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AN EVALUATION OF CITY IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS IN PROMOTING POSITIVE SOCIAL-SPATIAL STRUCTURES AND MANAGEMENT PROCESSES: A CASE STUDY OF HILLBROW EKHAYA IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT, JOHANNESBURG

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER'S DEGREE IN URBAN STUDIES (URBAN MANAGEMENT)

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

JOHANNESBURG

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master's Degree In Urban Studies (Urban Management) requirements at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. All the sources of this work have been acknowledged and referenced.

Signed  Date 17/11/2023

Gloria Tepkeny

(Candidate)

This research report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

Signed  Date 17/11/2023

Mr Neil Klug

(Supervisor)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to the residents of Hillbrow. I hope it is a vision for a desired and better future. I also dedicate this work to the future of designing improvement centres and urban management structures that are trailblazers for development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I am grateful to have had the energy, patience and strength to do this research project.

The outcome of this research project has been with the input of my supervisor Mr. Neil Klug and I am grateful for his skillful advice and critique.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to assess the effectiveness of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in fostering positive social-spatial structures and management processes within urban areas. Specifically, the study focuses on the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District in Johannesburg, South Africa, as a case study. The research utilizes a qualitative research design method approach, combining semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, observation, photography, reconnaissance visits, and qualitative data analysis assessments and transcriptions to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of city improvement districts on the local community and urban management. By analysing the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District's initiatives, successes, challenges, and stakeholders' perceptions, the study seeks to contribute valuable insights into the role of city improvement districts in enhancing urban living conditions and social cohesion.

Understanding the intricate relationship between physical urban spaces and social interactions is crucial for urban planners, policymakers, and researchers seeking to create vibrant, inclusive, and liveable cities. By evaluating the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, this study intends to provide insights into the potential of improvement districts to promote positive social-spatial structures and effective management processes in urban areas. The findings of this research could inform urban planners, policymakers, and local communities about the benefits and challenges associated with improvement districts, contributing to more sustainable and liveable cities.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Management is a crucial tool in producing decisions, mandates, planning, and their implementation in various entities. It is conducted through a clear structure and division of function to improve human well-being (World Economic Forum, 2014). Urban management has become a mechanism used in solving daily issues in urban spaces with various actors, including various levels of government, private organizations, and other actors that cooperate to achieve a set vision for their spaces. Urban management is currently a widely used tool to bring forth better oversight processes that were initially insufficient. In a bid to address management issues, we need to understand the processes and structures of space and its management (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007).

City Improvement Districts are rising in South Africa as a method of urban management and a response to the failed oversight of spaces and the provision of basic services (Didier, Morange, and Peyroux, 2012). These improvement districts are set to improve the physical and social well-being of an area's environment. However, they have created uneven development and excluded social and lower-level groups in their management approach (Didier et al., 2012). There is inadequate enforcement of policies and management decisions in urban areas (Dube, 2019). Urbanization with a focus on population growth is a rising concern in South Africa and the globe as a whole and is becoming a challenge to available resources. The focus on human shelter is rising, while lesser scrutiny is given to the management of these spaces (ibid.).

The direction of accountability, structural arrangement, provision of services, and systems of power need to be keenly addressed in urban management structures (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). For urban management structures to perform optimally, they require social and economic actors to provide resources and oversight in their spaces at the accepted level of service. City Improvement Districts have optimized internal structures of coordination, partnerships, and social capital, which they have built through their efforts in the urban spaces they serve. These management systems need to be preserved, as they have a profound sense of bonding and bridging functions in their spaces.

However, as a management tool, they may create a sense of no fulfilling purpose once there is little to be done. It will be noteworthy to propose that this management style be implemented in areas that specifically require more resources to overcome vertical forms of management and their impacts (ibid.).

1.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

An improvement district is a managed precinct involving various entities providing a particular land use or service, such as residential management and commercial maintenance of buildings, their uses, and immediate surroundings (Didier et al., 2012). It is an umbrella composed of these entities within the same geographical area with the main goal of safeguarding their property, improving its value, and increasing its liveability. City Improvement Districts (CIDs') in the Republic of South Africa are management models adopted to support urban regeneration and the place-making of cities that took precedence in the 1990s. The improvement districts were to mitigate the failure of local authorities to offer basic services, mainly security. They occur at the city and neighbourhood levels and provide services related to reviving the place and its neighbourhood (Triangle Farm City Improvement District, 2009). They are funded voluntarily to provide additional services parallel to local authorities as well as enhance commercial and economic activities within them. They foster innovative ideas for local and municipal authorities and other practices on an urban scale (ibid.).

City Improvement Districts and their structures are highly contested and criticized over their goal of making a profit from the provision of additional services, the exclusion of lower-level classes, and the use of public spaces (Didier et al., 2012). Didier, Morange, and Peyroux (2012) explain that this has led to peculiar regulations throughout their governance. There has been uneven geographical development, and they criticize the ability of city improvement districts to adopt local policies and positively influence the neighbourhood, as well as mitigate challenges posed by the post-colonial era in their neighbourhoods. They have also faced criticism for their ability to provide timely services, form financial partnerships, and compete with other cities and local authorities. The City of Johannesburg has nineteen voluntary improvement districts, hence not legislated, and are mostly in the affluent nodes (Olima, 2013).

Around the globe, governments are experiencing challenges regarding urban management. This has led to increasing partnerships where challenges are solved with the help of public and private entities (Heimann and Oranje, 2008, *citing* Hooper, 2003). The world's urbanization is steadily rising through migration, which is causing an imbalance in resource access. This has increased the need for basic services such as housing, which in turn increases the pressure on local municipalities and governments to provide basic amenities. Urbanization, in combination with other factors such as population growth, increases the rates of unemployment, poverty, inequality, and crime within municipalities (Heimann and Oranje, 2008).

The practice and idea of improvement districts began in the 1960s in Northern America, where private investors safeguarded their businesses, properties, and developments around them. Improvement districts took various forms, from economic to industrial to social groups, including neighbourhoods and business areas. These districts were majorly classified according to their major land uses and could encompass additional uses within their authority. They were founded on regeneration and curbing urban decay. The property owners set the type of activity and services they would like to be provided with; hence, each improvement district varied in terms of the type of land use and outcome (Didier et al., 2012).

The major differentiating factors, according to Didier, Peyroux, and Morange (2012), are that these improvement districts are privately run and depend on public financial contributions. This enables them to be conducted within a geographic area that is well mapped out and serviced. It also provides additional services to those provided by the presiding authority. Improvement districts are run by an entity that is either publicly or privately owned or through a board that oversees its functions (Heimann and Oranje, 2008). The local authority usually has little to no say in decisions made by these entities. City Improvement Districts provide services based on plans drawn out by committees and are supplementary to strengthening the capacity of the local authority. However, they are unobligated to perform the services of the governing entity in place. Planning and urban management will therefore be needed to avoid management challenges associated with poverty and inequality, employment, housing facilities, transportation, infrastructure, and energy to achieve sustainable growth in urban areas (Didier et al., 2012).

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

To address management issues, we need to understand the processes and structures of space and its management. City Improvement Districts are set up to assist in improving the management structures of spaces and the quality of life in the areas they serve. They are tools used to improve public order and revitalize the use of these spaces (Cattell, Michell, Bowen, and Florence, 2010). Additionally, they are created to improve the physical and social well-being of the environment in an area. However, they have created selectivity in service provision, uneven development, and excluded social and lower-level groups in their management approach (Didier et al., 2012). This form of urban management protection is highly dependent on the current system of governance in place. However, it is critical to note that the effectiveness of such initiatives in achieving their goals, particularly in terms of promoting positive social-spatial structures and effective management processes, remains a critical question. Urbanization is a rising concern in South Africa and the globe as a whole (Dube, 2019). The process of increased economic and industrial progression and the re-organization of demographic attributes in urban spaces vary in density and heterogeneity from place to place (Peng, Chen, and Cheng, undated). The unchecked rates of urbanization facing cities have increased the degree of environmental degradation, including poor air and water quality, noise pollution, waste disposal issues, and high energy consumption (Uttara, Bhuvandas, and Aggarwal, 2012).

1.4 RESEARCH PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to assess the management mechanisms of improvement districts and how they interact with environments where social groups live, their everyday activities, and how the spaces are characterized to fit management processes. With urbanization, there is a shift in population, the search for employment, and income-generating activities at an unprecedented scale that is being experienced, and management structures need to adjust to the social, spatial, and economic impacts brought forth. The research report sought to evaluate whether city improvement districts have brought management mechanisms that have added value to their structure to be able to solve the issues faced within their authority. The findings may be used to model future management techniques that have

been proven to protect urban areas. The findings also query whether improvement districts are ideal tools in the management of spaces, particularly in urban areas.

The research also assesses the extent to which the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has contributed to the development of positive social-spatial structures, including improvements in public spaces, community interactions, and social cohesion. It examines the management processes implemented within the improvement district framework and evaluates their efficiency in addressing urban challenges such as security, maintenance, and community development. Furthermore, it analyses the perceptions of various stakeholders, including residents, building managers, and other relevant actors, regarding the impact of the improvement district on the neighbourhood's overall well-being and development. Finally, it draws lessons from the case study that can inform the design and implementation of similar urban improvement initiatives in other contexts, considering both successes and limitations.

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

A research hypothesis is a set of outcomes concerning various variables and how each relates to the other (Dayanand, 2018). The hypothesis for this research is based on qualitative research pieces and thematic areas presented in this report. The research hypothesizes that city improvement districts impact urban management positively on social and spatial aspects and can be used to assist in supporting local authorities in their day-to-day activities. Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District in Johannesburg has had a significant positive impact on promoting social-spatial structures and enhancing management processes within the urban area, resulting in improved public spaces, increased community interactions, and more effective urban management strategies. The hypothesis suggests that the establishment and implementation of the improvement district in Hillbrow have led to measurable improvements in the neighbourhood's social-spatial fabric and management practices. It anticipates that the model has successfully contributed to addressing challenges related to security, maintenance, and community engagement, leading to a more cohesive and vibrant urban environment.

The hypothesis also implies that the positive outcomes observed in Hillbrow can be attributed, at least in part, to the improvement districts' framework and its collaborative approach

involving various stakeholders. However, some of the functions undertaken by city improvement districts create a conflict of interest between residents and the local management processes of the local area. This has relegated development, increased inequality, and created inadequate enforcement in some areas of the local authority. Additionally, these improvement districts have led to the seclusion of lower-level social classes and, therefore, increased urban poverty and the mushrooming of unlawful street settlements in areas that are not serviced by the improvement district. There is a rise in neglect in some parts of the city and increased urban decay. City Improvement Districts can be used as urban management mechanisms to manage urban areas with the support of local authorities and positively impact the functionality of urban spaces.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question is:

1. What are the associated contributions of city improvement districts, and how do they respond to the broader local and city-wide transformation initiatives?

The sub-questions are:

1. What management mechanisms do city improvement districts use to realize their vision? A case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District
2. To what extent do current social-spatial structures alternatively support transformation initiatives in city improvement districts? A case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

1.7 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main objective is:

1. To evaluate the contribution of city improvement districts in responding to the broader local and city-wide transformation initiatives.

The sub-objectives are:

1. To examine the management mechanisms in use to realize the vision of city improvement districts: a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District.
2. To examine the current social-spatial structures that alternatively support transformation initiatives in city improvement districts: a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District.

1.8 JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

The eKhaya Neighbourhood Development Program, established in 2004, has morphed into an improvement district due to the structure of management involved (Savage + Dodd Architects, 2022). It pioneered the first initiative of its kind to envision the creation of a residential neighbourhood community in a deteriorated, densely populated, economically disadvantaged, and previously considered a "no-go" inner city area (ibid.). In September 2020, the Hillbrow Improvement District and eKhaya Neighbourhood collaborated to establish the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District (The Gauteng Precinct Management Associations, 2022). This improvement district is dedicated to enhancing the quality of life in Hillbrow. This programme has attracted the investment of various projects to its area that have affected the social and spatial aspects of the spaces, which require increased management to maintain their success. While the program has exhibited tremendous impacts on residents and other stakeholders, its progression can only be effective in the future once the current management of the improvement district is handled with effective urban management principles and structures (Silverman and Zack, 2008).

There is a growing relationship between the livelihoods of people and the characteristics of the spaces they live in (ibid.). The influence of these factors produces significant changes. This research sought to understand the evolving structures of spaces that produce the required adjustments in the management process. Despite the growing adoption of improvement districts, this study aims to fill this gap by focusing on the specific case of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, offering practical insights for similar initiatives worldwide and with a different approach. The unique context of Hillbrow as a neighbourhood in Johannesburg

presents a historically significant case study due to its challenges related to crime, poverty, and urban decay. The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District was established to tackle these issues, making it an ideal subject for assessing the improvement district models' effectiveness in a complex urban environment.

Additionally, the focus on human shelter and their needs in urbanizing areas is increasing, while there is lesser scrutiny on the surging urban population and various changes with regard to urban management (United Nations Development Program, 2013). For safe and inclusive cities, planners are required to understand and implement strategies that improve the physical and economic opportunities available in our urban areas (Heimann and Oranje, 2008). Economic stability is central to the millions of people living in urban areas, while urbanization continues to play a key role in understanding service provision (ibid.). If urban management systems and processes are inadequately investigated, they will weaken and be inadequate when addressing social, human and physical needs, attributes of urbanization, and their management, especially in urban areas (United Nations Development Program, 2013). There is an increased rate of urban population, unemployment, poverty, and inequality, according to the United Nations Development Program (2021), at a rate that may rise without a lasting solution. This rise requires increased management capacity and investment to ensure sustainable urban management systems that will support it (ibid.). It is noteworthy that the study's focus on positive social-spatial structures aligns with the Sustainable Development Goals to create liveable and inclusive urban environments.

1.9 THEORETICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The theoretical scope includes understanding theories and approaches relating to urban management structures identified by the author, as well as policy and legal frameworks necessary for improving urban spaces. The geographical scope is within the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, which began as a voluntary improvement district. It is established in a neighbourhood context as well as an inner-city area and has the potential to manage structural alignments.

1.10 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The socio-spatial structure is a phenomenon that relates social interaction with the spaces that people occupy through various patterns and attributes (Morgan, 1984). This concept emphasizes the interconnectedness between the physical layout of an area, such as a city, and the social dynamics that occur within it. Social-spatial structures include elements such as neighbourhoods, public spaces, transportation networks, housing patterns, and amenities (ibid.). For example, the design of a street might influence whether it fosters pedestrian interaction or prioritizes vehicular traffic. A well-designed public square might encourage people to gather and engage in social activities. Conversely, a lack of green spaces or inadequate public transportation options can limit opportunities for social interaction and community engagement (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008).

The characteristics of this relationship are as below:

- Their distribution in space is highly influenced by the social, spatial, and economic aspects of the particular area, especially in an urban setting (Morgan, 1984).
- Their linkages give an identity that usually emanates from the previous management of the space (ibid.).
- The process usually forms various groupings for easier control and reduced conflict with the neighbourhood unit as a pillar of identity that usually strengthens or poses a negative influence on social solidarity (ibid.).
- The patterns of development and human growth are adjusted to the environment through adaptive or organic methods. These patterns influence the physical maintenance of infrastructure, social networks, shared amenities, management, public order, and social attributes in space (Mateju, Vecernik, and Jefgbek, 1979).
- It also takes into consideration the several ways that built spaces and their defining aspects are significant in influencing the daily experiences of their users (ibid.).

1.11 ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

This thesis is divided into six chapters, as follows:

1.11.1 Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter gives a brief introduction and background to the study topic, problem statement, rationale, research purpose, research objectives, questions, and working hypotheses. It also gives the key defining terms of the research, its limitations, theoretical and geographical scopes, and the organization of the report, followed to produce findings, analyses, and conclusions.

1.11.2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter gives a brief historical background of improvement districts globally and in South Africa and their defining characteristics. It further includes a review of literary pieces on the theories of social-spatial frameworks and urban management. It includes approaches and concepts related to the study selected by the author on urban management that show various observations and comparisons and the impact evaluation of empirical studies in various areas of the world and the republic.

1.11.3 Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter focuses on the research design and its rationale, case study selection and justification, methods used to collect data, and strategies used to obtain the findings analysed for the concluding result. It further expounds on data reporting, ethical considerations, and limitations on methodology.

1.11.4 Chapter Four: Background of the Study: Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, Johannesburg

This chapter focuses on the locational context of the case study in South Africa, its physical attributes, socio-economic aspects, historical contexts, and geographical scope within the City of Johannesburg and Hillbrow Ward. It includes policies and legal frameworks shaping improvement districts globally and in the Republic of South Africa.

1.11.5 Chapter Five: Research Findings and Analysis

This chapter highlights and discusses the findings from the fieldwork and literature and their synthesis. It outlines the analysis of the findings in various thematic areas.

1.11.6 Chapter Six: Conclusions

This chapter focuses on the summary of the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from them.

1.12 CONCLUSION

The chapter outlines the opening of the report and its structure. It has given an insight into the general information guiding the report, its background, research purpose, problem, hypothesis, questions, and objectives. It also highlights the limitations experienced in the inquiry.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review aims to delve into and synthesize the existing body of research on the role and effectiveness of city improvement districts in shaping urban landscapes and enhancing urban living. This literature review will focus on the background, establishment, management, and impacts of city improvement districts. It will investigate the social-spatial structures, funding mechanisms, management services provided, and outcomes achieved by improvement districts in various urban contexts and empirical studies. Additionally, it will explore the approaches that guide the research identified by the author and the factors that contribute to the success or challenges faced by these districts, as well as their impacts on urban development, community well-being, and economic vitality.

2.2 BACKGROUND TO CITY IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS

2.2.1 Global Background

City Improvement Districts (CIDs) began in the 1960s in Canada and the United States of America (USA) with the main purpose of property and business owners jointly setting out to improve the outlook of shopping areas and their associated furniture. These districts were classified differently and varied with the type of land use area in place and activity such as business, special zones, education, inner-city, residential, and public areas. The major reason for the establishment of these districts was to create a sense of place, improve security, and revitalize them. The major aim of improvement districts today is to provide additional services to those provided by the local authorities (Heimann and Oranje, 2008).

These management districts are categorized into six broad variants, including the basic, marketing, super, public space and maintenance, specific focus, and residential districts (RebelGroup Advisory South Africa, 2016). The basic approach focuses on sanitation and security; the marketing model aims at attracting investors while maintaining high sanitation and security standards (ibid.). The super approach focuses on more services above the clean and safe environment, including parking spaces, placemaking through street furniture, policy frameworks, and other social amenities (ibid.). The public space model focuses on the

maintenance of open spaces for the benefit of the community. The specific focus approach is aimed at particular and outstanding land uses in the improvement district. The residential concept focuses on housing and settlement facilities, including compatible uses within them. These entire models encompass the basic ideas of sanitation and security (ibid.).

2.2.2 Background to South Africa

City Improvement Districts in South Africa draw inspiration from similar initiatives in the United States, where Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) have been established to address urban decay, improve safety, and enhance the overall quality of life in commercial and residential areas (Didier et al., 2012). In South Africa, similar initiatives are often referred to as Special Rating Areas (SRAs). The South African government recognized the potential of this model to address urban challenges and adopted it within the local context (ibid.). The legal framework for improvement districts in South Africa is provided by the Municipal Property Rates Act of 2004 and the Companies Act of 2008. These laws enable property owners and businesses within a defined geographic area to form an improvement district as a non-profit company, allowing them to raise additional funds for services and improvements within that area (Municipal Property Rates Act, 2004).

Improvement districts are typically initiated by property owners, businesses, and stakeholders within a specific district (Didier et al., 2012). To establish one, a formal proposal must be developed, outlining the objectives, services to be provided, and proposed funding mechanisms (ibid.). Once approved by the local municipality, it becomes a legal entity governed by a board of directors, comprising representatives from property owners and businesses (Municipal Property Rates Act, 2004). These entities are primarily funded through levies imposed on property owners and businesses within the district. These levies are in addition to regular municipal rates and taxes (ibid.). The funds generated are earmarked for specific services and improvements, such as enhanced security, cleanliness, beautification, and marketing of the area (Excellerate Services, 2022). Improvement districts provide a range of services and initiatives tailored to the needs of their specific localities. Common services include improved security through private security firms, maintenance of public spaces, street

cleaning, landscaping, and marketing efforts to promote the district as a business or residential destination (Didier et al., 2012).

