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‘Exploring’ Maboneng as an International Urban Tourism Attraction within Johannesburg

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Rory Murtagh

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelors of Science Urban and Regional Planning Honours.

Johannesburg, 2015

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is being submitted to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Urban and Regional Planning Honours to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University or academic institution.

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Rory Murtagh

11th day of November 2015

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1.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Living in a city like Johannesburg is one of isolation in many ways, entrapped behind high walls and imposing electric fences the life that we lead in this country is very different to the lives led by the Western and developed world. The experience of living in such a dynamic, charismatic and tumultuous African city has been a unique experience that we as young South Africans who grew up during the 1990's do not necessarily realize. It is a very complex city with a tremendous amount of history, which has in many ways been the direct cause of the physical layout and segregated nature of the 'economic heart of Africa'. It is a city that has shifted and changed drastically over time from the demographics to the physical layout, transformation is nothing new in the South African context. Johannesburg, a city centre once, and to a large degree still characterised by being in a state of degradation and deterioration with crime, pollution and mass 'capital flight', is starting to transform into a sought after urban tourism destination as well as drawing people out of the suburbs and symbolizing this drastic transformation of cities around South Africa – perceptions are starting to shift. Johannesburg in recent times has been garnering more international attention with pockets of regeneration (Maboneng, Braamfontein, Newtown) sporadically located around the inner city embodying the regeneration initiatives that have been enticing international tourists to explore what was once 'the jewel of Africa'. This new transformation is imbedding itself in the 'crippled' inner city and is playing a vital role in uplifting Johannesburg. In a new democratic South Africa it is becoming a representation of a new South African identity and could be the starting point of a broader and more holistic regeneration of an inner city once forgotten with tourism playing a key role in this revolutionary shift.

Being a white South African growing up in a country where for the majority of my childhood the inner city was a no go zone, meant that the secluded life of suburban living was the extent of my experience of the city. Growing up and engaging with more and more spaces within the Johannesburg inner city I would start deconstructing and reimagining spaces which I saw in my mind, being almost magnetically drawn more and more to the allure of the city and what it had to offer. Remembering that many still living in abject poverty, in townships littered all over South Africa, with many realising that the only way to better there

circumstances is to move into the cities. With these negative dynamics there is a need to support and encourage a 'vehicle' or conduit which could alleviate, to an extent this issue which could be found in the form of tourism.

Urban tourism is becoming an essential part of what kind of tourism we are starting to see increase in Johannesburg and it is by large due to the significance of nodal urban regeneration pockets and what they have to offer the international user that has become a focal point of urban tourism. Maboneng is one such project which as the CEO and founder of the development company Propertuity Jonathan Liebmann put it, as being, "one of the pillars of Maboneng." Propertuity have been using tourism and 'international ideas' that have been seen abroad and reimagining them and using them in the Johannesburg context for the purposes of developing a space that was interactive, cultural and vibrant, a place unlike any other that was available at the time in Johannesburg.

There is a dire need to find out just how much tourism has impacted and contributed towards urban regeneration in Maboneng, and on the other hand to find out how urban regeneration (UR) has contributed to the increase and rise in urban tourism. Urban tourism is an essential component of tourism and there is a necessity to rigorously research and understand the contribution and impact that it makes. This research report aims at portraying in a clearer manner certain aspects which the urban tourist, hotels, backpackers and developers can all look at in order to identify the flaws within the UR precinct and be able to tackle and identify whatever challenges that this report might bring to the fore. This research report is intended to try and understand to what extent Maboneng as an UR project attracts tourists and to attempt to recognise what 'international ideas' that have been implemented in the area that might have an impact on tourism and for what purposes have the 'ideas' been initiated.

1.2 Background

Urban tourism is fast becoming a rapidly growing sector in terms of tourists visiting South Africa and a linchpin in urban regeneration and their sustainability and economic success. There are large and growing number of tourists visiting areas such as Maboneng, Braamfontein, Newtown and the greater Johannesburg inner city. Reasons behind such a change in the rate at which urban tourism is taking place is becoming of extreme relevance and interest to

further developments and planning strategies which might use tourism to help stimulate other such projects in the future. Urban regeneration is a highly contentious and fairly new approach present within the cities of the world and has over the past few decades become

extremely prevalent within the cities of South Africa. South Africa, however, is a unique example in the broader international context due to the historical dynamics that have hindered and drastically affected the way in which our cities are formed. The racial segregation which was promulgated by means of physical segregation, along with processes such as capital flight have all played major roles in the urban landscape in which urban regeneration is taking place today.

The complex and sensitive matrix of challenges and issues that are present in South African cities has made me even more motivated to research and understand the intricacies of how the international example and tourism has so 'significantly' contributed to the ways in which we are starting to reimagine our cities. Maboneng is an area that is garnering a tremendous amount of attention both locally and abroad, the need to recognise and fully understand the reason for such focus has gripped my own personal attention and encouraged my endeavours to further deepen my knowledge of the parts at play and what has made this urban regeneration (UR) project a lure for tourists and a representation of international ideas on the urban fabric of an African developing country.

The main motivation for this research report was my passion for urban regeneration and interest in tourism, having worked in Maboneng for a year due to my interest in the project I noticed a large number of international tourists visiting the area. I also assisted with sales, noticing the sheer number of foreign investors who were seeking to buy or were already occupants of existing residences that were present in the area. Over time noticing the number of foreign tourists, investors and skilled international professionals working in collaboration with the developers, I started raising questions in my mind, which hopefully this report will answer. If Johannesburg along with other South African cities are going to maintain their character, historic integrity and physical assets which have formed the identity and image of the city upon the 'canvas' on which it has not always been easy to 'paint', then it is fundamentally important that we do our utmost as planners and other relevant stakeholders to ensure that we sustain and maintain these components which have built up our cities. One of the best ways of going about such a tumultuous task is the idea of UR, that is undertaken in the right manner and relevant to the area in which it is taking place. The reorganization of the influences and impacts of urban tourism and tourism in general cannot be ignored or set aside but can rather be used as an effective tool in the transformation of our cities into something that we as citizens of this country can be proud of and be beneficial to the many who are involved or come into contact with it.

Maboneng is unique in the way that it is a privately propelled project with one main development company called Propertuity. It was this company that I worked for last year and learnt a tremendous amount about the functionality and operation of the company. The entire concept of Maboneng was brought about by the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Johnathan Liebmann who travelled the world for a few years before realising that there were no vibrant, interactive, public, mixed-use spaces like that which he experienced overseas in Johannesburg and he has a vision to recreate an environment such as the ones he experienced on his travels. The international example was the reason and motivation behind the entire precinct and many aspects of the current precinct have been fashioned from the ideas which he personally experienced whilst visiting a number of different countries, especially in Europe.

Propertuity has also enlisted the help of foreigners who have contributed in many aspects of what it is that Propertuity's mandate states such as, architects and planners. David Adjaye one of the world's most reputable architects has been employed to design some of the upcoming developments in the precinct, he will have an extremely profound effect on the shape and look of what the area will look like in the future. There is also a non-profit organisation, the Global Regenerative Initiative for Neighbourhood Development (GRIND), which looks at other UR projects all over the world and creates a platform on which these international projects can communicate and share ideas and information that helps to stimulate and better these independent UR projects as well as Maboneng. GRIND is a constituent of Propertuity and attracts foreign students and academics to engage in different projects that benefit the precinct using their own fields of study and backgrounds as a means to do so. This organisation is a further indication of how international examples and experiences have contributed to forming and developing the precinct. These are the kinds of components within the broader picture of this particular UR project that need to be taken into consideration and looked at closely, all of which will form channels of valuable information.

1.3 The problem

Maboneng has become a prominent and valuable urban tourism destination in Johannesburg and with the positive and growing impacts and influences that tourism could have on Johannesburg's inner city as a whole there is a dire need to find out how international tourists has contributed to the UR project, specifically the social and economic dynamics. Tourism is a massive component of what drives our economy on a national scale. Other than how

tourists contribute to and impact the area there is also a necessity to figure out why it is that tourists are attracted to areas like Maboneng, the fact that we do not know intrinsically what these attractive components are poses a problem in trying to maximise on these tourism elements in the future. There is a need to find out from the tourists perspective as well as the developers and relevant parties.

Urban tourism is a fundamental component of the continued sustainability of the inner city and to know what the detailed attractive components and elements are within the Maboneng urban framework would prove vital for planning and implementing future developments that could draw/learn from this research. Maboneng has been viewed as a precinct that is reminiscent of other international spaces, a homogenous urban environment which is comparable to global cities. There is a need to identify what aspects of Maboneng have been viewed as such (urban design, buildings, art, culture, and atmosphere) and how have these international 'ideas' contributed to the development of Maboneng. It is crucial that we find out if tourists view Maboneng as a homogenous space and what aspects have made them feel that way. These international examples and ideas taken from other international contexts are crucial to understanding how we as planners can either utilize these international examples as a means to adopt them further or to use them as an indicator or contributor to strengthen the South African example and identity. This leads to the next potential problem which is that of authenticity that is embodied in the 'Africaness'[1] of Maboneng, if that aspect, if present, is an attraction in itself. It is imperative that we find out what Maboneng represents as an urban city area precinct, to figure out if it is portrays an authentic African city, that it exemplifies and allows tourists to engage with an authentically African experience that makes Maboneng unique and original. It is essential that we promote tourism as far as possible but we also need to bear in mind what affects these tourists are having on our home soil (South Africa) so that we may be better prepared to handle the positive and negative aspects that might arise. There is a dire need to grapple with the underlying issues that this report might represent and use this information accordingly to plan and strategize better for urban tourism provision and support in the inner city of Johannesburg.

[1] Africaness refers to how a place reflects or portrays the African culture, lifestyle and African identity within space.

1.4.1 Research Question

To what extent is Maboneng an attraction for international tourism, and what international 'ideas' being used in the urban regeneration project have contributed to the appeal of the area for urban tourism?

1.4.2 Research Sub Questions

a. How have the developers of Maboneng utilized international 'ideas' to shape the urban environment of Maboneng in order to make it a more attractive and robust space within the larger African inner city?

b. How significant are the visiting tourists to the economy and social dynamics of Maboneng?

c. What are the key aspects of Maboneng and its urban design layout that attract international tourists to visit and stay in this urban regenerated area?

d. How is Maboneng a representation of an 'authentic' tourism destination?

1.5 Ethical Issues and Considerations

Undertaking the study that was conducted for the purposes of this report did not involve what would be deemed as 'vulnerable' individuals, however, ethical considerations were made. Firstly, Consent Forms and Participation Information Sheets were given to key respondents before the interviews took place. Secondly, the reason behind the interviews was clearly communicated to the respondents before the commencement of the interview. Third, the use of audio recording was also stated and acknowledged by the respondents beforehand. Fourth, there was respect given for respondents who might have been bound by confidentiality agreements with the developers or other relevant information that had to be withheld. Fifth, the key respondents were given the option of remaining anonymous, with none of them electing this option. Lastly, information that has been gained by means of these key respondents has been reflected accurately and honestly.

1.6 Research Report Outline

Chapter 1 has provided an introduction to the study. It has also provided a background to the study area and outlined the problem. It represents insights into the research methods and methodologies giving some insight into the key respondents that were interviewed.

Chapter 2 is the literature review and focuses on the key components involved in the research such as Local Economic Development and defines the urban tourist that is being focused on in this report. It also looks at South African tourism and the dynamics of tourism over the last few years. Lastly it portrays an international Case Study carried out on a tourism-led urban regeneration area in Bilbao, Spain giving an international perspective and comparisons to what is taking place in Maboneng.

Chapter 3, is an overview of the development of Maboneng and what Maboneng is within the larger Johannesburg context. It looks at the timeline through which Maboneng has been developed and gives insight into its components. The last portion of Chapter three succinctly depicts the accommodation offerings for tourists in the precinct.

Chapter 4, this chapter represents the findings of the research and illustrates a number of sub-themes within the findings that strive to answer the research questions as accurately as possible. It looks at international ideas, the current state of urban tourism in Maboneng and other relevant sub-themes which are intrinsic to understanding and formulating conclusions.

Chapter 5, this is a chapter that brings forward and a number of recommendations for how the developers and stakeholder should go about further enhancing the urban tourist agenda and maximising on the current amenities and attractions that they have in the area as well as suggesting some new interventions which could boost Maboneng as an international tourist attraction.

1.7 Research Methods and Methodologies

The research that I undertook involved primarily surveys, questionnaires and interviews that were conducted with a number of stakeholders, foreign tourists, Maboneng residents and various academics and interested parties that were connected with UR, tourism and the revitalisation of Johannesburg's inner city. The qualitative research component was derived from the interviews which were conducted with very influential and knowledgeable people about the topic at hand, people that were engrossed and as fascinated with the resurgence of Johannesburg city centre as I was, no matter what capacity the person I was conducting and

interview with they were all equally interested and willing to participate. This was where I absorbed all of the in-depth knowledge and facts about what it is that I intended to find out. They all gave comprehensive and engaging answers that were mostly relevant, and very helpful in allowing me to construct certain conclusions and images of what it is I was trying to ascertain.

The quantitative research component came in the form of surveys which I utilised as one of my primary research methods, it was an extremely helpful and fairly easy method of gaining a large amount of data. There were one set of surveys that were for stores restaurants in the Maboneng Precinct and another set for international tourists that were staying in the area. These surveys proved to be very effective as they are not all that time consuming and seemed to interest many of the people involved in filling them out. I conducted **41** surveys from foreign tourists and **26** from the businesses - stores and restaurants in the heart of the Maboneng Precinct, this formed a solid pool of information and helped to get more comprehensive data that was needed for a more accurate outcome. The surveys were carried out by handing out these surveys at random to tourists, sometimes in groups or alone, it was conducted as randomly as possible and took place at random times and days ensuring they were not handed out to close together, so that it would be possible to have another group of tourists having arrived.

Having worked in Maboneng for Propertuity during 2014 enabled me to establish networking connections, access information and data easily and form a more holistic and day to day understanding of the environment on which the research was being based. This really did allow for a good/solid foundation and starting point and the experiencess that were gained and the people that I met has been invaluable to me as a person as well as my research.

The interviews which were conducted with a number of different and very influential people have formed a strong basis for my research. They gave me a tremendous amount of in depth insight, with long and very informative answers. This allowed me to grapple with the knowledge that each individual was imparting on me and formulate some very clear and guided ideas which would assist hugely with my analysis and drawing certain educated conclusions. The questions that I asked had a strain of similarity but differed depending on the person that I was interviewing.

In total I conducted eight interviews and a questionnaire that was completed by Neil Fraser. Neil and I corresponded via email, as he is living in the Western Cape, he did fill out the

questionnaire and gave valuable and comprehensive feedback that was extremely useful. Neil has been a city 'champion' for Johannesburg with a very impressive career, being the executive director of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) which was a key inner city renewal initiative, he has since retired after a stellar professional career and leaving a positively profound mark upon Johannesburg. Neil was a crucial interviewee and an individual who is probably one of the most knowledgeable people when it comes to the Johannesburg inner city and its rejuvenation and this was the fundamental reason behind interviewing him. Neil also took a keen interest in tourism and once Constitutional Hill and Newtown projects were completed and used as offering for tourists Neil personally started taking foreigners and locals back into the inner city. Neil has personally taken between 6 and 10 000 people on tours of the inner city and in 2009 was asked by the JDA to write a programme for teaching tour guides about the inner city. Since he has left Johannesburg to live in the Western Cape numerous tour companies now operate in the inner city.

1.7.1 Key Interviewees

Firstly, Brian Mckechnie a young architect who also sits on the Board of the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority and has his own heritage consultancy. Brian has been working on a number of revitalisation projects that have been taking place in the Johannesburg inner city, his architectural schooling and knowledge of the heritage of Johannesburg gave a different perspective on the research that I was doing. Brian proved to be very useful in the matters of regeneration happening around Johannesburg in general and was useful in how he did not have any attachment to Maboneng which would prevent unbiased answers. His heritage background and in-depth knowledge about the inner city as well as his architectural expertise was key in my decision to use him as a key respondent.

Louise Meek, Alice Cabaret and Hayley Evans were three female interviewees who look and envisage the city completely differently to that of men, they are more conscious in certain ways more aware for safety reasons and also have a generally artistic perspective on spaces and what takes up space, that men do not tend to have. Second, Louise Meek is an entrepreneur who has founded Public Access Consulting which is an early stage start up that develops smart furniture for the purposes of market research and in an attempt to activate and integrate people in space. She is passionate about the inner city and the people that live within it, coming from a marketing background harnessing her love for the city and going that route has only come to fruition recently. Her point of view was interesting as she had an

interest in the people using the spaces, which gave me good insight into what kind of people were in Maboneng. She got this information from people using the space and her 'smart furniture' by means of having her smart bench[2] in Maboneng for three months. This close interaction with a number of different users within the space gave a more human and personal perspective on my research giving a valuable human element to her answers, concerns and points which she rose.

Third, Alice Cabaret a French national who was the Urban Strategist (Planner) and Operations Manager for the Maboneng Precinct, she was my supervisor during the time that I worked for Propertuity and has been heavily involved in the development of Maboneng since 2012. She is also a Director of GRIND which is a Non-profit initiative, which as stated on the grindcities.com website (2014), *supports the implementation of innovative and inclusive urban projects in neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration*. She is now practicing as an Urban Regeneration Consultant and is involved in a number of projects within Johannesburg and Paris. Alice was key interviewee with her experiences of UR both in Johannesburg and abroad, she was the key figure on the ground who had first-hand experience of what day to day operations were happening within Maboneng. The fact that she herself can be viewed as a 'tourist' as well as being intrinsically involved in much of what has taken place in Maboneng over the last few years made her an essential component of my research and one of the most prominent interviewees. Fourth, Hayleigh Evans was a fellow colleague of mine at Propertuity last year (2014), she was Johnathan Liebmann's first employee and started off doing anything that he did not want to do, she was heavily involved in community building and communication which gradually led to her becoming the Brand and cultural manager of the Precinct. She has been one of the few people involved in Maboneng from the beginning and understands the dynamics (specifically cultural) and growth of the Precinct more than most, she gave a very insightful and interesting interview, as she is also a store owner and gave some perspective from that point of view as well.

Fifth, Jonathan Liebmann is the founder and CEO of Propertuity as mentioned and was probably the most important respondent that I interviewed as he founded the Maboneng Precinct. Surprisingly young for the impact on which he has already made upon our city, a visionary, a risk taker and an astute businessman with a passion for the city and transforming it into something unique to the South African experience. He gave intellectually

[2] A smart bench (named Isabelo) is a custom made piece of street furniture that is used as a wi-Fi connection points, this wi-Fi hotspot is used to conduct digital research and collect big data on cities and city residents.

comprehensive answers that gave me a real true sense of what it was he envisaged doing and how he had accommodated and used tourism for the betterment of UR along with a number of other questions which he himself could only answer. This interview formed the foundation for me as to where many of the international 'ideas' have been taken from and conceived, as many of the implemented ideas have been that of Johnathan alone. His interview gave me the initial idea of the precinct and true intent of the spaces that have been developed and from what parts of the world some aspects of the UR area might have initially been conceptualised such as Tokyo or Berlin.

Sixth, Christian Rogerson one of the most respected academics in the fields of tourism, local economic development and small enterprise development as well as many other topics pertaining to the urban environment and tourism. He has published extensively in these fields and is one academic who I have paid particular attention to in my literature. He is currently a Professor at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) in the school of Tourism and Hospitality after having spent 30 years at the University of the Witwatersrand in the Geography department. He was extremely knowledgeable and had a great and experienced grasp on UR and how it related to, and was affected by tourism. He gave me some insightful personal reflections on what he thought about Maboneng and its impact upon the city.

Seventh, this interview was conducted on the Egido couple, the husband, Manuel Gomez-Arrones hailing from a town called Badajoz in Spain and his wife, Emma from Nelspruit South Africa. They had both just moved to Maboneng from Melbourne - Australia which was advantageous for research purposes in that it allowed for another urban point of reference from which information could be drawn. Emma was valuable in that she is an architect and was well informed about urban space, Manuel involved in construction was the foreign connection and having travelled around most of Europe and being from Spain was well informed about the international context. To get a more in depth perspective of the lifestyle, 'trials and tribulations' and appeal of Maboneng it was critical that one of the key respondents be a resident of Maboneng. In particular a foreign resident who had come from another global context and would be able to help compare where they were from to what they were experiencing within Maboneng

Lastly, the eighth key interviewee was Bheki Dube, he is a young entrepreneur who has lived and been involved in Maboneng since the early years of conception. He started off as a photographer and skateboarder in the city inner city who had a passion for the spaces that had

previously been forgotten. He worked for the independent Cinema, the Bioscope whilst the Maboneng Precinct was continuing to grow and the influx of tourists starting to become more apparent along with the escalation of international exposure, of what was going on in Maboneng. Dube then started taking inner city tours called Main Street Walks which started to gain momentum and popularity. Dube then went to Durban where he documented different portraits of backpackers and wanted to bring something of this accommodating nature to the inner city, where backpackers have previously been scarce. The natural progression from there was Dube collaborating with Jonathan Liebmann who allowed him the space and funding to start a backpackers in the Maboneng Precinct, which was named Curiosity Backpackers and opened in 2013. His interview was very captivating and intriguing - seeing a young black entrepreneur taking the initiative to allow something like this to succeed in an area where many people thought impossible is something truly inspiring and moving. To see things from his perspective being someone that has lived in Troyeville – only a stone's throw away from Maboneng – is something that also helps to get a more holistic perspective on how people envisage the city and the contributions that tourism has come to have upon such an exciting and exuberant UR initiative. Dube had very interesting insight into the tourism aspect of Maboneng because of the inner city tours that he has been undertaking for the past few years. Dube also being the man behind running the backpackers, being continuously surrounded by tourists and hearing what they think about the Precinct and how they view the city of

1.7.2 Surveys

There were two sets of surveys which I conducted one which was aimed at the international tourists staying in the Curiosity Backpackers and another which was aimed at certain stakeholders (businesses) working within the Precinct that would be potentially affected by tourists visiting the area such as stores, restaurants and other relevant facilities which might have been influenced. My research focus has been on Curiosity Backpackers as it has the largest and most consistent pool of tourists visiting every month, it is easily accessible and it gives me the freedom to engage with the tourists without having policies or by-laws, as is the case with the 12 Decades Hotel. Being familiar with the staff and Dube which is a tremendous advantage as they helped me conduct my surveys and gave me valuable information in terms of when the best times to conduct the surveys would be, and when they are expecting groups of tourists. This allowed me direct access to a wealth of knowledge whilst carrying out my research in the backpackers.

The surveys which I conducted proved to be key to understanding what the tourists thought about the Precinct, how they heard about the backpackers accommodation, what they liked about the spaces, getting a general feeling of why they were there, what interested them and how the Precinct compared to overseas examples - amongst a number of other questions pertaining to the area, tourism and UR. I asked a number of the staff working at the backpackers to assist me by helping me to hand them out before tours and certain activities that took place during the week such as games nights on Tuesdays and Braai nights on Fridays. The staff proved to be very helpful, as they are at the hostel all the time and have a certain rapport with the tourists that made it more comfortable for them to fill out the surveys. Many of the tourists did not have a problem filling out the surveys, with some filling them out quite comprehensively while others did not take much time to fill them out and just did the bare minimum. This was one of the setbacks of conducting this type of method of research, as one would want to extract as much information as possible, but this was something that was uncontrollable and I had to work around this and just take as much out of the surveys as I could.

The surveys had to take place at specific times whereby it would be more fruitful and beneficial for myself and the tourists. These times would be when they are having downtime in the Backpackers, after tours or at the end of the day which was one of the learning curves as before events and tours their focus would be elsewhere. It does not help giving surveys to tourists that have just checked in and have not yet engaged with the area and gotten a feel for their surroundings. We tried putting surveys in the rooms for people to fill out in their own time but many people did not bother to fill them out or forgot to hand them in before they left, so this method did not work as well as we thought. When the visitors checked out we attempted to get them to fill out the surveys but this proved to be rushed and many of the tourists did not have time at this stage, as they had time constrained schedules and were restricted by taxi's or buses waiting for them for the majority of the time. Persistence was key, in a way that was not irritating but in such a way that the tourists felt obliged to fill them out. If some people forgot you had to remind them, to try and overcome this I would hand them out and then give them about ten to twenty minutes to fill them out and then collect them, this way of undertaking the surveys meant that they were done fairly quickly and completed and was how I went about conducting the rest of my quota of surveys. I attempted to hand out surveys a few days apart in order to get different groupings of tourists coming in as some tourists would come in groups all from the same country. Aiming to get as random

and varied results as possible to ascertain a more accurate result this was crucial to the research process.

The surveys which I did for the businesses was somewhat more of a laborious task, as I had to identify which were the stakeholders that would be most affected and influenced by tourism. I had to type out a completely different survey for the purposes of extrapolating what information I needed in order to understand exactly how tourism had contributed to their operations and what it was about UR areas such as Maboneng that attracted restaurants and stores to come and operate in these transformed urban spaces. I focused much of my attention along the main spines of Maboneng, looking primarily at stores and restaurants along Fox Street and Commissioner Street with a few other places dotted along side streets and in buildings that are a part of the Precinct development. Many of the business owners were very helpful and filled out the surveys without much hassle, however, many of the owners were not there at the time that I would be handing out the survey. In many cases I would get the person working in the store to hand it on to them, this lead to other problems such as the owner not knowing what the purpose of the survey was and being apprehensive, this meant that I would have to revisit the store/restaurant when the owner was there and explain the purpose behind the survey to them. In many cases this worked and the majority of the places that I handed surveys out to fill them in even if I had to return two or three times. In some rare cases the owner would not be able to fill out the survey and in this case I would get the manager or most senior employee to fill it out instead which was not a serious problem as they also had a fairly strong grasp on the area and the operational integrity of the shop. Many of the stores and restaurants in the Precinct have an African flavour or African inspired food or goods and I noticed this from working in the area last year and this is what made me realise that many of the amenities in the area have been adapted or put in place to cater for the tourist market further strengthening my feelings of how unbelievably important tourism is as a catalyst for Local Economic Development, hence the reason for undertaking surveys not only on tourists but stakeholders as well.

