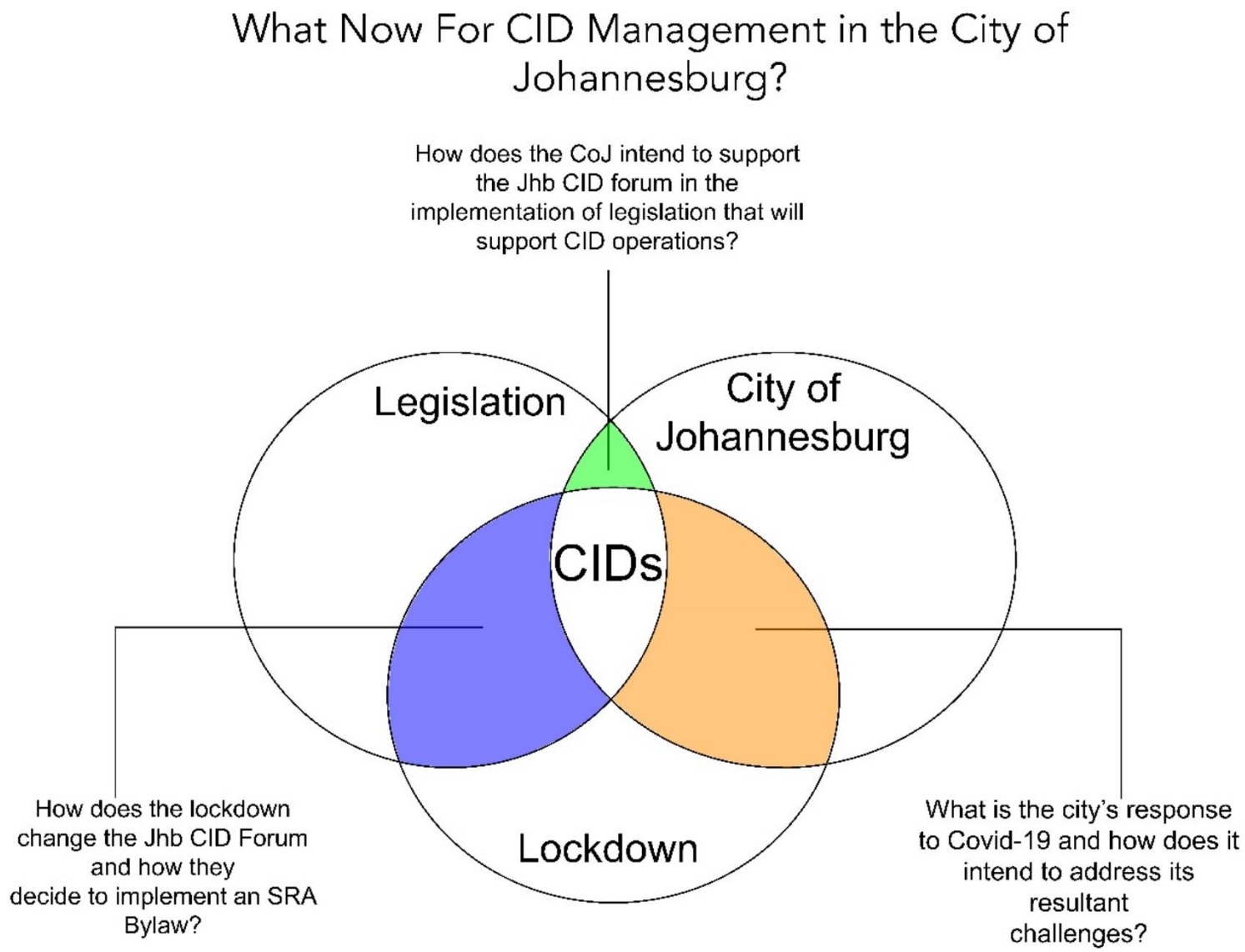


Figure 29: The diagram which was produced by me is an attempt to hence highlight aspects needed to be considered for CID management in the CoJ

The diagram provided attempts to highlight this by placing CIDs at the centre and the various aspects that have shaped their urban management practices because of findings made in the research. Firstly, identifying the current lockdown, the services offered by the CIDs during the initial stages of the lockdown, between March 2020 and the current time of writing in February 2022, went beyond what the CoJ could offer. This cemented their importance to property owners and businesses in their areas and is the main reason why none of the property owners has pulled out the CIDs.