These districts have demonstrated success in various South African cities, including Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban (ibid.). They have contributed to reducing crime rates, enhancing the urban environment, attracting investment, and increasing property values in their respective districts. Additionally, some initiatives were established for specific development and improvement purposes. In the City of Johannesburg, two special districts have seen positive impacts with specific agendas for them. They include the Maboneng Precinct Improvement District and the Fashion District. The Maboneng Precinct is a special project that focuses on revitalizing the Maboneng Precinct in downtown Johannesburg (Maboneng Precinct Official, 2022). It aims to foster arts, culture, and creative industries, transforming the area into a vibrant, inclusive, and sustainable urban space (ibid.). The Fashion District is a special project aimed at boosting the fashion and textile industries within a designated area of Johannesburg. It supports local designers, manufacturers, and retailers, enhancing economic growth and job opportunities (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2021).

In the beginning, the administration of all city improvement districts in the Gauteng province fell under the jurisdiction of the Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act of 1997 (CID Act), a piece of legislation introduced by the province to streamline the creation of these districts. While the Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act of 1997 is still in existence, its constitutionality has come under scrutiny, particularly regarding the legal authority to impose levies as prescribed by this law. Consequently, in September 2015, questions regarding the constitutionality of the act emerged. This followed a Supreme Court of Appeal decision in the case of '*Randburg Management District v. West Dunes Properties*' which challenged the constitutionality of existing legislation in terms of imposing the payment of levies (Phalatse, 2021).

In response, the City of Johannesburg opted to convert the nineteen city improvement districts that were initially established through legislation into voluntary initiatives (Phalatse, 2021). Presently, all city improvement districts in Johannesburg function as voluntary endeavours. Prominent instances include the *Newtown Improvement District* (ibid.). Addressing the constitutionality concerns surrounding the act, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality adopted its Special Ratings Area Bylaw on August 22, 2019. The municipality established an internal task force, known as the Special Ratings Area Task Team, to reassess the city improvement districts (City of Johannesburg, 2019). However, the advancement of this initiative has been impeded due to the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic (Phalatse, 2021).

2.3 DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS

2.3.1 Management and Collaboration

City Improvement Districts are managed privately and through privately owned boards that focus on economic opportunities and services. There is little to no management from local authorities, making these districts semi-autonomous (Didier et al., 2012). They are managed over a defined locality whose property owners pay for supplementary services to the local authority that provides ratified set-level services (ibid.). Through these management systems, property owners can set their desired services to be conducted in the area with respect to the approved legislation (Heimann and Oranje, 2008). There is increased collaboration between local government, property owners, businesses, and residents to address neighbourhood challenges and enhance the district's overall appeal. This has increased employment opportunities for lower-skilled workers, public-private partnerships, improved living and meeting areas, urban furniture, and reduced urban decay. However, it has increased locational inequalities with adjacent areas and the exclusive use of public urban spaces by a particular social group. It has also created a gap in service provision that the local government is faced with bridging (Heimann and Oranje, 2008).

2.3.2 Fiscal Management

Funding for services and their maintenance within the improvement district is done through the collection of additional levies from property owners (Didier et al., 2012). These funds are used to plan and budget for the provision of selective services and social capital. The levies vary from district to district on a compulsory or voluntary basis. However, funding and management increase privately governed interests that could overpower state projects, hence creating exclusivity and income inequalities (ibid.). As a result of these rates, some residents who are unable to raise them to receive these services are forced to relocate (Heimann and Oranje, 2008). In South Africa, city improvement districts are effectively "Special Rating Areas" regulated under the Municipal Property Rates Act of 2004.

2.3.3 Accountability and Transparency

City Improvement Districts often have structures in place to ensure accountability and transparency in how funds are used and decisions are made (The Housing Development Agency, 2012).

2.3.4 Enhanced Services

The goal of improvement districts is to enhance the attractiveness, safety, cleanliness, and overall quality of life in a specific area, often with a focus on commercial or mixed-use districts. These districts offer services such as increased security, maintenance, beautification, marketing, events, and infrastructure upgrades tailored to the needs of the district (Urban Sustainability Exchange, 2014).

2.4 SOCIAL-SPATIAL STRUCTURES AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES

Social-spatial structures explore the interconnections between social processes and physical spaces. Lynch (1960) explores how people perceive and interact with urban spaces. To address the unique elements of social-spatial structures within improvement districts, the author highlights certain essential aspects of the literature on social-spatial structures within improvement districts below.

2.4.1 Social Interaction Patterns

This aspect investigates how physical spaces, such as streets, buildings, and public spaces, shape patterns of social interaction (ibid.). For example, it might examine how the design of a public square influences the way people gather and socialize.

2.4.2 Neighbourhood and Community Development

This concept explores how the design and layout of neighbourhoods impact community development. It includes investigating factors like housing density, street layouts, and the presence of parks or communal spaces and their effects on social cohesion (ibid.). The design and layout of neighbourhoods impact residents' sense of belonging, safety, and social cohesion. Mixed-use developments, green spaces, and walkability contribute to a more vibrant and interconnected community. It focuses on the spatial configuration of environments and how they affect human movement, accessibility, and social interactions (ibid.).

2.4.3 Segregation and Inequality

Social-spatial structures often delve into issues of segregation and inequality, both in urban and rural settings. This includes examining how certain groups are physically separated or excluded from certain spaces (ibid.).

2.4.4 Mobility and Transportation

The transportation system is a critical aspect of social-spatial structures. It examines how transportation networks, such as roads, public transit, and sidewalks, influence accessibility and social interactions (ibid.).

2.4.5 Public and Private Spaces

Social-spatial structures investigate the distinctions between public and private spaces and how these distinctions shape behaviour (ibid.). For instance, it investigates how the design of a park influences its use by the public.

2.4.6 Cultural and Historical Perspectives

Cultural and historical factors play a significant role in shaping social-spatial structures. Often, it examines how cultural norms and historical legacies influence the design and use of spaces (ibid.).

2.4.7 Environmental Attributes

This subfield explores how the physical environment affects human psychology and well-being. For instance, natural elements like green spaces impact mental health and social interactions (Roberts and Sykes, 2000).

2.4.8 Technology and Smart Cities

With the advancement of technology, there is an increasing interest in how smart city initiatives and digital technologies impact social-spatial structures. This includes the use of street cameras, sensors, data analytics, and urban planning technologies (ibid.).

2.4.9 Participatory Design

Engaging communities and stakeholders in the design and planning process is a growing theme. This includes participatory design methods that seek to involve residents in shaping their environments (ibid.).

2.5 CONTEXT OF MANAGEMENT PROCESSES OF CITY IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS

2.5.1 Urban Management

Urban management is a more specific and operational phenomenon concentrating on the day-to-day management of urban systems, services, and resources, while urban governance emphasizes the broader framework within which decisions are made and actions are taken to manage a city or urban area (Hendricks, 2014). Urban management encompasses governments, non-governmental organizations, and various stakeholders within the urban substructure, including policy and developmental aspects (ibid.). It is a key attribute in a city, and it has evolved from the traditional form that consists of a central entity to newer forms of partnerships with other entities, such as civil society (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). Management through the various institutions in power is key to

ensuring the smooth running of central centres such as cities and urban areas (ibid.). These institutions of management are geared toward strengthening the networks they govern for present and future development (World Economic Forum, 2014). Governments are working with the coordination of various sectors and arms, with the decentralization of power, and in cooperation with public-private partnerships to manage their capacity as well as take advantage of the current resources (ibid.).

Urban management has improved the relationship between the public, civil societies, citizen participation, and their structures (McCann, 2017). This has seen the transition of management in these spaces and the redistribution of activities (ibid.). Urban management and its identity have increased due to the rate of urbanization and investment programs for development, which have in turn changed the processes, opportunities, and challenges for these spaces (ibid.). This has led to the increased restructuring of civil capacities to include controlled forms of initiative and participation (McCann, 2017, citing Brenner, 1999). City Improvement Districts are models of urban management that are centred on public-private partnerships and entrepreneurism (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). Additionally, city improvement districts are a form of urban management that muster resources to provide services such as security, waste management, and infrastructure maintenance, among others, in urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2009).

2.5.2 Urban Management in Cities and its Attributes

Cities are the central areas for wealth generation and drive global economies through their people, partnerships, trade, and technological advancements (World Economic Forum, 2014). Changes in economic empowerment in cities have necessitated the creation of new forms of management. These forms of management strongly advocate the shift from the provision of basic services to innovative solutions that encompass private sector participation and development strategies, especially in inner city areas that require additional assistance in management (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). This is because of the deteriorating responsiveness of traditional forms of government and their structures (ibid.). They are also platforms that drive innovation in creative spaces that have brought a revolution in the scientific and manufacturing sectors (World Economic Forum,

2014). Their growth is aided by rapid urbanization, making these areas highly competitive for service provision.

Cities are now competing in their urbanization patterns, sustainable processes, technological advancement, industrialization, and wealth creation (ibid.). As cities embrace the positive effects of these new phenomena, the negative issues need to be addressed to ensure they provide more benefit than risk to their dwellers, attracting more investment. For cities to be competitive, they need to reform four main tenets, namely: governance in space, policy, infrastructure, and social capital.

Cities across the globe share the same issues, including urban decay, demographic issues, poor infrastructure systems, inadequate health and social amenities, pressure on natural resources, increased rates of urbanization, inefficient public security, and safety (World Economic Forum, 2014). The goal of functional cities lies in their availability of basic human needs, efficient services, and shared goals to produce positive social-spatial structures foreseen by communities based on policy implementation, infrastructure, development, and social capital (ibid.). People perceive a liveable city to be a space that provides resolved spatial issues, inclusion, equality, and racial tolerance, all of which may vary from one city to the next. Communities look forward to addressing these issues through various actions; for example, access is resolved through the creation and maintenance of infrastructure (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). Each community has its own particular way of resolving its problems, which may vary from one to the next. Cities bring together social groups that fuse various ideas, social classes, and diversity into a shared space for all through structural management, the direction of accountability, the process of leadership, and the provision of service (World Economic Forum, 2014). Below are the main aspects of cities that make them attractive and bring about desired structures in cities.

2.5.2.1 Policy Implementation

Policy frameworks guide the process of development in cities, hence providing a space for improvement and efficient service delivery (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). They include economic strategies, trade, and investments with local and international bodies. These policies are implemented to safeguard the interests of the existing structures of governance as well as the opportunities, without compromising the integrity of the people (ibid.). Cities with favourable policy implementation, therefore, gain better economic reforms and performance on a global scale (World Economic Forum, 2014). Policies that foster urban management, such as improvement districts, are critical in aligning their functions, responsiveness, and contribution toward the space they govern. Governments continue to play essential roles in the making and implementation of policies with clear goals to improve functionality (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). In the City of Johannesburg, the Growth and Development Strategy (2040) is one of the strategies that support improvement districts as a mechanism of urban management.

2.5.2.2 Infrastructure

Physical infrastructure, such as roads in cities, is important in connecting services to the people (World Economic Forum, 2014). Well-planned and managed physical infrastructure benefits the city's economy as it reduces operational costs and maximises opportunities (ibid.). Planning these services is key to ensuring exemplary cities that are efficient, safe, holistic, and provide diversity for their dwellers. Technological advancement has also improved the features of physical public goods in cities (World Economic Forum, 2014). City Improvement Districts are set up to maintain the physical environment and infrastructure in place for their member properties to ensure continuity. It is key to building their assets as a form of place-making (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007).

2.5.2.3 Social capital

Cities are prioritising the social experiences of their dwellers to improve their functionality and liveability (World Economic Forum, 2014). This tenet is key as it provides a node for social interactions to improve heritage, diversity, environmental conditions, and the quality of urban life. A city that can attract various social classes attracts a variety of people as it offers a niche

that is compatible with their lifestyles (ibid.). Cities across the globe share the same structures, such as urbanization, rising inequality, sustainability, technological innovation, rising value chains, and local governance (World Economic Forum, 2014). City Improvement Districts are fostering cooperative frameworks with their participating members. This is in a bid to share strategies and develop through entrepreneurial practice (Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development, 2007). However, the capacity of some forms of collaboration have narrowed goals and selective participatory processes that make it difficult to share long-term plans, especially with those who may have no access to the same social status (ibid.).

2.5.2.4 Urban Space

Space is a characteristic of an area that is defined and analysed by its attributes and further transformed through various processes, including development and urbanization (Nadolny, 2015). The previous activities on space affect the current use, their development status, and continuity (ibid.). Human activities in urban spaces affect the spatial conditions and their image, and they bring division to the structures of these spaces. These divisions bring about the restructuring of new spaces, their value, their diversity, use, and attractiveness in favour of prevailing activities (ibid.). In cities, processes of production of urban spaces are primarily in economic, infrastructure, and housing sectors that produce areas to work and live based on income, race, and social status, and through the linkage to each via circulation (Scott and Storper, 2014). As a result, the connectedness of these processes that produce urban space needs to be managed to avoid ineffective spaces. Ineffective administration of these spaces could lead to dysfunctional infrastructure and basic services, urban decay, and unsustainable production processes in urban areas and cities. To maintain the liveability of these spaces, management institutions are required to enforce good practices on the use of space that are beneficial to all (ibid.).

Cities form networks of social and political systems at various scales that bring unique features to them (Scott and Storper, 2014). Cities in various countries vary in activity, such as the primary base production of goods and manufacturing as their main activity. They vary in their homogeneity or heterogeneity of race, poverty levels, as well as political and management levels with hierarchy (ibid.). As a result of these interactions, cities display varied economic

power and development status, resource distribution, social and cultural structures, and levels of authority that influence the urban space and its uses (ibid.).

2.6 APPROACHES AND THEORIES USEFUL TO THE STUDY

2.6.1 Broken Windows Theory

This approach by Wilson and Kelling (1982) introduces the concept of order to public spaces that include streets and neighbourhoods. In their research, they found that the public enjoys peace when public order in shared spaces is maintained, and it reduces the rate of crime within the area. Their premise was the idea that if one area is left unchecked, it will create an area of disorder, and crime will increase in the area despite the type of neighbourhood. Unwatched areas become hubs for crime because of their anonymity and lowered levels of care, leading to urban decay. The role of policing in neighbourhoods has now shifted from the general community to include the local police through their deployment to localities to ensure law and order are maintained.

According to Gau and Pratt (2010), people's perceptions influence their interpretation of disorder and criminality in a neighbourhood, and the concept can vary depending on the advantages that social groups have. It is important to note that the approach is best used in areas that are crime-free and orderly, and more measures are taken in areas where crime is deeply rooted (Gau and Pratt, 2010). This approach focuses primarily on the disorder and understates the issues brought about by other factors within an area (ibid.). The impacts of poor environmental conditions also bring about a rise in crime. A community facing social and structural deficiencies faces higher incidences of crime and their concentrations because of poverty levels and racial heterogeneity (ibid.).

2.6.2 The Neighbourhood Concept Approach

Allen (2018) describes the neighbourhood as a system of well-defined residential linkages that are critical to the development of urban areas. They have a defined form, scale, locality, structure, and purpose. These neighbourhoods create the quality of life experienced by individuals through the interaction of urban spaces and the social activities in these spaces. According to Kallus and Law-Yone (1997), eight themes define an ideal neighbourhood. They

include organizational capacity, quality of life, convenience, human association, order, citizen participation in activities, the identity of space, and its culture. These eight ideals describe the perceptions that residents have of the space they interact with, how it affects them individually and collectively as a neighbourhood, and finally how they lead to the satisfaction of their needs.

These perceptions change with the trends and practices of the community, making the neighbourhood a flexible social-spatial concept. Chaskin (1997) describes neighbourhoods in three thematic areas. They include the neighbourhood as a social element, a spatial element, and a design of use. The social element is the connectivity of people living within an area, while the spatial element denotes the physical attributes, including streets, major roads, bus stations, and housing elements. The design of use is illustrated through how an individual interacts with the social and spatial elements, and their experiences vary based on their race, ethnicity, social status, gender, age, and income.

Talen (2017) notes that neighbourhoods have two distinct concepts: the built form and social interaction, which bring forth plurality in ideas and their interaction to bring about development. Neighbourhoods are viewed as bringing about division in society, segregation, and areas of capital exploitation. As cited by Després (1991), neighbourhoods are viewed in terms of the scale of a single unit in relation to the whole unit through the landscaping, architectural design of buildings, and their maintenance. According to Webster (2003), a neighbourhood is defined by four economic scales. They include the micro, meso, macro, and ubiquitous neighbourhoods. The micro attribute is the single unit that benefits at an individual level with other adjacent units; the meso scale is enjoyed at a street level; the macro is the accessibility of services at the wider neighbourhood level linking the various streets; and the ubiquitous level involves the wider regional attributes and benefits (ibid.). Urban amenities are crucial to neighbourhoods and are attributed to locational proximity to services, environmental conditions, types of buildings, existing infrastructure, demography, local associations, political awareness, and historical significance (Allen, 2018). The space of the neighbourhood is further described through the private space of a building, the shared space of the units, and the public areas within the neighbourhood area (Berk, 2005).

2.6.3 The Just City Approach

This approach is widely associated with Susan Fainstein, who developed the concept to reflect the three themes of diversity, equity, and democracy. To create a just city, diversity is a key component where the social mix of neighbourhoods and cities is desired (Uitermark, 2011). Diversity produces economic empowerment and functionality in cities (Khosroshahi, 2015). It acknowledges the existence of various cultural norms, their representation, and positive aspects that may be used to investigate economic imbalances (ibid.). It encourages creativity in human capital, access to services, and fair use (Khosroshahi, 2015). However, the negative effects of diversification at various levels lead to exclusion as lower-level communities are forced to move into higher estates for social mixing (Uitermark, 2011). The scale of diversity is important because of urbanization and migration into an urban area (ibid.). It also leads to the exclusion of groups based on culture and economic empowerment (Khosroshahi, 2015). This creates an imbalance in service, attitude, and perceptions of social living. In the present day, zoning regulations are used to maintain the separation of land uses and various groups that are incompatible, to reduce conflict within them, and to foster the end goal of diversity and justice. For example, residential areas are zoned away from heavy industrial areas to reduce pollution that may occur due to their proximity, while schools can be mixed in residential areas (Khosroshahi, 2015).

Democracy is a concept where local communities are independently able to choose their living standards and services based on local willingness (Uitermark, 2011). These communities can be included in decision-making in their areas and have a fair vote. This approach to democracy ensures that those without power are regarded equally (Khosroshahi, 2015). The values of these communities vary because of participation, and the information among these groups has increased significantly (ibid.). However, this has led to negative effects where some communities that have power and income can seclude themselves from society and receive benefits as a result.

Equity in communities based on service is desired to create liveable cities where planning should be able to provide equal outcomes for all (Uitermark, 2011). It ensures uniform resource allocation and advantage regardless of gender, race, or class (Khosroshahi, 2015).

These benefits of equity need to be redistributive in economic, social, political, and environmental elements. The liberal theory by John Rawls is emphasised as it calls for equity in government that gives citizens their rights and secures them while ensuring that disadvantaged groups benefit the most. However, the economic systems continue to create inequality and associated disadvantages (ibid.).