Table 1: Table representing types of stores that responded to the survey

Types of Businesses:	Clothing Stores	Theatre	Independent Cinema	Coffee Shops	Convenience store	Restaurants	Bicycle Shop
	Boutique Stores	Antique Store	Retail Fashion	Tobacconist	Dessert Café	Mini-Market	Liquor Store

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This report deals with a broad range of concepts varying in academic depth and rigour, it is essential that the most pertinent concepts are extrapolated and reviewed. There are five key concepts which have been identified and will form the foundation upon which this report is structured. Firstly and undoubtedly the most fundamental is that of urban tourism, looking at the body of knowledge that currently exists and outlining how it pertains to Maboneng. This also includes what type of urban tourist is being referred to throughout this paper by defining the urban tourist in relation to the body of work presented in this paper. The second key concept is that of Local Economic Development (LED) in relation to urban regeneration and its implications. Thirdly, illustrating what has been reviewed within current literature in terms of 'tourism assets' and what is meant by this term and how they contribute to urban tourism and regeneration. The fourth key concept that is presented in this chapter is 'urban morphology' and responsive urban environments. Lastly the fifth concept is urban regeneration and looking at the broad scope of literature that has been carried out and how it applies to Maboneng.

2.1 Urban Tourism (UT)

Urban tourism has been recognized as one of the fastest growing forms of tourism and has garnered the need for distinctive and thorough academic research to be carried out (Ashworth, 1989). Urban Tourism (UT) has not until recently (1980's) been seen as its own unique and distinctive field, with only a few academics starting to foresee its undeniable importance with designated UT papers starting to emerge during the 1980's such as Burgess (1975) and Pearce (1977). This in many ways prompted other academics to delve into the concept and understand its significance to cities and there social, economic and cultural dynamics (Edwards, Griffin and Hayllar, 2008). Ashworth (1989) states that;

> "There has been quite simply a rural bias noticeable in both the quantity of the literary output and the quality of the theorizing about tourism. This is in itself remarkable because most tourists originate from cities, many seek out cities as holiday destinations and the social and economic impacts of tourism are substantial in urban areas. Thus the failure to consider tourism as a specifically urban activity imposes a serious constraint that cannot fail to impede the development of tourism as a subject of serious study (Ashworth, 1989, p. 33)."

This was stated in Ashworth's 1989 paper so does not see how far UT research has come, however, it does give a good indication of what tourism literature was like during the 1980's and gives a poignant illustration of the dirre need to start evolving and growing the UT literary base. Ashworth (2011) and Edwards et al (2008) both state that there has been a drastic increase in the number of published UT literature but Edwards et al (2008) alluding to the fact that due to the complex and generic nature of UT the increased scope of research does not tackle this overriding complexity. This seems somewhat conflicting as Edwards et al (2008) stated that a number of edited book collections that have been done by various academics such as, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990; 2000); Page (1995); Law (1993; 1996); Van den Burg, Van der Borg and Van der Meer (1995) and Murphy (1996), to name a few. There has definitely been a much more zoomed in focus on UT and the authors above are justification of this, the question which is intriguing is proposed by Ashworth and Page (2011) who propose that the progression in UT literature are hindered by the fact the research put forward is challenged by a bombardment of paradoxes. Ashworth and Page (2011, p. 1) succinctly describe some of these paradoxes:

- Urban tourism despite is overarching and extraordinary significance still remains roughly defined and vaguely demarcated. There is no development of a logical and formal structure of understanding.
- Large global cities are multifunctional entities that are a hive of activity, a matrix of chaos that easily 'swallows' up tourists as they are absorbed into the environment and become economically and physically invisible.
- Cities have a multitude of urban facilities that are constantly used by tourists and yet very few of these urban facilities are created purposefully for the tourist.
- Cities around the world that have a small and constricted economic base are the least likely to benefit from the economic advantages that accrue from tourism, leaving the most dependent countries and cities gaining the least (Developing countries).
- It is fundamental that the tourism industry needs varied, flexible and accessible tourism products that the cities accommodate, however, cities do not clearly need tourism.

These paradoxes that have been put across illustrate that even though there has been a tremendous increase in research and international UT literature it needs to address the underlying and problematic issues that are facing tourism and going about answering

questions posed in the effort to not be confronted with 'barriers' of paradoxes. Issues that have not been dealt with are things such as looking at the tourists experience (human behaviour in space), how they behave in certain environments – the experience of the tourist has been particularly neglected (Hollinshead, 2011). This can be further reinforced by Edwards et al (2008, p. 13), where they argue that, "A clearer understanding of the issues of experience and behaviour can assist in improving the economic and spatial structures of the industry that delivers various elements of the tourism experience." Then again it is easy to point out the faults in UT literature when is stretches into and affects so many areas of society and knowledge fields. Urban tourism as was mentioned is a complex and broad research field and can be viewed from the point of view of a number of different disciplines that have been put forward by Uysal (2015, p.9), who suggests that these fields include, sociology, economics, history, political science, public administration, urban studies, literature, cultural studies, anthropology and ethnography, in addition to hospitality research, architecture, city planning, management and marketing, environment studies and geography. This just depicts how many disciplines and fields of research are involved in UT and its implications. The broad reach and influence that UT has into so many different facets of society as is demonstrated by the number of disciplines that pertain to UT is justification of just how significant it is and how vital it is for urban tourism research to be conducted effectively.

2.1.1 Sub-Themes of Tourism Research

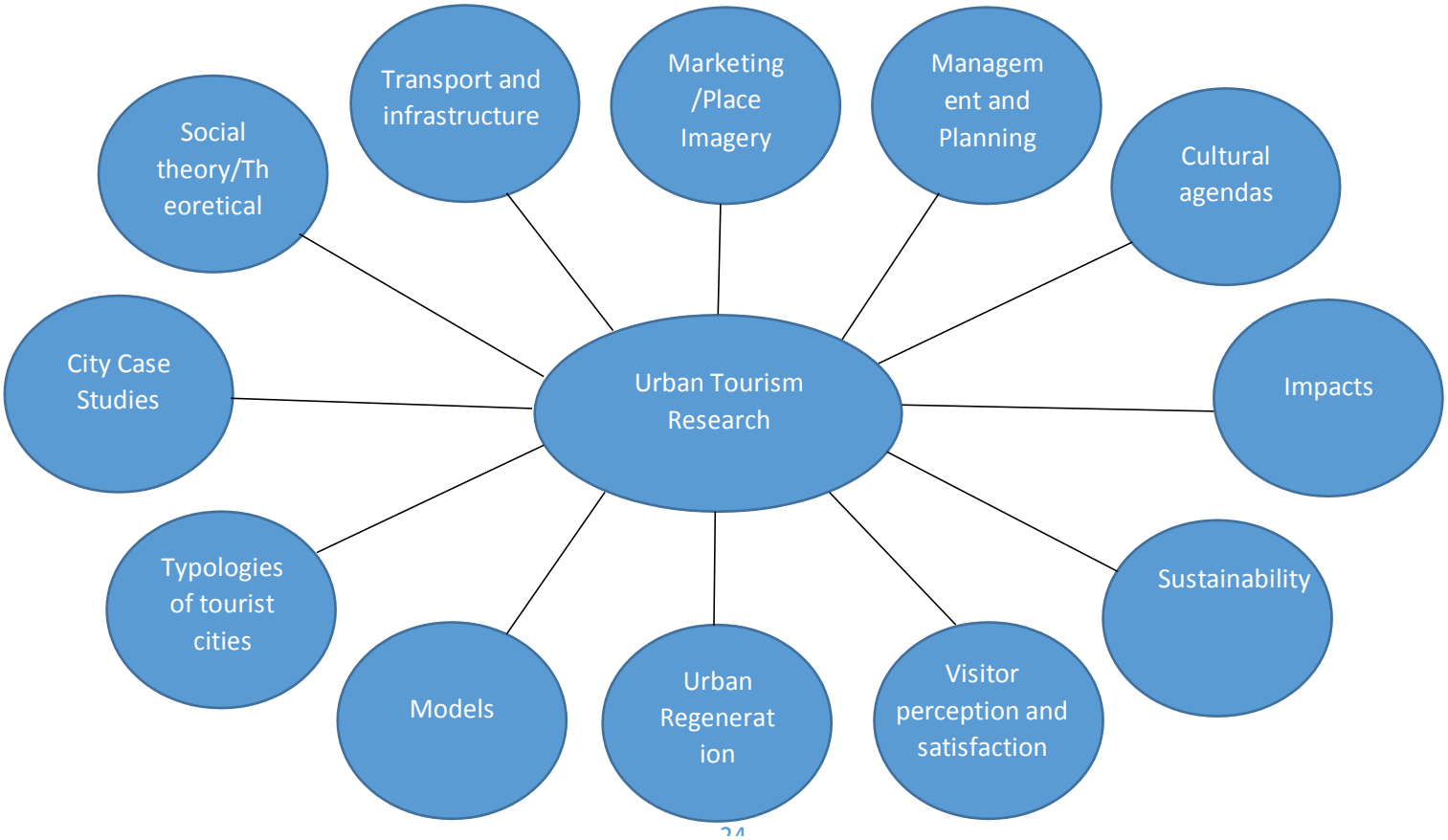


Figure 1: Sub-themes within the domain of tourism research. (Source: Derived from Ashworth and Page, 2011)

In terms of South African UT literature and in fact African UT in general there is inadequate if not no research that has been conducted in this regard. UT literature and research has been undertaken in the "Northern" cities, with much of the focus taking place in Western Europe, North America and Australia and up until recently has looked at a few examples in the global South specifically - Bangkok, Beijing, Dubai, Havana and Shanghai, which are major world players in the context of UT (Rogerson and Visser, 2011). There is a dire need for scholars to look at not only the South African example but other examples on the African continent in order to build up a greater and more accurate account of what is taking place under different conditions and circumstances. To be able to effectively and efficiently grapple the latent benefits of UT, a critical and more detailed understanding of the characteristics, dynamics and influences UT has in a completely different context, with the numerous challenges that may not be present in any of the other geographical areas mentioned above, is crucial. The experiences and evidence gained through such research in South Africa will also go a long way in supporting or denying the theoretical claims that have been made from UT studies elsewhere around the globe, enhancing the UT agenda and knowledge base (Rogerson and Visser, 2004, 2007, 2011).

There is now somewhat of an energetic and proactive approach to new UT research in South Africa with Hoogendoorn and Visser (2011) referring to four key themes within this new tourism research which has yielded an enormous amount of attention from scholars in recent times. These four themes as Visser and Hoogendoorn (2011) are, "responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism impacts, tourisms a vehicle for local economic development, and, the role of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME) development in the tourism sector." This depicts the interest streams of tourism in South Africa and due to high levels of poverty and unemployment they become more apparent and are emphasized more in the South African context due to the heightened sensitivity of the challenges that South Africa faces, rather than the developed countries with established-stable economies. This empirical research will form an important part of UT literature and will serve as an example for other developing countries around the world and how they can potentially use and learn from the South African experience. Prominent scholars such as Rogerson, Visser, and Ferreira have progressively started to make some influential and substantial inroads into UT research and literature in South Africa with global sporting events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup being a catalyst for fast tracking tourism studies.

2.2 The Urban Tourist

There are a number of different types of tourism that take place in completely different environments and countries all over the world. It is essential for the purposes of this paper to specifically classify what type of tourism is being referred to and dealt with throughout the course of this report. South Africa has been a country known for its golden-sunny-beaches, picturesque wine lands, spectacular game viewing experiences and abundance of outdoor activities which take place on a variety of South Africa's vast natural offerings which adorns this tourist paradise, it has never been a country synonymous for its urban city tourism, apart from Cape Town, which even then is focused more on outdoor excursions and experiences (Table Mountain, Wine Tasting, Boulders, Cape of Good Hope). There has been a global trend in the growth of urban tourism, but it is necessary to define what is meant by 'urban' to fully understand what would constitute an urban environment and hence forth the generic term urban tourism. Urban is a very broad term and can be defined by a number of different characteristics and defined differently by various institutions and individuals, but the most relevant for the purposes of this paper is put forward by Edwards, Griffin and Hayllar (2008) who state that:

> Urban is defined as a place that possesses the following elements: a strong and broad economic base that is serviced from multiple cores for major business and professional activities; a significant public transport network that acts as a gateway to other areas; a significant population with a workforce that commutes to and from the multiple cores; and long-term planned development. This functional and physical environment is characterised by a perception that the urban landscape is a web in which many individuals and groups have social, cultural, political and economic relationship (Edwards, Griffin and Hayllar, p.5).

In the context of this paper we are specifically looking at Johannesburg which is the largest city in South Africa and is the commercial and economic hub of Africa, a major player in terms of its urbanity in Africa let alone South Africa, the need for people to engage with Johannesburg's rich history and the numerous tourist offerings that have become available in recent years, such as Constitution Hill, the Apartheid Museum and the increase in 'township' tourism all of which have had positive effects and been huge draw cards for people to not only use Johannesburg , as a primary 'gateway' of which it is the most significant within the Southern African region, but a destination in itself. This statement can justified by Rogerson

and Visser (2011, p. 81) who state that, "the building of new museum complexes, such as Constitution Hill, the Apartheid Museum, and the Newtown cultural precinct in Johannesburg has been an important dimension of the regeneration and reimaging of the inner-city (C. M. Rogerson, 2002, 2003).

Johannesburg has normally always been known as a 'stop over' or the means to get to an end, to take connecting flights or travel routes to more historically desirable locations such as Durban, Cape Town, the Kruger National Park or the Drakensberg. This is starting to change and people are immersing themselves in the tourist assets which Johannesburg is now capitalizing on and seeing the positive spin-off effects of how crucial tourism is to the socio-economic dynamics of the city. Urban tourism can be classified by means of what we wish to engage in and undertake whilst in the city, what our intentions are and what we have planned or expect to do within the city that we are visiting. For instance if we are attending a number of art exhibitions, gallery openings and theatrical productions we would be engaging in cultural tourism or if we were visiting a city specifically to watch a sporting event then it would be sporting urban tourism, the adjective that precedes urban tourism dictates a certain urban feature or activity that one is embarking on when visiting a certain destination (Ashworth and Page, 2011).

In the case of this report I am targeting the urban tourist that is staying at Curiocity Backpackers in Maboneng, my findings will illustrate the type of urban tourism that the tourist is embarking on, and these findings will delineate the purpose of their stay and clearly outline what type of urban tourism they are engaging in. My priority is to look at leisure and cultural tourism, tourists that are coming into the area to not only enjoy what Johannesburg as a whole has to offer but more importantly the tourist that has come to Maboneng to experience what Maboneng as a leisure and cultural destination has to offer.

> "Urban tourism has, in one form or other, been with us since Mesopotamia and Sumeria were spawning the phenomenon of urbanization. People with the means and inclination to do so have been drawn to towns and cities just to visit and experience a multiplicity of things to see and do…These (towns and cities) were the melting pots of national culture, art, music, literature and of course magnificent architecture and urban design. It was the concentration, variety, and quality of these activities and attributes ... that created their attraction and put certain towns and cities on the tourism map… (Karski, 1990, p. 15)."

2.3 Local Economic Development (LED)

Since the advent of democracy in 1994 and the stronghold that the Nationalist government had on our country in the form of the horrific Apartheid regime, tourism in South Africa has increased innumerably. With the increase in tourism and foreign tourist spend in the country it has become increasingly apparent that there are a plethora of positive direct and indirect benefits for local economies and the South African economy as a whole.

There has been an abundance of research done internationally on LED but has been restricted in regards to how tourism helps support and lead LED. Rogerson (2011) refers to how the knowledge gap in regards to tourism related LED literature being "remarkable" and that recent state of the art high profile international LED literature has neglected tourism almost completely (Pedrana, 2013). There has, however, been somewhat of a shift in amongst researchers in developed countries that are starting to identify and acknowledge the impacts of tourism and its intrinsic link to LED, as portrayed by Jones and Munday (2001, p. 2), "tourism and leisure as a fast growing industry has led to its identification as a potential driver of regeneration in economically disadvantaged localities." There realisation of its importance is becoming more apparent especially in the more developed economies who can further boost their economic situation by doing more acclaimed and in-depth research. Some of the most recent scholars who have done writings on LED and the constant shifting of the global economy are Pike, Rodriguez-Pose and Tomaney who have contributed significantly to LED.

The South African context draws into focus a number of key issues that might not be as pertinent in other areas around the globe with South Africa suffering from a number of adverse challenges such as high levels of unemployment and poverty, LED has a massive effect on these types of issues and can be studied in an environment where LED and its influence on these factors is made manifest. Rogerson (2011, p.12) states that, "an important stream of scholarship around tourism and local development in the global South attaches great importance to its pro-poor credentials and impacts for the local poverty reduction." The necessity to try and uplift the economic statuses of many people living within South Africa in the post-apartheid era is crucial. Tourism is an exceptionally powerful sector within the economy and provides an abundance of job opportunities and an international market with foreign exchange buying power that would encourage SMME start-ups and entrepreneurial endeavour that would uplift the area that tourism-led or tourism related LED projects as a

whole. This is argued by Rogerson (2011, p. 11) who explains that the tourism industry has the potential, "for creating jobs, assured income streams, refashioning of new urban images, and potentially assisting with the regeneration of ailing economies." The tourism industry and the jobs that are available due to the tourism potential within certain areas would be quickly taken up by the people of South Africa due to our high unemployment rate, lack of skilled professionals (large unskilled workforce) and the search for a better quality of life.

The international literature that relates primarily to developed countries and economies have a view on what the tourism industry offers in a more critical fashion, with Page (1995) arguing that employment in the tourism industry is often characterized by low status, low-skilled jobs that lack long term stability and other scholars like Williams and Shaw (1988) referring to tourism labour as "lollipop jobs and candyfloss industries". These negative connotations are also very relevant in South Africa or anywhere for that matter as the seasonality and unpredictability of the amount of foreign spend in urban tourism districts means that the urban economy is unbalanced even though the overall contribution and economic benefit is overriding (Uysal, 2015). There are both positive and negative consequences of economic development by means of tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982) it is how a tourism district manages the negative consequences of which some are mentioned above that will determine the level of success of LED in a targeted area such as Maboneng. In the Johannesburg context where Maboneng is based seen as though it is not a destination that requires certain weather conditions such as a beach or outdoor tourism destination and is a constant gateway for tourism flow yearlong due to the mild winters and warm summers is not as adversely affected as these other destinations will not experience the same level of seasonality. Maboneng has also made provision for increasing its retail, restaurant, entertainment, accommodation, and commercial offerings as well as facilitating and motivating entrepreneurial ventures has identified the potential economic advantages which will inject much needed foreign cash flow into the area.

For tourism 'fuelled' LED in such an environment to be successful there needs to be a certain fundamental foundations in place, Rogerson (2011) alludes to these, firstly as having diverse and quality resources and services, to have tourist assets that draw tourists specifically to an area to see or experience – something that a tourist would be willing to spend money on such as heritage resources (old historically significant buildings) or socio-cultural resources (sport events, music festivals, markets). Secondly as was alluded to earlier is having effective management and planning of the tourism destination in this case the developers of Maboneng

(Propertuity) need to take into account what repercussions tourism might have on the area and more importantly the current residents, in an attempt to try mitigate any foreseeable challenges and maximising on any potential 'gaps' that will become more apparent with an effective and reliable system of analysing the space. Thirdly international literature and experience shows that there needs to be a sound and stable partnership between the public and private sector, relationships and partnerships need to be formed to ensure sustainable tourism development (Ruhanen, 2013) this needs to be evaluated within the South African context and particularly Maboneng were this kind of foundation is lacking and needs to be improved.

Rogerson (2002) reaffirms this was also noted in international experience development that has been promoted or led by tourism, cannot be effective and successful without efficient local government, corruption, red tape and over-regulation. This viewpoint is somewhat contradicted in the White Paper on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996), where under the guiding principles it states that, 'tourism will be private sector driven,' this is a dated paper when the government did perhaps not have the capacity to drive tourism but there needs to be a shift and new legislation enacted to help facilitate effective public private partnerships. LED also need to focus on the supply chain and encourage the production of products being sold by local companies, entrepreneurs and thus further improving and benefitting the tourism district. Maboneng is an example of this to a degree, whereby clothes that are sold within the precinct are manufactured by fashion designers who are based in the immediate area, Rogerson (2011, p.14) refers to how tourism and economic activities, "seek synergies and complementarities such as through the promotion of local sourcing."

There is undoubtedly a profound economic contribution being made by tourism in South Africa and it the manner in which we harness and optimise the tourism product that will result in more effective tourism driven LED that will have insurmountable advantages for many of South Africa's low to middle income earning populous. South Africa and the relevant tourism stakeholders need to ensure that the objectives set out in the White Paper of 1996 are being carried through and achieved, "to generate economic growth and foreign exchange, by aggressively developing and promoting tourism (White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa, 1996)."

2.4 Elements of Tourism Product

Cities and more especially in relation to this research report the inner city, are melting pots of activity with a concentrated variety of amenities available. They generally have a mix of entertainment (festivals, cinemas, theatres), nightlife (clubs, bars), business (proximity to central business district), historic (buildings, history of space), and cultural (theatres, cinemas, museums) facilities that make it a vibrant and energetic core of any major city. This is all supported by a dense inner city region with an abundance of accommodation types and constant foot and motor vehicle traffic throughout the inner city grid, supported by an established infrastructure network.

Edwards, Griffin and Hayllar (2008) refer to Law (1996), who suggests that urban areas possess certain attributes as a tourist destination. These attributes were conceptualised by Law (1996) and put forward by Edwards et al (2008, p2), who explain that cities have naturally large populations and hence they will bring in their friends and family who come to visit, enlarging that populous. Cities are also much more developed and this draws tourists to their attractions, they are well connected and easily accessible through international airport links and large road networks. There is a vast and expansive accommodation stock available that is able to facilitate different kinds of tourism especially business tourism (Wi-Fi, conference centres). Urban areas "offer the communications, transport, services and facilities that meet tourist's needs." These scholars also refer to how urban areas have a more educated and senior population that are interested in the deeper and more cultural and historical nature and identity of the city or town that they are visiting. These urban environments also excite and are attractive for the younger population that enjoy the energy and vibrancy of the city which is stimulated by an array of entertainment, nightlife and business options that the city presents the user.

It is important to explain tourism attributes as an overall analysis of what motivates and draws tourists to visit a specific urban environment. It is essential to acknowledge and understand what elements draw tourists to an area such as Maboneng as an urban inner city district. One of the pioneering writers when it comes to inner-city tourism and the resources that the urban landscape possess is Myriam Jansen-Verbeke who has contributed significantly since the 1980's to tourism and looked at a number of characteristics and concepts involved with tourism in the inner city. In this case the focus is on her 'primary, secondary and conditional elements' which are the elements within the urban landscape that attract tourists

to the inner city areas. She refers to the inner-city environment as a "leisure product" offered to tourists, it is an 'asset' offering tourist's services and goods that they can from a leisure perspective consume (demand) depending on what can be supplied by primary and secondary elements within a tourist related area. Jansen-Verbeke (1986) separates primary elements which are a variety of facilities and "characteristic features of the environment", into two different categories 'activity place' and 'leisure setting'. These facilities and features are the attractions within the urban setting, Bramwell (1998, p.45) states that the primary elements "importance is that without these attractions and, their anticipated core benefits there would be little reason for leisure visits to a city." The 'activity place' as mentioned by Jansen-Verbeke (1986, p. 85) refers to the supply side of facilities for spending free time in the inner city. These facilities include theatres, concerts, galleries, museums and events or festivals that are being hosted in the tourist destination, with more specialised and specific entertainment venues such as casinos and strip clubs also falling under the 'umbrella' of 'activity place'.

The 'leisure setting' is the other component of primary elements and is it is a fundamental element within the inner city environment, as put forward by Jansen-Verbeke (1985a) describes the 'leisure setting' as the (passive) "décor" for recreational activities and the 'activity place'. When referring to décor as stated in the Oxford Dictionary (2015) being defined as, "the furnishing and decoration of a room" or "the decoration and scenery of a stage" this is the physical setting in which the 'activity place' is facilitated along with the socio-cultural attributes of the city. The physical nature of the space in terms of 'leisure setting' refers to buildings, parks, landmarks, monuments, public art, architecture, waterfronts along with the embedded heritage and history related to the space, as seen in Fig. 2. These physical attributes that characterise the leisure setting are accompanied by the socio-cultural elements that also fall into the 'leisure setting' profile as Jansen-Verbeke (1986) suggests that socio-cultural elements such as local customs, traditions, folklore and languages are valuable tourist resources and are attractions in their own right as many tourists want to engage with the local people and immerse themselves in their culture, food, sport, beliefs and language. These attributes are fixed and permanent within the urban landscape, Cragg and Schofield (2011, p. 47) explain that, it is difficult to change the leisure setting of a city, facilities of an activity place can be adapted and updated to attract return visitors, people essentially want to have a strong sense of 'freedom' in space. The secondary elements that Jansen-Verbeke (1986) describes are other urban facilities which contribute to and support the primary elements, they are secondary elements as they would not generally be the motivational draw

card for one to visit a city unlike the primary elements which are what would make a city worthwhile visiting, they do help to create a more interesting, active and vibrant space that helps develop a more interactive and enjoyable experience for the visitor (Bramwell, 1998). Examples of secondary elements which contribute to the leisure function of the inner city are the "catering sector" which is comprised of a variety of accommodation, pubs, nightclubs, restaurants, cafes and shops that 'cater' for the tourists needs. Even though some of these secondary elements might be construed as being primary elements such as shopping, which is a contradiction in this case is irrelevant as in this report the reference is to understand what attracts tourists to these inner city areas and in both cases whether primary or secondary they are elements that contribute significantly to the attractiveness of the inner city space. When a tourist visits an area they can consume and purchase a variety of different tourist products at their own discretion whether it is just visiting a museum (Guggenheim for example in Bilbao) and then leaving or visiting the museum and then going for lunch in the immediate areas afterwards an staying in accommodation close by. This is a mix of primary and secondary elements that can in essence both be primary motivators for tourists to visit cities, but as Law (1993) has argued is that the secondary elements are unlikely to be the main motivators for

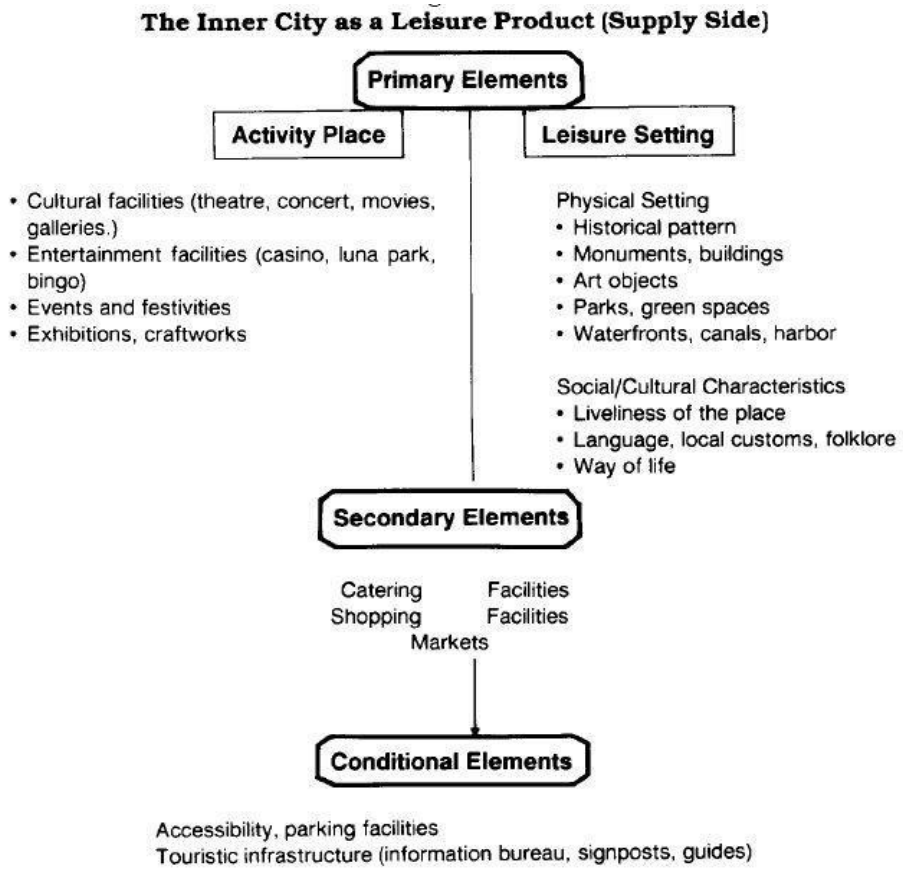


Figure 2: Inner city Tourism Elements. (Source: Jansen-Verbeke, 1986)

the city, although retail facilities will be a part of the attraction of an inner-city region - for some a key motivator.