The City of Johannesburg

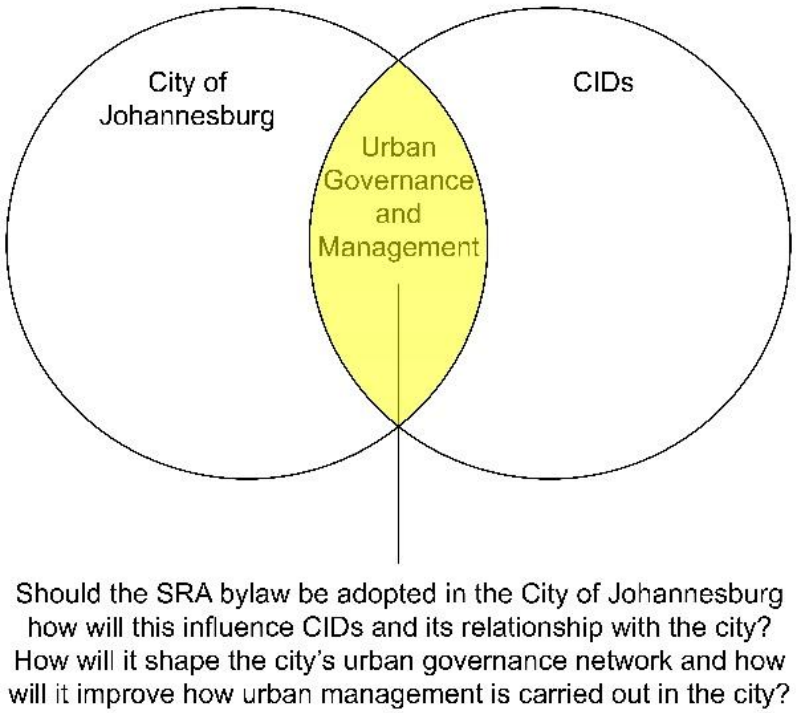


Figure 30: The relationship between the CoJ and CIDs highlighted in terms of the conceptual framework

The Lockdown

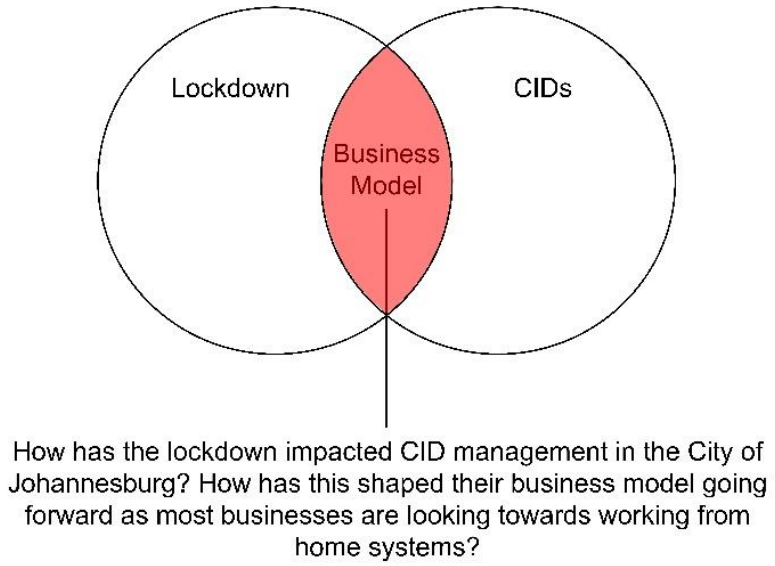


Figure 31: The influence of the lockdown on CID management and how it could impact and affect their operations