2.7 EMPIRICAL STUDIES AND THEIR IMPACTS

2.7.1 Business Improvement Districts: New York City, United States of America

New York City has the largest number of business improvement districts in the United States of America and services an estimated 70,000 unique businesses, according to the Furman Center for Real Estate and Public Policy (2007). These improvement districts operate with minimum supervision and have improved living standards through crime reduction and district image (Furman Center for Real Estate and Public Policy, 2007). It is noted that since the formation of business improvement districts in the centre, the value of property within them has improved. This indicates that improvement districts encourage the improvement of quality social amenities and living standards (ibid.). This, however, differs depending on the size of the improvement district, where the larger ones had a greater positive association in comparison to smaller improvement districts (ibid.). The size of the district impacts resources, their greater mix of land uses, the density of the areas, and political leverage, which in turn benefit the larger districts. Furthermore, the research shows that the formation of business improvement districts within New York City had little to no impact on residential units, and it is noted that the services provided were of lesser impact and use to residential units in comparison to the business ones. Lastly, the improvement districts did not affect neighbouring areas; hence, no undesirable features from the districts were shifted to adjoining ones (ibid.). It is important to note that this empirical study has various structures that enabled its success in New York City. The social interaction patterns improved, hence attracting more investors.

2.7.2 City Improvement Districts: Claremont, Cape Town, South Africa

Claremont City Improvement District was established as a municipality, and it morphed into an improvement district that has a common business area and is primarily a commercial precinct

(Cattell et al., 2010). It is set to be a node for economic development and high-end retail uses. The area, because of urban decay, began to be redesigned to improve its outlook while causing unfavourable impacts to various property owners and stakeholders (ibid.). As a result of the facelift, some property owners and residents experienced displacement from their homes, an increase in rental prices, an increased conversion of use from residential to commercial, a change in the outlook and distinctiveness of the area, and traffic congestion resulting from commercial centres. Furthermore, the residents also experienced the positive effects of the gentrification process, which included the revival of the area, safer and cleaner streets, aesthetically pleasing areas, and better living experiences. This indicates that the improvement district had various effects on the outcome of Claremont and its rehabilitation (ibid.). It is important to note that this empirical study had various structures that enabled its success and challenges in the City of Cape Town.

2.8 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is important to note that improvement districts, characterized by their public-private partnerships, offer a dynamic lens through which to examine contemporary urban management strategies. They represent a collaborative effort among property owners, businesses, local governments, and other stakeholders to enhance the physical environment, safety, and services in designated urban districts. City Improvement Districts operate with a degree of autonomy, often providing supplementary services and implementing targeted initiatives not covered by municipal agencies. This unique urban management model has gained traction in diverse urban contexts, as shown in empirical studies of New York and Cape Town, promising innovative solutions to longstanding urban challenges. Understanding the mechanisms, outcomes, and potential trade-offs associated with city improvement districts is pivotal as cities worldwide grapple with issues of urban sprawl, sustainability, and the equitable distribution of urban resources.

This review aims to shed light on the broader implications of improvement districts for urban development, management, and the well-being of urban residents. The emergence and growth of improvement districts represent a significant shift in urban management paradigms. They hold the potential to improve the quality of life for urban residents, stimulate economic

development, and promote a sense of community and pride in urban spaces, as seen from the empirical studies of New York and Cape Town. However, they also raise important questions about accountability, representation, and the potential exclusion of marginalized groups, as seen from the empirical study of Claremont District, where some property owners experienced displacement.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, the author provides a detailed account of the research design, rationale for the design, case study selection and justification, data collection methods, including data collection instruments, data analysis procedures, data reporting, limitations, and ethical considerations, offering a transparent and structured account of the research approach. Together, these methods will form the basis on which the research findings and insights are built. In light of the ethical responsibilities that come with conducting research involving human subjects, the author ensured the confidentiality of participants by adhering to ethical guidelines and seeking informed consent. Through these methods, the author aims to shed light on how the data was collected and analysed.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Kerlinger (1986), research design can be understood as a systematic strategy, structure, and methodology used to conduct an investigation. Its primary goal is to obtain answers to research questions and understand variables. A qualitative research design method was used to collect and analyse data for this study. Creswell (2014) suggests that qualitative research is primarily concerned with delving into and understanding a phenomenon attributed by individuals or groups to social or human problems. This research design involved the collection of varied data on the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District and an investigation into the current social-spatial structures and concepts to understand urban challenges. It entailed understanding urban management to be able to give a comprehensive understanding of the impacts of improvement districts on social and spatial structures and management processes. This was done through semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews with key informants to allow flexibility in responding.

The key informants chosen for this research included representatives from district management, residents, building managers, security personnel, and other stakeholders of the improvement district who have initially been involved in the eKhaya Neighbourhood Program

and its implementation. They offered a wider view of the structure of the district and its previous programs and partnerships with stakeholders, including security, cleaning, residential, and commercial activities. This design provided descriptive analytical responses to issues on the social aspects of space management.

3.3 RATIONALE FOR THE SELECTED RESEARCH DESIGN

The rationale for selecting a qualitative research design is that it offers the depth required to comprehend the intricacies of city improvement districts. Improvement districts engage in a wide range of urban development and enhancement activities, encompassing issues like safety, cleanliness, infrastructure development, and community involvement. They also incorporate numerous stakeholders, such as residents, building managers, and coordinators. The design techniques, including interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation, enabled the author to attain an understanding of the unique environments in which the improvement district functions. Additionally, the design facilitated the collection of a wide array of viewpoints and experiences from these stakeholders.

3.4 CASE STUDY SELECTION AND JUSTIFICATION

A case study is a research method where a researcher conducts a comprehensive analysis of a particular instance, which may involve a process, phenomenon, animal, individual, household, organization, group, industry, culture, or nationality (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The reason for this case study selection is that most city improvement districts tend to favour private businesses and property owners, thereby reinforcing the existing structures of social, economic, and spatial inequalities. In the conventional improvement district model, the usual practice is to rely on a top-down approach (Urban Sustainability Exchange, 2014). This involves all property owners being automatically included through a local referendum, making them obligated to pay monthly levies (Pooe, 2016). As an inner city improvement district, Hillbrow eKhaya represents a voluntary, community-led, and bottom-up approach that is pro-poor (The Housing Development Agency, 2012). It ensures the management process is inclusive and builds on its social capital and other resources (ibid.). In contrast to existing improvement districts, Hillbrow eKhaya adopts a more grassroots-oriented approach. Initially, this approach entails mobilizing local stakeholders voluntarily and subsequently involving them in the process

of identifying priorities and crafting and executing plans to address them (Dube, 2019). These endeavours encompass not only the fundamental aspects of addressing issues like crime and grime but also kick-starting and overseeing various other community activities such as the enhancement and upkeep of lanes, organizing sports events, and managing open spaces.

Moreover, statutory and voluntary residential improvement districts are promoted and endorsed within the inner city of Johannesburg, whereas they are criticized in the suburbs located outside the inner city (Dube, 2019). This distinction arises from the fact that the legislation, specifically the Gauteng City Improvement District Act of 1997, permits the formation of improvement districts in regions where there is observable decay or a foreseeable risk of deterioration. In other words, the inner city neighbourhoods exhibit clear signs of decline, with elevated levels of grime and crime in comparison to the suburbs situated beyond Johannesburg's inner city limits.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLING METHODS

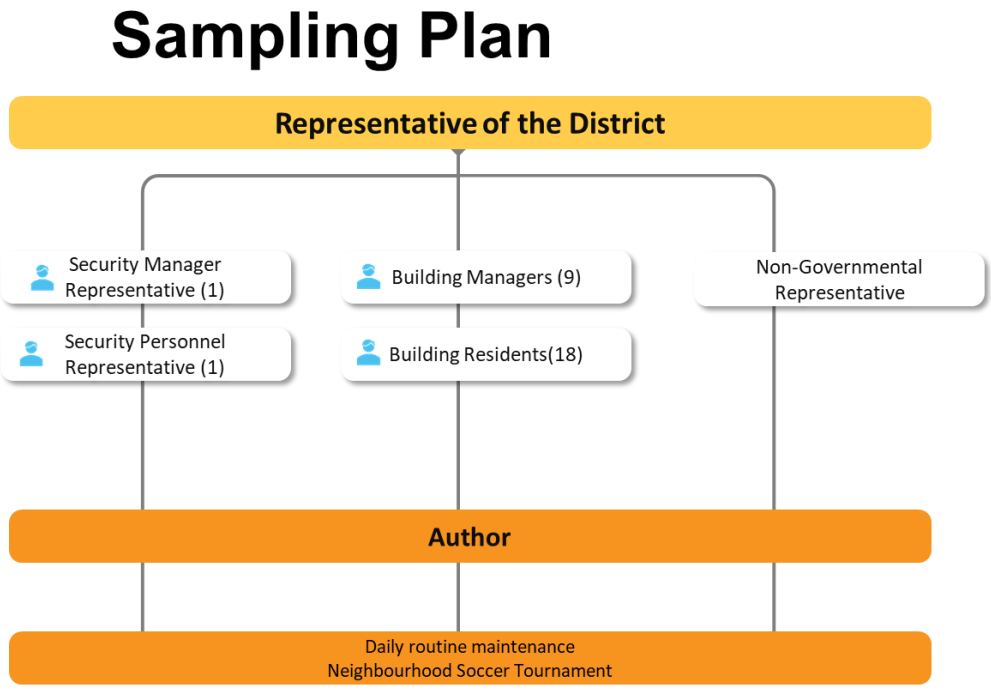
The process of gathering data frequently includes making observations and conducting interviews, as highlighted by Creswell (2014). The methods used for data collection for this study included semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, reconnaissance visits, photography, and observations. Interviews and semi-structured questionnaires were used to obtain specific information, while observation, photography, and reconnaissance visits to the study area were used to understand the physical structures in place.

3.5.1 Sampling plan

The sampling was systematic and selective, targeting the management of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, residents, and managers of member buildings. The participating respondents were selected from various member buildings, with each housing company having representation. The residents of these buildings were also selected to share their daily experiences of living within the member buildings. The sample was selected from six housing corporations out of the eight corporations currently in place within the district. From these housing corporations, nine building managers were sampled alongside two residents from each representative member building. The list of interviews and questionnaires distributed is

indicated in this report in Appendix B, with detailed information on when the interview was carried out, the location, and the list of meetings and events that the author attended. The key informants included the representation of the improvement district, the security representative within the district, and a representative from one of the non-governmental organizations partnering with the improvement district on volunteering. The total sample was 30 respondents. The table below shows how the process of sampling was conducted.

Figure 1: Table showing the sampling plan



Source: Author 2022

3.5.2 Target population

The target population is the management and residents of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District in the City of Johannesburg. The process began with the author obtaining permission to conduct the study from the overall management of the improvement district. The management and author agreed that the identities of the respondents would not be revealed and their responses would only be used for academic purposes. Each respondent was required to sign participation and consent forms that clearly stated the agreed terms on anonymity and the use of the information obtained from them.

The management included a representative of the district who also served in the eKhaya Neighbourhood Programme, a security representative and personnel who supervise daily activities, and an independent representative from a non-governmental organization that partners with the district in volunteering and mentoring activities. This target population was of interest as they shape the structure of management and make decisions for the daily occurrences within the improvement district. They also offer vast knowledge and proven procedures in their day-to-day activities from various sectors. The building managers were sampled to represent each street in the district and provide their expertise related to running the buildings and the experiences associated with their spaces and shared amenities. The residents of the buildings were to present their views of living in a managed building, with one being the oldest tenant and the other a recent tenant, to understand the dynamics of their experiences.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

The methods used to analyse the data included descriptive narratives and transcriptions that summarized concepts and themes from respondents' perspectives of the services offered by the improvement district. Additionally, it enabled the summary of urban management systems as well as the identification of current social-spatial structures and the comparison of trends and frameworks from the case study. It included an exploratory and comparative analysis that identified the characteristics that are unique to city improvement districts as local management mechanisms and their relevance and value to their area. The analysis highlighted the differences, similarities, and significance of social-spatial structures and management themes.

3.7 DATA REPORTING

Data reporting provides a structured overview of the research findings related to a particular theme, offering insights into their performance, challenges, and potential areas for improvement (Creswell, 2014). The data collected in the field for this study is represented in charts, graphs, tables, descriptive narratives, photographs, and maps. After the data was transcribed and analysed in themes, it underwent synthesis, which involved a combination of findings and drawing conclusions. The primary focus is on the current social-spatial structures.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ethical consideration in this research is that it was voluntary, and the participant's identities, such as names, were protected from disclosure through informed consent. The research included respondents regardless of their gender, position, race, or social status. Furthermore, the names of the respondents will not be published in the findings. The documentation of sensitive data collected will not be included in the report.

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The limitations of this research are set to expound on factors within the control of the author that may be included or excluded for several reasons. The limitation of this study is that the impacts of improvement districts are identified in various time frames depending on the period that the entity was brought into operation. This will vary from one improvement district to another. The research focused on the processes and structures of socio-spatial spaces and management at the time of the research study.

Moreover, the choice of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District as the case study could introduce selection bias. This might affect the extent to which the findings can be extrapolated to other improvement districts or urban areas that differ significantly from Hillbrow. Furthermore, there is possible bias as most of the respondents are stakeholders in the improvement district; hence, they may portray the positive aspects of the district. While efforts can be made to include a diverse range of stakeholders, some perspectives might still be underrepresented, potentially leading to an incomplete understanding of the improvement districts' impact. Additionally, there is limited literature on the legal and policy frameworks for the establishment of improvement districts in South Africa and their management; hence, this limits the generalisation of the final study findings.

3.10 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the methods employed in this research have been selected and designed to effectively address the research question: "What are the associated contributions of city improvement districts and how do they respond to the broader local and city-wide

transformation initiatives? A case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, Johannesburg". The research context, objectives, and complexity of the inquiry guided the choice of a qualitative design approach. The rationale for this approach is rooted in the recognition that qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews and participant observations, enabled the author to explore the subjective experiences and perceptions of the respondents, such as building managers and residents, shedding light on the nuanced ways in which social-spatial structures affect their well-being. It also recognizes that well-being is a deeply personal and contextual experience. Additionally, ethical considerations were paramount throughout the research design. The research implemented rigorous ethical guidelines to ensure the protection and well-being of the research participants. Informed consent, confidentiality, and respect for participants' autonomy were central principles in the ethical framework.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: BACKGROUND OF CASE STUDY: HILLBROW EKHAYA IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a contextual background for the case study, touching on historical evolution, demographic dynamics, the economic landscape, and urban development initiatives in the City of Johannesburg, South Africa. The case study is designed to delve into the multifaceted urban dynamics of Johannesburg, examining the interplay between historical legacies, demography, locational contexts, policies and legislation, and urban development strategies. The City of Johannesburg stands as a compelling case study, encapsulating both the challenges and opportunities that rapidly growing urban areas encounter in the 21st century. The City of Johannesburg was built in 1886 through the discovery of gold, which attracted miners, financiers, and businesspeople throughout the region (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). Since its discovery, the city has evolved into a commercial and industrial hub, attracting investors into high-level business areas and having the most powerful commercial centre in Africa, standardized infrastructure, and medical care (City of Johannesburg, 2018).

4.2 BACKGROUND TO SOUTH AFRICA

The Republic of South Africa has a cooperative system of government that comprises the local, provincial, and national levels that work together and have oversight responsibilities (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). South Africa is actively experiencing the transition of urban spaces to highly privatized zones. These zones are serviced and developed by the private sector in partnership with communities and various stakeholders (Heimann and Orange, 2008). As a result of apartheid governance and planning, the coordinated government, comprising national, provincial, and local governments (Constitution of South Africa, 1996), has seen significant investment in informal township areas to combat the inequalities associated with access to basic amenities (ibid.).

As the population increases due to urbanization, there is an increase in demand for services such as housing and human settlements, employment opportunities, and basic amenities. The local municipalities are therefore tasked with providing these services over time and in an efficient manner. Natural population growth and migration into the country have seen an increase in the demand for housing units, especially in the inner city, which enjoys the convenience of services on the one hand and pressure on inner city development on the other. Additionally, due to the rise in population, there has been an increase in unemployment, which deepens poverty and results in crime in urban areas. This resulted in the emigration of businesses to suburban areas and the establishment of city improvement districts in inner-city urban areas in the mid-to-late 1990s. To safeguard the existing ownership, the property owners voluntarily collaborated to take over the urban spaces in these urban areas through these improvement districts (Heimann and Oranje, 2008).

4.3 BACKGROUND TO THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

The City of Johannesburg is part of Gauteng Province, which has eleven municipalities, including three major metros. It has grown and become a financial hub and a key magnet for industrialization (City of Johannesburg, 2018). The urban form of the city consisted of tapered streets and small urban spaces that have since developed into a complex urban centre. The city is the largest metropolitan municipality in economic activities, population density, and size and strives to be a world-class African city of the future through its resilience and vibrancy (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020). It has a great mix of culture and diversity and endeavours to improve the standards of living for each citizen through the provision of services (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). The metropolitan municipality is divided into seven major cluster regions and has an area of 1,644 square kilometres (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2022). The city has a comprehensively connected road system that offers daily transportation services to its residents. The rail system, however, was vandalized in 2020, associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, with major physical infrastructure stolen, causing commuter disruptions and economic losses (BBC Africa Business, 2022). The transport systems are designed to emanate from the central city, moving outwards through major routes (ibid.).

The City of Johannesburg, through its Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), aims to implement eleven main goals and various visions that accelerate the economy, preserve resources through good urban governance, safety, integrated systems, and minimize global shocks by the year 2040 (Growth and Development Strategy, 2040). To achieve this, it embodies the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), a five-year-drafted plan and vision that is reviewed annually (ibid.).

4.3.1 Population Size and Distribution

The population of the City of Johannesburg, according to the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2021, was 5.74 million people and was classified as the largest metropolitan area in the republic. The population of men to women is equal, with a ratio of 100.3 to 100 males to females, respectively (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020). The largest age group is between 25 and 44 years old, which is mostly made up of the working population. The greatest reason for this phenomenon is the migration into the city in search of better employment opportunities (ibid.). The racial composition is mostly of black descent at 80.17%, white descent at 9.79%, 5.27% of coloured descent, and 4.76% of Asian descent. The annual population growth at the city level as of 2021 was 2.91%, as opposed to the country's rate of 1.57% (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). The ratio of members per household in 2018 was reduced to 3.1 in comparison to 3.9 ten years prior. Most households are female-headed, while a third are child-headed (ibid.).

4.3.2 Socio-Economic Activities

According to the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2020), the primary economic activities in the City of Johannesburg include agricultural activities and mining. The major secondary activities include manufacturing, construction, and energy, while the major tertiary activities include trading, finance and banking, transport, and the service sector.

4.3.3 Social and Cultural Attributes

4.3.3.1 Inequality

The Republic of South Africa has been ranked one of the most unequal societies, with a Gini coefficient of 0.629 nationally and 0.624 at the city level (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2020). While the income rates in the city are doubling, 47% of most city households are unable to sustain themselves (ibid.).

4.3.3.2 Unemployment

Unemployment is rising within the City of Johannesburg because of the increasing rate of urbanization. Close to half of the city's population is formally employed, with the majority of the population in the tertiary and service industries (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). Many residents are resorting to informal trading activities, boosting the informal economy. With the youth comprising most of the city's population, unemployment continues to be the greatest challenge, with a larger proportion being of the lower-skilled classification, calling for improvements in the innovation and education sectors (ibid.).

4.3.3.3 Crime

The City of Johannesburg has one of the highest crime indexes in the country, according to the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2021). The safety of residents is key to development, and it is influenced by the geographical location, social, and income inequalities in various regions (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). The city continues to provide security and protection services through the Johannesburg Metro Police Department units, municipal laws and regulations, technological inputs, and planned spatial development to ensure public safety is maintained (ibid.).

4.4 BACKGROUND TO HILLBROW eKHAYA IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT

4.4.1 Locational Context

Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District is in Hillbrow Ward, located within the inner-city region of Johannesburg (Integrated Development Plan, 2021). It will be analysed in a national, provincial, and local context. Figures 2, 3, and 4 below show the regional and local context maps of Hillbrow Ward in the City of Johannesburg and South Africa.