The last elements which Jansen-Verbeke (1986) refers to are the conditional elements, these are the tourism infrastructure that is in place and will to a large degree determine the satisfaction, convenience and perception of an area as a targeted tourist space within the broader inner city framework. These elements include accessibility into and out of the inner city, parking facilities, transportation provision, and specific tourist orientated services such as, guided city tours; information desk, centre or board (maps); clear and visible signage to help tourists navigate the unknown cities that they visiting. These are crucial elements which are sometimes overlooked and it is the provision of the most basic elements that can make the biggest impression upon the tourist. An area like Maboneng is the ideal example of a designated area that has the capacity, means and manageable area to ensure that at least the tourism specific elements can be met and provided for, this will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

There is also a focus in Jansen-Verbeke (1986) on tourism promotion, with promoters of inner-city tourism being any institution or organization that strives to promote and develop tourism flows into the city, with the overall objective of attracting more visitors using the tourism elements in there designated framework as a promotional tool and catalyst to garner higher rates of visitation, and aim to lengthen the duration of these visits - utilising different tourism promotion strategies that hinge off of the strengths present in the area being promoted and marketed (hallmark, sport, mega-events, cultural, heritage). This alludes to the fact that even though a city might have all the essential elements that would attract and occupy the time of the tourist there still needs to be inner-city tourism promoters who stimulate tourist to visit the area through the processes of ‘image building’, provide product information to potential tourists and to improve the current product.

These elements have formed a critical component of this literature review. It gives us an understanding as to what elements tourists are attracted to within the inner city and a hierarchical perspective of which elements are the most significant, in terms of luring tourists into the inner city classifying the inner city as a leisure product in which tourists engage in a number of varying leisure activities. The fact that Jansen-Verbeke (1986) has focused on it as a ‘leisure product’ has played well into the ‘hands’ of this report, as this report is

predominantly focused on leisure and the leisure urban tourist. This allows for accurate and relevant comparisons to be made when referring to this valuable component of the literature.

2.5 Urban Morphology and Responsive Environments

> "People's impressions of a building, a particular environment, or a whole city, are, of course, more than visual. Within the city lie many connotations, memories, experiences, smells, hopes, crowds, places, buildings, the drama of life and death, affecting each person according to his particular predilections. From his environment each person constructs his own mental picture of the parts of the city in physical relationship to one another. The most essential parts of an individual's mental image, or map, overlap and complement those of his fellows. Hence we can assume a collective image-map or impression-map of a city: a collective picture of what people extract from the physical reality of a city. That extracted picture is the image of the city" (Spreiregen, 1965, p. 50).

To be able to come to terms with fully understanding how tourists are drawn to particular spaces and cities there is a need to understand what influences people's reactions and experiences, what creates 'the image of the city' as has been so eloquently defined by Spreiregen in the quote above. Elements of the inner city have been explored by Jansen-Verbeke (1986) and have already been illustrated in this report, but there is a need for a more in-depth look and dissection of how the morphological make-up of the urban environment affects tourism and the tourist. How has urban design and the urban morphology influenced and induced a certain experience and image of a tourism destination? Gospodini (2001) has been one of the few scholars that has covered this field of research and given a different perspective on underlying factors which have an immense effect on the user of urban, inner city spaces.

When a tourist visits another city for leisure purposes they are in search of something different, unfamiliar to what they are surrounded by in their own daily lives, an experience that might take them out of there comfort zone or motivate them to engage in something that they would not normally do, to put themselves in another context and in search of finding 'new worlds'. Gospodini (2001, p. 926) refers to the work of Turner (1973 and Cohen (1979) who have introduced concepts known as 'anti-structures' and 'counterstructures', which they refer to as being, "other realities than everyday life that vary according to both the different cognitive styles of individuals and the corresponding state of affairs." These are realities that are unfamiliar to the user, possessing new possibilities, spaces that offer a different setting in

which the tourist can engage in activities that they might not be able to undertake in their normal lives back in the cities that they are from. These are spaces that look, feel and sound different, a unique experience in the minds of those that occupy the space for the time that they immerse themselves in their new surroundings (Lengkeek, 1995, p. 27-28). Lengkeek's counterstructures in the context of an individual's everyday life can be construed as such:

- changes in the functional dimension of the environment—i.e. changing part or the whole programme of the individual's everyday activities;
- changes in the formal dimension of the environment—i.e. projecting or performing everyday activities in a radically different form of space;
- changes in both the functional and the formal dimensions of the environment—i.e. Changing both everyday activities and the physical form of space (see Figure 1).

The urban tourist is therefore always in search of these counterstructures within the urban environment and it is then these counterstructures that attract the tourist. Gospodini (2011) suggests that due to the increased levels of globalization through the advancements in telecommunication and the 'borderless' sharing of mass information through a number of different mediums. This new modernity that is being seen in the 21st century has meant that many of these counterstructures are becoming harder to implement and are becoming less unique and more homogenous in nature, due to globalization and the constant onslaught of new technological developments. Gospodini (2011, p. 928) explains that, "urban tourism is gradually becoming an activity based on the projection or reflection of 'homogenized' everyday activities and habits within a mirror of completely different spatial settings – i.e radically innovative forms of urban space." This points to the fact that urban morphology an urban design are becoming more significant tourism resources in urban tourism as, and have become more suitable forms of counterstructures. The imbedded urban form and design are becoming very influential resources that attract tourists in comparison to other counterstructures and hence the importance of noting what these components of urban space morphology and design are and why they are performing these functions. Some of the best examples that illustrate how urban design and space morphology has been an attraction are historic urban areas and theme parks such as Disneyland which draws a huge amount of tourists to its 'imaginary world'.

There has been a growing interest in the architectural heritage of cities and revitalized historic urban cores. Lengkeek and Ashworth (1995) refers to historic urban core are places that have

meaning and are steeped in history, a 'portrait' of what had come before, a representation of survival – a reminder of the past and what influences have impacted the city over time (i.e. colonialism, Victorian style building), these kinds of historic elements within the urban environment have nostalgic value for individuals and something which the visitor can relate to. It is also valuable as it is a benchmark from which the visitor can visually see the progression from the past to the present, how a city has modernized and what has in some cases influenced this modernisation. This falls in line with architectural heritage of cities which is one of the most prominent and obvious differentiating factors when comparing cities, the architecture that represents a city reflects its authenticity and uniqueness – by means of representing its history, culture, society and urban space morphology (Lengkeek and Ashworth, 1995). It is this authenticity that many tourists are in search of, a place that has meaning and a story behind it, this interests the tourist and gives them a greater understanding of the city and its morphological attributes that they are engaging with.

Boerwinkel (1995) another scholar who has contributed to urban tourism and urban space morphology, looks at the concepts of 'stimulation' and 'creativity'. Creativity as defined by Boerwinkel (1995, p. 251) is the ability to come up with rather divergent associations; and it is encouraged by those physical elements that can provide individuals with intensive sensory stimulation. Boerwinkel (1995, p. 251-255) goes on to describe two different types of spatial order the first being successive arrangement and simultaneous arrangement. Successive stimulation deals with a step-by-step uncovering of a particular space and involves the user using both sight and movement, simultaneous arrangement on the other hand involves the user or observer moving in any particular space, with a number of options available within the urban environment in terms of both sight and movement. Tourists are more attracted to and more inclined to visit areas that provide simultaneous arrangement experiences, it gives them

a greater sense of freedom and individualization. Simultaneous arrangements can be related to Hillier's space syntax (Hillier 1996), Hillier refers to high syntactic depth within his space syntax related literature that helps to conceptualise and better understand these terms of 'arrangement'. Shallow syntactic depth of which refers to 'successive arrangement' is high and 'simultaneous arrangement' is shallow syntactic depth. Shallow syntactic depth is the more appealing of the two as it is characterized by having a continuous, well connected, integrated and higher use-density spaces that incorporate most parts of the urban system and are more vibrant atmospheric environments that appeal more to the urban tourist. High syntactic depth involves fragmented and more linear spaces that are poorly connected and do

not facilitate integration and interaction for the observer of the space, this is well illustrated in Fig. 3 below (Hillier, 1993).

2.5.1 Syntactic Depth Diagrams

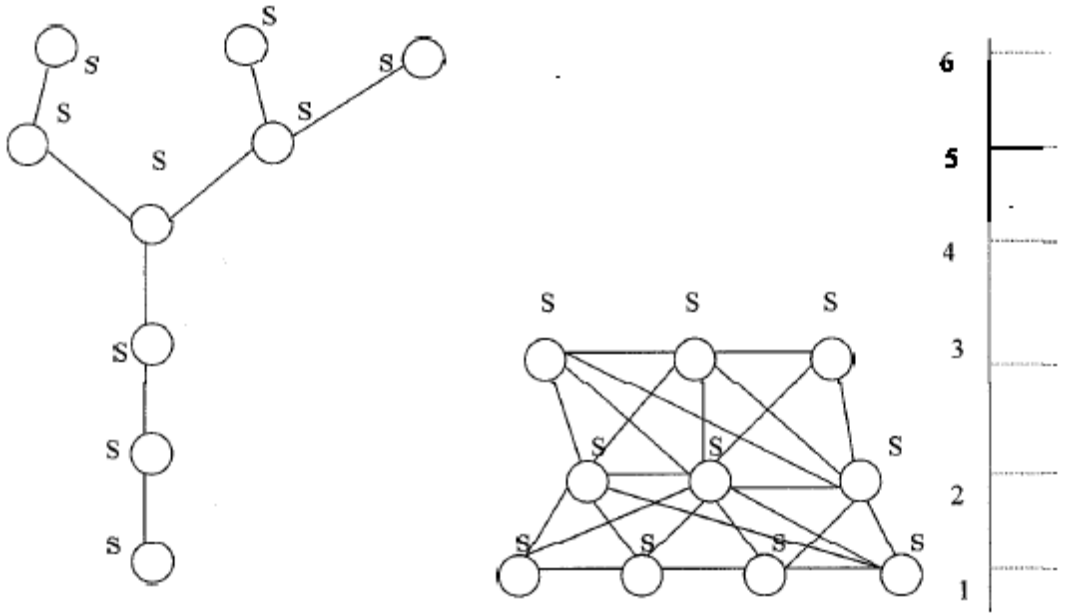


Figure 3: Diagram illustrating spatial systems with high syntactic depth (Left) and shallow syntactic depth (Right). (Source: Gospodini, 2011).

Many cities and theirir urban spaces across the globe, at a particular point in their history have implemented a concept, an idea that has made them pioneers in terms of their urban design, architecture and urban planning this has set them apart from any other city in the world and made that city iconic in the way that they possess a building, landmark, public open space or innovative urban design scheme that have set them apart and made that city synonymous with that particular morphological asset. These are prime examples of counterstructures as has been suggested by Gospodini (2011, p. 931), design schemes can constitute counterstructures to the familiar environment, by contradicting the established international design trends and being avant-garde. There are many examples of these types of counterstructures around the world and have proved to be very effective and significant urban tourism assets at national and international level, these include the Sydney Opera House in Australia, Lloyd's Building in London, glass-pyramid of the Louvre and the probably the best example of this avant-garde movement and the effective development of a design scheme that has changed the face and 'image of a city is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain.

In hindsight behind all the underlying complexities and ways in which an observer, resident, tourist or just a consumer interacts with the urban environment it is essential to understand

the basics of what constitutes and a responsive environment. Jacobs and Appleyard (1987, p. 117) refer to what they believe are five key physical characteristics that need to be in place as a prerequisite to upholding the positive goals and values that are central to urban life. They concisely outline these essential five physical characteristics as follows:

> livable streets, and neighbourhoods; some minimum density of residential development as well as intensity of land use; an integration of activities – living, working, shopping – in some reasonable proximity to each other; a manmade environment, particularly buildings, that defines public space (as opposed to buildings that, for the most part, sit in space); and many, many separate, distinct buildings with complex arrangements and relationships (as opposed to few, large buildings).

These are the foundations, the central physical components that make up a functional urban space and form a valuable 'blueprint' from which to gauge what the existing landscape comprises and what the urban area is missing. The basic foundations help to interpret if Maboneng as an urban inner city offering for residents, tourists or merely observers alike are being provided with the fundamental prerequisites that should exist within the urban environment and could indirectly be a deterrent if the urban fabric is not facilitating one of these core physical elements.

These foundations can all be in place but overarching even these physical qualities are how responsive the environment is in which they are imbedded. Responsive environments are a crucial urban tourism imperative if urban tourism is to be promoted and sustained. Bentley et al (1985) who state in their 'Manuel for Designers' that a responsive environment can be classified as, the built environment should provide its users with an essentially democratic setting, enriching their opportunities by maximising the degree of choice available to them. Within this manual they point out seven key urban design parameters which can affect the choices that people make at a number of different levels. These key issues dictate what can be achieved through appropriate urban design (open spaces/voids) and building design (solids/barriers). These seven design elements are also a guideline in terms of what to look for in the existing urban fabric and layout of a particular area, they allow the planner or developer to be able to identify the weaknesses or fragility in the landscape. Bentley et al (1985) define these seven parameters:

- It affects where people can go, and where they cannot: the quality we shall call *permeability*.

- It affects the range of uses available to people: the quality we shall call *variety*.
- It affects how easily people can understand what opportunities it offers: the quality we shall call *legibility*.
- It affects the degree to which people can use a given place for different purposes: the quality we shall call *robustness*.
- It affects whether the detailed appearances of the place makes people aware of the choices available: the quality we shall call *visual appropriateness*.
- It affects people's choice of sensory experience: the quality we shall call *richness*.
- It affects the extent to which people can put their own stamp on a place: we shall call this personalisation.

This brief list of the key issues that are fundamental to making an environment responsive are what people look for in an urban setting. Spaces and buildings that are permeable allow the user to manoeuvre through space and explore without being hindered by barriers, walls and dead ends, permeability also allows the observer to analyse and visually see through space allowing a more diverse and detailed understanding of a certain area – to be able traverse through the vast expanse of the environment with our eyes and physically move in a uninterrupted fashion (greater choice of routes through space). Variety offers a choice of experience and functionality of space, it is important to analyse what the demand is and what the target market of an area is looking for and providing the supply for that warranted demand in a feasible manner (i.e. shops, entertainment, museums). Legibility orientates the user the tourist in three-dimensional space, it provides structured channels and paths that allow the user to maximise on the opportunities and activities present - it creates a sense of direction and coordinates our focus to what the layout of the environment has to offer without being enclosed or confused. Robustness deals with the idea that open spaces and buildings must not have a fixed use but designed in such a way that the use of that space can be flexible for different activities and functionalities. Visual appropriateness focuses in on the aesthetic appeal of the environmental scheme that is being viewed, as the aesthetic of a place can be a representation of class and the social dynamics of an area and strongly influences the interpretation of space by the observer (Bentley et al, 1985).

Understanding the power that the environment in which we surround ourselves with has over us as individuals should never be underestimated. The urban environment affects us though all of our senses as human beings. It evokes our emotions and stimulates many of our senses in ways that are sometimes unfathomable, our sight, hearing, touch, smell even taste are

exercised in space and it is a combination of all of them and the way in which everyone of us interprets this concoction of senses that helps us attach ourselves to a space that we turn into a place. Environments can make us happy, sad, excitable or sombre, in essence inducing any emotive feeling within us from what we construe within the environmental setting we place ourselves in. This shows the power of understanding how environments are responsive and coming to terms with the literature which 'paints' a clearer picture on how these emotions and feelings are formed - in this case for the urban leisure tourist in Maboneng.

2.6 South African Tourism

South African Tourism is one of the fastest growing tourist markets in the world in terms of business, leisure and travel according to southafrica.info (2015) in its online article 'South Africa's Tourism Industry' (2012). The same article also alludes to the fact that it is because of South Africa's beautiful landscape, our sunny climate, abundance of outdoor activities and the exchange rate that makes South Africa a very affordable option within the global context. It is important to look at the tourist number within South Africa as they will illustrate on a National scale what the tourist trends are, where they go, where they from, how much money they spend within the country, the number of tourist arrivals and overall contribution to our GDP. This gives a broader view on some of the tourism dynamics and patterns that might be prevalent within Maboneng and will help validate some of my findings. It is important to notice how significant and influential tourism is within our country and how it has the potential to have many indirect and direct benefits for the people of South Africa and our country as a whole.

After revising the National Tourism Sector Strategy released in 2012; the Tourism White Paper of 1996; Review of South African Tourism (2015); Annual Tourism Performance Reports of 2012, 2013 and the Annual Tourism Report (ATR) for 2014, these documents have provided access to an incredible amount of data and has revealed some interesting patterns and information. In the Final Report Review of South African Tourism (2015) they state that South African Tourism has admitted to the fact that there are severe gaps and problems with existing data and that they have not taken into account transit tourists[3], which has created huge disparities in the numbers projected, henceforth the validity of the information is questionable, however, the 2014 Annual Tourism Report and the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) correlates and is the most accurate data available taken from

[3] Transit Tourists consist of all arrivals and not just tourists (an overnight stay)

Stats SA - due to a lack of historical sources. It is still information valuable and sufficiently accurate enough to give us an idea of what representations and patterns we are looking for, thus the information can serve as a valuable guide. A more internationally recognized method of determining the contribution of tourism to the economy is a Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) which is conducted by Statistics South Africa and have released the latest TSA for the 2013. I will use this data to analyse the direct implications of Tourism as it is the most accurate and important information.

The TSA of 2013 illustrates that tourism has contributed R103,6 billion which is 2.9% South Africa's GDP or 2.9% and 4% of total employment in this country about 655 509 people are directly employed by producing goods and services for visitors. Of the total tourism spend in 2013, 43% were contributed by foreign tourists which equates to R94.2 billion. These figures illustrate the importance and value of tourism within a country and how vital it is to the progress and economical positioning of our economy. The 2014 ATR illustrates that between 2013 and 2014 - the African Air markets[4] have decreased by -4.1% or -16 046 visitors, tourists from the Americas increasing slightly by 0.3% (1 393), Asia and Australia was -

	2013	2014	Difference	% Change
Total tourist arrivals	8,961,565	9,549,236	587,671	6.6%
Africa land markets	6,394,389	6,957,843	563,454	8.8%
Africa air markets	390,621	374,575	(16,048)	-4.1%
Americas	433,526	434,919	1,393	0.3%
Asia & Australasia	448,967	401,714	(47,253)	-10.5%
Europe	1,278,065	1,365,472	87,407	6.8%

Figure 4: Tourist arrivals for 2013 and 2014 derived from 2014 Annual Tourism Report 2014. (StatsSA)

10.5% decrease (47 253) with China being the primary cause of this while Australia grew by 3.2% (4 142). Europe increased by 6.8% (87 407) with Russia and Norway decreasing – France (16.8%), the Netherlands (14.5%), Spain (13.0%) and the UK (1.9%), the main European countries that increased.

The number of tourists arriving has a massive impact on the performance of the tourism sector and would directly influence the amount of tourists visiting Maboneng, this might not be the case in the short term but could definitely become more apparent over time. This decrease is evident in the first quarter Tourism Performance Report (2015) and has been attributed to the xenophobic attacks that plagued South Africa in 2015 and damaged our international reputation, as well as the new visa regulations which came into play in June

[4] African Air markets are markets where travellers come from other African countries with at least 60% of the arrivals arriving by air.

2015. The xenophobic attacks are very relevant to the Maboneng area as some of the most notorious and violent outbursts have happened in Jeppestown, The Times (2015) in an online article headlining, *Two men shot dead in xenophobic-hit Jeppestown* stated that, 'the area has been a hotspot for xenophobic attacks and the looting of both local and foreign owned shops.' In Maboneng's specific case this international tragedy has had negative effects on the levels of tourism in the area due to the close proximity of such an incident. In the Sunday Times Newspaper (2015) there is an article that justifies just how imperative tourism to South Africa's economy and the devastating effects of the new visa regulations (Barron, 2015):

> "Tourism contributes more than 8% to the national economy. Given South Africa's world-class attractions, this could easily be 10%, he says, and 12% is "absolutely not beyond reach". Instead, its contribution will be slashed by the department's visa regulations, which is imposing despite "overwhelming evidence" of the devastating impact they have begun to have on foreign tourist numbers. Data released last week indicates that these will fall by 578 000 (or 6%) a year on average – after 11% decline year on year between June last year and August this year. The economic implications are so serious that this is "a matter for government at the highest level, he says…" Barron (2015, p.9) is quoting Mavuso Msimang (Chairman of the Tourism Business Council).

	2014	2015	Difference	% Change
Total tourist arrivals	2,435,341	2,292,169	(143,172)	-5.9%
Africa land markets	1,713,543	1,617,570	(95,973)	-5.6%
Africa air markets	102 006	95 332	(6,674)	-6.5%
Americas	107,859	92,710	(15,149)	-14.0%
Asia & Australasia	103 903	81 498	(22 405)	-21.6%
Europe	405,894	402,223	(3,671)	-0.9%

Figure 5: Tourist arrivals for 1st quarter of 2014 and 2015. (Source: StatsSA, South African Tourism Analysis).

These stats in Fig. 5 are worrying for a comparison during the same periods of 2014 and 2015 and show a substantial decrease over such a short period of time particularly for Asia/Australia and the Americas, with European travel remaining fairly constant.

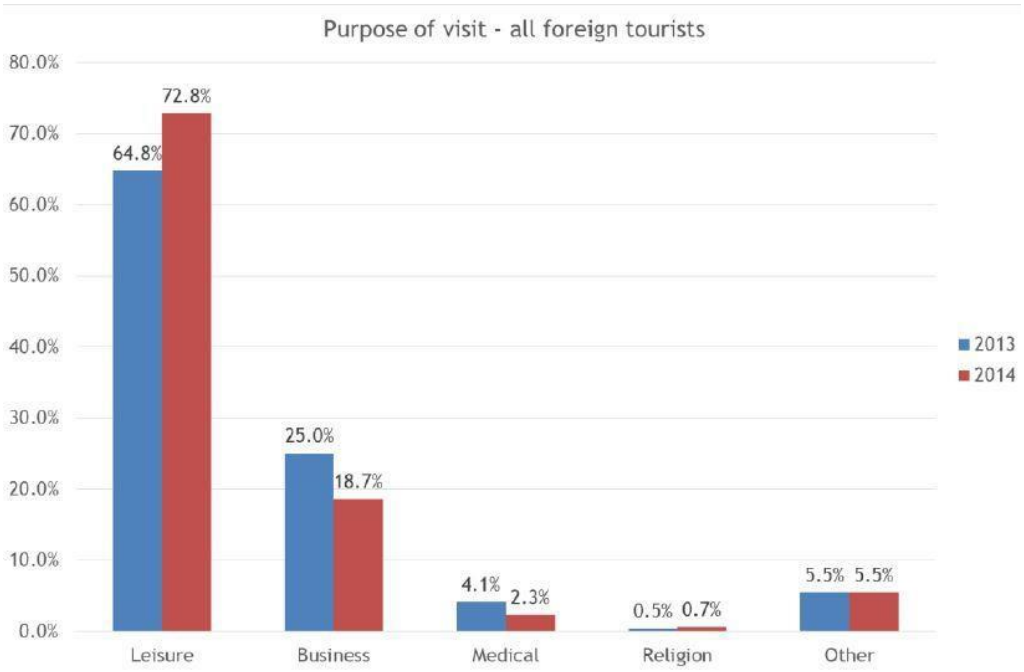
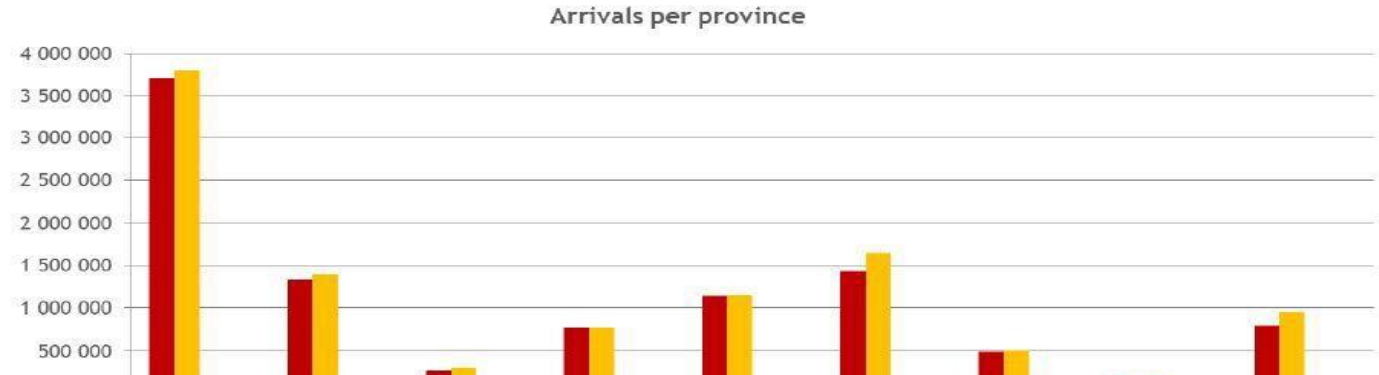


Figure 6: Purpose of visit. (Source: Annual Tourism Report 2014, StatsSA).