Legislation

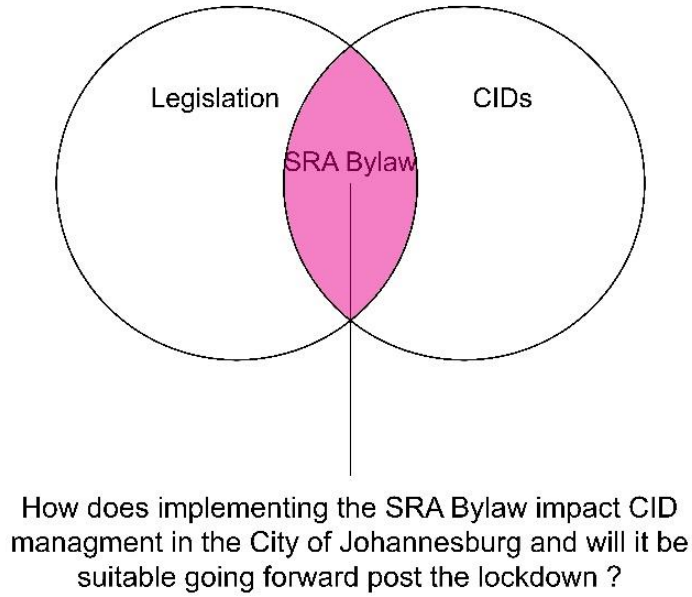


Figure 32: The role of legislation shaping CID practices through the proposed SRA bylaw

The diagrams indicate the following considerations that need to be taken to account.

Firstly, how will the CoJ address the challenges they have faced in providing service delivery during the lockdown and how will this influence the way CIDs can carry out their work? This was one of the main aspects which left CID managers disgruntled as it hampered most of their urban management work. To ensure that their relationship with CIDs is not strained, the CoJ should pay much more attention to this matter.

Secondly, the proposed SRA by-law will have to be reworked to address the concerns mentioned by the CID managers. This will be crucial as it will determine how CIDs collect their levies which is even more important considering the challenges CIDs have had to deal with on behalf of the properties in their areas.

Lastly, how can CIDs benefit the businesses and properties in their areas more during the lockdown to mitigate any challenges that they have faced during the current lockdown?

6.5) Recommendations

Having highlighted what, the lockdown could mean for CID management in the CoJ, the following recommendations are provided.

6.5.1) The need for a national policy framework

The non-existence of a policy framework from the national government is a point of concern regarding urban management. The first recommendation is based on the premise of establishing a national policy framework for urban management. The GPMA will be representing their members (CIDs in Gauteng) on the South African Precinct Management Initiative (SAPMI) which is working towards a National Urban Management Policy (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). The Urban Management Policy Framework will guide how urban management is practised in the country through laws and adequate plans (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). There needs to be a stable mechanism provided to guide municipalities in creating legislation for CIDs that will encourage best practices and sustainability. Having the policy framework will eliminate municipalities having to create by-laws from different pieces of legislation. The framework will inform municipalities across the country on how they should implement CID legislation. Taking into consideration that the CoJ is trying to implement the SRA by-law based on how it has been implemented in the

CoCT, the policy framework will provide some form of flexibility in how CID legislation can be implemented. This will prevent the need for municipalities from having to change aspects of a by-law to suit their needs. It will also prevent the current method of municipalities from having the choice of choosing which piece of legislation they can enact CID legislation. This need emerges from the fact that across the country there are different ways to enact CID legislation which does not promote best practices.