Figure 2: Map showing South Africa highlighting Gauteng Province

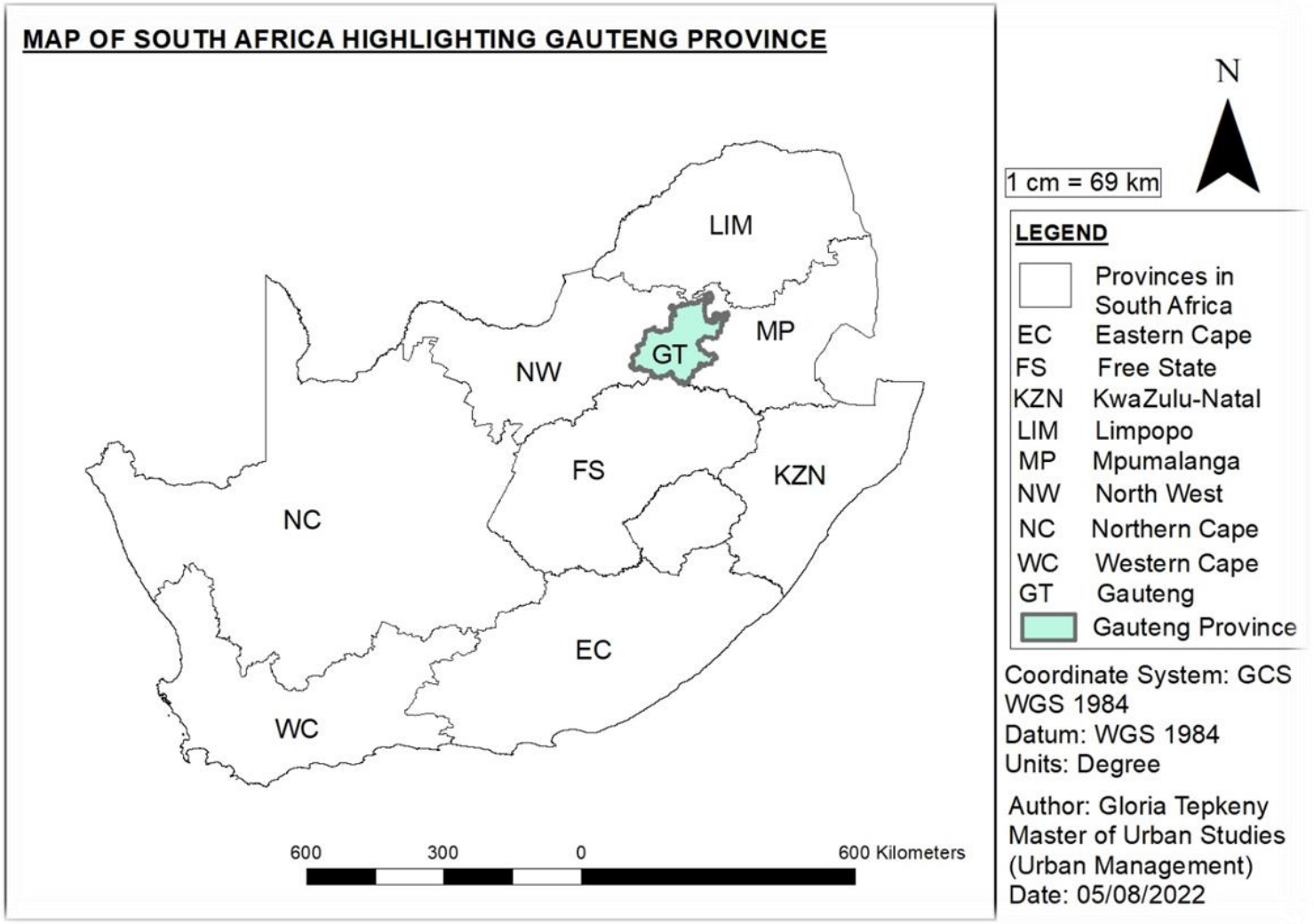


Figure 3: Map showing municipalities in Gauteng Province

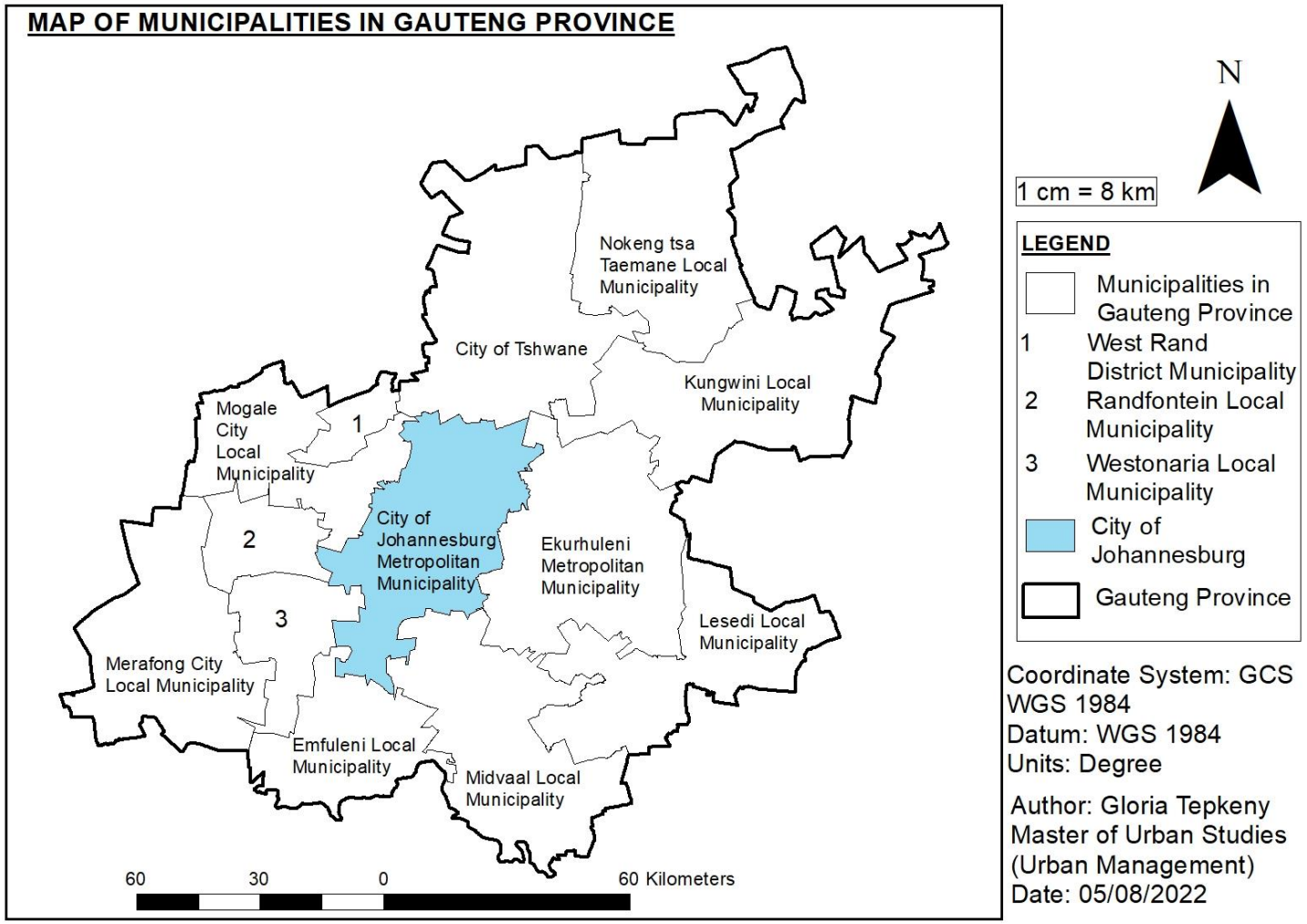
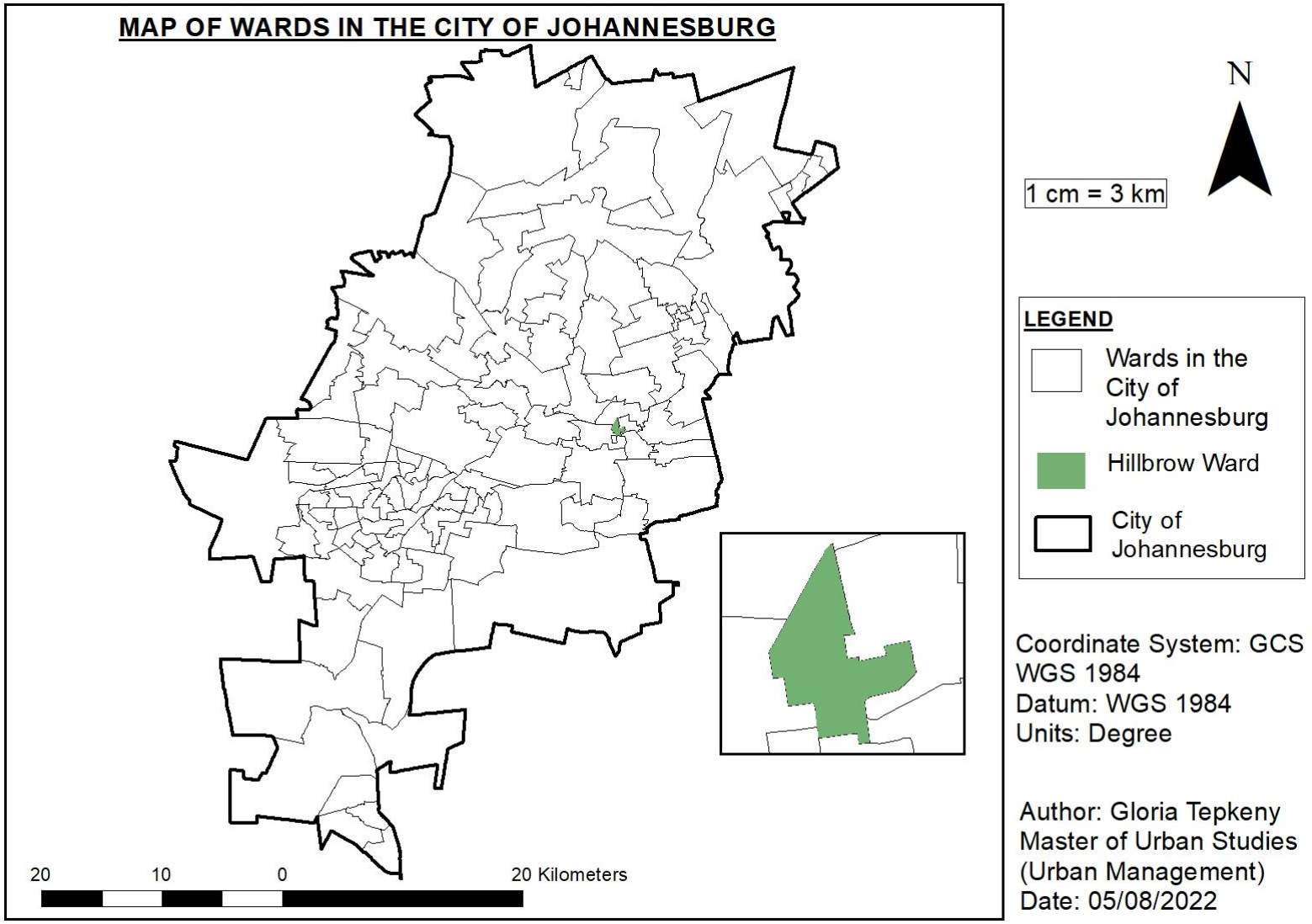


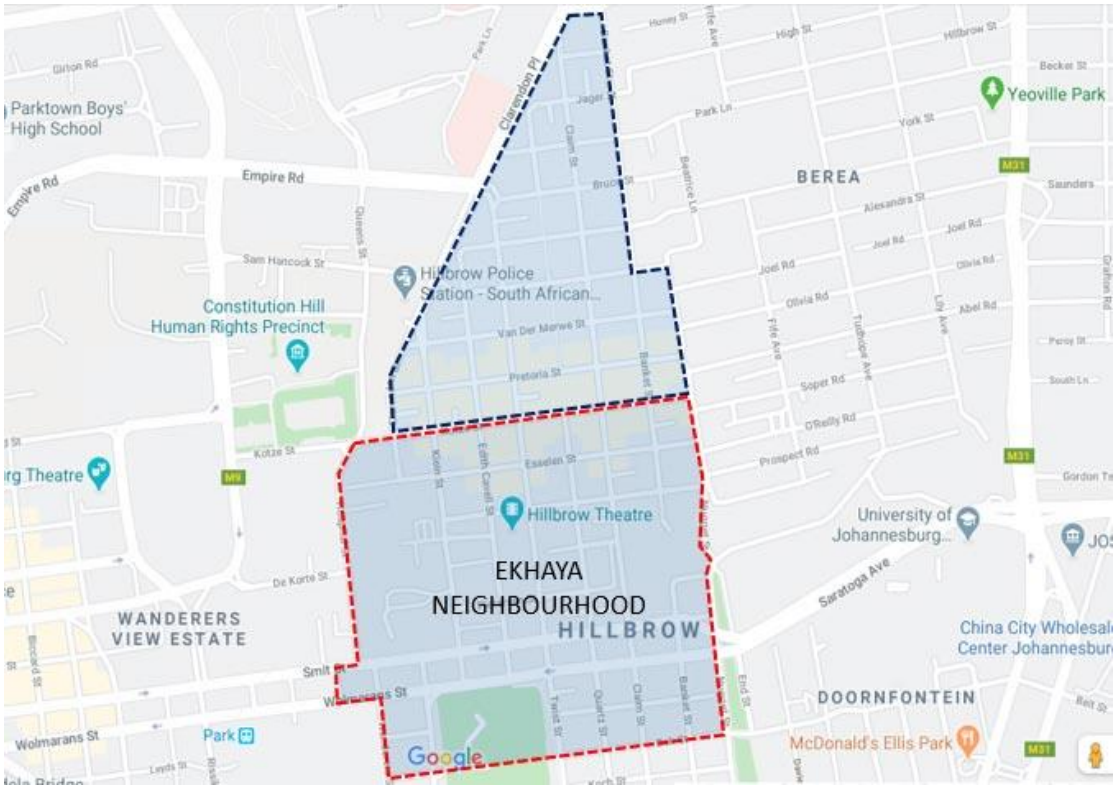
Figure 4: Map showing Wards in the City of Johannesburg



4.4.2 Local Context

The case study chosen for this research is Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District. It is a merger of the districts of Hillbrow and eKhaya. It has developed over time from the eKhaya Neighbourhood Programme formed in 2004. The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District is a managed precinct majorly supported by various contributors, business partners, and the local community who invest in the economic centre, its suitability, and its improvement for the community members. This has promoted connectivity between the community and the stakeholders while improving services within the improvement district. It is an economic hub that advocates for the improvement of the community and its services through enhanced security, cleaner areas, and a diversity of activities. However, it is associated with poverty, crime, and overpopulation (Urban Space Management, 2016). The map below shows the merged areas of Hillbrow and eKhaya.

Figure 5: Map showing merger of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District



Source: Urban Space Management, 2016. Accessed 12 June 2022

4.4.3 Historical Context of Hillbrow

Hillbrow is a suburb located in the inner-city area of Johannesburg and is continually experiencing social-spatial change (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). The study area is bound by Clarendon PI Street to the north, End and Catherine Avenue streets to the east, Commissioner Street to the south, and Troye, Twist, Wolmarans, and Klein Streets to the west (Urban Space Management, 2022).

Hillbrow began in 1985 as a purely high-end residential area within the industrial city and a development area for health facilities (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). It consisted of single-dwelling units with no commercial areas within them to fit its upper business class (ibid.). It progressed into a mixed-use area comprised of commercial and residential activity that fostered inclusivity. According to Stadler and Dugmore (2017), Hillbrow has the highest population density in Southern Africa, with an estimated 68,418 persons per square kilometre and approximately a thousand housing units accommodating 24,857 family units.

Hillbrow, since the 1990s, has been a treaty port for immigrants; hence, it has encouraged a mix of races and diverse populations (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). It offered affordable housing for the lower classes and, in retrospect, encouraged informal activities that are categorised as illegal for the survival of some of its occupants, including commercial sex work (ibid.). Despite that, the police were able to curb these illegal businesses with a small fraction of women of black descent, who depended on this trade as well as the selling of traditional brews (ibid.). At the time, most of the residents lived in the inner city 'yards' that were overpopulated, poorly managed, and maintained, which has continued to affect the area to the present day (Silverman and Zack, 2008). Simultaneously, this also increased disease outbreaks in these areas, including communicable diseases such as pneumonia and tuberculosis, hence increasing mortality rates (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017).

In 1920, due to technological advancements such as elevators, the building of high-rise buildings began with the elimination of height restrictions in 1946 (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). This saw an intensive construction phase that lasted two centuries and increased the density. The extension on construction expanded to other areas around it, including present-day Yeoville and Berea. The enforcement of the Rent Control Act of 1949 saw no new

construction after 1960 to safeguard the concerns of the working class, who were primarily white tenants, while focusing on the development of health facilities, including the first hospital ever built that preceded its identity as a healthcare district (Winkler, 2013).

As Stadler and Dugmore (2017) noted, its dwelling units shaped the social character of Hillbrow. These were mostly single units that encouraged the youthful population, immigrants, and short-term living, which influenced its cultural diversity and mix of uses. In 1950, Hillbrow was predominantly classified as a white area, which at the time included the black residents who did menial jobs for survival. The Group Areas Act of 1950 segregated various groups in the country into distinct residential zones, mostly of black and white descent. As this rule was abolished from 1978 to 1982, the impact of the abolishment saw more people move into Hillbrow following the search for better residences because of overpopulation and political instability (ibid.).

The predominantly white area saw the movement of other races into these spaces as the white race moved away from the inner city (Nerio and Halley, 2022). This created an abundance of housing and a drop in property values in the inner city due to the preference for living in suburban areas. The area became the first desegregated area in the city. It began to decline due to increased crime and grime, poor building maintenance, and overcrowding. In better light, there have been efforts to improve the area, including the 'Better Buildings Programme' through the Johannesburg Property Company and the eKhaya Neighbourhood Programme, which revitalize the area and reinstate condemned buildings (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). The 'Better Buildings Programme' is a pursuit by the City of Johannesburg to address poorly managed and maintained buildings within the inner city through investments in revamping and reducing urban decay. The programme has a major goal of creating affordable housing units and increasing private investments in inner city areas (Silverman and Zack, 2008).

4.5 POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK USEFUL TO THE STUDY

The policy and legal frameworks contain a brief background of the guiding principles using the formation and functionality of city improvement districts as determined by the author. The policies are guided by the global Sustainable Development Goals, which direct the view of

liveable spaces on a global scale. At the national level, the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000 outlines the setting up of special areas, just as the Municipality Property Rates (2004) outline the use of levies in these spaces at the local level. This sets an understanding at the local level of government. The Growth and Development Strategy 2040 is a vision by the City of Johannesburg that incorporates various forms of urban governance into its future goals. The Gauteng City Improvement District Act 1997 sets a precedent for the establishment of improvement districts that have since been declared voluntary. This framework drawn out by the author is to give a broader view of guiding laws in the establishment of governed districts, as outlined in this research report.

4.5.1 Sustainable Development Goals

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a global action to tackle various issues and have countries have suitable development by 2030. They comprise seventeen major goals, each addressing a particular commitment to balance the economic, social, and environmental aspects of society. These goals are interdependent and include innovation and technology to achieve them fully (United Nations Development Programme, 2022). The author focuses on three major goals to guide the report. Sustainable Goal 8 is aimed at member nations to oblige and create safe spaces and opportunities to alleviate poverty and reduce inequality through redressing policies, structures, and processes that may increase discrimination and taking on policies that protect income and social services. Sustainable Goal 11 is set to promote inclusivity, safety, resilience, and sustainability in urban and human settlements. Sustainable Goal 12 takes on nations embracing planned areas that are effectively managed to foster sustainable urban spaces, participation, and integration of management systems. It also urges the support of linkages on various urban scales and their services to their regions. It is key to note that these goals are commitments that are set to improve the living conditions of humans and their surroundings.