This table illustrates that the majority of tourists are here for leisure which bodes well for the tourist market in Maboneng as it is a general illustration of what people are visiting Maboneng for, a more specific idea of exactly what purpose visitors of Maboneng are engaging in will be reflected in my findings.

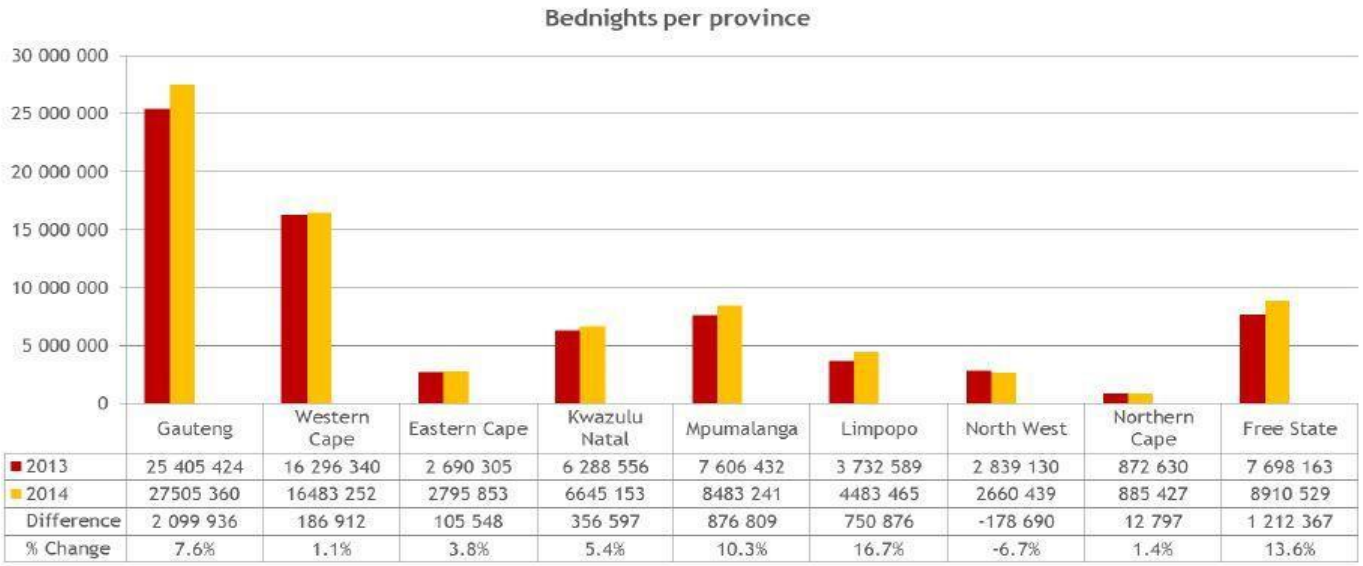


	Gauteng	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Kwazulu Natal	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	North West	Northern Cape	Free State
2013	3 712 144	1 330 520	276 611	772 372	1 132 444	1 422 556	493 197	156 588	796 706
2014	3 804 125	1 386 100	304 888	768 228	1 144 021	1 639 766	508 537	166 657	960 147
Difference	91 981	55 579	28 277	-4 144	11 577	217 210	15 340	10 069	163 440
% Change	2.4%	4.0%	9.3%	-0.5%	1.0%	13.2%	3.0%	6.0%	17.0%

Figure 7: Total number of Foreign Tourist Arrivals per Province. (Source: Annual Tourism Report 2014, StatsSA)

The number of tourist arrivals per province gives us a good indication of just how critical Johannesburg and the greater Gauteng region is to tourism, this is backed up by Gauteng still being the province in which most tourist bed nights are spent and the most spend by tourists takes place. This portrays the fact that Johannesburg had almost 4 million foreign tourists

visiting last year which means that there is a huge pool of potential from which direct and indirect tourism products can benefit, meaning that Maboneng is perfectly located for the majority of the tourist markets coming into South Africa.



	Gauteng	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Kwazulu Natal	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	North West	Northern Cape	Free State
2013	25 405 424	16 296 340	2 690 305	6 288 556	7 606 432	3 732 589	2 839 130	872 630	7 698 163
2014	27505 360	16483 252	2795 853	6645 153	8483 241	4483 465	2660 439	885 427	8910 529
Difference	2 099 936	186 912	105 548	356 597	876 809	750 876	-178 690	12 797	1 212 367
% Change	7.6%	1.1%	3.8%	5.4%	10.3%	16.7%	-6.7%	1.4%	13.6%

Fig 8: Total number of bednights per province (Source: Annual Tourism Report 2014, StatsSA)

The Fig. 8 above illustrates that Johannesburg and Gauteng as whole are not just a 'gateway' or perceived stop over province, but has the largest number of bed nights spent in the country. These are 27 505 360 bed nights as seen in 2014 Gauteng of which could be a potential bed night to be spent in Maboneng. The graph shows an increase from 2013 to 2014 but as has been mentioned could see a decline in 2015 due to the aforementioned challenges. This is a

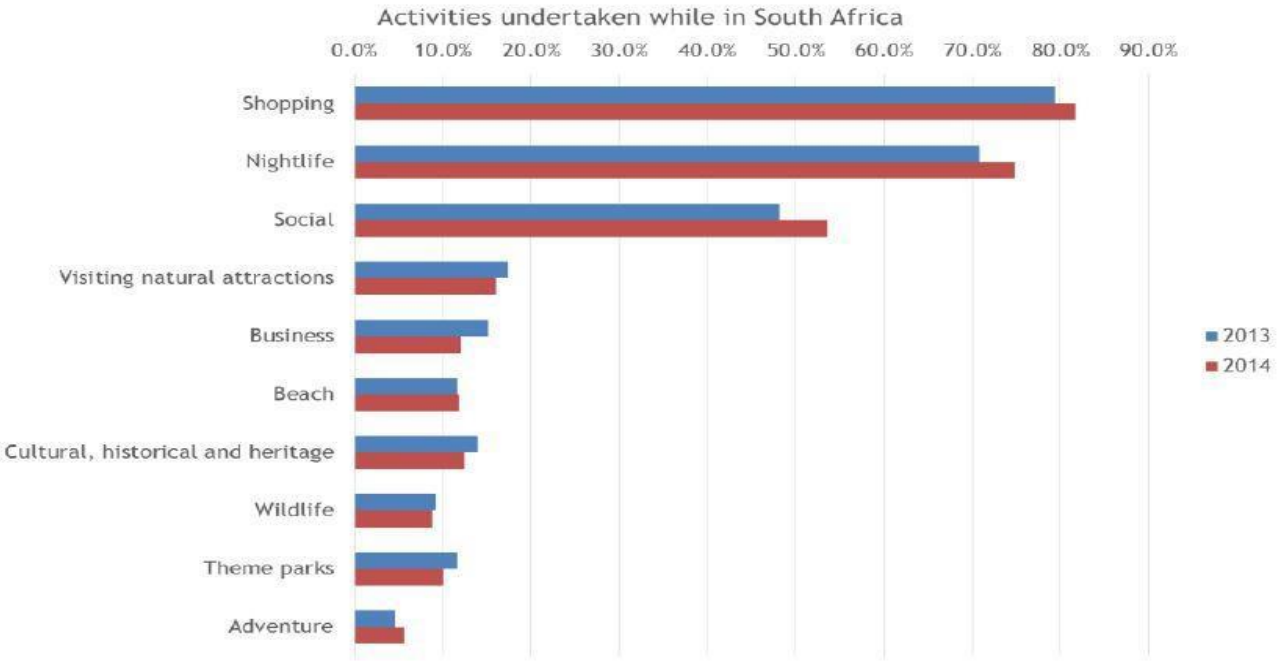


Figure 9: Activities undertaken by Tourists. (Source Annual Tourism Report 2014, StatsSA)

massive number even when compared to Gauteng's closest rival in the Western Cape of which had 16 483 252 in 2014. That is a difference of 11 022 108 which is considerable when taking into account the potential that Maboneng has for accommodating some of these bed nights.

The activities graph Fig. is particularly important as it allows me to ascertain what type of activities tourists are engaging with when in South Africa, this should give the developers of Maboneng an indication of what types of activities they should promote and also shows us how we could maximise on particular tourist assets[5] which would support dwindling activities undertaken such as cultural tourism. Maboneng can draw from this from this statistics and capitalize on the areas that are doing well such as shopping, nightlife and social. In the Review of South African Tourism report (2015) the World Tourism Organization (UNWTC) 2015 states that, 'city trips show the biggest growth as a market segment – at 58% over the past 5 years – now comprising 20% of the market.' This growth is a statistic that further motivates how urban tourism is becoming a more in demand form of tourism and plays well into the hands of the inner city located Maboneng Precinct. The 'positive

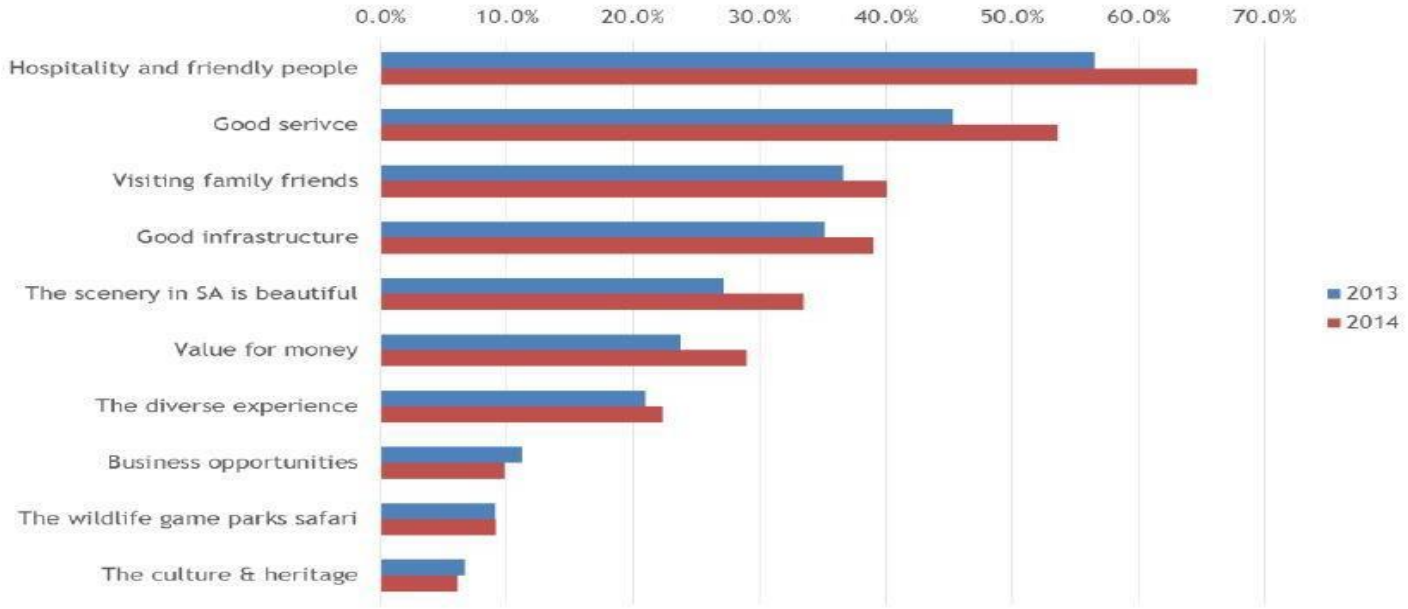


Figure 10: Positive Experiences by Tourists. (Source: Annual tourism Report 2014, StatsSA)

experiences' graph (see Fig.10) also signifies an important part of the tourism sector as it allows us to see the areas in which we are excelling and what tourists have found to be good

[5] Tourist assets are things that draw tourists to an area or accommodate tourists (Restaurants, hotels, entertainment venues, curio shops etc.)

things about our country and what might potentially draw them back in the future. It is the general analysis of what experiences they have encountered, which makes it valuable so far as to see what experiences Maboneng can currently offer and maximise on them or in future try and create a more suitable environment or tourism assets. This in essence has boiled down to the developers and their constituents who have formed a cultural, diverse and creative hub filled with many different types of people who are friendly and welcoming, this will be alluded to in my findings. Propertuity and the key stakeholders in the precinct need to drive the vision of being hospitable and friendly – which has already been such a cornerstone to the success of this community-orientated neighbourhood and has to be upheld.

As South Africans we want to be able to create investor confidence through the positive experiences that we help to formulate for our visitors. We need to have such a positive impression on tourists that they will seriously contemplate investing in capital products like property, cars, art, furniture and housing among other forms of capital assets. This means that the environment that is Maboneng must be as low risk and desirable as possible. The Total Foreign Direct Spend (TFDS) from 2013 to 2014 as depicted in Fig. _ a decrease and could be due to a number of extenuating circumstances but could be linked to the xenophobic attacks, Eskom crisis, the wavering in confidence of the legitimacy and stability of ourgovernment as well as the new visa regulations, the focus here, however, is that there is a decrease and foreigners seem to not be as willing to invest as before.

	2013	2014
Total Foreign Direct Spend in SA (Including capital expenditure)	R66,7 billion	R65,0 billion (down 2.6% from 2013)

Figure 11: Table illustrating Total Foreign Direct Spend in South Africa. (Source: Annual Tourism Report 2014, StatsSA)

This look at South African tourism as a whole - a nationwide perspective gives us a comparative benchmark on which to gauge against what is taking place in Maboneng. It also helps us to understand the overarching dynamics of tourism in this country and what might be hindering or positively affecting the industry and henceforth directly or indirectly affecting Maboneng and the tourists visiting it. If we do not fully understand the environment and broader context in which tourism is taking place then we cannot accurately study it on a smaller scale. Tourism as has just been shown is a massive part of our economy and a huge job creator with the ability to uplift and better many parts of South African society. It is how we harness and optimise on the many opportunities that this county has offered the tourism industry and how we can promote our cities and further encourage urban tourism.

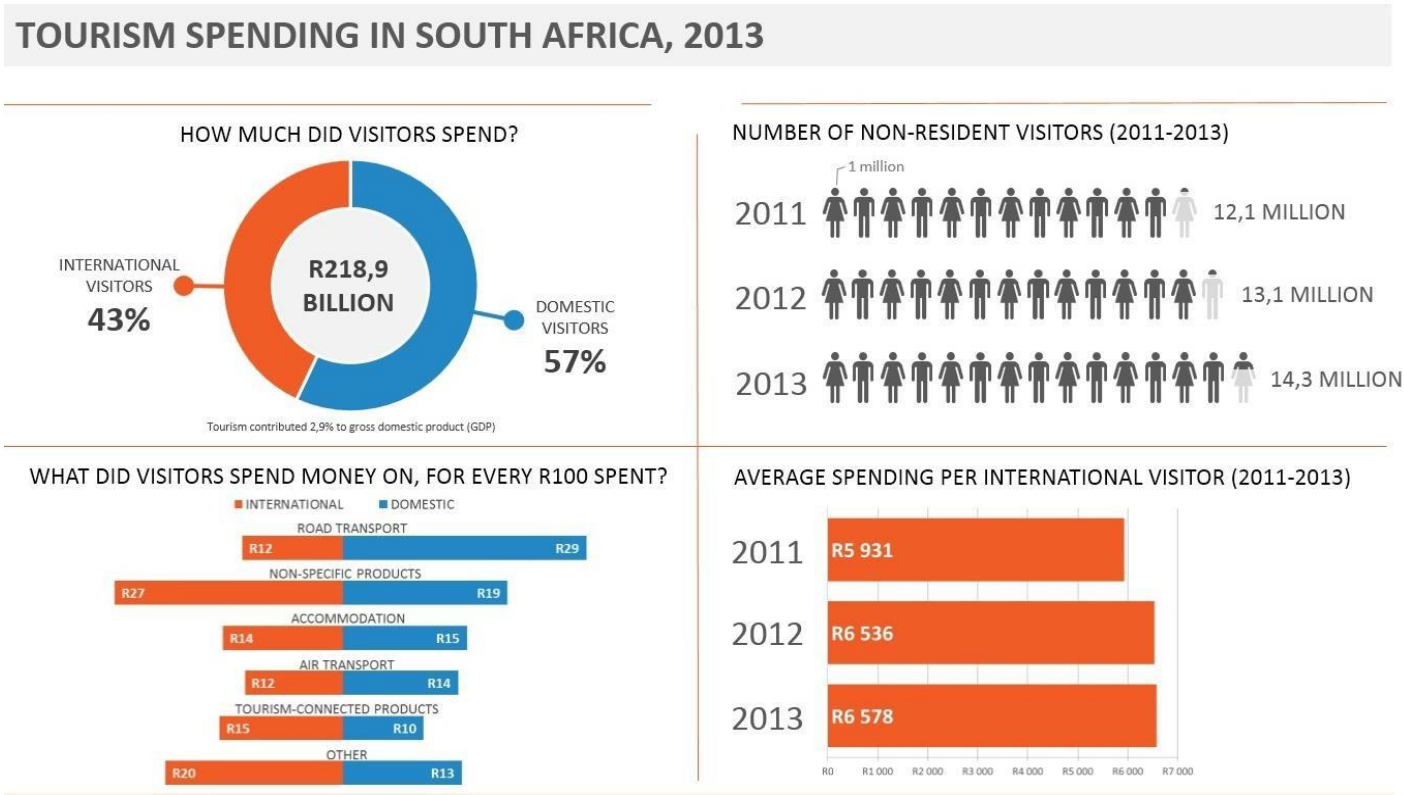


Figure12: Clear graphical illustration on Tourism spending in South Africa (2013). (Source: Tourism Satellite Account for South Africa, StatsSA)

2.7 International Case Study: Bilbao, Spain.

Bilbao is in Basque Country, it is one of the most Northerly cities in Spain and is located on both sides of the Nervion River which feeds into the Bay of Biscay some 10 kilometres from the city centre. Due to the cities favourable location on the Atlantic Ocean and it proximity to iron ore deposits in the region, the city became an industrial hub, this became more apparent at the turn of the industrial revolution in the late 1800's and 19th century. The city had a very advantageous strategic position as it allowed access to many other parts of Western Europe. The industrial sector grew tremendously and as it did so finance and commercial activities started to follow suit. The sheer number of industries meant that there was a need for a large workforce and the influx of immigrants from Spanish regions such as Andalusia grew dramatically which meant that there was a large segment of Bilbao's population being employed as working class citizens. This led to density issues within the city due to its uneven topography and lack of land with large scale blocks of flats being erected for the migrant workers. This meant that Bilbao was one of the most densely populated regions in Spain in the 1970's and 1980's with many of its inhabitants relying solely on the industrial prowess of the city. Things started to look less prosperous in Bilbao with a number of crucial factors contributing to a city in decline. The global recession after the oil-shock in 1973, Franco's dictatorship regime between 1939-1975 alienating Spain from other international markets had severe repercussions as industries started collapsing and some modernising needing a smaller workforce. Social issues, unemployment and urban decay started crippling the city and due to unemployment poverty and poor living conditions followed. The environment was also badly affected by the industrial activity in the area with soil, air and water quality being seriously damaged. To compound these issues a large flood took place in 1983 damaging large parts of the older inner city (Bilbao City Report, 2007).

Bilbao needed a drastic turn around and shift in focus to a more strategic approach. This came in the form of a Strategic Plan that laid the foundation for future plans such as the 'Strategic Plan for the Revitalization of Metropolitan Bilbao' this was implemented in 1991 and was facilitated by an agency called the Bilbao Metropoli-30, which helped to garner investment and strengthen the ties between the public and private sector. This Strategic document set out four very clear 'fields of action' that were put forward by Ploger in the Bilbao City Report (2007):

- Formation of a knowledge-based high-tech sector

- Inner-city urban renewal; especially revitalization of the Old Quarter
- Environmental intervention: river cleaning, industrial land recycling, implementation of Agenda 21
- Strengthening of cultural identity through culture-led regeneration

Bilbao drew much from the experiences of three other Spanish cities which helped them to align their plans and projects in the correct manner. Barcelona had undergone extensive project-led regeneration due to the 1992 summer Olympics which served as a major catalyst to trigger urban regeneration within certain areas of Barcelona, Sevilla as it hosted the 1992 International Expo and Madrid being the 'Cultural Capital' of Europe was another example which they could learn from and initiate certain aspects from those cities and implement them in the Bilbao project. Bilbao also drewew ideas from other post-industrial cities such as Baltimore in the United States and Glasgow in Scotland and extracted the successful elements of these projects and initiatives. Bilbao has then used this as a foundation and realistic example of how to tackle the inordinate number of challenges that they have to tackle in their own specific area of urban plight. Each city has certain assets that they need to identify and maximise on, hence why cities such as Bilbao which is situated on a river need to and have used the water frontage to their advantage as has been the case in waterfront regeneration projects all over the world such as Boston's four waterfront projects, Charlestown Navy Yard, Harbour Point, Rowe's Wharf and South Seaport District; Baltimore's inner harbour district; Docklands in Melbourne-Australia; Brooklyn's Naval Yards in New York among many other international examples including Bilbao and Barcelona (Wang, 2002).

> "Waterfront regeneration was seen as an urban panacea, a cure-all for ailing cities in search of new self-images or ways of dealing with issues of competition for capital development or tourist dollars (Marshall, 2001a, p. 6)."

'Opportunity' areas within Bilbao were another fundamental aspect and were harbour and industrial areas that were identified with another agency being designated to manage this revitalisation in these targeted areas, this agency – Bilbao Ria 2000 – this agency has focused on redevelopment and providing access to land, it has since its inception become the main

regeneration and planning body in the city. There were four 'opportunity areas' that were identified within the city, derived from Bilbao City Report:

- Abandoibarra: Formerly land occupied by harbour and railway infrastructure located on the riverfront in the central area of Bilbao. Earmarked to become the urban core and heart of Bilbao with an emphasis on new investment.
- Zorrozaure: A mixed; lower value harbour, industrial and residential land-uses with current activity still present. This area involves restructuring and future plans for extension of Abandoibarra.
- Ametzola/Eskurtze: Dense residential building characterize this area, aim in this area is to 'smoothen' – eradicate- the physical barriers (Railways cuttings).
- Miribilla and Morro: Old mining area seen as a potential site for new residential developments to be constructed.

The most significant of these four opportunity areas is Abandodoibarra which as described by Bilbao Ria 2000 is the most emblematic and important, it lies in a prime central location and has a total area of 35 hectares. It is located on the Nervoin River and will form the 'heart' of Bilbao with a significant amount of symbolism and attention attached to it with the public sector investing €144 million, with the hopes of drawing in new investment and attractiveness for local and international investment. A master plan was drawn up for the area by Cesar Pelli the same man responsible for the Battery Park waterfront regeneration in New York. The private sector also came to the proverbial 'party' investing €72 million in the form of a new conference centre and a modern shopping mall City of Bilbao Report, 2007). This was a prime location for the most significant and influential regeneration initiative planned for Bilbao. It would prove to be a decisive marker in terms of how much effort the city has put into transforming from a post-industrial metropolis to being a symbol of positive, renewed change not only in the physical environment but in the minds of those using the city (Rodriquez, 2002). The most famous development that was erected on the site was the Guggenheim Museum, which was designed by famous architect Frank Gehry and opened in 1997 with an annual tourist arrival statistic of over a million visitors, it is a landmark within the city and has been the lynch pin and key to the success of this as a global example of successful urban regeneration. Since the inauguration of the museum the city has become famous for what is known as the 'Bilbao' effect which is, "the transformation of a city by a

new museum or cultural facility into a vibrant and attractive place for residents, visitors and inward investment" (Lord, 2007: 32).



Figure 13: Aerial view of the Abandiobarra (left) with the Iberdrola Tower (business tower) as the centre piece and an image of the tram moving through the Abandiobarra area. (Source: bilbaoria2000.org, 2015).

The Abandiobarra area has become a cultural and tourist node within the larger city wide context and now contains the (GMF, 2015) University of Deusto Library, the Bilbao Maritime Museum, the Zubiarte Shopping Centre, the Auditorium of the Basque Public University, and the Euskalduna Palace & Music Centre as indicated by GMF in 'The Transformation of Bilbao's Abandoibarra District' article (2014). The area also has expansive tracts of green space and beautifully landscaped gardens allowing for a softer, more liveable and aesthetically pleasing environment that serves all the users that interact with it, Appleyard (1980, p.108) states, "Trees, grass, plants and flowers not only provide relief from the hardness and grayness of the city they provide shade in summer and remind people of the natural environment which is often far away…". These kinds of investments and strong urban design principles go a long way to helping build investor confidence, as was the case with the change of location for the Iberdrola Tower (Inaugurated by King Juan Carlos I in 2012), this business tower was relocated by provincial government due to its location, the vision and the increased amount of investment in Abandoibarra. This tower has become another iconic addition to the city strengthened and reinforced the ideals of what urban regeneration can achieve when implemented and carried out in the right manner.

Bilbao also had a massive boast in terms of their transport infrastructure which has played a pivotal role in stimulating and feeding the different projects in the area as well as making the city more mobile, accessible, connected and legible for residents and tourists alike. The transport infrastructure has improved dramatically with a new metro railway system, a new

tram, port extension and modernisation of the current airport this has been absolutely pivotal in the (City of Bilbao Report, 2007). Bilbao has been a resounding success within the European context and with a strong regional culture, all spheres of government collaborating, public sector led involvement, high-profile projects and the innovative and global examples they use make an area adaptable and responsive. This is turn forming a strong and legible core to the city, reassuring visitors and locals that altering the physical environment can bring around monumental improvement and have a number of indirect benefits for the city and its people. The direct number of jobs and the immediate effects of an area reliant upon cultural elements to lure tourists (culture-led tourism) does not seem worthwhile, however, it becomes more apparent with the knock on effects. Service outlets such as restaurants, shops, bars, nigh-clubs, hotels and guided tours start to be established in order to service the increase in demand for goods and services from the increase in tourist numbers, all of which benefits from the increase in tourism, therefore tourism has been a massive economic injection and a further draw card for potential businesses and investors (City of Bilbao Report, 2007).