6.5.2) Implementing the by-law in its current form and working towards it benefitting everyone

The process of developing a policy framework may take time; however, there is a need for legislation in the CoJ. The second recommendation is for the by-law to be piloted whilst being reworked during the process. The GPMA member stated that the city "is desperate to set up CIDs" to contribute towards the redevelopment of the city (GPMA member, interviewed in 2021). Despite this need and based on the interviews and responses to the survey, the by-law in its current form will not benefit any of the CIDs. By using the by-law in its current form, it should be piloted in a CID in the northern suburbs and the inner city. The pilot will offer the opportunity for the by-law to be used and start addressing any concerns that CID managers have with it. Taking the approach of incrementalism may be the best method to address concerns with the by-law. Incremental planning allows the opportunity to break down long-term plans into smaller and more concise procedures (Tilner, 2013). With the plan being broken down into smaller procedures it hence offers the opportunity to re-work and amend previous decisions to ensure a much more beneficial by-law for all (Dye, 2013). The CoJ should take it upon themselves to support this process as much as possible as they are the ones responsible for drafting the by-law. Those involved could use existing platforms such as the CID forum, the RJOC and ASDS as mechanisms to pilot the by-law. They offer the opportunity to share their learnings and hence the opportunity for critique. There is a need for the by-law, but it must be created well enough to incorporate all CIDs as not all areas are the same.

6.5.3) Collaboration

The third recommendation focuses on emphasising the importance of collaboration between the businesses and properties within their CIDs. The lockdown has shown that partnership is

important, and CIDs should use their role as facilitators to encourage businesses within their precincts to work with one another. The intention in doing so is to contribute to CIDs and their business model but most importantly their sustainability. The businesses working with one another could result in events that bring communities together. CIDs could leverage this type of initiative by offering incentives such as if businesses collaborate and support one another, they could pay reduced levies. Efforts such as these move CID management practices from focusing on cleaning and safety more towards ensuring neighbourhood development.

6.6) Conclusion

The research report has attempted to depict CID management and how the lockdown would shape urban management practices. Based on the literature that was presented, CIDs have been implemented to maintain and shape urban spaces for those that enlist their services.

The research report has indicated that CIDs have not lost any members. Despite not losing any members, CIDs have encountered numerous challenges including a strain in their relationship with the CoJ. This has put a strain on their urban management practices as their service delivery has been slow. This brings to question how long this is set to last especially considering their legislative limbo.

Based on the recommendations provided, they offer the ability to enact legislation that will support CIDs in the long run. Whilst this is ongoing however there is a need for legislation and piloting the by-law through trial and error may be the best solution to get a suitable agreement. As tedious as this process may be, it may offer a better understanding of what this legislation may entail for the city in the meanwhile.

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Appendix 1: Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG | SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

07 February 2022

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment:

Ethics clearance letter:

Dear Rorisang Sojane

Student number (1444256), this letter confirms that your ethics application has been cleared. Your clearance/protocol number SOAP147/06/2021

Yours sincerely

Lerato Nkosi

School of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, John Moffat Building, Wits, 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717- 7692| Email: lerato.nkosi@wits.ac.za | www.wits.ac.za

Appendix 2: Participation Information Sheet_ Observation at CID Organisation

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Observation at CID organisation
Lockdown and the City: The Dawn of New CID Practices

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

Greetings

My name is Rorisang Sojane, and I am currently a full-time student studying towards an Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my academic studies, I am required to complete a research project and I would be grateful for your assistance in undertaking my research.

I am investigating how the lockdown has impacted CIDs in the Johannesburg inner city. CIDs are dependent on monies paid by the businesses in their areas however the lockdown has resulted in a growing trend of businesses moving from the inner city and working from home. If they are not getting funding towards their work how will this, then impact the urban management of the city? To get a better understanding of the topic at hand, I intend on focussing on the CID managers who are part of the Johannesburg CID Forum by observing how they work during the lockdown. I intend to observe how the CID conducts its daily operations over a 3-5 day period to understand what goes into the organisations daily operations during this lockdown period

The observation period would entail different aspects which include being with different people of the organisation and observing how they carry out their different tasks. Throughout the observation period I also intend on interviewing members of the organisation and ask them how their work mandate has changed about what has changed between before the lockdown and what has changed as a result. The interview will take approximately 15-20 minutes of your time, and it will be conducted at your offices.