4.5.2 Municipal Systems Act No.32 of 2000

As per the Municipal Systems Act, Section 85, a municipality has the power to create a municipality service district within it. To create it, the municipality ensures the local participation of the community in determining where the service district is to be set up, its

geographical location and boundary, the services to be delivered, and the method of its delivery. Furthermore, the municipality should receive adequate support from the community in setting up the service district. To ensure that the district runs properly within its established location, the municipality may impose levies or special ratings for the service, maintain an independent bookkeeping schedule, and have a management team that oversees the service district that is gender-balanced and representative of the community members. The municipality includes a framework for the monitoring of the service district. These districts are set to prioritize services in line with the entire municipality, improve its development, and encourage social, cultural, and economic integration in space without creating further disassociation. In the case where two or more municipalities create a multi-jurisdiction service district, the national level of government ensures that the responsibilities of each municipality are clearly understood and have the basic requirements when setting up a service district. Furthermore, the joint service area is required to provide a fiscal framework, a management body that is representative of all municipalities involved, functional procedures, the provision of services, the division of duties, and the beneficial application of the services to each municipality.

4.5.3 Municipal Property Rates Act 2004

As per the Municipal Properties Act 2004, all permissible properties are to be levied by the municipality per its use, allowed use, and geographical area, and as per the property register held by the municipality. This levy applies to all properties except those that the municipality owns, including public goods such as infrastructure. The municipality is required to prescribe, through a committee, the appropriate rate annually for each land use, including those with permitted mixed uses. The levies collected from properties are then included in the financial framework for the municipality and reviewed annually (Municipal Finance Management Act, 2003). The municipality, at its discretion, may grant reduced rates or exempt specific property owners from these rates and the land uses that are constitutionally regarded as unrateable, including islands, ocean shores, parks, and religious centres. Regarding special rating areas, the municipality prescribes additional levies for the development of the area and indicates how the additional levies are used to benefit the area.

4.5.4 Growth and Development Strategy 2040

This long-term strategy, laid out by the City of Johannesburg, is aimed at the prosperity of its residents through the coordination of institutions, investment, and opportunities for urbanization envisioned by 2040. This will be realized through the flexibility, adaptability, and continuity of the planning and development of the city. This strategy provides a future for a holistic live, play, and work environment through the anticipated five outcomes, including a competitive economic framework, an inclusive city that addresses poverty and inequality, a sustainable environment through standard services, secure societies, and a well-managed local level of government. The focus on the outcome of addressing poverty and dependency, inclusion, spatial fairness, and inequality is key to understanding the strategy. In tackling social cohesion, the City of Johannesburg envisions that the urban form will represent cultural diversity through its design and encourage improvement districts that improve recognition among communities through exemplary maintenance and participation in planning processes that are open and fair while also encouraging social support and associated amenities. These outcomes will ensure urban spaces are in tandem with culture and social activities, making them vibrant and livable.

4.5.5 Gauteng City Improvement District Act 1997

This Act was established to curb urban decay in Gauteng Province, provide ground regulations for the establishment of improvement districts that will provide services in addition to those of the local municipality, and ensure robust economic development in cities. This framework allows property owners to be levied as part of the capital injection into the projects. This legislation is formed at the provincial level of government with various city by-laws and legislation. City Improvement Districts are established with support from fifty percent of the property owners in an area. There is a requirement for the provision of a three-year plan that is made public to all property owners and in line with the development goals of the said area. The improvement district is established and should align with property rates and their value quotient, as well as have a representative management body that includes property owners and the municipality and ensure financial audits annually.

Once an improvement district has been formed, the municipality collects the rates on behalf of the district, while the district provides services in addition to those provided by the

municipality. Either party is required to inform them of the standard of services within their jurisdiction and ensure that they comply with the said standards. The district's management can amend the plan through public hearings and awareness. The municipality has the power to dissolve an improvement district if found insolvent and ensure that the value of the asset is retained within it.

4.6 CITY OF JOHANNESBURG POLICIES SUPPORTING CID INITIATIVES AND COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIPS

4.6.1 The Inner City Spatial Framework 2040

The Inner City Spatial Framework for the City of Johannesburg is a strategic urban development and planning document that outlines the vision, goals, and strategies for revitalizing and transforming the inner city of Johannesburg. The framework is a critical component of the city's efforts to address urban decay, promote economic growth, enhance infrastructure, and improve the overall quality of life for its residents. The strategy for revitalizing the metropolitan core, as outlined in the Inner City Transformation Roadmap and Inner City Housing Implementation Plan, centers on harnessing the potential of the Central Business District (CBD) as a densely populated economic nucleus within the city.

Its primary goal is to tackle challenges such as fragmented development, high crime rates, deteriorating buildings, and the shortage of affordable housing. To address these issues, the strategy proposes the creation of concentrated districts characterized by inclusive residential development, strategically aligned with public transportation and economic activity. Emphasis is placed on investments in social amenities and engineering infrastructure to facilitate urban growth. Furthermore, the strategy supports economic expansion in the inner city through a range of initiatives. It also advocates for enhancing the cohesiveness of the inner city by establishing an interconnected network of public spaces and streets.

4.6.2 The Inner City Economic Development Policy and Strategy Framework (2008)

The Inner City Economic Development Strategy for the City of Johannesburg is a comprehensive plan designed to stimulate economic growth and development within the inner city of Johannesburg. The strategy aims to address various challenges and opportunities in the urban core, promote investment, create jobs, and enhance the quality of life for residents.

4.6.3 The City Centre Development Framework (2018)

The City Centre Development Framework for Johannesburg is a strategic plan that outlines the vision, objectives, and strategies for the city center's development and revitalization. This framework is a critical component of urban planning and governance, aiming to promote economic growth, enhance infrastructure, improve livability, and create a vibrant and sustainable urban core.

4.6.4 Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007)

The Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007), designed for the City of Johannesburg, stands as a pivotal urban development and revitalization blueprint. This document delineates the city's strategy and dedication to the renewal of its inner-city region. Covering a range of urban planning, development, and governance facets, its aim is to reshape the inner city into a lively, diverse, and enduring urban center. The charter reflects the city's commitment to sustainable urban development, community improvement, and the transformation of the inner city from a struggling area into a thriving and inclusive urban center. Over the years, similar initiatives have been implemented in other cities globally as a model for revitalizing urban cores.

4.6.5 Inner City Roadmap (2015)

The Inner City Roadmap (2015) is a strategic blueprint created for the City of Johannesburg. It lays out a thorough strategy for the urban core of the city, encompassing multiple facets of urban development, infrastructure improvement, and governance. Its primary objective is to offer a well-defined and organized route for the revitalization and advancement of Johannesburg's inner city.

4.6.6 Better Buildings Programme

The Better Buildings Programme in the City of Johannesburg is an initiative designed to enhance the quality and sustainability of buildings within the city. This program addresses multiple dimensions, encompassing energy efficiency, environmental sustainability, and building regulations. Its overarching objective is to encourage the construction and operation of buildings in Johannesburg to be more environmentally conscious and resource-efficient.

4.6.7 The Johannesburg Development Agency

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), established in 2001, is responsible for urban development and regeneration in Johannesburg. It serves as a vehicle for planning, implementing, and managing various development projects and initiatives aimed at improving the urban landscape, infrastructure, and overall quality of life in Johannesburg. The Johannesburg Development Agency plays a crucial role in shaping the city's growth and development through strategic planning, infrastructure investments, and urban revitalization efforts, including precinct developments in the inner city.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the chapter provides a summary of the key points discussed in the case study, highlighting Hillbrow's historical evolution, demographic diversity, economic transitions, and urban development initiatives. The backdrop against which our case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District unfolds is one of remarkable urban transformations and adaptations. As we have seen, the City of Johannesburg has evolved from its mining activities into a dynamic urban centre characterized by diversity, innovation, and a commitment to development. Crucially, Hillbrow's initiatives, specific urban development projects, stakeholder engagement strategies, and the outcomes of these initiatives demonstrate a forward-looking commitment to improving the quality of life for its residents while addressing pressing challenges.

The City of Johannesburg offers a compelling example of a city striving to strike a balance between preserving its historical heritage and embracing the imperatives of an inclusive urban future. Additionally, the Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive is designed to promote the revitalization of inner cities throughout South Africa. This incentive is available to any

individual or entity that owns property and pays taxes. It provides tax benefits in the form of an accelerated depreciation allowance for investments made in either refurbishing existing properties or constructing new developments within the inner city. The allowance is spread over a period of five years for refurbishments and seventeen years for new developments.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The fieldwork in Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District was conducted in September 2022, and hardcopy questionnaires were administered to building managers, tenants, and security managers who are members of the improvement district, and interviews were conducted with key informants. The fieldwork covered various buildings that were previously under the eKhaya Neighbourhood Program. Considering the nature of the work that some of the building managers had, the hard-copy questionnaires were administered and collected to give them time to answer. The questionnaires were distributed throughout the case study, with at least one building on each street serviced by the improvement district. The findings cover general information to understand the demographic aspects, the land use management processes and activities in place, and the level of influence the improvement district has on the managed buildings. The sampled questionnaires for the findings are drawn from nine building managers, eighteen building members of the respective buildings, and three key informants. The total sample size for the findings is 30 respondents.

5.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.2.1 Age and gender

The gender of most sampled questionnaires was male (58%), with most of them ranging in age from 36 to 55 years. This indicates a mature age of 36–55 years, followed by youthful members of the population of 18–35 years, with fewer members over 56 years of age. Figure 6 below shows pie charts indicating the age and gender of the sampled respondents.

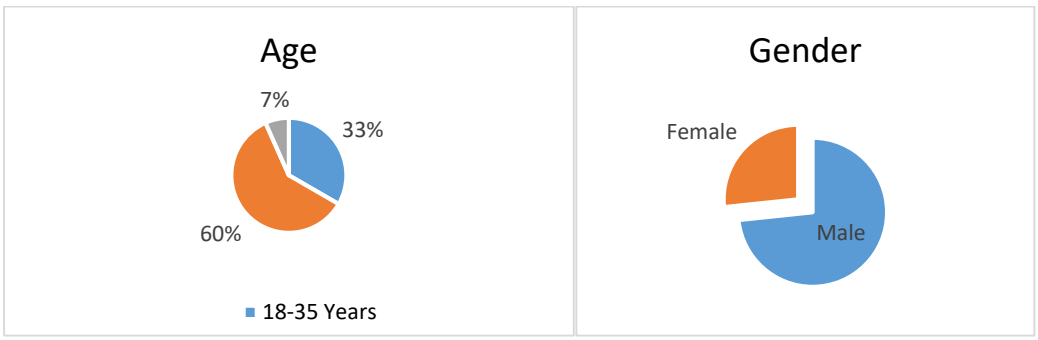


Figure 6: Pie charts showing age and gender of the sampled respondents

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.2 Literacy levels

Hillbrow has a learned population, with most of the residents having attained at least a primary school education. The literacy level of the City of Johannesburg among those who have achieved grade 7 or higher is 92.2% (Growth and Development Strategy, 2011), with most of the population able to read and write. With these characteristics as a measure, Hillbrow has a high literacy level, as shown in Figure 7 below, with 50% of the respondents having a tertiary education and 43% having a secondary education. The area also has various learning institutions, from kindergarten to secondary level, that attract residents to the area.

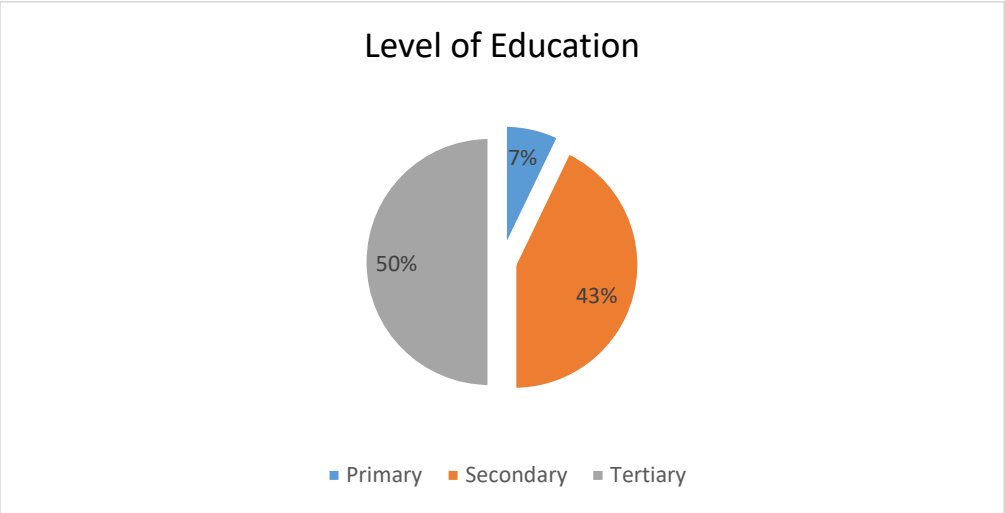


Figure 7: Pie chart showing literacy levels

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.3 Time lived in Hillbrow Ward

The respondents sampled show that slightly more than half of them recently moved into the Hillbrow area in the last 5 years, while the other respondents have lived in the area for more than 15 years, as shown in Figure 8 below. A few of the respondents have lived in Hillbrow for most of their lives. The major factor in settling in this area was accessibility to services. Other residents found the area to be safe, the cost of the property to be affordable, and the presence of family ties such as marriage in Figure 9 below.

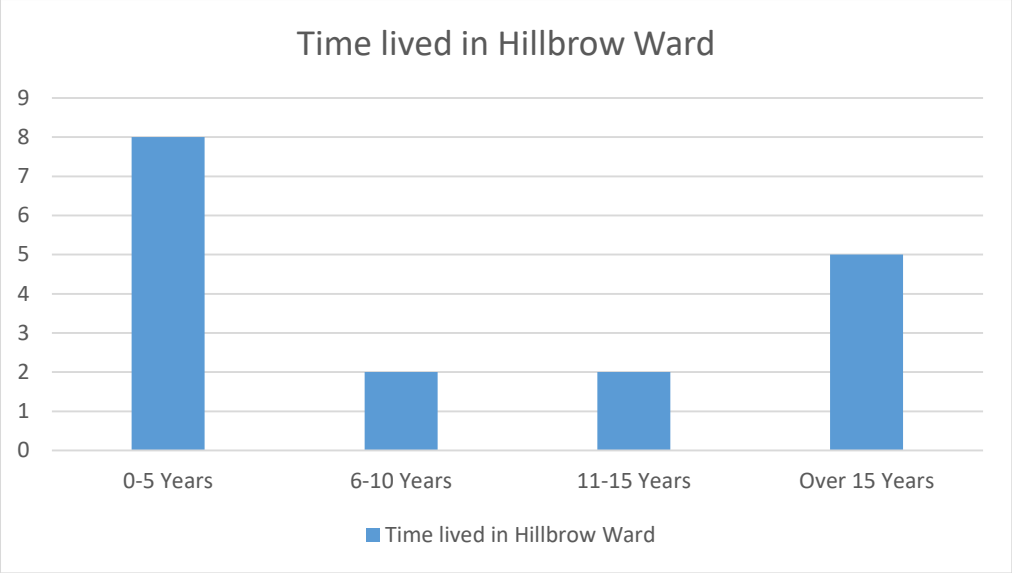


Figure 8: Bar chart showing the time lived in Hillbrow Ward

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

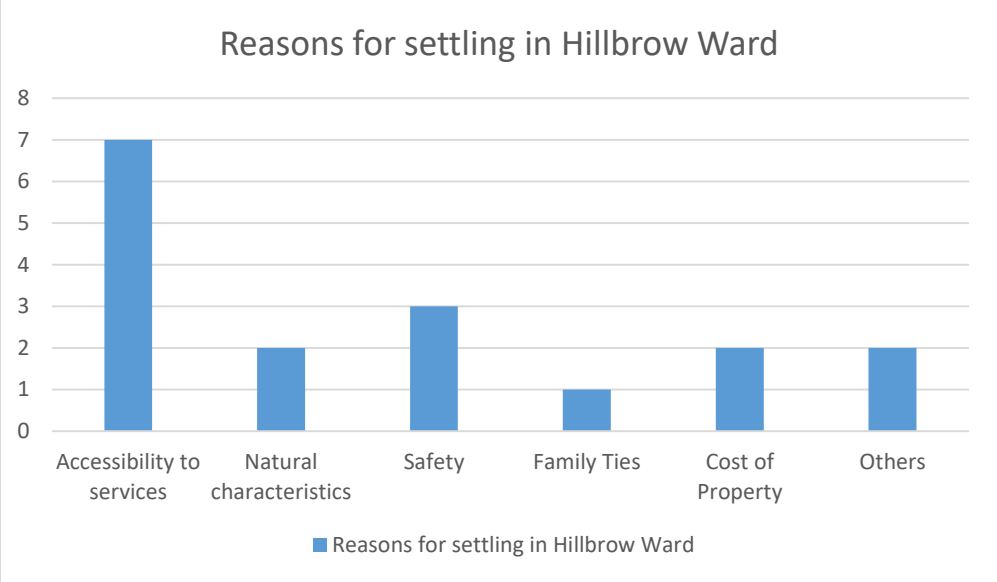


Figure 9: Bar chart showing reasons for settling in Hillbrow Ward

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.4 Land Use Management

Residential buildings were the major land use for most of the sampled respondents (75%). Other respondents lived in buildings with mixed land uses at 13%, most of which incorporated commercial activities on the lower levels, while some buildings were solely for commercial purposes at 6%, as shown in Figure 10 below. Most of the respondents have not changed the

use of their property in the last 5 years and foresee the maintenance of the same use in the future. One property, however, had formally changed its land use twelve years ago from a hospital to residential purposes.

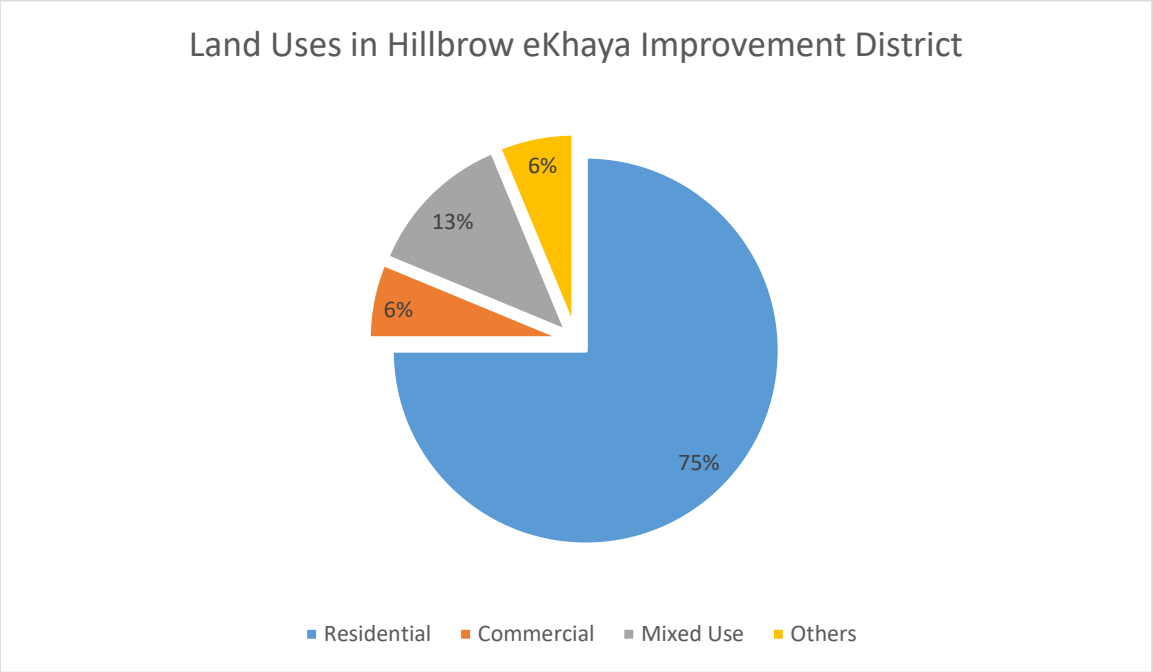


Figure 10: Pie chart showing land uses in Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.5 Time joining the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

The sampled respondents indicated they have joined the improvement district recently, within the last 5 years, with some of them having received membership in the entity for less than a year, as shown in Figure 11. Additionally, other respondents have been in the improvement district since the eKhaya Neighbourhood Programme existed and later continued the partnership with the current body in place. As shown in Figure 12, the major reasons for joining the district as per the sampled respondents were safety and the fight against crime, partnership with the improvement district, and the activities and supplementary services offered by the improvement district, including cleaning and management services. They further agree that as they joined the improvement district, services including crime watch, clean surroundings, and management partnerships were offered to their satisfaction, as shown in Figure 13 below.