In many ways Bilbao and Johannesburg share many similarities and also have many differences. They both were predominantly industrial areas that have been repurposed and reshaped to help integrate the city more effectively, both undesirable areas of their respective cities that have both used abandoned buildings and poor land usage to their advantage without having to undertake the controversial process of gentrification. They both have a strong cultural identity that draws potential tourists to the area offering particular culture orientated tourist assets. They are both in a historically significant area in their particular cities and are both well located within the greater urban fabric. Tourism is a fundamental component to the success, sustainability and local economy in each case, this will be explored in more detail in my findings. International ideas and examples have been primary sources of inspiration, influence and have been superimposed on both Bilbao and Maboneng for the purposes of making a more responsive, functional and liveable urban environment.

On the other hand there are a number of disparities present between the two, firstly Abandiobabba was a public sector dominated intervention where Maboneng has been in contrast a private sector led development which has been almost fully reliant on private sector funding. Secondly; the racial, religious, ethnic, cultural and financial demographics are vastly different in two completely different cities with their own set of challenges. Maboneng has also been the ‘brainchild’ of one man – Jonathan Liebmann – whilst the urban regeneration projects in Bilbao have been government led and involved a number of public and private

sector stakeholders. Abandiobarra was also heavily influenced and propelled by one iconic tourist attraction – The Guggenheim Museum – where Maboneng does not have one specific iconic landmark that has been the galvanising force behind the successful UR that followed, but used a goods and food market on a Sunday as a catalyst to get people to come into the area to see what was taking place and engage with the inner city. The new Hallmark House could be seen as an iconic structure that is architecturally aesthetically pleasing but serves the use of a hotel and residential apartments so cannot be related to the influence that the Guggenheim would have. Maboneng has poor public transportation infrastructure that restricts the accessibility and mobility to and around the area making it hard for tourists to experience the city as easily as it would be in Bilbao with its drastically improved transport infrastructure. One of the main successful components which Maboneng could draw from is the amount of green space and how it dominates the area in Bilbao this involved knocking down structures to form this space and perhaps the developers in Maboneng can look at sacrificing potential built developments to make provision for such open, green areas that could link parts of the rigid street grid of Maboneng and help to provide space for integration and movement.



Figure 14: Picture of the Guggenheim Museum in Abandiobarra with the Nervion River in the foreground. (Source: bilbaoria2000.org, 2015).

3. The Making of the Maboneng Precinct

3.1 What is Maboneng?

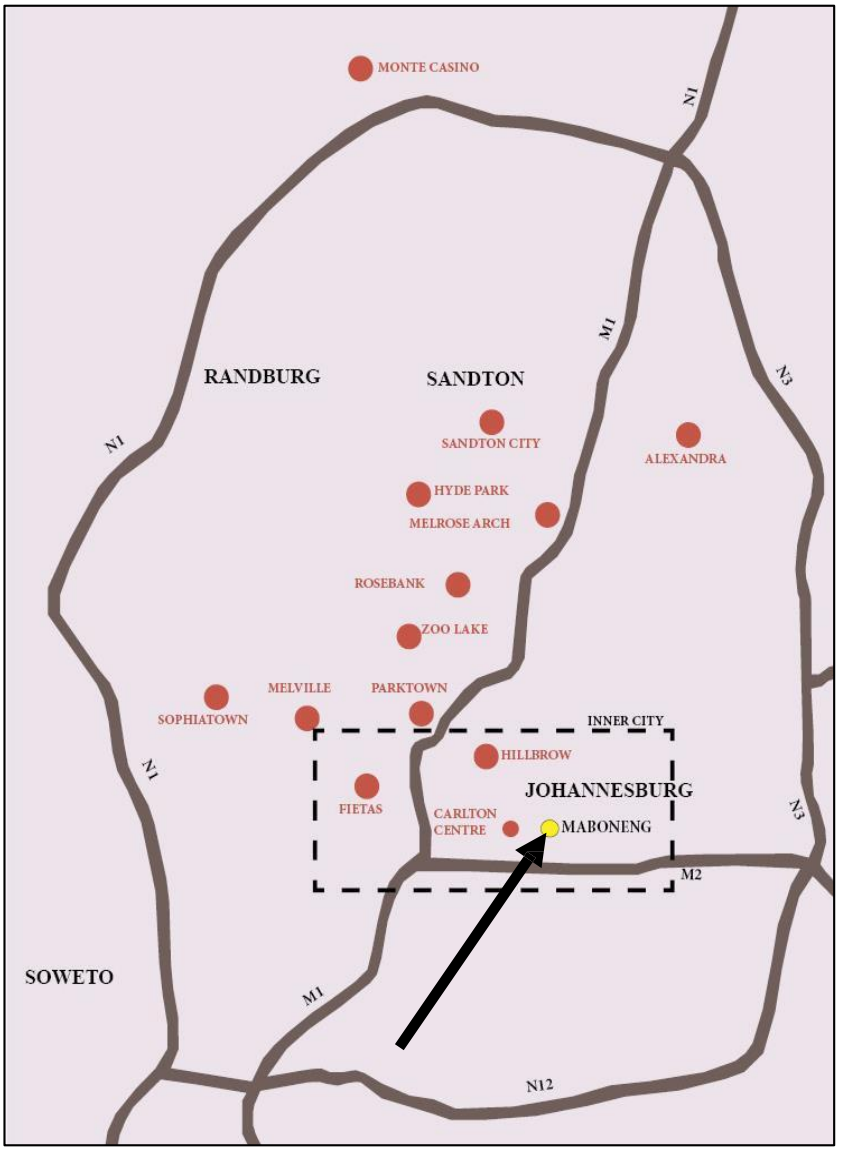


Figure 15: Map showing the location of Maboneng within the greater Johannesburg context (derived from Bahmann and Frenkel, 2012).

Maboneng is a vibrant and culturally rich urban regenerated precinct that is situated on the Eastern side of Johannesburg's bustling inner city. It is a privately developed urban neighbourhood that was started in 2008 by visionary Jonathan Liebmann, who founded and is the CEO of the developers of the precinct. The developers are Propertuity (Leading Inspired Development) who are the sole development company responsible for the UR taking place in the precinct, there motto maintains that they, "Re-energising a city requires change, innovation and extreme optimism. As leaders of inspired development, we recognise potential, we-reimagine, and we work with people to reignite the human spirit of an urban space." (propertuity.co.za, 2015). The precinct stretches over two suburbs, Jeppestown and City & Suburban with Jeppestown being one of the oldest suburbs in the city - steeped in history and comprised of a number of old buildings that have given the area a distinctive heritage. The area has a very cultural and artistic feel from the numerous displays of public art seen on the buildings, walls and any other possible surface, there is definitely an artistic aura in the air. This artistic pattern is followed through in the form of the numerous artist studios and 'creatives' that are based in the precinct most notably William Kentridge, one of South Africa's most well-known artists. The area is very racially diverse with many of

the residents being young, hip artistic types, with the plethora of African inspired restaurants and stores only adding to the cultural experience that is Maboneng.

The Maboneng Precinct at present comprises more than 40 buildings from residential, commercial, light industrial, hospitality and entertainment facets, all accommodated within various buildings across the Propertuity portfolio. The residential component is made-up of a broad spectrum of apartment offerings, with different sizes, aesthetic appeal and flexibility of use, the precincts architects have adopted innovative design and architectural principles that have given Johannesburg a residential market that is completely new and exciting. The variety is impressive, with loft apartments, bachelors studios, massive open plan units (work and living option) to very upmarket and state-of-the-art penthouses, Maboneng also has a number of different commercial spaces, with also an array of different working environments from open plan collaborative spaces such as the OPEN to smaller more standardized office spaces in the Main change. There is also very creative uniquely designed spaces in Fox Street studios which sells or rents out an entire floor in which you use as your work and living space, adding a whole new dimension and type of lifestyle not available anywhere else. Maboneng prides itself on its restaurant and food offerings, with the number of patrons visiting the market on a Sunday, Maboneng is starting to become a food lovers destination with a number of new restaurants moving in, many of these restaurants having different African 'flavours'. The rest of the precinct is made up of a collection of galleries, a museum, a hotel and numerous entertainment spots such as an independent theatre (PopArt) and cinema (The Bioscope), some very interesting pubs, clubs and party venues. Within Maboneng it is also very important to mention how big of a component and draw card the retail aspect of Maboneng is, it forms an intricate part of the precinct. As with the restaurants the demand for retail space has increased and there are numerous retail stores littered throughout the precinct.

The precinct has stayed true to ensuring that its developments are mixed use due to the overwhelming advantages that this practice brings which has seen retail stores being placed on the ground floors of all of the residential and commercial developments, this has meant that there is not only a conglomeration of stores along the primary retail streets of Fox and Albrecht but now present all over the precinct making it a more integrated and interconnected community, giving the resident a convenient and broad selection from which to choose from. The spine of the majority of the retail outlets are along Fox, Albrecht and Kruger Streets and delineate a primary core of the precinct that is the most popular and well used strips of the

precinct as the quintessential activity takes place along this spinal 'nervous system' of the precinct. Many of the retail outlets are trendy clothing stores that sell uniquely African and South African products. One is spoilt for choice in terms of the vast selection of stores available from tobacconists, to book stores, clothing stores, hair salons and specialized goods such as the Built Environment Centre (BEC), Whippet Bicycles and oxygen bar, the stores are just as unique and have just as much character as the area they are in.

There are still a number of businesses and factories that have been established in the area prior to Propertuity's intervention that still operate in the precinct to this day. These businesses are intermingled in amongst Propertuity's developments but have not had any adverse effects on the area, other than unintentionally perhaps being potential development sites themselves and thereby helping to connect and fill in the 'gaps' in-between Propertuity owned buildings that are being positively transformed to increase the critical mass. On the other hand the UR initiative incentivises them to get involved due to the advantageous prospects of the UR project have by means of looking at what will benefit them, such as the property prices, safety and to be in a more identifiable area. These businesses are also complimentary services to the precinct as the products that they produce or services that they provide, can be directly available to visitors and residents that live within Maboneng.

3.2 The Beginning

The Maboneng Precinct has been the brain child of one very optimistic and visionary man, Jonathan Liebmann. Jonathan took a gap year at the age of 18 and travelled around the world with three of his best friends, it was on his travels that he experienced different cities, cultures and ways of life. He saw something in other cities that he had visited that was not present within the Johannesburg context and wanted to go about creating a neighbourhood in which one could work, live and play within the inner city of Johannesburg, in a safe, innovative and from a South African perspective unique environment. After being involved in a number of his own small businesses such as a mobile coffee truck, and a chain of Laundromats in the Johannesburg CBD, he then went on to purchase and renovate an apartment from which he made his first sizeable portion of capital. Having a passion for the city, he then wanted to try to reimagine and reengineer the urban landscape of Johannesburg so that it could provide the lifestyle that he had seen in other major cities – something that was missing in South African society, as he puts it.

Having found an empty old industrial factory space on the East side of the Johannesburg CBD that was in the right location (Jonathan wanting to help with the UR of the city), right price and at the right time he saw it as a perfect opportunity to create something which would be available within the city. Jonathan referred to this as selfish needs or enlightened self-interest, something that he envisaged himself for himself that would then go on to support and involve others that would want to get involved in the preliminary stages of this innovative and artistic repurposing of a generally very derelict and abandoned part of the industrial portion of the inner city. This first building which is now known as Arts on Main is a 4500 square metre property that boasts a number of artist studios, art galleries, and creative office spaces. This property boasted a courtyard and underground parking space which hosted a food and crafts market every Sunday known as the Market on Main. This was the catalyst to get people to come into the once no go areas of 'town' and expose the conservative and cocooned populations of Johannesburg to what can be a new vibrant and energetic space with the potential to be one very influential 'piece in the puzzle' of turning the degraded inner city around. This was the starting point for Maboneng but there needed to be leverage, some sort of propulsion behind what was taking place. This came in the form of Jonathan engaging with people in the creative community, by using art and creative spaces as a draw card and establishing a place of interest that people would want to come and visit. One of the key figures that collaborated with Jonathan was William Kentridge who is by far South Africa's most famous and prolific visual artist, who established a studio in Maboneng. That was a massive incentive and attraction for other artists (David Krut) and 'creatives' to come and be involved in adapting and innovating spaces that could be used as studios, galleries or other types of creative spaces, essentially forming a 'creative hub'. This started garnering the



Figure 16: Left, image of Main Street Life prior to development and right, view up Fox Street pre-development. (Source: Shaun Burgess, 2009).

media's attention and the exposure of what was trying to be accomplished became much more apparent to the general public.

Whilst busy with the Arts on Main development Johnathan knew that there needed to be a critical mass in order to develop not only one or two select isolated developments but to realise his dream of developing a neighbourhood, a community in which all can live, work and play without having the ills of the city deterring investment and community cohesion and vibrancy. Johnathan then with a secret partner that is also his international financial backer along with his architect Enrico Daffonchio who has collaborated with Jonathan, have gone about purchasing building after building and restoring them, many of which have been old commercial and industrial space. Enrico's architecture firm Enrico and Associates are responsible for the reshaping and innovative design and architecture principles that have been used in the area and are a very reputable firm. The snowball type effect started taking place, with building after building starting off as hollow, large industrial shells and being converted into imaginative and innovative residential, commercial and retail spaces.

The first major development that took place after Arts on Main was Main Street Life a building that consisted of 194 apartments, the 12 decades hotel (12 rooms) and on the ground floor a cinema (Bioscope) and retail and restaurant outlets. This was then followed by the Main Change which was the first large commercial development which housed 45 office spaces, then came Revolution House which has 32 residential units, and then Fox Street Studios which is an innovative work-live concept whereby each floor is sold or rented to a particular person. These were the first initial developments starting in 2009 that have been the catalyst and starting point for creating a critical mass, they were the developments that would set in motion all the other projects and were in a sense a test to see whether something of this nature, in a once abandoned and forgotten portion of the city would tell whether or not an UR project of this magnitude could succeed.

3.3 Progression

The 'test subjects' proved to be a hit with rentals and sales starting off relatively slowly to becoming very much in demand with the majority of the units in both of the residential buildings being sold or rented out, it was now about growing and enlarging the neighbourhood and implementing more assets within the surrounding areas to progressively move towards a more integrated and community orientated critical mass that provided not only a place to live, but an inner city lifestyle that would attract the prospective 'urbanist' to

move out of the suburbs and into the inner city. A strong pattern that is seen throughout the Precinct and an urban planning/architectural principle which Jonathan wanted to see was that of having the buildings and in essence people engaging directly with the street, to be able to move seamlessly from the street into the permeable buildings lining them. This way it was essential that buildings were mixed use with retail stores, restaurants, creative office spaces and entertainment venues making up the ground floor usage, with apartments on the upper levels. Ground floor levels were developed having large windows and porous pedestrian openings. Developments that have been done so far achieve this quite successfully with a number of upcoming retail stores following in the same fashion. Being able to live, work and play within walking distance of one another is something that many of South Africans are not used to, the 'metropolitan' lifestyle or stereotypically 'New York type lifestyle', this type of lifestyle and urban living experience for the middle to upper class in the inner city is very limited. There needed to be variation, diversification of assets within the area that would attract potential investors and peak their interest. Places to live, places to eat, places one could be entertained, places to work and exciting products needed to be considered when trying to develop a sustainable and successful UR neighbourhood.

The next developments that came about did achieve to a large degree what has just been mentioned. Maverick Corner is a building facing onto a greened courtyard with a selection of different restaurants, clothing stores, offices and a bicycle shop. It has a very artistic and appealing look and is well-located within the precinct and extends the food and goods offering. The demand for residential space necessitated the need for more residential buildings, these took the shape of Artisan Lofts and Urban Fox two exciting additions to the residential offerings. Artisan Lofts being the largest building that has been completed by Propertuity brings an entire new dimension to the Precinct and increases the number of neighbourhood residents dramatically. Urban Fox is another very unique development that has taken an old industrial building with large open plan spaces and converted them into upmarket apartments, a smaller development but in the heart of the precinct and adding a different product to the 'shelves' of Maboneng. Both of these residential building follow the same pattern of mixed use development and have accommodated this by having restaurants or retail outlets on the ground floor.

Three other developments which are some of the newest in the Precinct are pioneering in terms of their location and functionality. The Museum of African Design commonly known as MOAD is the first of its kind in South Africa and is a large warehouse and factory space

that has been repurposed to house this unique showroom of Design and Art and also functions as an events venue. This adds to the entertainment component of the Precinct and is in many ways a massive draw card for more creative like-minded people that initially helped to set Maboneng in motion. Remed's View is a purpose built and designed student residence that extends the reach and pull of the Precinct to incorporate students and diversify the residential population that includes a range of different people living within the broader space. It has all the facilities one would need as a student including a café, hair salon, other retail outlets and Wi-Fi all within the confines of the building. It is in close proximity to a number of Johannesburg's most prominent universities and has become a valuable part of the urban environment. In 2013 Curiocity Backpackers was established, with the growth of tourism in the area and the world-wide trend of urban tourism consistently growing it was only logical that this would be a viable and logical addition to the Maboneng Precinct. It has become an exceedingly popular destination for international tourists and one of very few backpacker accommodation within the inner city.

In 2014 two very specialised and innovative developments were completed, Rocket Factory and Living MOAD. They are both residential developments that are products unlike any other seen in Johannesburg. Rocket Factory is best described as living in a piece of art, with the façade and the numerous art work present in the building, done by well renowned and Maboneng based Stephan Hobbs, it is a truly eye catching and exhibits a lot about the artistic nature of Maboneng. Living MOAD is split into two sections, a courtyard section that is surrounded by double volume apartments and a rooftop section which consists of a number of apartments that have been built on the roof of MOAD. These two developments are the newest major developments in the Precinct and add a very distinctively innovative component to an already creative and artistically inspired area that will be shifting many previously pessimistic eyes to the inner city and the living options now becoming available.

3.4 The Future

The demand and desire to grow the Maboneng Precinct is evident in the number of sales and rentals that have been witnessed over the past few years and the overarching and ever extending international exposure that is taking place. Seeing Maboneng become a must see destination on the international map has also triggered and fallen in line with the need to grow, support and motivate further development attaining the critical mass needed for sustainable community/neighbourhood development. Propertuity has responded to the

demand and the international interest that the Precinct has been garnering by already having more developments in the pipeline, these developments are incredibly impressive in scale, architectural style and originality.

Aerial Empire is one of the most eagerly anticipated developments, it is going to be a mixed use residential and retail development that is currently still to be completed, however, at present it is offering large open plan studios to a number of artists and it also currently houses several different fashion designers. The building has a central courtyard and the development has been referred to as an "artist colony" due to the number of studios available, it fits in extremely well with the overall ethos of the Precinct and will be a valuable contribution, as well as further strengthening the character of Maboneng. Situation East and Craftsmen's Ship are two more residential developments that are currently under construction, they both offer a variety of different apartments with Situation East having spectacular city views and Craftsmen's Ship - as with Aerial Empire also being built around a central courtyard with a pool -by a collection of three old industrial buildings with a portion of the development being once again reserved for retail on the ground level.

These developments will bring a whole new dynamic to the precinct and a residential offering that will drastically increase the precinct's population, and help to further integrate and enlarge the UR area. Access City is another new development it is the largest building in Propertuity's portfolio, previously a light industrial, retail and commercial buildings it has maintained these uses but will be upgraded and have provision for more office and retail space as well as a proposed residential component. This adds to the commercial and light industrial usage and further enhances the mixed-use character of the precinct. One of the most exciting and revolutionary developments that is set to become the newest addition to Maboneng is the 17 storey Hallmark House (originally built in 1970's). This is the brainchild of the precincts visionary Jonathan Liebmann and has been designed by world renowned architect David Adjaye, it will consist of a boutique hotel, with luxury apartments, a number of fashionable retail stores, a few restaurants (coffee shop, café) and will also accommodate space for a various small to medium enterprises (Microbrewery). It will become one of the most recognizable and prominent buildings within the precinct giving potential buyers and hotel goers a product unlike any other seen in the inner city of Johannesburg. Hallmark House will give the more upmarket purchaser a product that is luxurious, affordable and pioneering within the African context, it will also allow the more affluent tourist a boutique hotel experience and draws in a completely new echelon of potential urban tourists. The

future for Maboneng is looking exceedingly bright and with international partners of the likes of David Adjaye, it just reinforces the confidence that people have in what is taking place in Maboneng and gives a great boost to the sustainability prospects of such a large scale operation.

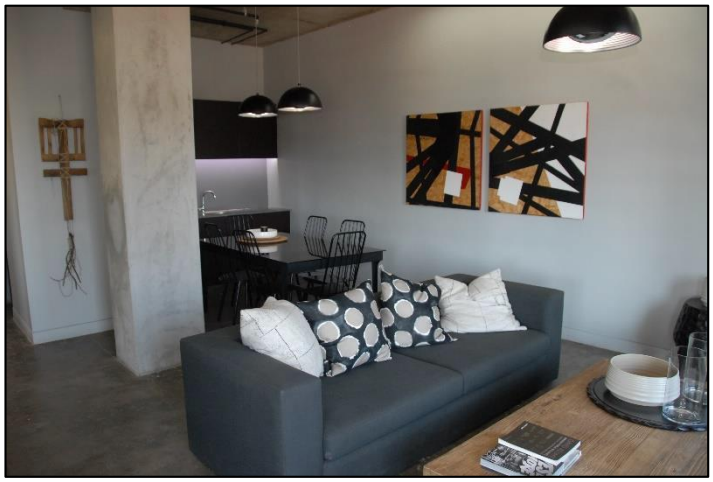


Figure 17: Photograph of the new showroom in Hallmark House illustrating how residential reconversions have been done successfully in a once commercial and light industrial space. (Source: Shaun Burgess, 2015).



Figure 18: Architectural rendering of what the building's façade will look like upon completion. (Source: inhabitat.com, 2015).

3.5 Making Maboneng Work - The Urban Picture

For Maboneng to function as a successful UR space the urban environment in which it was superimposed had to have a certain amount of potential and an urban landscape that could be conducive for the vision that has been intended for the area to be realised. Urban shape, pattern, grain and texture are things that to a large extent cannot be significantly changed, we can, however, repurpose, reimagine and reengineer certain aspects and work within the confines of what is already presented (Spreiregen, 1963, p. 55).

There are a number of urban elements that have contributed to creating the urban community and neighbourhood that was envisaged by Jonathan and these key elements have gone a long way to helping the vision be realised whether this has happened intentionally or by happenstance, they are worth mentioning to be able to grapple with how we as the users of the space, especially tourists respond to our environment with which we are engaging.

Propertuity in many ways has taken back 'lost space' that was present in the UR area of influence, especially along the overpass (Sivewright Avenue) and will gradually help to take back 'lost space' along the railway line that runs across the North Eastern portions of the precinct, many of the industrial spaces that had been abandoned and unused have also been valuable 'lost space' that Propertuity have used to their advantage. These spaces provide remarkable opportunities for redevelopment and creative redesigning of such vast amount of this ironically valuable 'lost space', it will help to curb urban sprawl, look at infill planning rather than the spreading of the city and will bring people out of the suburbs to interact with this now newly 'found space' (Trancik, 1986). "Generally speaking, lost spaces are the undesirable urban areas that are in need of redesign – antispaces, making no positive contribution to the surroundings or users" (Trancik, 1986, pg. 3). The abundance of industrial factories and work spaces in the area was a massive bonus and a huge advantage, first of all this meant that gentrification would not be taking place as there would be no need to displace residents, secondly these huge spaces offered a tremendous amount of opportunity to build and fashion almost anything, with high ceilings and huge open floor areas, also being able to use the industrial aesthetic that could be incorporated into the overall design and architectural look. The area also has a very closely knit urban fabric, with the buildings in the area being uniformly next to one another with very few gaps present between the buildings, such as storm water drains. This allows for a more integrated and community orientated precinct that can accommodate a more feasible and sustainable neighbourhood that allows for mixed use

and shorter walking distances between developments. The areas buildings also vary in height from 1 storey up to 10 storeys these varying size buildings, represents an area having a course and uneven texture. This variability allows for more flexibility of use which can then target certain buildings to maximise on certain land uses, a 10 storey building for example would be ideal for a large scale residential development that has the capacity to house retail, parking and the residential apartments above them, as is the case with Artisan Lofts. There needs to be a particular density for mixed use developments to be optimised and function properly in such a drastically changing urban environment, one cannot have mixed use in a predominantly one storey neighbourhood and the adaptability of the usage of the building is way more flexible in a high density area with a number of high buildings.

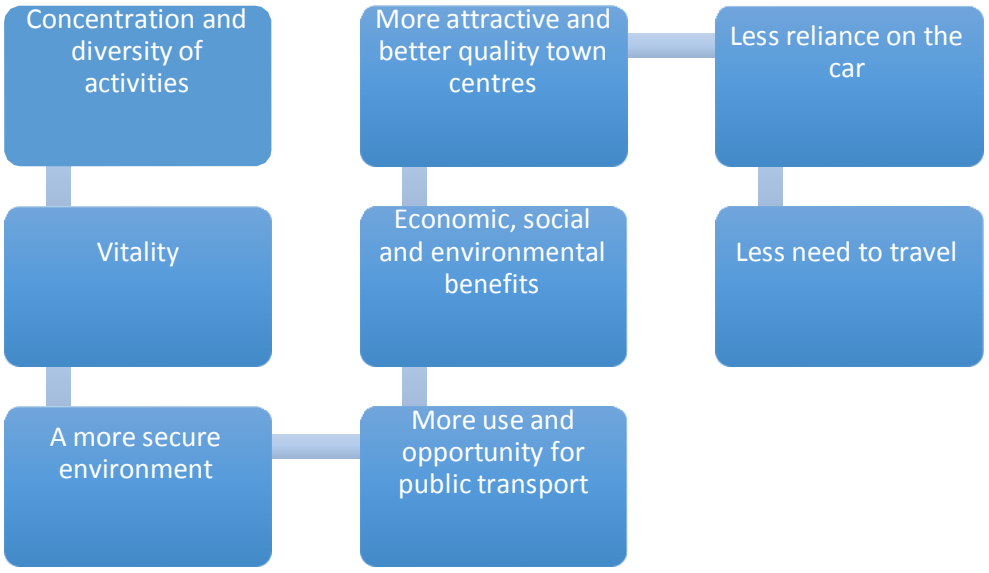


Figure 19: Elements of Mixed-use developments. (Source: Reclaiming the City: Mixed Use Development, Andy Coupland (Doa, 1995))

It is also this mix in building densities that can sustain a certain population density feeding the precinct with the threshold population that is needed for it to be feasible and maintain a constant flow of customers. This density as with the close knit urban fabric of the Maboneng area allows for a more pedestrian friendly environment as the usage will be high and the walking distances short helping people to engage with the street and activate the public spaces and voids in-between the buildings. Activation of the street and getting people to come out onto the street and be immersed in the community orientated feel of the neighbourhood is imperative and is why the majority of the restaurants and stores open out onto the street. People and especially tourists feel safer and are more attracted to active and high-use density spaces, where there are things happening and people undertaking a multitude of varying activities, this is appealing to people and draws them to the spaces and

induces an interest and a connection with the urban environment (Gospodini, 2001). Currently in the precinct the transformation of some old factory spaces are knocking out big windows and doors to ensure better porosity and a permeable edges - visually and physically, this has been the pattern throughout the precinct and has meant that the buildings and pedestrian and road reserves have a continuous 'relationship'. This has been done to great success with a number of the restaurants spilling out onto the street creating a sidewalk café culture that is reminiscent of many areas seen in European cities. The grid street pattern also helps ensure that we have a more legible and clearly defined precinct that one can orientate themselves and navigate around with ease.