I would like to record the interview by taking handwritten notes and recording using my cellphone. I will only audio-record the interview if you give me your consent to do so. I would also like to take photographs of the organisation whilst it embarks on its daily tasks.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation. Apart from taking some of your time, your participation should not involve any costs or risks to yourself.

Your participation will be completely anonymous, and the results of the interview and your personal views will not be linked to you in the final report. However, your organisation may be identified. If I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that your identity will not be revealed, and I will refer to you as Urban Ranger. Any comments that you make that you deem 'off the record' or similar will not be quoted.

The research is being undertaken solely for academic purposes and the information from the interview will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone. It will be securely stored on a password protected hard drive. Once I have obtained all the necessary information, I will present and analyse my findings in a Research Report, which will be submitted for examination at the end of the year. Once it is completed, it will be stored electronically on the Wits Library system.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 1444256@students.wits.ac.za or 079 899 6040 or my supervisor, Temba Middelmann at tidm90@gmail.com or +27 71 522 9589. Please also feel free to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by getting touch with Shaun Schoeman via email on Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za or 0117171408 and Charmaine Khumalo via email Charmaine.khumalo@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1788 for queries.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Rorisang Sojane
MSc master's in urban studies degree programme

Appendix 3: Participation Information Sheet_ Survey for CID Managers on the Johannesburg CID Forum

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Survey for CID Managers on the Johannesburg CID Forum
Lockdown and the City: The Dawn of New CID Practices

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

Greetings

My name is Rorisang Sojane, and I am currently a full-time student studying towards an Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my academic studies, I am required to complete a research project and I would be grateful for your assistance in undertaking my research.

I am investigating how the lockdown has impacted CIDs in the Johannesburg inner city. CIDs are dependent on monies paid by the businesses in their areas however the lockdown has resulted in a growing trend of businesses moving from the inner city and working from home. If they are not getting funding towards their work how will this, then impact the urban management of the city? To get a better understanding of the topic at hand, I intend on focussing on the CID managers who are part of the Johannesburg CID Forum by issuing out a survey. The survey will consist of different questions to ascertain the impact of the lockdown on their businesses and how this will shape their practice going forward. The survey serves to get a much broader understanding of the impact of the lockdown whilst the interviews with identified CID managers will give a much better understanding of how the lockdown has impacted their specific area.

Because you are a CID manager a part of the Johannesburg CID Forum, I would like you to take part in the survey. The survey will take approximately 5-7 minutes of your time, and it will be conducted via a google form link. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation. Apart from taking some of your time, your participation should not involve any costs or risks to yourself.

Your participation will be completely anonymous, and the results of the interview and your personal views will not be linked to you in the final report. However, your organisation may be identified. If I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that your identity will not be revealed, and I will refer to you as Urban Ranger. Any comments that you make that you deem 'off the record' or similar will not be quoted.

The research is being undertaken solely for academic purposes and the information from the interview will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone. It will be securely stored on a password protected hard drive. Once I have obtained all the necessary information, I will present and analyse my findings in a Research Report, which will be submitted for examination at the end of the year. Once it is completed, it will be stored electronically on the Wits Library system.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 1444256@students.wits.ac.za or 079 899 6040 or my supervisor, Temba Middelmann at tjdm90@gmail.com or +27 71 522 9589. Please also feel free to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by getting touch with Shaun Schoeman via email on Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za or 0117171406 and Charmaine Khumalo via email Charmaine.khumalo@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1786 for queries.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Rorisang Sojane
MSc master's in urban studies degree programme

Appendix 4: Participation Information Sheet_ Interviewing CID Managers

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: CID Manager
Lockdown and the City: The Dawn of New CID Practices

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

Greetings

My name is Rorisang Sojane, and I am currently a full-time student studying towards an Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my academic studies, I am required to complete a research project and I would be grateful for your assistance in undertaking my research.