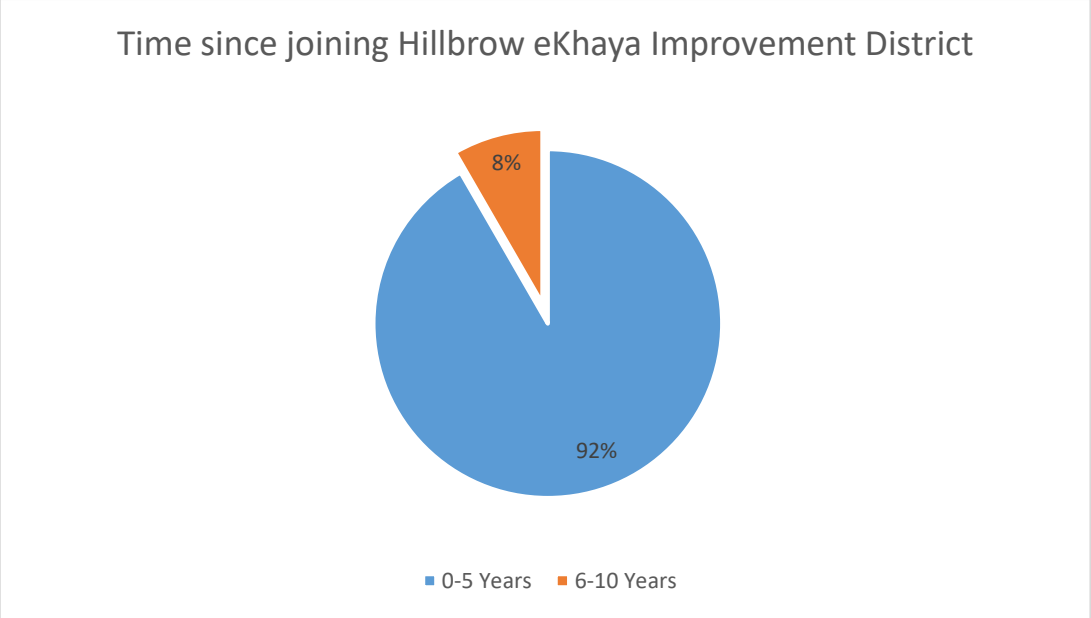


Figure 11: Pie chart showing time since joining Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

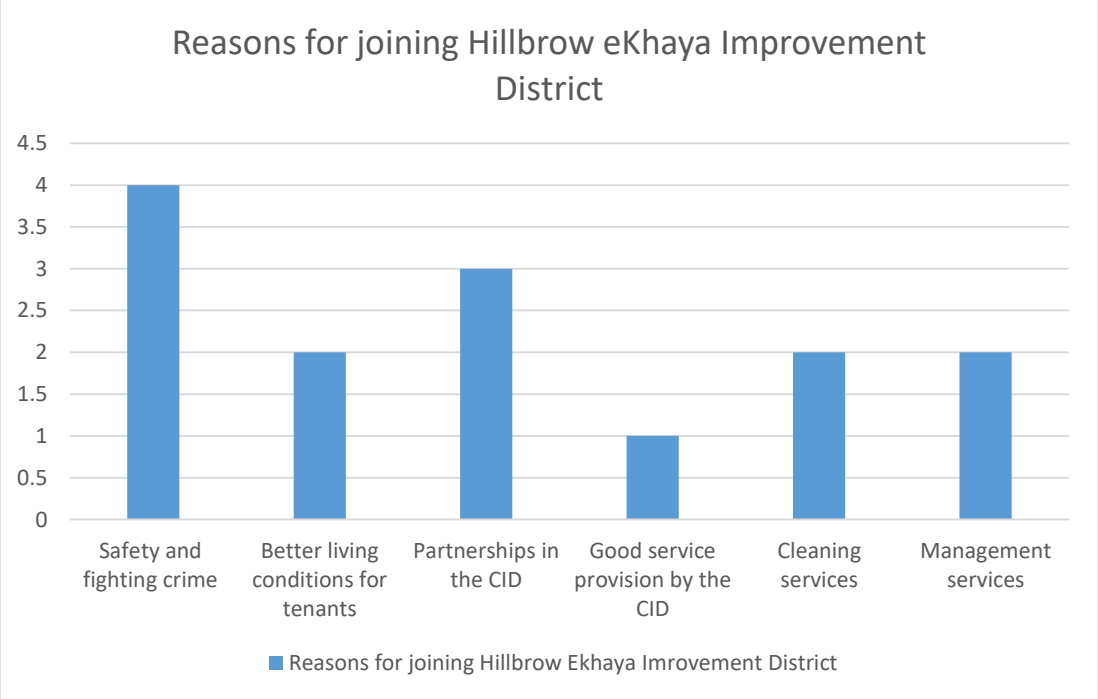


Figure 12: Bar graph showing reasons for joining Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

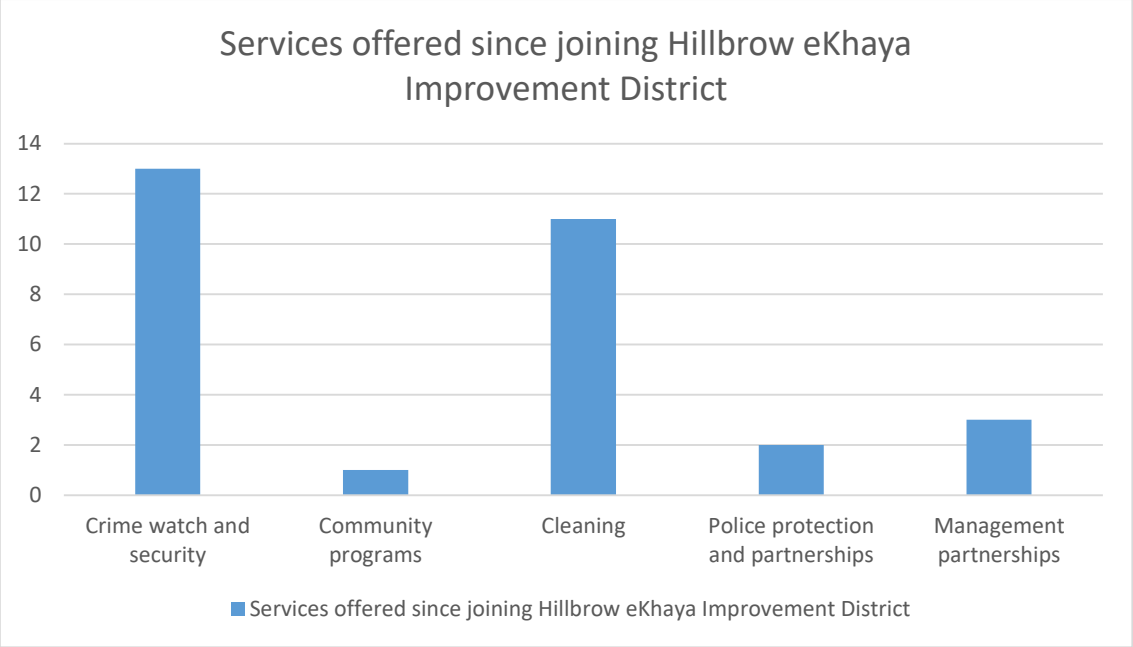


Figure 13: Bar graph showing services offered since joining Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.6 Activities participated in the improvement district

The respondents participate in activities offered by the improvement district on occasion. They indicate that these activities provided a vision for them and hence affected their buildings and properties positively. The activities they participated in included meetings in the improvement district, cleaning activations, community volunteering, and sporting activities held during various times of the year, as per Figure 14 below. Some respondents also provided services to the improvement district, such as entertainment. The activities they participated in improved businesses, community participation, building coordination, and cleaning around their properties, as per Figure 15. The vision with which the participants were associated, as shown in Figure 16 below, included a sense of safety and place, environmental improvement, good management practice and oversight, and peace of mind.

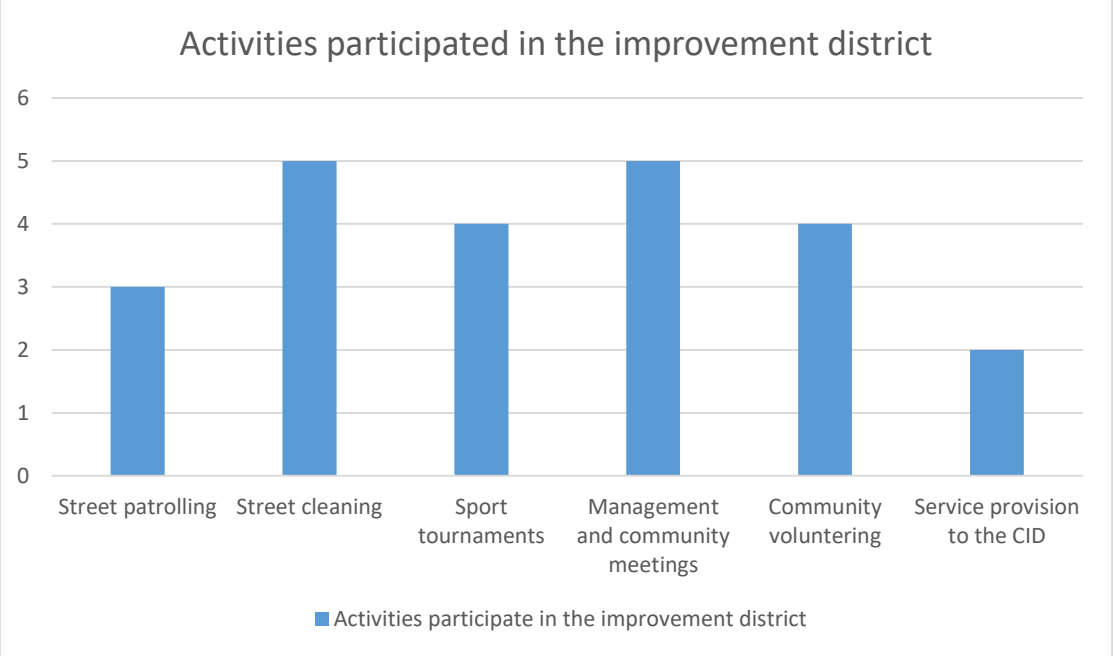


Figure 14: Bar graph showing activities participated in Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

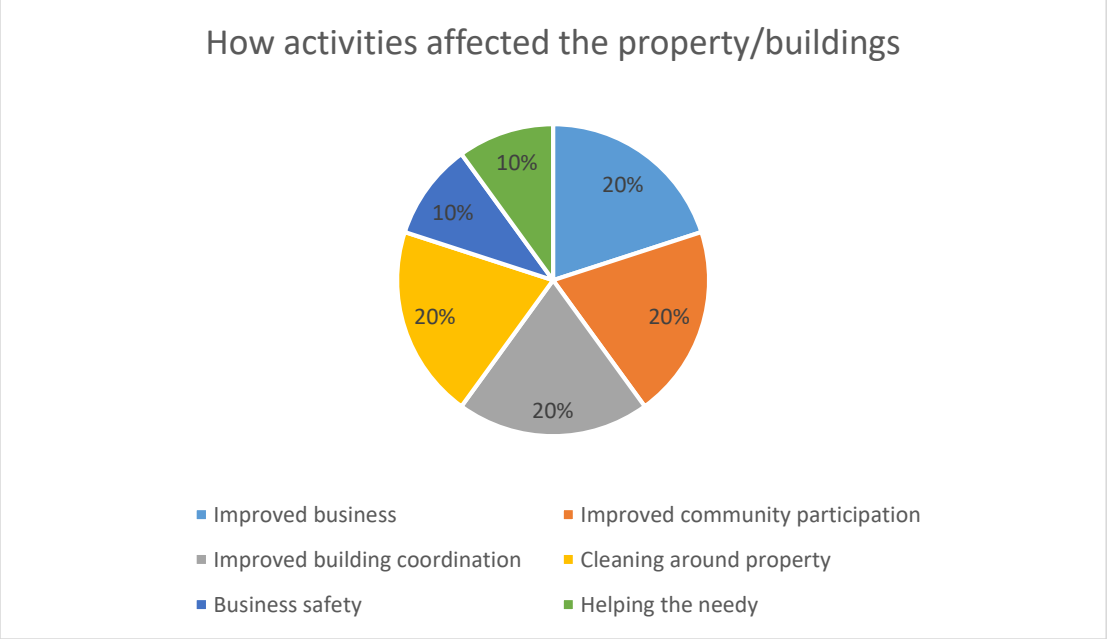


Figure 15: Pie chart showing how activities have affected the properties/buildings

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

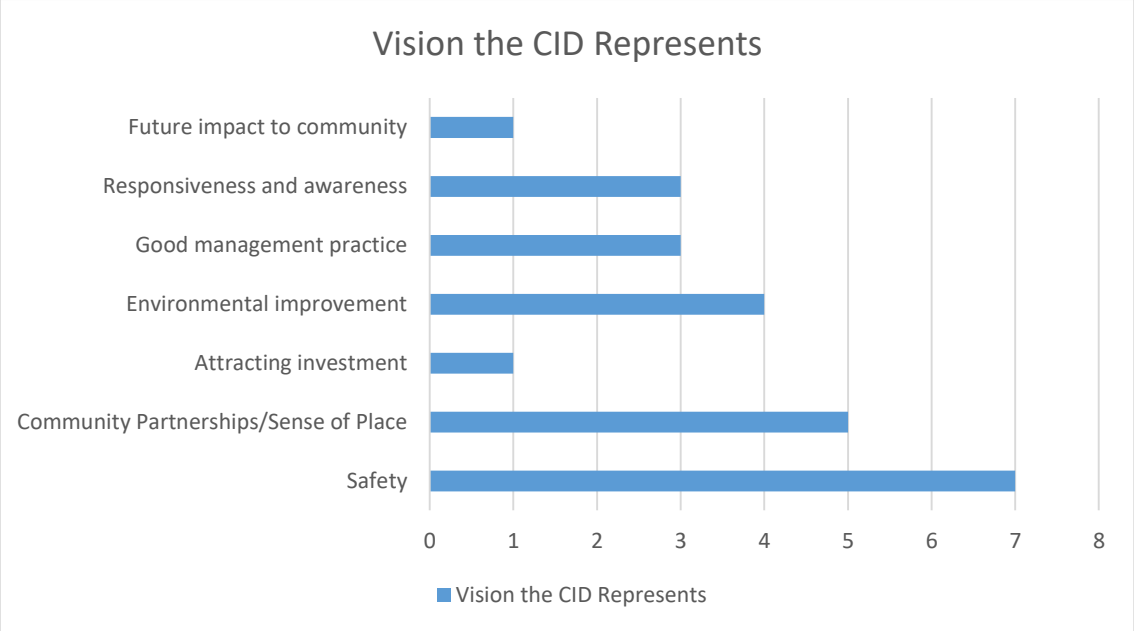


Figure 16: Line graph showing the vision the improvement district represents

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.7 Improvement of service since joining the district

Members of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District enjoy assorted services offered to them by management. These services have reached their level of expectation and satisfaction since joining the improvement district, as shown in Figure 17 and Figure 18. They include reduced crime, safer daily street walking, clean streets, networking, and a shared value of responsibility. Their best features of living in this locality are their partnerships with various institutions and their accessibility to services. However, the respondents still look forward to major improvements in the provision of crime watch, the issue of street children, and overcrowding because of the high population. They recommend increased partnerships with law enforcement agencies, community patrol, and community engagement to be able to curb these challenges. They also recommend the municipality take accountability for abandoned buildings in their vicinity that harbour families and other vices. The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has been able to mitigate some of these challenges by partnering with volunteer organizations, recruiting the community for clean-up services, and providing security to be able to deliver a safer Hillbrow.