These are all very important elements that have contributed significantly in developing the community-orientated and vibrant cultural precinct that is Maboneng today, if these initial urban components were not present the level of success and growth of urban regeneration might not have been conceivable.

3.6 Accommodation available for Tourists in the Maboneng Precinct

3.6.1 Airbnb

Airbnb is a company that was founded in San Francisco in 2008, it is a unique community orientated accommodation experience that allow you to list, explore and stay in a variety of different accommodation types at a wide range of prices, from an apartment, to a villa or even a castle if one so wishes. It is an online system that allows you to book accommodation from your phone or computer, it works by means of having a host who supervises the accommodation and your stay, it is a convenient and very user friendly system that is now operating in over 34 000 different cities in 190 countries around the world. Maboneng with its large pool of apartment offerings has 32 listed apartments ranging from R350 per night to R1000 per night, this has given tourists coming to the area a much more diverse range of accommodation offerings and has been a huge boost to the number of tourists visiting the area (Airbnb, 2015).

3.6.2 12 Decades Boutique Hotel

12 Decades is an exclusive hotel situated on the 7th floor of Main Street Life, all of the 12 suites have been uniquely designed by famous South African designers and artists (Black Coffee, Lovejozi, Dockter+Misses). Each room depicts various stages in Johannesburg's history, between 1886 and 2006, giving the consumer historical insight into the city, as well

as a very distinctive experience unlike any other hotel in the city. It is situated in the heart of the precinct allowing the guest to fully immerse themselves in the precinct and enjoy all that it has to offer. This hotel unlike the backpackers is more geared towards couples, families and business travellers due to the price and the fact that this exclusive hotel environment is more conducive for such users (mabonengprecinct.com, 2015).

3.6.3 Curiocity Backpackers

Curiocity Backpackers is located on the upper end of Fox Street in the Maboneng Precinct and has been an exceptionally valuable addition to the area. Curiocity was started by Bheki Dube in partnership with Propertuity who funded the project and is now run by Dube and his team. It was originally the premises of the Pacific Press, and was thought to have been the refuge for Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu on a number of occasions during the Apartheid era. The original building has been cleverly repurposed and transformed into a vibrant-energetic space with the feel of an old industrial building but with an inordinate amount of character and allure, the backpackers was established in 2013.

The backpackers has 11 rooms with a capacity of 64 people per night - the rooms consist of mixed dorms, female only dorms, single or twin rooms, four sleepers dorms and standard double rooms giving the traveller an array of different options and at very affordable prices. The backpackers has become very popular as it is the only backpackers within the inner city that allows tourists looking for the true urban experience of Johannesburg the most ideal location and proximity. Many tourists are looking to engulf themselves in the city life that Johannesburg has to offer and what many of Johannesburg's own residents shy away from. The backpackers is also a stop for the Baz Bus which is a bus that stops at 180 backpacking hostels around the country and offers an affordable and convenient mode of transport popular among tourists. Curiocity also facilitates Main Street Walks which is a concept that encourage tourists to go on a varying number of tours, they undertake tours of the inner city, the Maboneng Precinct, Soweto, as well as Art and Justice Tours which are done by staff who work at Curiocity.



Figure 20: Left image shows the outside facade of Curiocity Backpackers, right is an image of tourists socialising inside the backpackers. (Source: Left, Rory Murtagh, 2015 and right, Bheki Dube, 2014).

4. Findings

4.1 State of Urban Tourism in Maboneng

Maboneng has a steady influx of foreign and local tourism throughout the year. Tourism has been a fundamental component of Maboneng and has become a valuable tool in the regeneration of the precinct. Liebmann and Evans (2015) have both stated that tourism is crucial to the sustainability of Maboneng and is one of the five major pillars that have been set out, along with entrepreneurship, culture, urbanism and design. This signifies how important tourism is to the developer and how essential it is for further growth and development. South African tourism in general is important to note as it will directly affect the level of tourism experienced in Maboneng and this to a large degree has been illustrated in the graphs shown in section 2.6. Rogerson (2015) has also given some valuable insight into the state of tourism in South Africa. He explained from his educated perspective that South Africa is experiencing a downturn in the tourism sector, which has largely been due to the 'hangover' from the global financial crisis of 2008 but South Africa has managed to sustain its tourism numbers because of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Since then there has been the 'bite' of economic downturn, the economy slowing down, dismal economic performance. These factors have trickled down to slowing down domestic tourism and alongside this international tourism has suffered terribly due to the visa 'madness' (new visa regulations) and is hard to know when these issues will be resolved. Dube (2015) also alluded to the fact that there has been a slight decline in tourism numbers over recent times within Maboneng specifically due to the proximity of the xenophobic attacks (lost 30% of clientele during the month of the attacks) to the area and the new stringent visa regulations. This has harmed Maboneng to an extent but has been a short term problem as the Chinese tourism market was the most adversely affected country in terms of the visa regulations and Maboneng does not have a large contingent of Chinese tourists visiting the area. The surveys depicted that 27% (11 of 41) of the respondents were from Germany, 22% (9 of 41)from the United States, 12% (5 of 41) from the United Kingdom, 10% (4 of 41) from the Netherlands, 7% (3 of 41) from Spain and other smaller groupings from countries such as Belgium, France, Australia, Portugal, Ireland, Switzerland, Denmark and Slovenia. Dube (2015) maintained that the largest segment of tourists from a particular country was Germany with about 43% of Curiocity Backpackers clientele and other major influxes of tourists coming from the

Netherlands, United States, Finland and Switzerland. This shows that the largest contingent of tourists comes from Europe and the United States.

Maboneng has garnered a large amount of international exposure which has been an intrinsic tool in the promotion of urban tourism. Liebmann, Cabaret, Dube and Evans have confirmed this exposure. Liebmann was of the opinion that international journalists come to the precinct because of the natural appeal of the area, suggesting that Maboneng is one of the top three tourist destinations in Johannesburg. Gauteng Tourism and Johannesburg Tourism have been supportive as they saw the potential in Maboneng and in the way in which they have punted Maboneng and sent international media to the area, as well as South African tourism in Britain who also unequivocally supported the precinct. Cabaret (2015) who is the director of Grind which facilitated the exchanging of experiences and sharing of ideas from other international UR projects around the world which further boosted the international exposure and attention that was focused on Maboneng. The German government also contributes to the exposure and substantial portion of tourists coming to the area by supporting volunteering programmes in Johannesburg and South Africa which creates channels for people to travel, Dube (2015) described. This degree of international exposure has been hugely significant for the marketing of Maboneng and draws the journalists and people that read there articles and see their pictures in the foreign press. It is becoming well renowned and has in many respects been the reason behind the constant flow of urban tourists coming into the area. On top of this there are numerous advertisements and films that have been 'shot' in the precinct exposing it further. A tourism respondent mentioned that he had seen a documentary about the area.

To get a more accurate idea of how the tourists found out about Curiocity Backpackers the survey gave a clearer illustration, it showed that 60% found out through search engines (Hostelworld, TripAdvisor), 35% by word of mouth, 2,5% through printed media and social media. The internet and globalisation in general has become an extremely powerful vehicle for luring people to destinations, but the interesting aspect was to see the number of 'word of mouth' respondents, these tourists had heard positive feedback not only about the backpackers but the precinct as a whole and decided that this feedback was persuasive enough to visit. One of the tourists from Switzerland illustrated that he had heard by word of mouth that the Maboneng Precinct is a totally different part of Johannesburg and that it is clean, safe and trendy. To further prove the positive response from the tourists the surveys illustrated that 97% of the respondents were satisfied with their stay and would recommend it to a friend. This only applies to the backpackers but this kind of feedback also links in very

strongly with the area in which the backpackers is situated in this case Maboneng. The TripAdvisor review in Fig. 21 that was undertaken by 75 tourists within the TripAdvisor community illustrates how the majority of the domestic and foreign tourists were satisfied with their stay and also gives a breakdown of how most of these reviews were undertaken by tourists that travelled alone or in a couple, with very few coming as a family or for business purposes. The rating summary also signifies how many of the tourists were satisfied with the location and enjoyed engaging with the precinct in which the backpackers is located. In the survey 46% of the respondents were attracted to the location of the backpackers further substantiating how crucial the location was in their decision to stay at Curiocity. Curiocity Backpackers is also unique in the way that there are no other backpackers within the inner city, it is a niche accommodation offering and has been an advantage for Curiocity as there is no other competition in terms of this specific form of accommodation. A survey respondent from the Netherlands stated, Curiocity seemed and is a very good hostel, Maboneng feels like a safe area and has a promising mix of renovated and decayed buildings. Cabaret (2015) pointed out there is a growing trend in neighbourhood tourism this has become popular as tourists experience not only the accommodation but the surroundings and what the area has to offer

as a whole without having to take the restricted transport offerings to other more exciting locations. Dube (2015) also emphasises that the backpackers tourists infiltrate through the neighbourhood, exploring what the neighbourhood constitutes as the motto of the backpackers suggests, "Explore our world, discover yourself". Dube also went on to say that they utilise the areas facilities and how important it is to have so many within walking distance. I like to explore the hidden places of the city, explained one tourist.

4.1.1 Reviews from 75 people within the TripAdvisor Community



Figure 21: Overview of Tourists Reviews on Curiocity Backpackers. (Source: TripAdvisor.co.za)

Urban tourism in Maboneng seems to be booming with 1500 tourists international and local staying at the backpackers in the timeframe of a month on average. This is a remarkable amount of people and only constitutes one of the three accommodation offerings in the precinct, the others being Airbnb and the 12 Decades Boutique Hotel. Dube and Liebmann

(2015) both maintain the Airbnb, of which Maboneng has been a member since 2013, has its highest concentration of apartments and offerings in the Maboneng area (32 apartments) which has been a key catalyst in the promotion of tourism. The new Propertuity development Hallmark House will have 46 hotel rooms and is indicative of the growth and influence of tourism in Maboneng (Liebmann, 2015). The reasons behind why UT has become a more popular outlet for tourists was explained by Rogerson (2015), he outlined that UT attractions have come on stream, that tourists are becoming more interested in short term 'breaks' (vacations). This has increased the number of urban tourists that do not want to travel to other more rural and distant locations which has been to a large degree because of the growth in urban tourism assets.

Maboneng has also been a feeder for Braamfontein and Newtown and vise versa they have been complimentary UR districts in their own right and helped bolster the inner city tourism offering. Newtown is different in the way that it was a government led district explained Liebmann (2015. Braamfontein was different in that it had a number of private stakeholders such as South Point[9] and Play Braamfontein[10] who had a significant impact upon the development of the area which has become a hive of activity and investment. Newtown has been viewed as being an area that never really 'exploded' or had taken off by Mckechnie (2015), who largely attributed this to the 'centrepiece' of Newtown - Museum Africa - as being a rather mediocre museum that did not have sufficient status or reputation to draw in enough people or investment. Newtown does however have some prominent attractions such as, The Market Theatre, Sci-Bono Discovery Centre, Museum Africa SAB World of Beer and the popular live music venue Bassline. It has been renowned as a creative and cultural hub and where it lacks in residential component it still remains an important tourist destination. Braamfontein on the other hand as described by Cabaret (2015) has a very different look and feel being more active and having a larger retail component than Maboneng, with large cooperate investment, the City Council and the University of the Witwatersrand being located in the area with student residences and students propelling much of the activity and nightlife venues. The nightlife has been a huge attraction for tourists along with Constitution Hill in Braamfontein this area maintains a strong tourist link with Maboneng and they mutually benefit one another for what one might lack the other might offer.

[9] South Point is one of the largest providers of off campus student accommodation, located in Braamfontein.
[10] Play Braamfontein is a property development and urban regeneration company located in Braamfontein and influencing the immediate area.

Dube (2015) pointed out that they encourage foreign tourists to visit Newtown, Braamfontein and other inner city tourist attractions (Johannesburg Art Gallery, Ghandi Square, etc.) as it helps promote the inner city and for them to stay within it. Dube also suggested that when traveling it is all about experiences, that tourists that visit Maboneng want to experience as much about the city of Johannesburg as they can. Tourists are drawn to these other areas because they have a great 'vibe' and are exciting, they portray what the authentic inner city and its positive 'pockets' of transformation have to offer, which gives them a more comprehensive and in-depth look into what constitutes and represents what he termed the 'new Joburg'. These other UR areas must not be underestimated in the context of inner city tourism as a whole in Johannesburg all three (Maboneng, Newtown and Braamfontein) work off of one another and reply upon one another to accommodate and facilitate urban tourism providing a wide spectrum of leisure experiences and activities that will boost the reputation further for the overall image of Johannesburg as a prime urban destination and therefore Maboneng's reputation along with it. The sustainability of Maboneng has also been alluded to by being directly linked with these inner city tourism areas, Rogerson (2015), explains that sustainability depends on the further progress of broader inner city regeneration which does not necessarily have to be linked to tourism. That it is vitally important that the inner city comes back to a greater degree as an employment and business hub for the city as a whole and that one is getting a sense that there is a turnaround but in the form of 'spotty' nodes. This justifies how crucial these other areas (Newtown, Braamfontein) have been for Maboneng and for the future of UR in Johannesburg generally. Mckechnie (2015) has maintained that 'successful' cities across the world generally draw tourists, to have a good tourist economy is a barometer of how sustainable and how well a city is doing. This is not necessarily accurate but is a good point in many respects and interesting perspective on how one can almost see the levels and success of tourism as a gauge as to how a city is performing.

4.2 International Ideas that have Influenced Maboneng's Urban Environment

Maboneng has been influenced by a multitude of varying ideas that have been adapted, moulded and shaped in order for them to respond to the local environment. To be able to understand the primary concepts, philosophies and thoughts that were behind the Maboneng Precinct the source of these ideas was Jonathan Liebmann (2015). Being the prime visionary behind Maboneng Liebmann (2015) illustrated that his extensive overseas travels had a major impact on him. The places that he visited made him feel more comfortable then in

Johannesburg which he deemed to be an anomaly as a city within the global context, as it was a city that was so disconnected, interestingly pointing to the fact that because it was landlocked and has very few topographical barriers that urban sprawl was happening to fast and to easily. Johannesburg was a city that did not have spaces that could afford Liebmann the same comfort that he felt whilst experiencing other cities abroad, there was something missing within the Johannesburg inner city urban framework that could not meet the spatial and communal needs that are present in so many other cities. Essentially there was no 'downtown' that one could work and live in, there was something missing in South African society and Maboneng to a large degree was established to fill this void.

Maboneng as Jonathan put it in his Startup Grind interview (2015) was established through what he termed "selfish needs" or "enlightened self-interest" as he phrased it. These terms basically mean, what he wanted for the city and certain spaces and build it according to what he deemed was necessary, being majorly impacted by what he saw on his travels. The search for a space that was walkable and a comfortable urban setting. The international context and what he had been exposed to had a major role to play in the way projects and developments were envisaged and he clearly stated that he was inspired by international ideas. It was also made very clear that the precinct grew and developed organically. The most important thing in his mind was to respond to the local environment and define what an African city looks and feels like without been drawn into the suburbs. Liebmann (2015) mentioned that every place that he had visited on his journey had inspired him to some degree, it would be very rare that he would copy the exact same idea but would rather appropriate, see certain components in different environments that would connect to other thoughts and ideas that he would have taken from different places whether it be something that he saw in Tokyo that would link to a component within a completely different in Maputo. This mix of ideas and conceptual thoughts he would then filter, mould and create what he terms a 'spark' within his mind and would then see how it would best fit within the Maboneng urban fabric. Liebmann (2015) explained which were the most influential and inspiring places that he had visited on his travels, these included Venice beach in California, particularly a street known as Abbot Kinney which he mentioned as being very familiar to Fox Street. Shoreditch in London was another inspiring area because of the art, with living, with technology, with work spaces, with hotels in old industrial buildings that related very closely to Maboneng. Tokyo was another major influence for him especially when looking at how to manage and deal with small spaces.

There are any elements within Maboneng that make one feel as if they are somewhere else in the world with people that throughout the research process related it to Berlin in Germany, Melbourne in Australia, and others saying New York among many others. Mckechnie (2015) felt as though Maboneng reminded him a lot of Dalston an artistic area in London among many other London based references such as Camden Town and Hackney, the comparisons to other international cities have been numerous and were what drove the need to investigate further into why it is that people feel this way. The surveys that were conducted on the foreign tourists in the backpackers indicated that 54% of the respondents claimed that Maboneng had resemblances to areas that they had seen in their countries.

Many of foreign tourist respondents also related Maboneng to European cities in terms of the 'side walk café' type of elements being a prominent example. Liebmann pointed out that this is not a European 'thing' or any particular geographical areas distinctly identifiable image, as it is present in South America, Asia and United State of America, this stereotype or image of a place is seen anywhere else in the world that is 'cool'. Many of the urban components that are present in Maboneng need to be understood in terms of the timeframes in which they were implemented or developed. The reason is that there are global trends, international movements and time specific architecture and planning interventions that can be traced back to a particular points in history. The buildings that make-up the historical component and architectural style are a great representation of this, many of these buildings are Edwardian, Beaux-arts and Victorian in architectural style and design due to the strong British and European influence in Johannesburg in the early 19th century. Jeppestown is one of the oldest suburbs in Johannesburg and justifies the presence of such buildings. These historic buildings however interesting, have been in place long before UR started taking place and have just been an advantageous part of locating the precinct in this particular area as they add a substantial amount of character and interest as heritage elements.

In a more current context that has been indicative of a global trend are the reason behind why many have referred to some of the apartments and spaces within Maboneng being very New York like or American in nature. Liebmann and Cabaret (2015) have suggested that because Maboneng is a post-industrial area like many other UR areas in cities around the world such as Bilbao and the growing need for residential and commercial space many projects around the world have followed the 'global trend' of converting old industrial warehouses and factories into innovative and creative residential and commercial spaces. Cabaret (2015) refers to 'soft power' which is a term that describes the cultural influence that some nations

possess, of which the United States is a nation that possess a massive impact on cultural direction, exposure and influence. Liebmann (2015) alluded to the fact the New York has been related to these industrial transformations due the way in which the consumer in South Africa has been exposed to these conversions because of the heightened exposure and media attention – because of the 'soft power' that the United States holds. Whether you in Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro or Johannesburg the same problem is experienced everywhere and has just so happened to have taken place in Maboneng, it is a global trend rather than a copied international idea. She went on to state that these industrial buildings in Maboneng were abundant and very rarely occupied avoiding negative connotations of gentrification, they were affordable buildings that offer incredible opportunities for reconversion with great features such as double volume ceilings.

There were some very interesting aspects and comparable places from around the world that were brought up in the tourism surveys. A respondent from Germany illustrated that the industrial style has become an international 'trend' (as mentioned above) as well as the vintage feel, as she explained it. Others also related to these artistic style industrial 'reconverted areas' that they had seen in the United States (US), one lady compared it to areas in San Francisco, another respondent thought it mirrored Williamsburg in Brooklyn (young and hip) whilst there were also resemblances to Minneapolis. Another respondent from Switzerland brought up the containers and how they have utilised them in a district in Zurich. Camden and some eastern parts of London and Berlin in Germany were notable globally comparisons (citing art and the grunginess of the places) areas which were mentioned by at least two respondents each.



Figure 22: Industrial warehouse and factory space reconversions into innovative new spaces. Left: Propertuity offices which were once Goldberg and Zeffertt factory, soft drink and mineral water manufacturers, as is still seen on the facade. Middle: Old warehouse opposite Curiocity Backpackers that has recently been renovated and will soon be a Wine bar, theatre and library. Left: Warehouse conversions into residential apartments in Melbourne, Australia. (Source: left/middle, Rory Murtagh, 2015 and right twistedsifter.com, 2015)

Cabaret (2015) had a very interesting take and outlook on what she perceived international ideas or design principles to be. She alludes to the fact that Maboneng is not an area that 'copy and pastes' concepts or elements seen in another international cities but rather more human related, things within the environment such as greening of space (tree lined streets and pot plants) the walkability of an area (pedestrian channels and access) that invite and create responsive environments for the users of the space – basic liveability elements.

Fraser (2015) indicates that there has been an ongoing argument as to whether it is people or buildings that make a cities uniqueness and he claims that he believes it is a mixture of both, he interestingly also states that when he was in Havana Cuba he knew he was in Havana, when he was in Washington DC he knew he was in Washington but when in Johannesburg he could have been in a lot of different places. Elements that compose the Maboneng precinct have been derived from varying urban contexts which were brought to light by Evans (2015) she starts off by firstly speaking about the Market on Main that takes place in the Arts on Main complex every Sunday and has international connections with the Notting Hill market and the Williamsburg market in Brooklyn which are prime international examples of successful markets that draw people into their respective areas. Secondly, Downtown Las Vegas has been one of Liebmanns inspirations as it is a long strip that is being uplifted by a wealthy tycoon named Tony Hsieh who has encouraged artists, poets, inventors and investors into the area in order to regenerate this downtown area of Las Vegas has also been seen as a good example of activating public space. Thirdly, downtown Los Angeles has been a great example of an area that has blended cultures successfully with the American and Mexican cultures coming together in designated public space for all, as well as having a spectacular event programme from which Maboneng can learn. Fourth, the Wynwood Walls project in Miami in the United States has been a source of artistic inspiration for the precinct and an example of how old industrial warehouses can be utilised as massive 'canvases' for captivating street art along with Berlin which has also influenced the public art spaces in Maboneng. Lastly Evans (2015) spoke about how street gyms that Liebmann saw in South America and Venice Beach have influenced the recent construction of a street gym now seen in Maboneng.



Figure 23: Recently constructed street gym outside Access City, Beacon Road, inspired by Liebmann's international experience. (Source: Rory Murtagh, 2015)

Maboneng is a precinct that has responded to the environment in which it has been set, there clearly has been an influence from international examples from around the world but the precinct has to a large degree responded to the basic needs of what humans enjoy within an urban setting (greening, safety and legible pedestrian paths), it is human nature (Cabaret, 2015). Other examples such as the industrial building reconversions are a global trend rather than a copied idea, it is also important to note that when people compare Maboneng to another international space it is only spaces that a person has seen, been exposed to or physically visited that they can compare it to (point of reference), hence the reason why 'soft power' is such an influential tool. Liebmann has been 'inspired' by a multitude of places but he has refined, moulded and adapted those ideas to best suit what the urban environment of Maboneng has to offer. That is why when immersing oneself in Maboneng the user might be able to pick up certain elements within the urban environment which they might be able to relate to but when amalgamated forms a unique Maboneng identity and image. There needs to be a deep understanding of how certain ideas, models or concepts work in different contexts before superimposing it onto a different landscape, Mchecknie (2015) used the Bus Rapid Transport System as an example of this, stating that it is a public transport system that does not work properly in Johannesburg, it is a model taken from Brazil and superimposed on Johannesburg that is megalomania in terms of planning, it is not used well, runs on specific routes and has an entire lane designated to it as well as large unnecessary stations, whereas in Paris or London they have small stations on side of the street. There is no need to as Mchecknie put it, 'reinvent the wheel' to do the basics that work in the appropriate manner that would fit that specific context.

4.3 Social Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Maboneng

There has been very little research on the social dynamics and characteristics that tourists bring to spaces that they engage in and the way in which they affect the people and spaces that surround them. This has been one of the core focuses of this research report and has brought to light some very intriguing findings specifically within Maboneng and its bearing on the inner city as a whole.

Liebmann (2015) pointed out that South Africans are fundamentally extremely conservative. That local Johannesburg people and South Africans in general have this conservative mentality that was reinforced under the Apartheid regime that as citizens of South Africa have not ridden themselves of this conservative tag. This has meant that there has been a readjustment in South African society and the social dynamic, which Liebmann explained has gone into two different schools the one school being the 'urbanist school' and the 'non-urbanist school'. Continuing to illustrate that the non-urbanist school are those that found a 'soft exit' out of a new and transforming African city. These non-urbanists are the people who have retreated to the suburbs which is in many ways a neo-American lifestyle, which Liebmann insists is not bad as some of the older more central suburbs are "very nice", pointing out that the 'new north' (areas North of Sandton) which was badly planned and lacked the confidence that the older suburbs might have had at the time in which they were planned and constructed have been the problem within Johannesburg.

The urbanist South African as defined by Liebmann is a person that walks the streets, engages with the city, engages with the streets, utilises public transport, people that adhere to the basic principles of what urbanism entails. Liebmann describes urbanists as people that are more enlightened, more forward thinking and not afraid to immerse themselves with what the city as a whole has to offer. Liebmann then related these 'urbanists' South Africans to tourists stating that they are very similar both wanting to engage and interact in spaces within the city. These tourists that visit South Africa slip into this urbanist stream and have allowed Maboneng to attain a foundational critical mass within the precinct as there were at preliminary stages not a large enough 'urbanist' population that could drive Maboneng.

Tourists have in many ways broken down a plethora of negative stereotypes attached to the inner city, Liebmann (2015) explained that international tourists know more about Johannesburg in two weeks than the typical Johannesburg resident because they have a bold approach to exploring the city, they do not have 'baggage' or preconceived ideas, they come

with curiosity and an open mind. The breaking down of these stereotypes has been key to unlocking and igniting the social potential that Maboneng possess, as it illustrates the importance of tourists and foreign residents influences upon South African 'non-urbansists' and forming a more integral social dynamic within Maboneng. Meek and Mckechnie (2015) both have close friends who live in Maboneng and are from abroad and they run through the inner city for exercise without any problems of safety or hindrance. This is a prime example of how international residents have engaged with the city and successfully without any of the negatively associated stereotypes affecting them. Cabaret (2015) also contributed to the argument of how tourists are breaking down stereotypes by saying that, yes they definitely are breaking down stereotypes, tourists add to the feel and diversity of the city making it feel and look more integrated.