I am investigating how the lockdown has impacted CIDs in the Johannesburg inner city. CIDs are dependent on monies paid by the businesses in their areas however the lockdown has resulted in a growing trend of businesses moving from the inner city and working from home. If they are not getting funding towards their work how will this, then impact the urban management of the city? To get a better understanding of the topic at hand, I intend on identifying CID managers who are a part of the Johannesburg CID Forum and conduct an interview with them. I intend to interview two CID managers on the Johannesburg CID Forum.

Because you are the CID Manager of your specific area, I would like you to take part in an interview. I will ask you questions on how the pandemic has impacted your CID area and how you and your organisation have been able to respond to the setback. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes of your time, and it will be conducted in a location convenient to you/ at your offices/ or a nearby public space/online via electronic platforms such as Teams, Zoom or Skype

I would like to record the interview by taking handwritten notes and voice recording on my cellphone should we meet in person but if we are to meet online, I will record the zoom, Teams or Skype session. I will only audio-record the interview if you give me your consent to do so. I would also like to photograph your premises and surroundings but only if you give me your permission.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation. Apart from taking some of your time, your participation should not involve any costs or risks to yourself.

Your participation will be completely anonymous, and the results of the interview and your personal views will not be linked to you in the final report. However, your organisation may be identified. If I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that your identity will not be revealed, and I will refer to you as Urban Ranger. Any comments that you make that you deem 'off the record' or similar will not be quoted.

The research is being undertaken solely for academic purposes and the information from the interview will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone. It will be securely stored on a password protected hard drive. Once I have obtained all the necessary information, I will present and analyse my findings in a Research Report, which will be submitted for examination at the end of the year. Once it is completed, it will be stored electronically on the Wits Library system.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 1444256@students.wits.ac.za or 079 899 6040 or my supervisor, Temba Middelmann at tjdm90@gmail.com or +27 71 522 9589. Please also feel free to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by getting touch with Shaun Schoeman via email on Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za or 0117171408 and Charmaine Khumalo via email Charmaine.khumalo@wits.ac.za or 011 717 1788 for queries.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Rorisang Sojane
MSc master's in urban studies degree programme

Appendix 5: Interview Questions

Rorisang Sojane

1444256

Instruments for research report

Questions for CID Managers

Lockdown and the City: The Dawn of New CID Practices

Questions for CID managers

1. What are the challenges of CID management in your area?
2. How has the lockdown impacted your CID?
3. How do you raise funding for your work and how has the lockdown impacted the amount of funding you receive now?
4. How is your CIDs relationship with the city? Have the been able to assist you during the lockdown?
5. Do you think this lockdown will alter the need for CIDs going forward? If so how and if not, why?

Appendix 6: Survey Questions

Rorisang Sojane

1444256

Instruments for research report

Survey

Lockdown and the City: The Dawn of New CID Practices

Survey for CID managers

On a scale from 1-10:

1. How satisfied are you with the CoJ and their response to the pandemic?
   - With 1 being not satisfied at all
   - With 10 being very satisfied

2. How supportive are the businesses you serve in your area towards your work?
   - With 1 being not supportive at all
   - With 10 being very supportive

3. How significant has the impact of lockdown been on your CID?
   - With 1 being not significant at all
   - With 10 being very significant

4. How likely is your business going to survive post the pandemic?
   - With 1 being not like at all
   - With 10 being very likely

5. Would the implementation of the SRA by-law in your area be very helpful for your business?
   - With 1 being not helpful at all
   - With 10 being very helpful

6. Short answer

   What is needed for CID management to prosper in the CoJ?