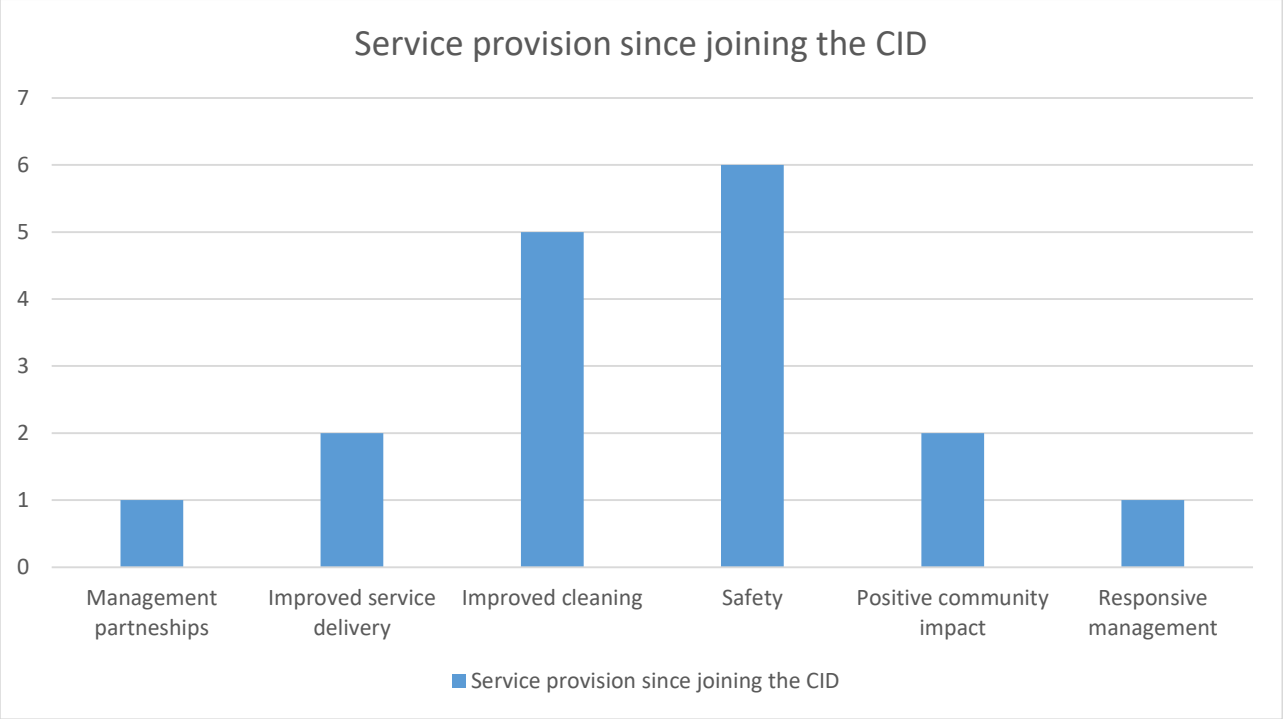


Figure 17: Bar graph showing service provision in the improvement district

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

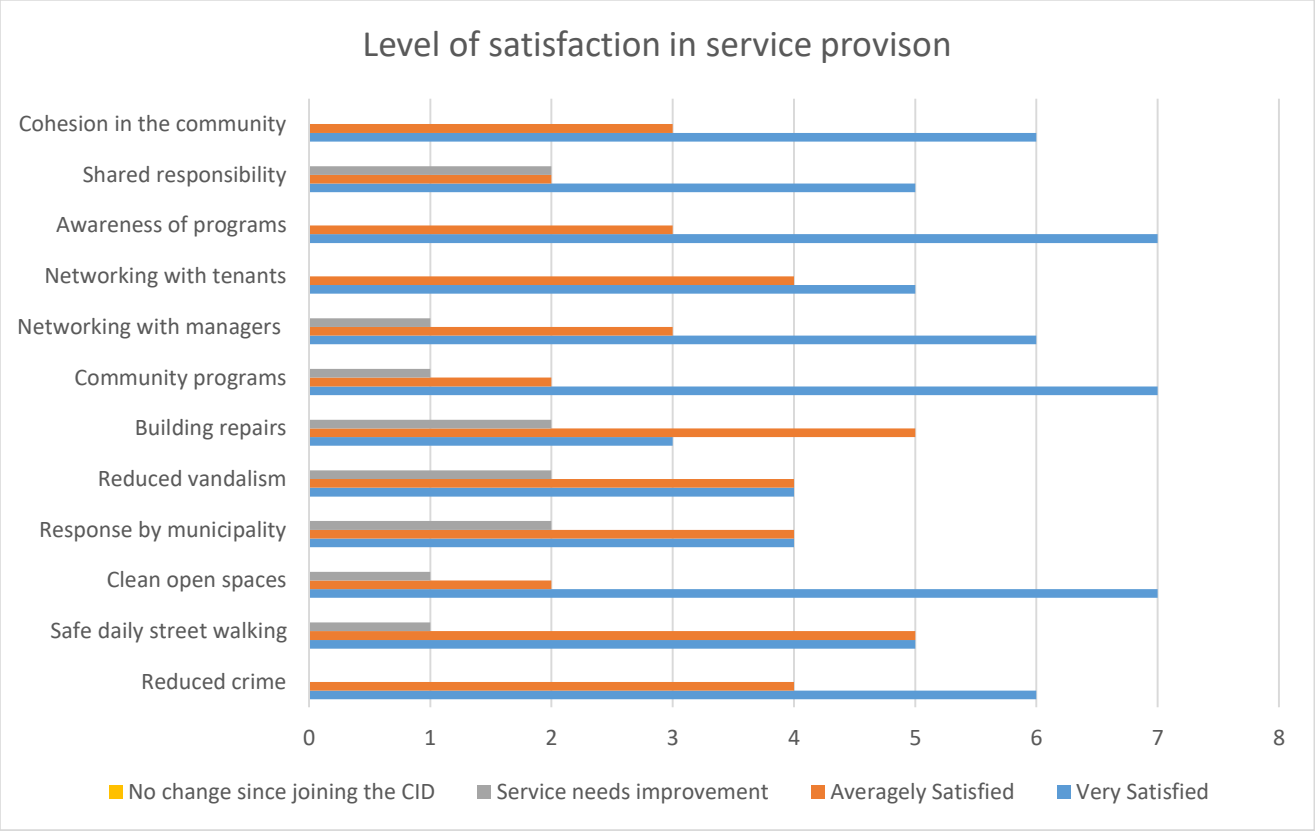


Figure 18: Line graph showing the level of satisfaction with service provision

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

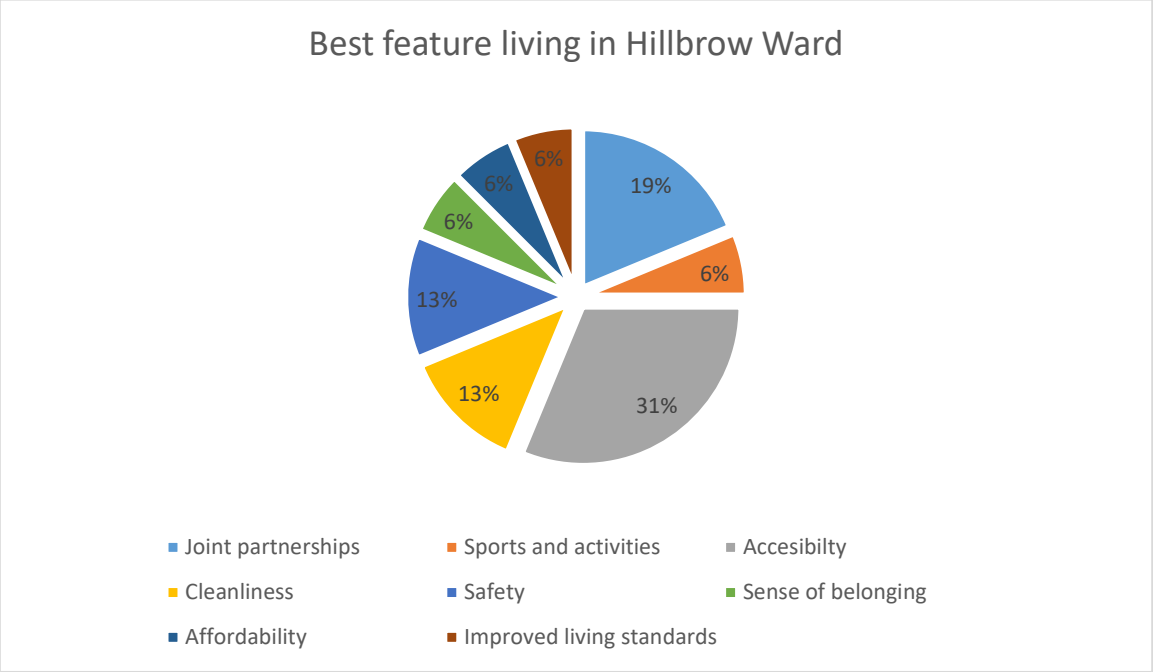


Figure 19: Pie chart showing the best features living in Hillbrow Ward

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

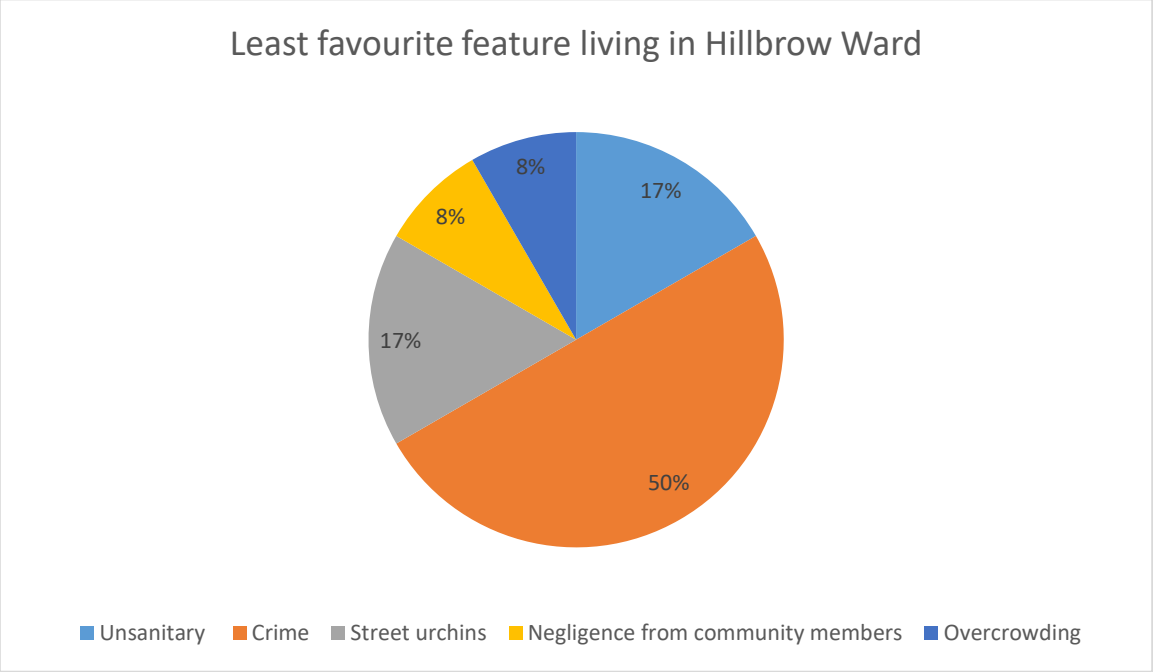


Figure 20: Pie chart showing the least favourite feature in Hillbrow Ward

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

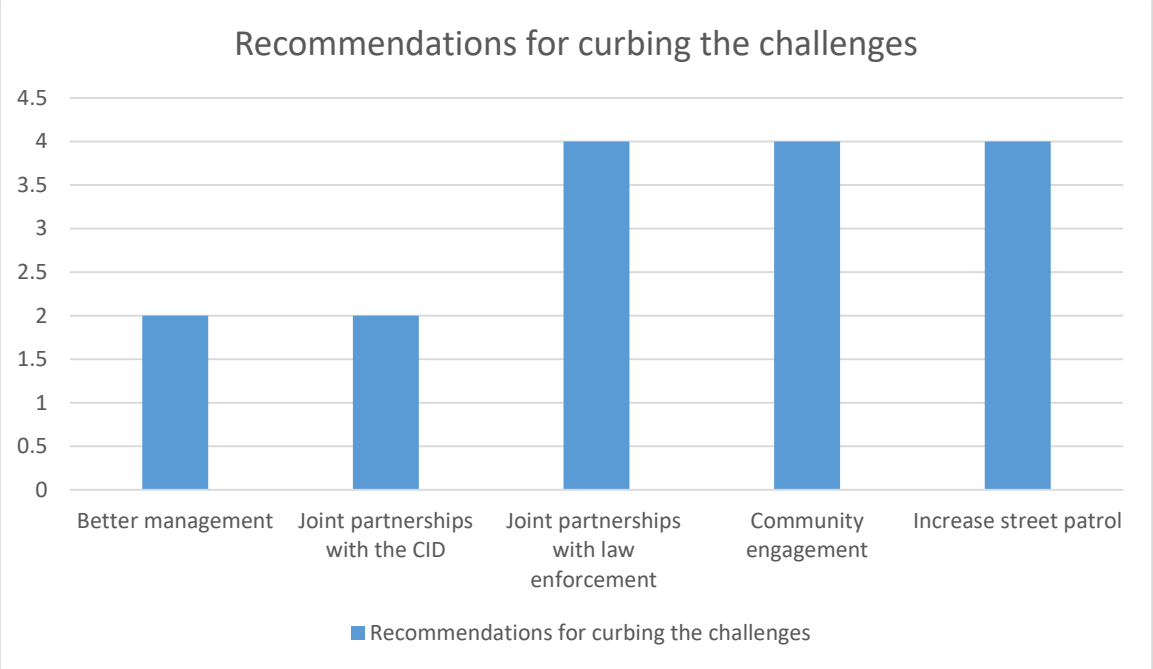


Figure 21: Bar graph showing recommendations for curbing the challenges

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

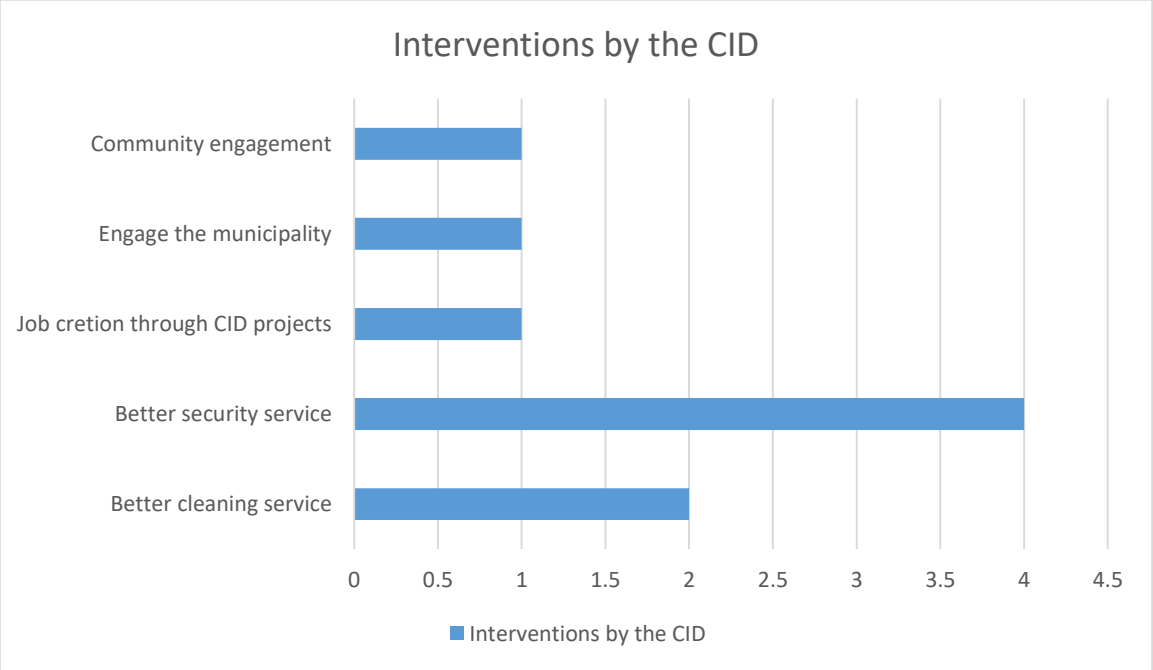


Figure 22: Line graph showing interventions by the improvement district

Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.2.8 Key informant findings for the improvement district

The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has the role of management and oversight in the maintenance of buildings, security, cleaning services, and partnerships on behalf of the residents and their buildings. The improvement district has a precinct plan that is currently in use and a board of directors governing the property owners. The improvement district is in partnership with the municipality and the Hillbrow police service to undertake various services. Other partnerships include banks, various non-governmental organizations, and volunteer institutions, notably the MES and the Outreach Foundation.

The management of the district advocates for public spaces to be put to positive use. The eKhaya Park, for example, which was reclaimed and redesigned, is now used to host various activities. The improvement district also reserves the parks for community development. The management runs on voluntary membership and strives to have more members benefit from their outreach programs and partnerships. To run various activities, the member buildings pay levies to sustain the improvement district. Notably, the improvement district collaborates with the City of Johannesburg through the Johannesburg Development Agency and assists in managing investments in place and protecting these projects from vandalism. This is to enable the prosperity of these projects in the future. In strengthening these projects, the improvement district has increased security by patrolling the streets, conducting surveillance through street cameras, providing technological assistance, and encouraging community development through community programs and awareness projects. The major problems facing the improvement district are delayed service delivery from the municipality and various agencies in the event of an issue, the neglect of old infrastructure that poses a threat to service provision, and the increased environmental challenge of illegal dumping.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.3.1 Physical Structural Attributes

The buildings within the improvement district are well-maintained and rarely face structural issues. The shared building spaces of participating members are also well maintained by cleaning, and the tenants who were sampled were satisfied with the level of service. Figure 23 shows a street maintained by the district, and Figure 24 shows a shared alley between two properties maintained by the street.

Figure 23: Picture showing Kapteijn Street managed by the improvement district



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 24: Picture showing a shared Alley between two residential buildings



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Most of the respondents have been members of the improvement district in the last six years, including members of the eKhaya Neighbourhood Programme, and encourage their tenants to volunteer for cleaning services around their spaces. This is evidenced by resident 6, who indicates:

> "Most properties have joined eKhaya so that they are not left out in the development and maintenance of safety and cleaning activities." (Resident 6, 2022, interviewee)

The major structural deficiency observed from the fieldwork and key informant interviews is the presence of old and unmaintained buildings, some of which are abandoned or hijacked. This is evidenced by Figure 25, which shows a hijacked building with tenants occupying this space. Figure 26 shows an abandoned building on Pretoria Street.

Figure 25: Picture showing a hijacked building with tenants living in it



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 26: Picture showing an abandoned building on Pretoria Street



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

However, from observation and reconnaissance visits with key informants KY1 and KY3, as listed in Appendix B of the report, the shared spaces of buildings and streets require more cleaning services. This is because there is increased littering, especially in areas that are unserved by the improvement district, which the respondents termed a result of the presence of street families. These spaces are dependent on *Pikitup*, the official waste service provider for the city, for their street cleaning and sanitation services. There is a perceived increase in littering in these areas, as individuals have a 'no care attitude' towards littering, which eventually becomes an eyesore. Littering has had eventual consequences, such as the blocking of utility access holes, sewer systems, and other road infrastructure that was observed. The figure below shows a water pipe burst because of littering, observed during a maintenance check.

Figure 27: Picture showing a burst water pipe due to blocked utility access holes from improper waste management



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

As noted by the author, there is a need for continuous awareness of the effect of littering and the cost of maintenance from both the City of Johannesburg and the improvement district to the residents in the neighbourhood. The abandoned buildings within Hillbrow Ward also require a deeper review and analysis of their maintenance costs and eventual elimination. As seen in the efforts of the Johannesburg Development Agency, inner city areas are improved through additional investments to support services in these areas, especially in infrastructure (City of Johannesburg, 2007). It was observed that some buildings had inhabitable conditions, such as flooded basements, which cause revenue losses to the city, according to the key informant KY1, and this endangers the living conditions of residents who occupy these spaces. Abandoned buildings are present due to historical issues and are perceived as crime hideouts, as per key informant KY3. The Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007) proposed the eradication of unmaintained buildings by the year 2015; however, that has only seen very few of the abandoned buildings demolished to date. It is important to note that this affects the management structure of the improvement district as the spaces face unprecedented littering from unwatched areas, as seen in the broken windows theory by Wilson and Kelling (1982). The physical structures are only beneficial to the member buildings in the improvement district when maintained.

According to the neighbourhood concept approach, an ideal neighbourhood has structured organizational capacity, quality of life, convenience, human association, order, citizen participation in activities, the identity of space, and its culture. According to residents 7 and 18, the neighbourhood has had organizational capacity through the improvement district, and they are confident in its management. They believe that the continued partnerships will be beneficial to creating a positive vision for them.

> "The continued working relationship between the community and eKhaya will bring long-lasting solutions." (Resident 7, 2022, interviewee)

> "I appeal to the Hillbrow community to be part of eKhaya because when we join hands, we will have a safe and clean environment." (Resident 18, 2022, interviewee)

5.3.2 Social Networks and Improved Forms of Belonging

The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has a goal of creating lasting partnerships with their buildings and various stakeholders in the city administration as well as the private sector, as highlighted by key informant KY1, who is involved with daily inspections and building forums. There has been a long-standing relationship, as per the sampled respondents, between the Hillbrow Police Station and the private security service (Bad Boys Security Company) in collaboration with the improvement district on security issues. This partnership has seen an increase in street crime watch and reporting. There has been increased vigilance within Hillbrow with respect to this collaboration, with each street being able to have a watcher as well as round-the-clock patrolling services. There are efforts to increase street cameras for technological assistance in crime reporting. As reviewed in the broken window theory, the concept of public order in shared spaces is brought about through crime watch, and watched spaces have lower crime levels and order in them. This has improved partnerships with the police service, tenants, and buildings within the improvement district.

The Inner City Regeneration Charter has the goal of improving safety in high-density areas of the city, such as Hillbrow Ward. The charter proposes safety for economic activities and social spheres to improve the quality of life of residents in inner city areas, especially at nodes that experience high traffic. However, there are limited resources from the police service and

increased demand in inner city areas (Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). This has encouraged efforts by the improvement district to create new partnerships to effectively fight crime.

The improvement district has also been able to engage tenants and residents in volunteer activities within their area. They volunteer for clean-ups and sports activities such as soccer. There are plans to upgrade to gym activities in the future, as per key informant KY2. The district has been able to collaborate with other non-governmental organizations, such as MES and the Outreach Foundation, whose members participate in cleaning services and volunteering. This is done as a way of rehabilitation from drug abuse and other social ills, as mentioned by key informant KY2, who is actively involved in these activities with member buildings. The improvement district, according to the respondents, also creates a sense of belonging through its name, 'eKhaya' which means home, and despite their various backgrounds, residents can view this as their place of daily life. It is noteworthy to mention that this partnership style of management has eased the interaction for various actors as they hold building meetings and forums to keep abreast of any activities and volunteer members.