There is a need to have different people profiles within the city and changing the minds of those that still have this imbedded mentality that the inner city is a no go area. Egido's (2015) who have lived in Maboneng for two years as a foreigner strongly believe that tourists and foreign residents are the ones that have made huge 'strides' in bringing locals back into the city, as some of their friends of which most of them live in the suburbs are extremely excited about Maboneng but very apprehensive at first. Dube (2015) who has been on the ground witnessing this first hand on mass also is a holder of the opinion that tourists are breaking the stereotypical mould. He conducts varying and numerous inner city and Maboneng related walking and cycling tours of which very few people who undertake these tours are locals. This is a prime 'seat' for locals to see for themselves what the inner city is about in a controlled and convenient manner, it is in many ways an eye opener and gaze back into the city which many local South Africans had forgotten. Dube (2015) also spoke about a woman that was a foreign visitor who had come on one of the walking tours and how he had met her on the streets in Hillbrow a few years later, informing him that she was now living in Ponte Tower. This portrays the impact that Johannesburg has on certain people and how 'barriers' preconceived ideas are collapsing due to the foreign influence. Mchecknie (2015) a local Johannesburg resident alluded to what got him excited about the inner city after spending most of his life in malls and in the suburbs of Johannesburg, "seeing how great the architecture was, so many things on the go and seeing how connected the urban environments were," really peaked his interest of the inner city. This just serves as an example of how powerful the breaking down of stereotypes can be. These are the affects that tourism can have on Maboneng, as they are indicative of how locals should not be afraid and increases the flow

of these local residents into Maboneng, creating a much more vibrant and robust social urban environment. The mixture of the tourists, foreign residents, local residents that pass through and live in Maboneng as well as the influx of creatives that work in the area has truly created a diverse social dynamic. It is a healthy mix of races, cultures, languages, ethnicities, religions and income groups that makes Maboneng such an appealing and socially inclusive area. Justification of this social 'health' within Maboneng became apparent in the surveys where an overwhelming 78% of the tourist respondents stated that they were attracted to the spaces in Maboneng because of their social/cultural atmosphere. Some of the respondents referred to the social dynamics of Maboneng as having, the best and most interesting creative people that hang out around Maboneng. While another tourist respondent mentioned that the people were open-minded, happy and friendly. A very exuberant and passionate urbanist that answered one of the surveys said that, Maboneng was different because everyone lives together so close, many social groups living together which you would not find in Germany. With 15 out of the 41 tourism respondents illustrating that they were motivated to come to the precinct because of the people.

4.4 Economic Injection and Contribution

Maboneng has proved to be a very valuable 'asset' within the inner city and has in many ways created its own niche local economy, with varying facilities, stakeholders and businesses feeding off of each other within the precinct and immediate surroundings. Propertuity has gone a long way at ensuring that the urban environment is a mix of land uses, with the ground floors being predominantly commercial, retail or restaurant offerings that have allowed the local economy to grow and offer the opportunity for Small Medium Enterprise development. Maboneng has also motivated and supported entrepreneurial ventures such as Curiocity Backpackers, Catalyst Café and Shap Braai. The economic benefits that tourism has contributed to the area and in sustaining the local economy of Maboneng has been significant.

There has been a dire need for economic revitalisation within the inner city, Rogerson (2015) alluded to the fact that the inner city has shifted away from the manufacturing base and has also seen the 'hollowing' out of economic activities in various parts of the inner city due to the degradation and decline of the urban inner city environment that took place post-apartheid. There was then a search for new drivers of economic development within the inner city of which tourism happened to be one of them explained Rogerson (2015). He went on to

mention that Maboneng's major driver is not tourism but rather 'creative industries[11]' which have driven the development of Maboneng and tourism has developed alongside these industries. Rogerson (2015) then went on to explain that due to the shift in urban tourism in Johannesburg and Pretoria which were initially non-traditional urban tourism destinations that the government began to add tourism as an economic development strategy in 2001 and 2002 and since then has been a 'rolling thing'. Local economic development in Maboneng and its impacts were broken down by Rogerson (2015) stating that the influences it would have in the area being job creation, entrepreneurial opportunities and supply chain issues which involve the localised manufacturing of products sold in Maboneng, using an example such as T-shirts being sold in the precinct that are made in a workshop or factory in the local area.

The surveys that were conducted on the foreign tourists as well as the relevant stakeholders[12] within the precinct have portrayed just how much of a contribution and impact that tourism has had on Maboneng. When querying the businesses in the area as to what attracted them to Maboneng 38% (10 of 26) said for the location, 73% (19 of 26) said the potential of the area, 61% (16 of 26) said the vibe and atmosphere, 8% (2 of 26) said the demographics of the area and 15% (4 of 26) said the buildings and physical make-up of Maboneng. This illustrates why the stakeholders choose to locate themselves in Maboneng with the large majority seeing the potential for their businesses doing well as a primary factor in their decision to locate here. The atmosphere and vibe that is present in Maboneng has also been a telling factor and the trendy and fashionable nature of Maboneng has been identified as an area to optimise on with 61% deeming this to be a significant attraction point. The stakeholders have seen the value in locating there operations - a store, restaurant or entertainment venue - in urban regeneration areas, not just Maboneng, but Braamfontein and Newtown as well. They see these UR areas as bringing people back into the city, where there are multiple activities and are widely recognized. The other significant percentage was 38% of the respondents seeing the location as a major reason, due to its central position within the broader Johannesburg area and the large threshold population that could feed their businesses being of utmost importance.

[11] Creative Industries refer to galleries, theatres, cinemas, clothes designers, art studios and creative work spaces.
[12] Stakeholders (businesses) refers to shops, restaurants, cafes and entertainment venues (theatre) within Maboneng.

The stakeholder's surveys also depicted, in terms of their busiest days, that Fridays (42%), Saturdays (61%) and in particular Sundays with 88% of the stakeholders deeming this to be their busiest days this is largely due to the fact that the Arts on Main Market takes place on a Sunday. This shows that Maboneng is most economically active during this period with the week days, barring Friday, being the least economically active times. There is not much that takes place during the week unless there is a specific event or function, the weekends are when people tend to be off work and people are more willing to spend money on products.

It was interesting to note that 53% of the stakeholders indicated that they had less than 50% of their clientele that were foreign tourists with 46% of the stakeholders having 50% or more of their clientele base being foreign tourists. Notably five stakeholders with 50%, five with 60% and four with 30% being the ones worthwhile mentioning, this is still a massive portion of these respective stakeholders clientele base and crucial to their economic feasibility and survival.

This point became more apparent when questioning the stakeholders on whether or not they feel that the stores and restaurants in Maboneng could survive without the influence of tourists coming into the area, 11% (3 of 26) indicated that they could, 42% (11 of 26) said no and 46% (12 of 26) said maybe. This suggests that there is a large degree of uncertainty and leaning heavily towards stating that they could not survive in Maboneng without the contribution of tourism. Bearing in mind that some of the stakeholders specifically target tourists and supply tourism related products and others such as Jeppe Supermarket, which was established long before Maboneng caterers specifically for the local residents and passers-by. The survey on stakeholders also covered this aspect of whether or not they supplied goods, crafts, food and other items in order to cater for and supply the demand by the tourism market, 72% of the stakeholder's said yes they had offered supplies for the tourism market. It is clear then that the majority of the stakeholders feel the necessity to cater for tourists and know the financial contribution that they could gain through the supply of such products. For stakeholders to provide tourism products makes valuable sense as 81% of the stakeholders have seen an increase in the number of tourists visiting the area and henceforth a larger pool of clientele which has the potential of purchasing the products that they offer.

The products on offer in Maboneng vary but it was important to get a sense of what exactly the tourists were purchasing in the precinct, this information would allow a clearer indication on what aspects of Maboneng were flourishing economically. The survey showed an

overwhelming 98% was spent on purchasing food, this was however not surprising as everyone needs to eat, it is a human need rather than a desire, but is still relevant as it is a direct repercussion of tourism in the area that restaurants can maximise on. This notion and finding was further reinforced by Liebmann (2015) who had stated that food was a 'big thing' in Maboneng and that Propertuity had taken the strategic decision three years ago to back the food offerings available, as they could see how well this component of the area was doing. Other than food the tourists showed through the surveys that 19% of them spent their money on curios and 12% said that they bought clothing within the precinct this does not compare to the food component of the area but is still a valuable benchmark as to where there priorities in terms of spend are within the area. The inner city, walks and tours that Curiocity Backpackers facilitate was another major area of spend for the tourists. They want to orientate themselves within an unknown city that has a reputation for being unsafe, around 80% of the tourists that visit the backpackers along with other tourists from the AirBnb accommodation offering embark on these tours, explained Dube (2015).

Table 2: Table illustrating the dispersion of spending habits in Maboneng.

Dispersion of spend on items in Maboneng	Foreign Tourist (From 41 respondents)
Food	98% (40)
Curios	12% (5)
Clothing	19% (8)

The primary areas that tourists spend their money on in Maboneng are accommodation, guided tours, entertainment, food, clothing and curios, this direct foreign spend on these particular products are crucial to the sustainability and growth of this UR neighbourhood. Without the contribution of urban tourists visiting Maboneng many of the stakeholders would be out of business or severely negatively impacted by the loss of income, they would lose a large portion of their clientele base and would look to relocate to areas such as Braamfontein and Newtown. Economic prosperity and stability within an area brings a number of advantages such as strengthening investor confidence, becoming a more attractive space for tourists and portraying a positive image of UR. Evans (2015) stated that Maboneng could not survive without tourism.

4.5 Attractive Attributes of Maboneng

Maboneng has many attractive elements that have been integrally and successfully stitched into its urban fabric that have made it a popular tourist destination in Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole. The success of Maboneng has to a large extent focusing on the basics and establishing the foundations off which to continue the developments that Propertuity set out to undertake. The overarching attraction and 'image' that Maboneng represents is a cultural and creative hub, it is as described earlier by Rogerson (2015) a creative industries focused area, that UR provided the basis for tourism to be in this particular area which was creative sector led and which has encouraged tourism as an accompaniment to it being an arts and cultural district. Both Evans and Cabaret (2015) see culture as being the main draw card behind what attracts tourists with Evans referring to the theatre, visual arts, museum and African restaurants as examples of this. Cabaret (2015) also acknowledging that tourists primarily visit Maboneng for the culture, art, lifestyle and vibe of Maboneng. It is undoubtedly a cultural, artistic and creative node that has become synonymous with Maboneng and the major 'selling point' that represents the most fundamentally key pull factor for potential tourists. This article seen below Fig. 24 which was in a German Newspaper, with the headline "*Kunst erobert die stadt*" meaning, 'art conquered the city' represents just how influential and far reaching this aspect of the precinct has been.



Dienstag, 4. Juni 2013 **Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger** REPORTAGE | 07

Blick auf das Johannesburger Geschäftsviertel CBD

Kunst erobert die Stadt

Bis vor kurzem stand der zentrale Geschäftsdistrikt der südafrikanischen Metropole Johannesburg noch für Chaos und Gewalt – Die Geschichte einer Befriedung

VON PETER PAULS

EXIT UITGANG WHITES BLANKES NON WHITES NIE BLANKES

Figure 24: German Newspaper insert that was done on Maboneng and highlights the art component of the precinct and the level of international exposure. (Source: Hayley Evans tourism file, 2014).

Bentley et al (1985) principles of what constitutes a responsive environment are a good benchmark on which to view the 'basics' and core elements that attract the potential tourist. Starting with permeability, permeability has been one of the most obvious design principles that Propertuity has implemented in Maboneng, with many of the retail outlets, restaurants and other new developments opening out onto the street, with large windows and direct street access the permeability within Maboneng has increased drastically and allowed for a much more in-depth visual and physical experience of the place. It allows for greater social interaction and integration of a diverse mix of people. The numerous rooftop venues that host events such as the Living Room, Main Street Life rooftop and Situation East rooftop have allowed people to explore buildings and areas of the inner city they never would or could previously. Arts on Main has allowed access through its building complex directly from Fox Street through to Main Street along with the numerous stores that have now opened up onto the street, activating the street and enticing people to visit these shops or restaurant from the street, allowing for a heightened degree of exposure for stores afforded to the passer by. This way of designing the buildings is an element of a responsive environment and makes it a more sensory and pleasurable experience for the all users (tourist).



Figure 25: Left: Windows and doors being knocked out for new Market Up development, opening up onto Albertina Sisulu Road. Right: Windows being knocked out onto the corner of Fox and Kruger Street for new Propertuity Sales office. (Source: Rory Murtagh 2015)

When analysing the variety or the ranges of uses available to the tourist within Maboneng the choices of experience are abundant. Restaurants and food have become an intricate part of the tourism asset base and are 'secondary elements' that cater for the tourist, resident and local explorer. Maboneng has a broad range of restaurants from the recently opened and popular Che (Argentinian Steakhouse), Mama Mexicana (Mexican), Shap Braai (Braai meat), Pata Pata (South African cuisine), Ethiopian restaurants (Little Addis), coffee shops (Uncle Merv's, Origin), Blackanese (Sushi), Living Room (Health food), along with a number of

other restaurants are progressively transforming Maboneng into an ‘eat out’ destination and as mentioned earlier by Liebmann there has been an emphasis placed on this component of the precinct. The cultural characteristics of Maboneng that have been attractions and primary elements include the Bioscope independent cinema, Popart Theatre, Art Galleries (Hazard, Nirox Projects, David Krut Projects, William Kentridge Studio, Goethe on Main), Museum of African Design (MOAD), Market on Main (Sunday food and local design market), Main Street Walks (Guided Tours) and Smack Republic (Craft beer and beer brewing tours) have been the fundamental cultural tourism assets, the precinct has become renowned for these assets and needs to serve this purpose effectively. The retail segment of Maboneng is also extensive with over 30 stores showcasing a variety of local clothing, accessories and crafts which have a very African inspired feel, catering for tourists who are in search of unique, African products these stores include, Stitch & Steel, Houtlander, Loin Cloth and Ashes among many others.

The legibility of the area has been seen by Propertuity as a way in which tourists can understand and orientate themselves within the urban environment, the pavement upgrades that took place in the pioneering phases of Maboneng was a partnership between the Johannesburg Development Agency and Propertuity and have helped enhance the pedestrian experience and walkability of the area along the grid patterned street layout, which allows for more legible direct and easily understandable routes.



Fig 26: Image illustrating the grid street pattern and one-way streets, makes the urban environment more legible and easy to understand for pedestrians but one-ways can also be confusing for motor vehicle drivers and cause disorientation. (Source: Rory Murtagh, 2015)

These urban design upgrades allow for a more enjoyable and navigable environment for the tourist and serves as the connection between all uses and facilities in the precinct. Street furniture, lighting and landscaping have also added to the liveability and aesthetic of the precinct allowing for a more conducive pedestrian and road reserve for users. Liebmann (2015) alluded to landscaping as a massive part of making the 'hard space' of the city 'soft' and less harsh. Street life that has made Maboneng so appealing is facilitated on the pedestrian paths and streets, with many of the restaurants utilising the pavement as areas for operation, adding to the sidewalk café feel and atmosphere of Maboneng. Cabaret (2015) noted that people and tourists want to walk around there environment, that it is very important to illustrate that tourists are attracted to pedestrian friendly spaces.

A few of the tourists complained about the walkability of the area, not specifically Maboneng but in exploring the surrounding areas which is one of the alluring factors of Maboneng, a respondent stated that, I would like to be more safe, not being able to walk around everywhere by yourself is annoying. This freedom to walk around ties into security and with guards on the street and a watchful security company in Maboneng it provides only a sense of safety in the precinct which is an issue in terms of 'freeness' around the precinct. This is very difficult to manage and create this sense of security as Propertuity and there contracted security company cannot look after such a large area. A male French respondent said that, I want to be sure that no one is going to rob us, because yes it's scary to think about it, I want to be free to walk with a camera. This illustrates the reality that tourists have and there is a need to be mindful of this, to express the realities of the space advising tourists to be vigilant.

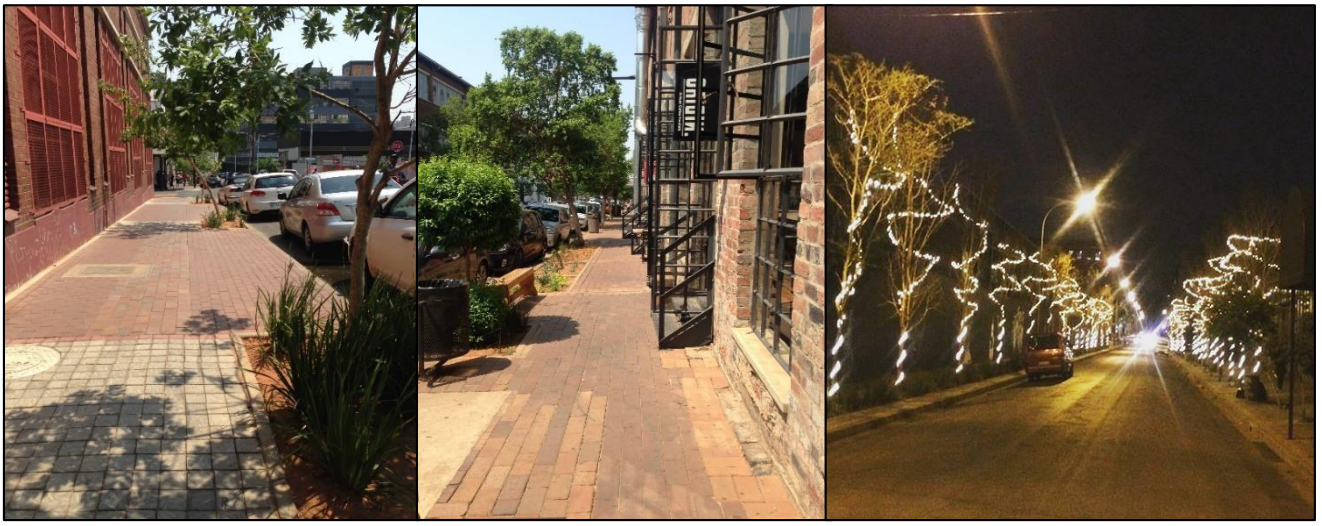


Figure 27: Left: Upgraded sidewalk and with plants and trees located outside Curiocity Backpackers, Middle: Upgraded sidewalk and trees located outside Mama Mexicana and Origin Coffee, Right: Recently planted alley of trees with lights located outside Propertuity Offices. (Source: left, middle Rory Murtagh, 2015 and right Senzo Mncadi, 2015)

Robustness has also been a primary underlying attraction and successful design principle for Maboneng. There are a selection of buildings and developments in Maboneng that can be used for a variety of different purposes and are flexible in the way in which the accommodate uses and activities that make that space more innovative and appealing to the user. Poolside Café and the Living room are bars, restaurants, and flexible event venues that are constantly hosting events and drawing crowds adding to the vibrancy and entertainment offering. Market on Main is hosted in a parking garage, along with the courtyard and Canteen's (restaurant) rooftop. Market on Main has been the major catalyst in drawing people out of the suburbs and into downtown Johannesburg, as well as being the starting point for many tourists to come in and further explore Maboneng (Liebmann, 2015). Egido's (2015) also mentioned that they first time they came to Maboneng was to see the market, would then hear about the Living Room and other interesting pockets in the area and explore those. MOAD also is a multifunctional venue that hosts events ranging from fashion shows, to exhibitions and parties as well as being the museum. Common Ground is also a multipurpose venue acting as the Spark School playground, Community Park and has an amphitheatre for outdoor events such as Seven Sounds. These are a few of the adaptable spaces that have a normal daily function and can be flexible in that they can facilitate other activities that centre around entertainment offerings, broadening the choice of activities and experiences for the tourist.

Visual appropriateness is also key in expressing visually and physically what the area represents and entails. Maboneng needs to express itself physical through its design and aesthetic appearances that make users and tourists aware of the choices that the area provides. Maboneng expresses its creative and artistic influence through the multitude of public art that are present throughout and around the Maboneng Precinct. These public artworks also represent the UR taking place and the transformation of the area. Primary elements that form part of the leisure setting such as the historical pattern, monuments and art objects form part of visual appropriateness. Many of the historic buildings in the area have kept their historical façade. Propertuity's new developments all have a very industrial and UR look about them with creative and artistic facades and clear development names that can be seen from far away, drawing in the potential visitor or tourist that is driving or walking by. The signature 'Maboneng' sign hanging over a number of the streets in the precinct is a clear example of visual appropriateness.

The fact that Maboneng is an urban regeneration initiative is an attraction in itself. Fraser (2015) explained that tourists like to see areas that offer something out of the ordinary, that have fascinating backgrounds and historical significance behind them, they are a portrayal of places in the city that hold real value when in fact have been written off in so many people's minds. UR provides the 'richness' to the space, there is underlying and historical significance and progression behind where they are exploring, which instantaneously provokes a more sensory and holistic experience. Evans (2015) referred to how Maboneng has maintained its own 'grit' which she defined as having an area that is not perfect (99% right), an area that can adapt to be true to its own context - be authentic.



Figure 28: Left: Artisan Lofts with artistic mural on wall facing West. (Source: Shaun Burgess, 2015) Top Right: Iconic Maboneng sign hanging over Kruger Street. (Source: myproperty.co.za, 2015) Bottom Right: View of Main Street Life signage from Fox Street. (Source: joburg.org.za, 2015)

Dube (2015) was of the opinion that without Maboneng being a UR precinct many of the tourists would not come to the backpackers if the area as a whole had not been regenerated, saying that many tourists from other backpackers come visit Maboneng because it is UR project and then find out the history and scale of the neighbourhood. Mckechnie (2015) believed that foreign tourists had a negative perception of Johannesburg, stereotyping it as a city that has degraded badly, crippled by crime and that UR areas like Maboneng are an example of seeing 'good' happen, of positive change within a negatively reputed city. The UR is an exciting initiative and the transformation of buildings that can be retrofitted on the scale seen in Maboneng cannot take place in the suburbs (Egido's, 2015). When querying the tourists in the surveys as to how successful they deemed Maboneng to be 12% (5 of 41) said partially, 71% said progressive and 34% (14 of 41) said successful with none indicating that it was poor.

Rogerson (2015) believes that tourists are attracted to UR areas because it is part of the change in the nature of tourism, suggesting that people are looking for more experiential vacations and looking for something different to the traditional 'sea and sun' destinations. Rogerson viewed differentiated leisure tourism experiences in UR areas as being a global trend. These remarks made by Rogerson can be justified to an extent through the surveys, they indicate that 49% (20 of 41) of the tourists stated they came for the leisure qualities, 49% (20 of 41) for the experience of what Maboneng could provide as an inner city destination. Maboneng provides an area where one can properly engage with the city, Cabaret (2015) alluded to Maboneng as being a major tourist attraction because tourists feel like they are 'inside' of the city, in the centre and have first-hand experience of Johannesburg and the positive change that has taken shape.

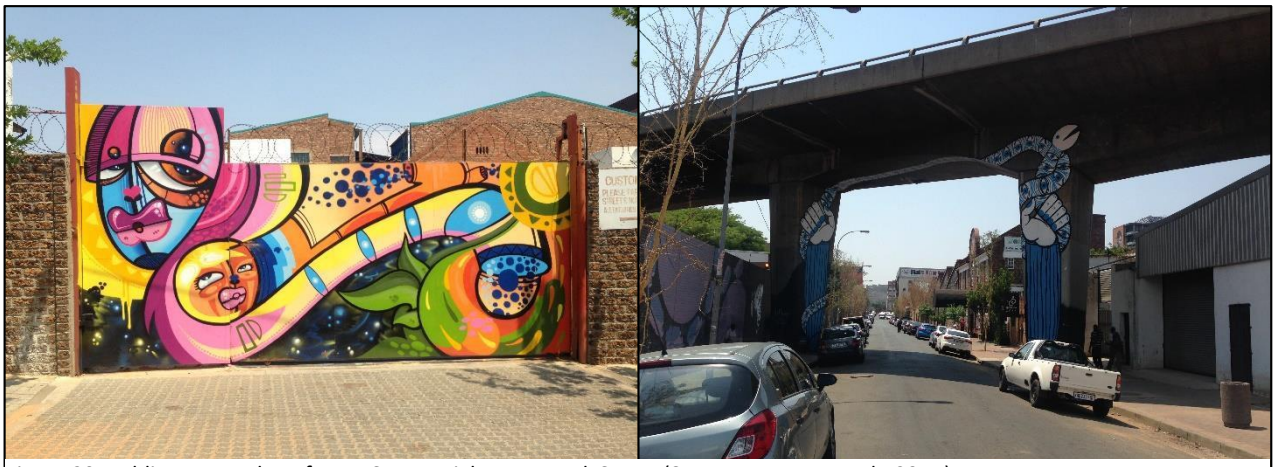


Figure 29: Public art murals, Left: Fox Street. Right: Van Beek Street (Source: Rory Murtagh, 2015)

UR in Maboneng has laid a 'platform' on which languages, local customs and the South African urban way of life can be portrayed to the visiting tourist. Tourists are certainly attracted to the friendliness of the local people that they engage with in Maboneng, with 37% (15 of 41) of the respondents signifying that they were motivated to come to the precinct for the people and 37% (15 of 41) for the atmosphere. The social characteristics of primary elements in a leisure setting enhance the richness of the area. For example local residents, visitors and thoroughfare pedestrians from the surrounding inner city areas provide a conduit in which a tourist can experience a variety of different sensory experiences (music, accent, demeanour, appearance) and are in a way a symbol that characterises the area and country that they are exploring. Maboneng's cultural attractiveness and diversity is in fact heightened through tourism as foreign visitors have their own cultures, languages, beliefs and stories that they can share with the locals, tourists bring something that the locals want and locals bring something that the tourists want, they are mutually beneficial (Egido's, 2015). An interesting

comment was made by a Danish tourist who stated that, if you bring tourists, the locals would probably enjoy the same things that bring the tourists, tourists are diversified in tastes, so attracts any tourist that like to interact with more local spaces and people.