Appendix 7: Plagiarism Declaration

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa * Telephone (011) 717 – 7007 * Fax: (011) 717 7009 * Email: febe.pg@wits.ac.za

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

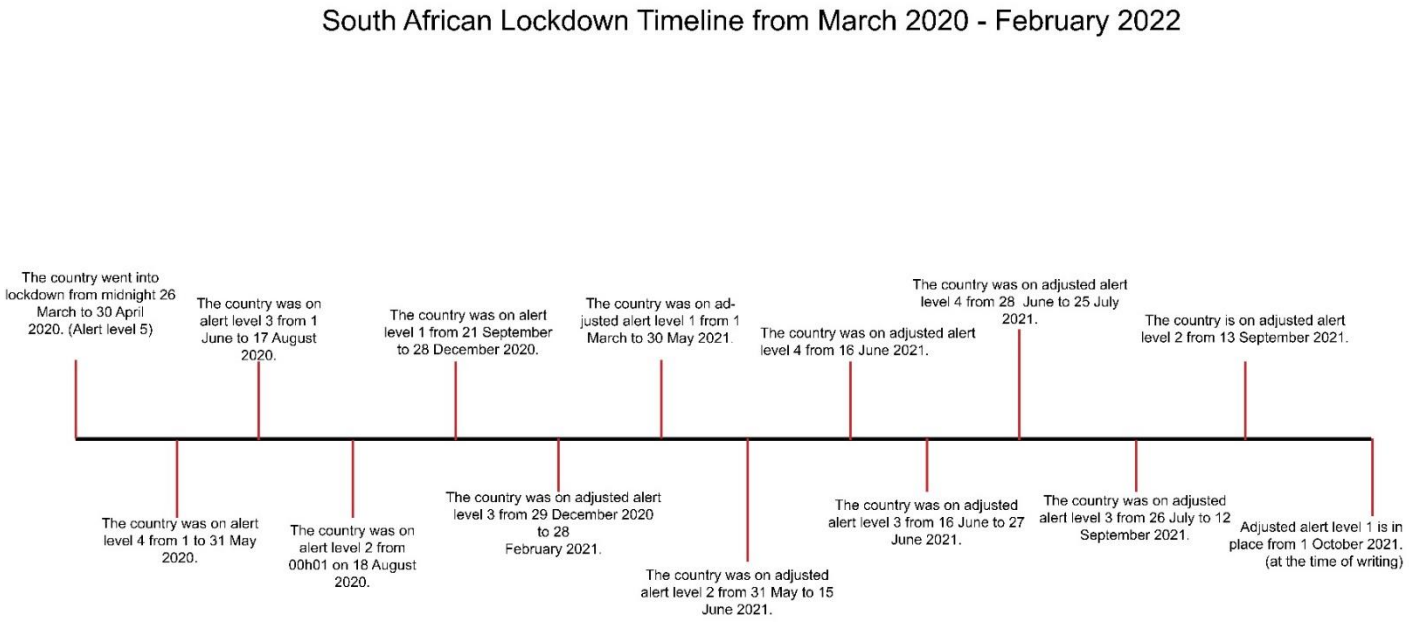
I Rorisang Sojane (Student number: 1444256) am a student registered for the degree of MSc in Urban Management in the academic year 2021/2022.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this in not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: 28th February 2022

Appendix 8: Lockdown Timeline

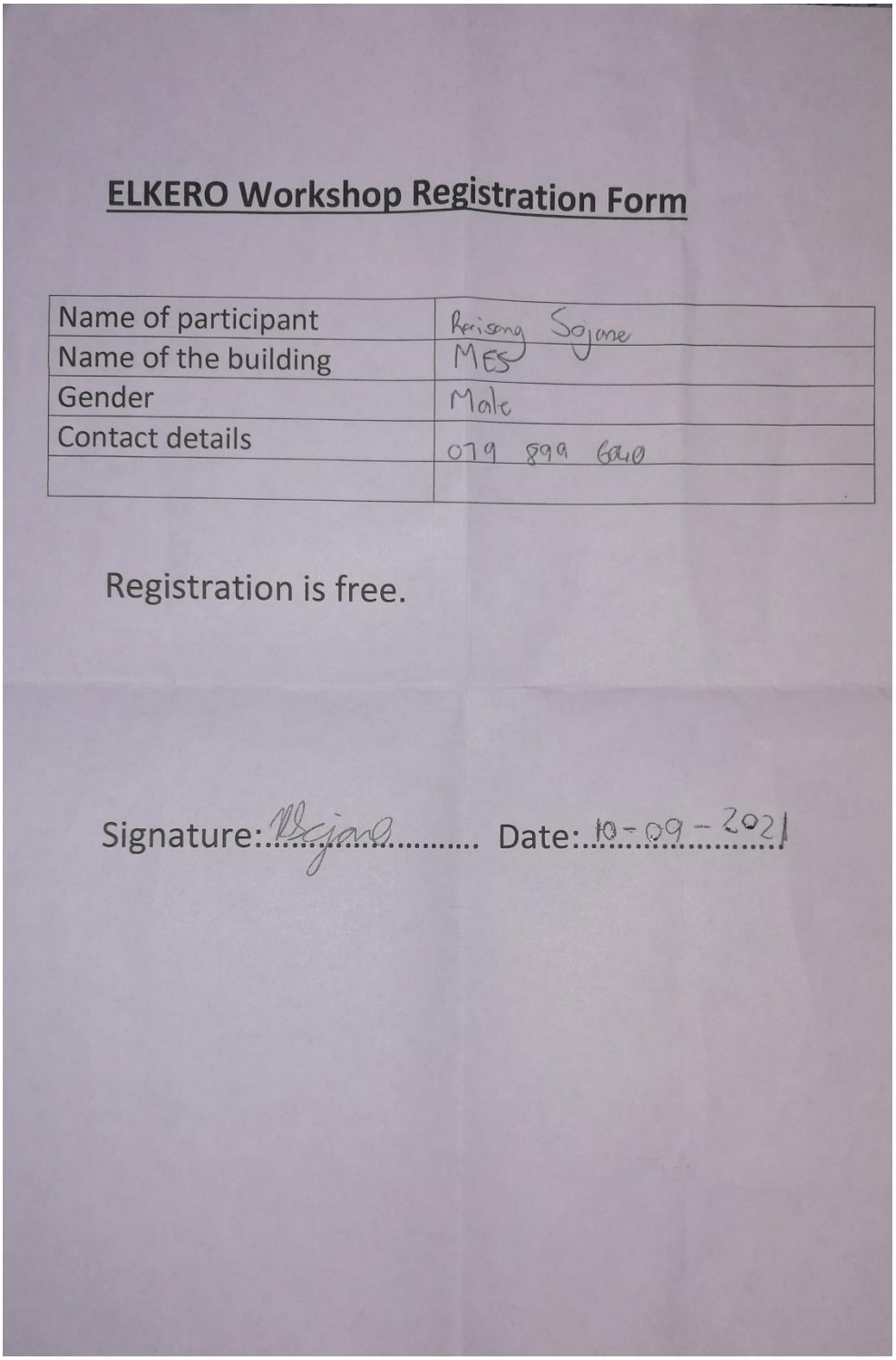


The various lockdown levels determine the restrictions that are applied during the national state of disaster.

- Level 1 indicates that there is a low transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a high health system readiness.
- Level 2 indicates that there is a moderate transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a high health system readiness.
- Level 3 indicates that there is a moderate transmission of the Covid-19 virus spread with a moderate health system readiness.
- Level 4 indicates that there is a moderate to high transmission of the Covid-19 virus with a low to moderate health system readiness.
- Level 5 indicates a high Covid-19 spread with a low health system readiness

(South African government, n.d.)

Appendix 9: El Kero Workshop Registration



ELKERO Workshop Registration Form

Name of participant	Kerisang Sojane
Name of the building	MES
Gender	Male
Contact details	079 899 6410

Registration is free.

Signature:..... Date: 10-09-2021