Visiting a destination as a tourist, one is in search of experiences that are different to those that are accessible and present in the countries that they are from. If you visit Sydney in Australia for example you want to get the true and authentic feel and experience of what Sydney actually represents and constitutes. Rogerson (2015) has clearly stated that people are in the search of 'new experiences'. Cabaret (2015) posed the question, would you as a tourist want to go to a place that looks like other places that you have been? This was reinforced by Liebmann (2015) who said that he would be irritated if he came to visit South Africa with the view of being adventurous and arrived in Sandton, a place that would be too familiar and looked very much like the country that they were from. There is a search for heterogeneity, authenticity and originality of experience, it is about the successful mixing of these international contexts that form an identifiable space.

On the other hand the research has identified another important aspect of Maboneng that has attracted tourists. Earlier in the report it was stated that 54% of the survey respondents found a resemblance or similarities to where they were from. Cabaret (2015) referred to European tourists being people that have experience of collected urban environments and are attracted to Maboneng because of other urban environments that they are familiar with or live in. Evans (2015) also contributed to this by stating that tourists do not want to stay in the suburbs when visiting Johannesburg, they want to engross themselves in the city 'proper', and are attracted to Maboneng because they are used to experiencing cites, there is a landscape familiarity which tourists like and want to engage in a differentiated urban experience and compare it to their urban context.

Urban tourists that were encountered in undertaking the surveys and observations are generally passionate about cities and feel comfortable within them - being well equipped urbanists - more so than the average South African. Tourists have come to see what the city of Johannesburg has to offer or else they would not be leisurely visiting cities in the Maboneng context. The tourism surveys depicted very interestingly what their thoughts were on Maboneng and what about the precinct appealed to them the most, 17 out of the 38 (45%) that responded to that particular question alluding to the positive changes and dynamics of the transformation of the city area that had been taking place with answers such as:

- looks like an old area brought back to an appealing area
- changing and developing place
- enjoy the upscale nature and 'cool' converted buildings of the area
- feel like you could be anywhere in the world, any young vibrant city
- hustle of the city brings/shows passion
- seems like a broad attempt at regeneration
- it is great we are close to the centre and lots of other good things
- concept of not evicting anyone, pure 'gentrification (regeneration)

Many of the tourists that were engaged with during the research, even if not present in the surveys indicated that they are from other global cities or have visited other major cities around the world, they have 'personalised' attachments to cities. This makes them interested in the urban framework and context in which Maboneng is set and even though there are similarities Maboneng has its own special feel and authenticity which people come to experience. Mckechnie (2015) argues that tourists generally know cities better than the average South African, they have witnessed areas such as Soho in New York and other UR areas around the world succeed. This knowledge entices them to the familiarities of Maboneng's urban setting, but come for the offerings and uniqueness of the spaces and authentic South African city experience. The statistics from the surveys illustrating that 17% came to South Africa for UT and 56% for both UT and rural/nature/outdoor tourism, bearing in mind that South Africa is more renowned for the latter. There is however a large proportion wanting to undertake both which signifies that they are interested in the urban component which is due to this familiarity within the urban setting.

Maboneng and the tourism assets within it are not the only attractions that tourists come to Maboneng to experience. Tourists are also exposed to a number of surrounding attractions in close proximity to Maboneng that they might not have known about before coming to Maboneng. Tourists are treated to these other attractions through Curiocity Backpackers who facilitate this more in-depth engagement with the city, these attractions also add to the 'richness' and deeper sensory understanding of Johannesburg and its inner city offerings as a whole. Primary attractions that tourists who embark on the tours are exposed to include, Mai Mai traditional healers market, St Mary's Church - oldest place of worship in Johannesburg, (established in 1889), Ponte Tower (tallest residential building in Africa), Carlton Centre

viewing deck at the top (tallest building in Africa), The Lions Shul - the oldest standing synagogue in Johannesburg (established in 1906) and Collectors Treasury (largest second hand and rare bookstore in the Southern hemisphere) (Dube, 2015).



Figure 30: Attractions around the Maboneng Precinct: Left: Mai Mai Market (Source: Shaun Burgess, 2014) Middle: St Mary's Church in Jeppestown (Source: joburg.org.za) Right: The inside of Ponte Tower (Source: Shaun Burgess, 2014).

4.6 The Search for Authenticity as an Alluring Tourist Attraction

Maboneng as an UR precinct, as has been mentioned previously in this paper, has been compared to many urban spaces around the world. Dialectically analysing Maboneng and unpacking fragments and components that give it the character and feel the atmospheric dynamism that it possess there is a very South African and African 'flavour' that has been integral to the success and attraction of the area. What is meant by an African city? To define what an African city is can be a task in itself. Mckechnie (2015) talked about how there are so many disparities between the main African cities in completely different contexts, does an African city look like Main Street that is reminiscent of Manhattan or does it look like Bree Street that can be viewed in many respects like Burundi with all the traders and congestion. He was of the opinion that no one really knows what a world class African city looks like. Another valuable perspective was given by Cabaret (2015) whom also argued as to what we construe as being South African? How do we identify with what is South African, is it animal prints or goods made out of recycled material? The more we recognize examples of what we deem to be South African the easier it will be to identify with it cognitively as a South African product or a component of the yet undefined nature of a South African identity. Cabaret proposed that people are imposing a definition on an identity that is not adequately defined. When overlooking many of the world's modern cities there are international influences imbedded within them as is the case of the British, Indian and the Dutch in South Africa. South Africa is one of the most diverse countries in the world and to 'string' together

all cultures, creeds, languages and people that make up the citizenship of this country is extremely difficult. Cabaret mentioned it will take time and an area like Maboneng needs to have examples of what we perceive our identity to be for it to become more recognizable. Fraser (2015) stated that the name "Johannesburg" conjures up lot of interested, speculation and question-marks about the survival of a place once internationally known as the Jewel of Africa (early 1930's) and was then characterised as being a representation of the greed and excess of mine owners (Randlords) and the effects of Colonial and Apartheid social engineering. Fraser views Johannesburg as being a truly African city and perceived as being far safer and more interesting than many other African cities. These are identifiable South African elements which should be exploited to a greater extent, Maboneng has buildings from that era such as the Cosmopolitan Hotel which represents our South African identity and have become heritage attractions. This being said when analysing Maboneng it needs to be viewed from an African perspective and not just South African, Johannesburg has a very strong immigrant culture and has also become a hub for cross boarder tourism (Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, and Mozambique). Johannesburg is in many ways a 'window' in which to view elements of many other African cities and their people (Evans, Rogerson, 2015). It is the importance and impact of this African and sub-Saharan immigrant culture that Maboneng had to represent Africa as a whole and not just South Africa, Evans (2015) pointed out that there was a very specific choice made in the early stages of development that Maboneng would want to encapsulate and portray a pan-African culture and identity. Rogerson (2015) sees Maboneng as an area that has been well informed by the African context, illustrating that Propertuity has not just imported internationally parallel ideas but have adapted to the African context and done it in a 'fabulous way' Rogerson even went as far as to say that he has enormous respect what they have done in Maboneng and for how they have gone about retaining an African feel. A foreign male respondent indicated in one of his answers that what appealed to him most about Maboneng was that he felt as though he was in Africa, in an African City as he put it.

Maboneng has expressed this 'pan-Africaness' through the tourism offerings and variety of African products that are present within the precinct. One of the tourists stated that, Maboneng seems to be a mixture of African, which is for me very South African, the female German respondent also pointed out that changing roads is like changing society, at the moment it still seems that the precinct is still quite inclusive only for the younger and more wealthy generation. This way is indicative of South African society in that it is very

segregated with racial segregation imbedded in our history maybe more apparent in Maboneng is the difference in income which is conducive for international tourism as their foreign exchange can afford this offering. This African essence is to a large extent portrayed through the large variety of African inspired restaurant offerings, Pata Pata and La Musa offer contemporary African cuisine, Little Addis and Mr James Ethiopian Restaurant are Ethiopian offerings, the two Shap Braai stores afford tourists a unique South African favourite (shisa nyama, samp and beans), the House of Baobab which specialises in pan-African cuisine, even Soul Souvlaki (Greek cuisine), Eat Your Heart Out (Israeli cuisine) and Yogiberry (Indian cuisine) are restaurants all owned by South Africans that have heritage connections related to the types of cuisine that they offer which represents the diversity within South Africa and portrays the strong Greek, Jewish and Indian connections.

Evans (2015) suggested that Maboneng do not maximise the potential that the African restaurants could offer in the marketing campaigns that Propertuity undertakes and feels that this could be seen as a more pertinent tourism attraction asset. Shebeens and local bars such as Urban Fox on Main Street also give tourists a sense of Africa with quartz bottles, local music and being at a bar surrounded by the local people, plays a role in understanding the local culture and context and is optimised through a pub crawl that the backpackers hosts every Friday that take tourists to these shebeens and local bars in the area (Dube, 2015). Smack Republic is an artisan brewery that is brewed on the premises at Arts on Main, it has become a popular attraction and is supplied to many of the restaurants in the area exposing a truly local Maboneng and South African product.

Market on Main is a great platform with thousands of visitors coming to Maboneng every Sunday whereby the artisanal food, clothing, accessories, art and furniture that is authentically South African is exposed and showcased allowing even the daily visitor a distinctive African experience. Retail has also been a valuable component of the precinct that portrays the pan-African aura giving the user a strong impression of the African context. Retail stores such as Loin Cloth and Ashes, Newbrow, Ozlo Clothing, Ace pan-African Design Emporium, Love Jozi, Black Coffee Fashion, and Stitch & Steel are all clothing, accessory and fashion stores that are inspired by African design, made locally, designed and crafted by African designers which in turn also afforded jobs to local residents for manufacturing (bringing back manufacturing base).

The Bioscope and Popart Theatre are two entertainment venues which frequently host a number of shows and events that set the 'stage' for African stand-up comedy, film and other productions that are authentically African influenced or represent African pop culture and identity that can be showcased directly to tourists who attend. The Museum of African Design (MOAD) was chosen as an exhibition venue for Africa as a whole. This would provide a broader base of selection for other African designers and artists to collaborate with and be a more attractive museum for tourists and visitors wanting to see 'Africa' not only South Africa (Evans, 2015). It is the first museum on the African continent dedicated to design and devotes itself to exploring the ever-changing African continent and diaspora. The surveys undertaken by the businesses indicated that 52% of the respondents believed that tourists have been attracted into the area because of the African 'flavour', crafts and food that is present in Maboneng, with others respondents mentioning the lifestyle, inner city experience and good marketing as reasons for the area being attractive for tourists.

Some of the street art in Maboneng, visually and directly ties in with the area being firmly imbedded in an African context with the largest public art mural of Nelson Mandela being laden on the West facing side of Access City (Propertuity building). Public art is one of the more obvious African components as the artworks are striking and hard to miss within the urban setting. The Main street tours as has been mentioned, provide the channels through which to see and experience the African city, they allow people to interact with spaces that they would not normally venture to and interact with the local communities, providing great historical insight into what has formulated the "World Class African City".



Figure 31: South African inspired public artwork.. (Source: Rory Murtagh, 2015)

The local residents, local visitors and people that move through Maboneng have become a fundamental component of representing Africa, there is a high number of people that have to walk through Maboneng as it is on the east fringes of the inner city and leads into the densely populated business and residential areas of the Johannesburg CBD. Alongside this a large number of mini-bus taxis travel through Maboneng via Albertina Sisulu and Commissioner Streets which are a very South African means of transportation. The surveys done by the tourists showed that many thought that the mixture of races, the diversity of cultures, the friendliness of the people were stand out South African attributes, as well as poverty which is more prevalent in Johannesburg than many of the places that the tourists hail from. This was backed by Liebmann (2015) who talked about how the friendly local people make Maboneng African, along with how it is an area in which there is a high integration of mixed income groupings which is in fact rare in South Africa but could be a valuable part in redefining our South African identity and still acts as an attraction. There are also the informal traders and buskers - Liebmann (2015) labelled this as 'entrepreneurial innovation' - that line parts of the street network within Maboneng that gives people that sense of being in Africa. Liebmann (2015) also pointed out a more underlying aspect of how Maboneng has been South African by means of development not being suppressed by government, even though the government is inefficient and not 'hands on' it implies that there are then less controlled environments in which development and the implementation of ideas and concepts can be done faster and more effectively by the private sector (Propertuity).

Maboneng most certainly has a distinctive African 'flavour', feel and is an extremely essential component of what draws international tourists. Dube (2015) argued that even though the buildings might have been colonial or not traditionally African inspired design that led to the original development of many of the old buildings that Propertuity are regenerating. African inspired products are now occupying these 'shells', he also continued to suggest that it has worked well in terms of finding a balance between global experiences (international ideas) and African experiences. This balance between having the African influences by means of what has been explained above and the international ideas that were mentioned in the beginning of chapter 4 have been well combined to form a responsive and attractive urban environment that will entice return visits (82% of tourism survey respondents would come back). Having 'walls that can speak' from a historically perspective to the shift in how we are starting to define an African identity. This is a portrayal of how Maboneng has become interesting enough for repeat visits, it is an exciting and innovative area that will

facilitate repeat visits (Rogerson, 2015). The Egido's (2015) contributed to the African argument by mentioning that they moved to Maboneng because they wanted to feel like they were living in Africa, also stating that it does not feel fake, that it feels authentic. Liebmann (2015) believes that people see the authenticity in Maboneng, this has been substantiated by the majority of the interviewees (Evans, Cabaret, Fraser, Dube, Meek: 2015) as being an authentic and original African urban environment (experience). Old historical buildings that have been repurposed and rehabilitated that house these African tourism assets might become synonymous with the Johannesburg inner city and strengthen the Johannesburg and South African identity.

5. Recommendations and Conclusions

After the findings and analysis portion of the paper there are a number of recommendations which would make a telling contribution to how Maboneng can be a stronger and more comprehensively functional destination for not only tourists but the urban user and purveyor of the area. These recommendations do not take into account the intricacies and extenuating circumstances that might prevent these recommendations from taking place, but could act as a guide or give some direction to what the attention should be on when refereeing to UT, Maboneng and its sustainable future.

Maboneng is an UR precinct that is quite obviously from what has been seen in my findings a major international urban tourist attraction within Johannesburg. This is however only a tiny area within the larger Johannesburg inner city context and has been privately funded and led. This poses the question as to how we are to go about reviving many other parts of the inner city that could also potentially be significant tourism assets such as the Rissik Street post office and other larger expanses of the CBD. The answer for UR in Johannesburg lies in 'sorting out the basics,' getting the basics of the area right and from there growth, interest and investment should happen naturally. These basics apply to any UR project in the inner city whether Maboneng (private led investment) or Newtown (government led investment) it applies in any UR case. These basics were referred to by Mckechnie, Fraser and Rogerson (2015) who note these basics as getting the urban management right, no broken robots, good pedestrian sidewalks, adequate signage, safety, cleanliness, regulation of informal trade, maintenance, sufficient transport, and upgrading public space. These are aspects that are seen as the basis of which a UR initiative can be deemed to be a success or not and all would help support and encourage tourism. These are the elements that have been implemented in Maboneng thanks largely to private funding but providing these essential elements for the urban user nevertheless and have been a huge factor in the areas success. Maboneng needs to maintain and keep up the standards of the infrastructure that they have set in place and with the help of the impending CID accreditation - having worked on the Maboneng CID petition pack myself last year - this would be a major boost for the precinct and take some of the financial pressure off of the private sector stakeholders. Some of the benefits of establishing a CID have been derived from the Maboneng Improvement District, Executive Summary of the Business Plan (2014, p. 9) and are as follows:

- Enhancement of the urban environment and strengthening of investor confidence.

- Supports Investment
- Creates Positive identity for the area
- Helps form effective working relationships with appropriate bodies and associations.
- Effectiveness of the urban management is constantly measurable and monitored.

The area as a whole as was expressed by Rogerson (2015) also needs to increase its tourism asset base, a number of other unique primary and secondary elements within the urban framework of Maboneng that would draw even more tourists and diversify the choices that a user of the area might have. It could prove to be a challenge but one which maybe with another iconic draw card like Market on Main, a tourist attraction that would benefit Maboneng like the Guggenheim museum did for Abandoibarra in Bilbao. To continue to utilise tourism as a catalyst for the expansion of the development which has been so fundamental, as Liebmann (2015) put it, tourists have allowed Propertuity to accelerate their progress and double the size of the population, tourism to will determine the future success and sustainability of the precinct. There is a very real need to ascertain a certain critical mass that will propel and support the development and ensure that the entire project is feasible. Liebmann is looking at increasing the population of the precinct to 20 000 which is tremendous number but something that can be attained.

Maboneng is relatively speaking still in the early stages of its development but lacks a number of crucial elements that would make it more appealing to the tourist. A large portion of the tourist's surveys indicated that crime and transport were two primary issues that they had. Crime is a difficult one as the area is patrolled and guarded 24/7 by security guards and cars as well as a control room but is limited to the precinct alone. In many ways it is good that tourists feel safe in the precinct but are not comfortable exploring surrounding areas alone. This lack of freedom is very much out of Propertuity's control but perhaps a painted line or boundary stipulating the exact boarders of the UR precinct would give tourists an idea of where there is a high security presence and where there is not. Transport is another issue which Maboneng has tried to tackle by means of employing a Maboneng shuttle (Mabo'go) but this is not sufficient enough for the population and needs of the tourist and public transport is in the hands of the government which has made handling this issue difficult. Nightlife and pubs also seemed to be a recurring element of the precinct that has lacked, from my experience this has picked up with Poolside Café being a valuable nightlife addition with events thrown every weekend and other events hosted at other venues throughout the precinct regularly has given a boost and character to the night time scene. The stakeholders being

more knowledgeable and directly affected by the daily goings on gave a more specific account of what they felt the area needs. Some of the main points which were raised were firstly parking, this has been a recurring theme in terms of what was encountered throughout my research and is seen as a major problem. There is on street parking and underground parking for the residential developments done by Propertuity however this has not been sufficient for the amount of people utilising the precinct. It has also become a huge problem on Sundays due to the market and needs to be addressed to accommodate these influxes of tourists and visitors to make it safer and more convenient for the use of the space. Secondly green space (parks and greened open areas) are crucial within the harsh grey and concrete urban inner city environment and are in short supply in Maboneng and the inner city generally. Fraser (2015) also believes this to be a major challenge and stated that in comparison to other major cities Johannesburg has far too little green space and needs to create some lungs for the city. Parks and green space are a 'breath of fresh air', a public forum in which people can engage and socialise, where children can play and people can relax. Propertuity recently finished a park known as Common Ground but is somewhat separated from the 'heart' of Maboneng, it is also surrounded by small stores which act as a barricade from the street. Primarily the park is used by Spark School which is located on the premises and alienates the potential user because of all the school children that dominate the park. There is a dire necessity for another park or green area that would serve the needs of the community as well as tourists, the park in itself could be a tourist attractions and learn from some of the parks around the world such as Grand Park (Los Angeles) and Vondelpark (Amsterdam) as two prime examples. There is the problem of open space but could possibly look at a rooftop park as an innovative alternative (St Mary's Square, San Francisco: see Fig. 32).

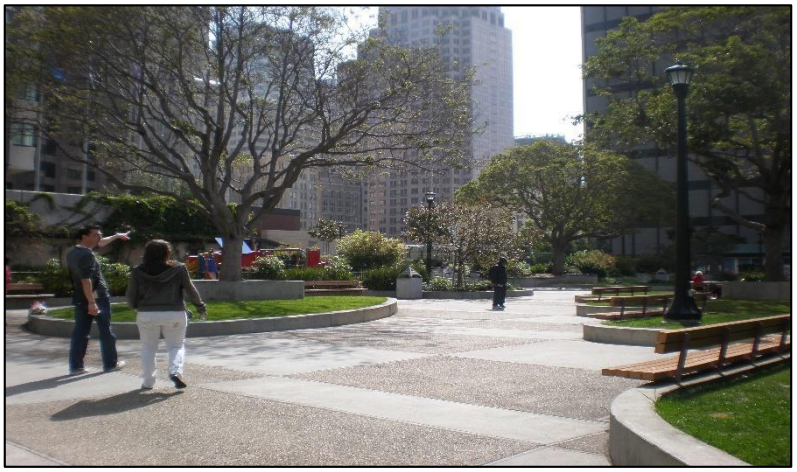


Figure 32: St. Mary's Park, a rooftop garden in San Francisco, United States. (Source: cityparksblog.org, 2015)

Thirdly, having a supermarket in the area which seemed to be a major factor in the surveys. There is no current supermarket that provides for the broad range of goods that the community and henceforth the tourists need it, a Spar, Checkers or Pick n Pay would be an ideal and welcome addition to the precinct. Fourthly, a commercial cinema complex was mentioned and could prove to be a great way of enticing more people to use the areas especially the inner city population as there is currently no inner city commercial cinema complex and would help to integrate more of the local surrounding communities into the area and would have a large threshold population from which to draw from (Dense CBD). Lastly, stakeholders brought up the absence of activities that can accommodate children, as well as spaces that are children friendly. Parks would help to sort out this issue but other than that there is very little on offer in the precinct for children to engage in which could deter prospective tourists with children from coming into the precinct. Setting up a crèche or area supervised by adults where there are toys, jungle gyms, craft/music/art classes and can host children related shows would be great intervention and help to attract more families.

Other addictions to the precinct which would add to the variety of amenities available would be that of a Sports bar, this would create a more relaxed atmosphere where people and tourists alike can socialise and integrate, it would be an offering unlike many of the upmarket restaurants in the precinct - affording a new dynamic. This bar could hinge off of Emirates Airline Park (the old Ellis Park) and host viewing events on game days (encourage urbanism through walking between the precinct and Emirates Park).The bar could be multifunctional and act as a lounge or cigar bar for residents looking for a place that they can be at ease and have a drink after work before heading to their apartment ‘upstairs’. Another tourism asset which could work in Maboneng and act as a catalyst for attracting more tourists would be to introduce a mining and precious stones museum. Johannesburg does not have a notable museum other than Gold Reef City that exploits and showcases the world renowned history of gold, diamonds and precious metals in Johannesburg and South Africa. Main Street has public space exhibits of the mining past of Johannesburg and Jewel City which neighbours Maboneng it houses around 300 diamond dealers as well as jewellers and is home to the South African Diamond Regulator and State Trader. These are tourism assets that are in extremely close proximity to Maboneng and have not used advantageously as a tourism asset. The new proposed museum would feed off of these two places and be architecturally designed so that it portrays this rich part of South African history and be a design that could potentially be as iconic and recognisable as the Guggenheim in Bilbao.

After analysing the area and emphasising the importance of pedestrian friendly environments within this report there was one obstacle within the pedestrian network of the area that could pose a significant problem. With a large portion of the development moving northwards the main roads of Albertina Sisulu and Commissioner Street which are essential linkages from the East to the inner city, have wide vehicular reserves, diagonal cross-cutting and busy vehicular traffic throughout the day. A solution which could solve this problem would be to construct a hanging pedestrian bridge underneath Sivewright Avenue like that seen in Fig. 34. With Access City, Hallmark House, Market-up, Propertuity offices, Spark Maboneng School, Common Ground and other earmarked developments that are located on the Northern side of the larger Maboneng area, a key arterial pedestrian link needs to be implemented especially for children and those children that attend Spark School. Tourists, residents and general pedestrian would then have a more negotiable pedestrian network in which to manoeuvre and be able to move between the two areas (North and South) seamlessly.



Figure 33: Map illustrating the poor pedestrian movement channels across Albertina Sisulu and Commissioner Streets interchange (Hashed black lines) and the proposal for new 'hanging' pedestrian bridge under the overpass (Orange dashed lines with circles). (Source: Rory Murtagh, 2015).

Maboneng is a mixed-use development known for its urbanist lifestyle in which one can live, work and play within the same area. This brings up a new recommendation for Maboneng in terms of its sustainability and what will keep it relevant and feasible over the long-term. Rogerson (2015) explained that this (Johannesburg) is a business city, we cannot over expect on leisure in a business city. To ensure that Maboneng can sustain itself as a creative hub and prominent inner city tourist destination there is a need to reinforce its status as a destination for business, local economic development and functionality within the larger urban framework. To do this in a business city the most logical step would be to entice and encourage big business investment to move into the area, with some of the main banks in close proximity and the established infrastructure provision, as well as the flexibility of



Figure 34: Lee pedestrian bridge in Richmond, United States is a prime example of the type of hanging pedestrian bridge that could be implemented in Maboneng and connect the Southern (core) parts of to the newer developments taking shape in the North. (Source: urbanplanet.org)

industrial buildings for reconversion and the proximity to other corporates in the CBD it would be ideal for large business investment. This would bring a significant amount of private investment into the area as well as an influx of people who are employed at the various companies. With the companies in Maboneng there will be a greater desire for people to move into the area increasing property sales, creating an even more vibrant and active inner city district, help to attain a critical mass that would sustain the precinct for years to come and in doing so become a more attractive tourist destination (greater level of integration between locals and tourists). Mckechnie (2015) was of the opinion that the South-Western side of the inner city of Johannesburg is sustainable due to this exact reason with large corporates such as BHP Billiton, ABSA's head office, Ango-American, Anglo-Plat and Anglo-gold Ashanti providing the stability that, that portion of the city needs in order to be

sustainable and bring influential and impactful private sector investment which has also led to this private investment being put into upgrading the public ‘realm’ where they have taken advantage of the cities mining heritage to develop a ‘historical corridor’ along Main Street.



Fig 35: The historically 'rich' Main Street where a conglomerate of large corporates are located, this image also illustrates the upgraded pedestrian street and cleanliness of this area. (Source: citysightseeing-blog.co.za, 2015).

One of the biggest concerns is that Maboneng is solely a privately led development initiative that has received very little to no support from the government. Even though what Liebmann (2015) alluded to by the governments “hands off approach” (chapter 4.) as being a positive aspect it is not sustainable and the government and relevant departments need to get involved in a project that is such a valuable asset within the city’s urban framework. The Bilbao example is a good illustration of how collaborate government and their constituencies have led, propelled and implemented a feasible and function UR and UT destination that has mutually benefitted all parties involved. Government participation is vital and formulating public-private partnerships could not only reinforce and further support Maboneng but the rest of the inner city as well. Rogerson (2015) alluded to the fact that for sustainable tourism it ultimately depends on the progress of broader inner city regeneration, this could not take place without the assistance of government and something needs to be done if the city is to benefit as a whole and if Maboneng’s sustainability is to be achieved. This partnership should not only be reserved for the government sector but perhaps look at introducing another private developer, this brings in new ideas, less risk ,more funding, larger potential clientele base and a more rapid and fast tracked level of development.

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