Moreover, the district has increased responsiveness and participation with the various levels of actors, such as security organizations, tenants, buildings, and other stakeholders, such as housing cooperatives. This, therefore, presents an improved level of contribution that each player makes to the overall space and their assigned service. The neighbourhood also had notable features of accessibility, interactions, and participation in activities in the district, creating a culture and sense of belonging. Figure 28 below shows a cleaning service on a street by volunteers within the improvement district in partnership with *Pikitup.*

Figure 28: Picture showing a cleaning service on the street



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.3.3 Shared Recreation, Social Amenities, and Social Cohesion

The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has seen growth through new buildings, creating strong cohesion. This cohesion is further strengthened by sharing recreation facilities that are in use for community development. The eKhaya Park is a fitting example of a physical space that was regenerated into a public space with other areas such as El Kero Park (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, 2021). As per key informant KY1, the park was initially a hideout for criminals and gangs and is now a haven for community activities such as sports days for the Hillbrow residents. This shared cohesion between the management and residents has seen the proper use of time for children, which has kept them off drugs and street loitering, as per key informant KY2. This is because the residents regularly participate in soccer games held at the park in association with the housing cooperatives in the district. This public space is also used for other community activities to create a sense of belonging for anyone in the neighbourhood, thereby reducing the anonymity experienced through crime. The figure below shows eKhaya Park, maintained by the improvement district.

Figure 29: Picture showing eKhaya Park which is maintained by the improvement district



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

As indicated by key informant KY1, the shared amenities, including schools, hospitals, and commercial areas, have seen a rise in activity, hence the bustling state of the neighbourhood. The improvement district has been able to thrive through public space management and partnering with these entities on neighbourhood matters. It has continued to protect public spaces with a round-the-clock guard who has oversight of the park and further assists children in crossing into the park. This has promoted public use of the space. It will be key to note that the Just City approach proposes equal access to shared spaces for diversity and socializing. The eKhaya Park has been a terrific addition to the creation of democratic use of space and diversity mixing in a safe manner. Being in the inner city, this space is crucial for community development and interaction. The figures below show other shared amenities observed on reconnaissance visits that encourage social mixing, including a taxi rank, a market, hospitals, and trading activities on the street.

Figure 30: Picture showing a taxi rank



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 31: Picture showing Hillbrow Market



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 32: Picture showing Informal trading activity on Claim Street



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 33: Picture showing Esselen Hospital



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

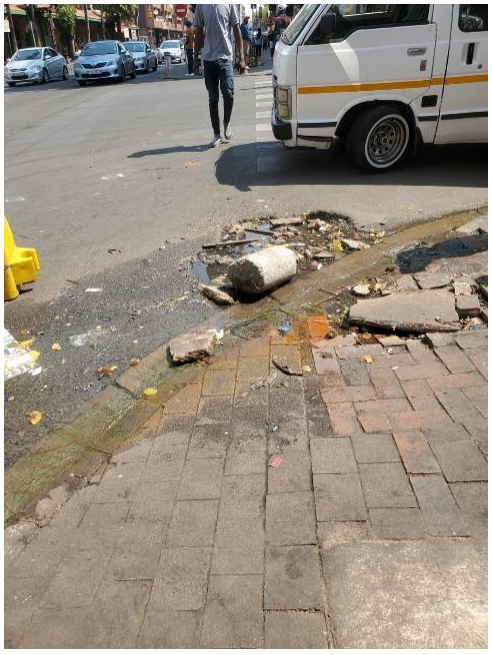
The streets are also open spaces for social interaction and bring forth the character of the space through street furniture, including trees, signage, and walkable areas. As per key informant KY3, some streets that are unmanaged by the improvement district have seen increased rates of crime and disorder. This has deteriorated the nature and character of various streets, making them unpassable, and has further diminished the perception of the neighbourhood. Figure 34 below shows a street with maintained street furniture, while Figure 35 shows destroyed furniture in a walking space.

Figure 34: Picture showing maintained street furniture



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 35: Picture showing destroyed street furniture and walk spaces



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

5.3.4 Localised Urban Management Strategies

The improvement district has an elaborate management personnel system that has a representative neighbourhood coordinator, building managers employed by various housing companies, a security personnel system, and a street cleaning service. The oversight management is done by Urban Space Management, which forms part of the board of directors and has a precinct plan in place. The neighbourhood coordinator representative is available throughout to understand and solve any resident concerns. The coordinator, together with the building managers, in collaboration with the security personnel, are tasked with conducting weekly inspections of streets to ensure that order is maintained. This also enables management to spot any physical damage to public facilities, ongoing projects, cleaning, and security concerns. The effective administration of these spaces has led to the maintenance of infrastructure and basic services. It has in turn reduced urban decay and unsustainable use of spaces within the area. The visibility of the coordinator ensures the building of trust.

The Inner City Regeneration Charter of 2007 recommends the creation of partnerships with improvement districts to effectively record, collect data, and respond in time to urban management issues. However, this is yet to be established, as some of the Hillbrow Ward residents rely heavily on the improvement district to report any issues to the city. The capacity to respond to abandoned old buildings is inadequate, as the area is grappling with these buildings that pose a threat to the management systems in place. The management has been able to identify the major issue in the area as the abandoned and hijacked buildings that harbour criminal activities. This has encouraged the improvement district to work towards public order by focusing on reporting and solving daily issues for better living in the area. More management tools, according to resident 12, are required to be in place to strengthen the practices and focus on ensuring an improved quality of life in addition to public order through cleaning and security.

> “The vision that Hillbrow can be improved again can attract investment and make it a better place than before. The connection between the various institutions, like the police, is working wonders to keep us believing in change, and we hope the building managers’ forum will continue with the efforts.” (Resident 12, 2022, interviewee)

5.3.5 Social Deficiencies, Exclusion and Vulnerability

The neighbourhood faces visual clutter from littered streets, disorderly street vending on some streets, and vulnerable groups in public spaces. The improvement district provides cleaning services to its participating buildings, rendering other streets with illegal dumping as observed during reconnaissance visits. This relegates the process of the improvement district to implementing services on its part, hence the exclusionary process of service provision. There is increased homelessness and the loss of parking lots and other street furniture on streets that are unwatched. The vulnerable and homeless have made temporary homes in the streets not managed by the improvement district. This creates an impassable street for daily walking for other residents, as indicated by key informant KY3. It also contributes to increased homelessness as they continue to take over the space with no oversight by any authorities. As mentioned by the sampled residents, this has created unhealthy public spaces that are undesirable for day-to-day living. Figure 36 below shows a street with managed buildings and maintained street furniture, while Figure 37 shows a street with unmanaged buildings. In line with the ethical procedures of the report, there is limited documentation on the streets taken over by street families and vulnerable identities without their consent.

Figure 36: Picture showing a street with managed buildings and maintained street furniture



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 37: Picture showing a street with unmanaged buildings



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

As these vulnerable people are in open spaces, they are excluded from the management process as they have no representation due to limited access to resources. For buildings adjacent to these streets, this has caused a negative perception of the area. This has also created a loss of parking lot space and other street furniture. The space creates crime hotspots that can harbour offenders who threaten the residents living within their vicinity, as per key informant KY3. The neighbourhood may eventually lose its environmental aesthetic and investment opportunities through this structure of living. This is evidenced by building manager BM2, who indicates:

> "The property developers seem to be losing interest due to the high crime rate." (Building Manager, BM2, 2022, interviewee)

5.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter has brought out the research findings in charts, graphs, and photographs to understand the current social and spatial aspects of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District. The research had the primary goal of assessing the effectiveness of rejuvenating the urban environment. To achieve this, the author conducted a comprehensive

investigation, which included data collection, field surveys, reconnaissance visits, and interviews involving stakeholders connected to the improvement district. The collected and analyzed data was from a sample of 30 participants. The standout accomplishments of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District were the increased sense of safety and security, streetscape improvements including cleaner streets, well-maintained public spaces, and successfully fostering community engagement and participation.

The analysis of the findings has been outlined in five themes: physical structural attributes, social networks, social amenities, localised urban management strategies, and social deficiencies. The broken window theory links physical structural attributes, social networks, and social amenities to public order and reduced crime. Policing strategies are crucial, and the theory recognizes the role of community perceptions, environmental conditions, and social and structural deficiencies in influencing crime rates and the safety of the improvement district. The neighbourhood concept approach links the physical and social elements of neighbourhoods, highlighting the importance of both in shaping residents' experiences. It recognizes neighbourhoods as dynamic social-spatial concepts that evolve based on community practices. The just city approach links diversity, democracy, and equity to urban management, acknowledging the need for inclusive and diverse neighbourhoods while recognizing the potential negative effects of diversification, the importance of democratic decision-making, and the pursuit of equity in service provision.

All three approaches recognize the importance of public order, cleanliness, and community involvement in urban management. They advocate for the active participation of residents and local authorities in creating and maintaining safe and vibrant urban spaces and the importance of inclusivity in creating a thriving area while acknowledging and addressing the potential negative consequences of exclusion. Despite these accomplishments, some challenges persist, including the need for continued investments to sustain improvements and address long-term maintenance requirements. The improvement district has tailored strategies to its specific needs and characteristics while recognizing its flexibility to adapt to these management strategies accordingly, contributing to its long-term success. The regular assessment and monitoring of streets, considering both physical and social indicators, has been an essential strategy for effective urban management. This includes reporting issues such as abandoned

buildings, homelessness, and vulnerable populations, as well as promoting shared amenities and recreation spaces. The continued collaboration between local authorities, community organizations, private stakeholders, and residents has been vital to the successful implementation of urban management strategies and collective efforts and partnerships to address diverse challenges within the district.

Additionally, there is ongoing work to ensure that the benefits of the district revitalization efforts are inclusive through the various agencies and policies in place. These findings will be key to understanding the broader implications and significance of the improvement district and the space it manages. These results emphasize the significance of comparable endeavours aimed at rejuvenating urban regions and enhancing the overall quality of life for both residents and businesses. Sustained success for the district will hinge on ongoing support, collaboration, and the availability of various resources.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the author aims to provide a summary of findings based on the objectives and hypotheses of the study. The conclusions from the findings have enabled the author to draw insights and contexts from the study and its synthesis.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has been engaged in several initiatives and collaborative partnerships to enhance the well-being and development of the Hillbrow community. These initiatives and partnerships reflect a commitment to addressing the unique challenges faced by this area and promoting positive change. These partnerships have enabled the improvement district to leverage resources, expertise, and community engagement to address the complex challenges and opportunities in the Hillbrow area. Some key collaborative partnerships in the improvement district include safety and security initiatives, clean-up campaigns, social amenities and services, and support through volunteer programs and collaborative management forums.

The summary of findings is as per the sub-objectives below that are based on the main objective of evaluating the contribution of city improvement districts in responding to the broader local and city-wide transformation initiatives.

6.2.1 Sub-objective One:

To examine the management mechanisms in use to realize the vision of city improvement districts: a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District

The main management mechanisms of the improvement district are drawn from the key informant interviews, who run daily routine maintenance and inspections and report issues to the city management and their respective departments. The mechanisms were compiled through observation and reconnaissance visits during the fieldwork, with insights from the coordinators and security personnel representatives in the improvement district. They include:

a) Maintenance of buildings and protection of government infrastructure from vandalism through street camera surveillance and security watch
b) Reporting issues to government agencies in the City of Johannesburg.
c) Oversight on crime and partnership with security government agencies such as the Hillbrow Police Department
d) Cleaning of streets by community members in conjunction with *Pikitup.*
e) Community coordination through community programmes organized by non-governmental organizations such as the MES and the Outreach Foundation, hence an increased sense of place
f) Maintenance of public spaces such as eKhaya Park
g) Understanding and reporting public health concerns about inhabitable buildings and littered spaces in the city to state agencies
h) Reporting the loss of street furniture that has been overtaken by street trading and homeless shelters

6.2.2 Sub-objective Two:

To examine the current social-spatial structures that alternatively support transformation initiatives in city improvement districts: a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District.

The current social-spatial structures exemplify the wide-ranging social-spatial frameworks within the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District that actively contribute to its continual transformation efforts. By harnessing these frameworks, the district has effectively been able to confront intricate urban challenges while simultaneously advancing inclusiveness, cooperation, and a shared sense of belonging among its residents and stakeholders. They are summarised below:

6.2.2.1 Community Collaborative Partnerships

In the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District, grassroots community organizations and collectives have emerged as influential social-spatial entities. These entities actively involve residents, local businesses, and stakeholders in identifying and tackling critical matters like safety, public amenities, and cultural activities. This involvement cultivates a sense of ownership and community pride within the neighbourhood. Collaborations involving public

institutions, private enterprises, and community leaders have become essential components of transformation initiatives. These partnerships facilitate the sharing of resources, the allocation of funding, and the execution of collective projects with the goal of rejuvenating urban areas and stimulating economic growth.

Non-governmental organizations' programs centred on youth play a pivotal role in facilitating positive change. These initiatives involve young residents in skill development, mentorship, and community service endeavours, fostering the growth of future leaders and champions for transformation. Building managers' forums serve a crucial function in the organization and mobilization of both residents and businesses. These forums enable seamless communication and the distribution of information regarding events and projects, offering a platform for exchanging feedback and engaging in discussions, thereby reinforcing a sense of community. Figure 38 and 39 below show the partnership between the improvement district and the City of Johannesburg state agency while fixing a water issue on Claim Street and the street with its furniture.

Figure 38: Picture showing the fixing of a water issue on Claim Street



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

Figure 39: Picture showing Claim Street



Source: Fieldwork, 18/09/2022

The current structure of management in the improvement district is focused on partnerships with the state, stakeholders, and the community as per neighbourhood management. This form of partnership is seen as beneficial for all the actors involved and has improved the living conditions in the area. However, there needs to be more effort to integrate all the actors involved in urban spaces. These range from the housing, social, environmental, economic, energy, and security sectors, which play various roles in the improvement district. This will ensure that the improvement district will be a corrective response to spatial structures and management mechanisms and focus on all aspects of the spaces. This will reduce undesired features, apart from grime and crime, while also increasing investment in the improvement district. The actors involved may require further partnerships to ensure the service is well performed and that it is not overwhelming to the actor providing the service.

The sampled residents and building managers proposed an increase in oversight and security for projects in the area. This will ensure confidence in the investments and protect monetary input already in place from vandalism. As per the sampled respondents, security and cleaning were the most valued aspects of the area; hence, more investments in the area need to be audited to understand the existing projects and the future of the area with both the

improvement district and the local administration. This will strengthen collaboration and improve channels of communication with the state on resources in the area to reduce losses. One of the building managers mentioned that:

> "Continued working relationships between the community and Hillbrow eKhaya District to provide information on these resources will create lasting solutions, and the agencies involved cannot work alone without assistance from the community to report these issues." (Building Manager, BM8, 2022, interviewee)

The key informant KY1 also highlighted that the process of leadership in the improvement district requires leaders who understand the process of management with a view to procedures related to entrepreneurial skills and who will be able to satisfy the expectations of the social, economic, and political class alike without relegating development. As per the key informant interviews, the current leadership in place is well-equipped to understand urban issues and how planning and management are core to them, despite various actors and interests. However, this requires the training of new individuals in the future who can take over and tackle issues in these spaces. The management is well versed and carries a wealth of information about the area, especially about various projects that have led to the success of the improvement district, and these will be great to improve the area drastically. This creates a sharp vision for the district for managing vertical and horizontal structural leadership issues.

6.2.2.2 Physical Infrastructure, Green Spaces and Urban Parks

The establishment and rejuvenation of green spaces and urban parks have brought about a significant alteration in the district's physical landscape. These locations function as communal meeting points, enhance physical health, and stimulate social interactions, ultimately nurturing a feeling of togetherness and collective responsibility for the environment. One of the building managers mentions:

> "I love the spirit that is prevailing amongst members of the forums to better the area, such as the building managers' forum and the soccer tournaments at the park." (Building Manager, BM5, 2022, interviewee)

The revitalization of shared spaces through cleaning has improved living standards. The building managers propose the need for new strategies on the environmental impact of urban spaces and their current coverage. The spaces within the improvement district that are unwatched are facing deterioration and loss of aesthetic value due to increased pollution, reduced levels of air quality, and the loss of furniture that is critical in defining urban spaces and shared streets. This requirement also requires a review of public health planning requirements and increased awareness of waste management.

Moreover, as per the key informants, there is a need to review the unaccountability of abandoned buildings and their relationship to the structural issues in the improvement district. As there are various policy interventions related to abandoned buildings and spaces in the Inner-Regeneration Charter (2007) and the Inner City Housing Implementation Plan (2018), the informants are keen that these policies will continue to support the implementation of environmental and social facilities, infrastructure, and public space upgrades. This will be critical to safeguarding resources and reducing crime that is perceived to be associated with these buildings. There is a further call for a public health assessment of these buildings and the residents living in them. There is an obligation for its continuity, which will be beneficial in promoting the physical attributes of space while also safeguarding the freedom of spaces from degradation.

Some alternatives from building managers suggest that there is a thorough requirement for land use controls to provide improved physical attributes in areas identified as threats to surrounding areas, especially abandoned or hijacked buildings. A hijacked building, according to the City of Johannesburg (2007), is one where the property has no rightful owner or management in place, one where tenants are not paying up the levies required to maintain it, or one where the levies collected are misappropriated, leading to the discontinuation of services by the city. They propose that to solve this, reinforcement of the policies on abandoned buildings needs to be reviewed and implemented to understand the status of tax and fee systems, public and state improvement status, and their acquisition status. This will ensure the policies in place for housing needs are monitored and implemented to address gaps that are giving rise to abandoned and hijacked buildings that pose great danger to their managed buildings and the public spaces around them.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FINDINGS

In summary, the findings reflect the hypothesis and research questions of the research study that are used to assess and determine the associated contributions of city improvement districts and how they interact with environments where social groups live. Furthermore, it includes how the spaces are characterized to fit management processes.

The hypothesis fits the research report that improvement districts impact management processes positively on social and spatial aspects. It is important to note that this is specifically a social capital tool of management. The hypothesis also supports the idea that city improvement districts can be useful as management mechanisms that support local authorities to positively impact the functionality of urban spaces. This is because the respondents reported increased clean spaces and security investments to improve their daily experiences. The respondents also attributed the success to increased partnerships that elevated volunteering activities and recreational support through soccer and cleaning campaigns. The case study was able to draw out the aspects of management in place, such as the method used in running activities that included daily inspection by coordinators, building manager forums, community meetings, and security drills for round-the-clock crime watch. The management also attributes its success to the support received from various government agencies, such as the Hillbrow Police Service Station, which has partnered with them to increase public safety.

The main research goal was to evaluate the associated contributions and responsiveness of city improvement districts in promoting positive socio-spatial structures and management processes in the City of Johannesburg. It is important to note that the improvement district maintains the physical attributes of these spaces through street cleaning and building maintenance throughout their member buildings. The infrastructure in place was well maintained, and individual buildings also had defensible spaces to further protect their own shared spaces from intruders. The improvement district also ensured the protection of the aesthetic quality of the environment through daily cleaning and management. The coordinator and other representatives of the improvement district, along with other building managers, keenly monitor their spaces to ensure daily management regulations are consistent with their internal standards and policies for the maintenance of existing infrastructure.

The current socio-spatial structures associated with the improvement districts are based on infrastructure, green spaces, collaborative management, and social capital. Additionally, it includes the improvement of the physical and structural management of infrastructure, improving forms of partnerships and accountability, the process of leadership, and the provision of services that align with it.

According to sub-question two, the research report has extensively determined that the Hillbrow eKhaya city improvement district and its management process have positively impacted the neighbourhood by creating safer areas, cleaner streets, resident participation, and partnerships with the local authorities. The positive impacts associated with them include:

a) Maintenance of buildings and protection of government infrastructure from vandalism
b) Reporting issues to government agencies
c) Oversight on crime and partnership with security government agencies
d) Cleaning of streets by community members that protects the aesthetic value of street furniture
e) Community coordination through community programmes
f) Maintenance of public goods such as eKhaya Park

However, some of the functions undertaken by the improvement district created a conflict in space use. For instance, areas that are not served by the improvement district saw an increase in the mushrooming of unlawful street settlements. As a result, there was a rise in neglect in some parts of this inner-city area and increased urban decay in such areas. Moreover, as per the key informants, other negative impacts of the improvement district exist because some of the areas have no participating member buildings, making them miss out on the additional services offered. They heavily rely on state-owned corporations for their services, such as cleaning. In some instances, there had been increased levels of dumping in streets and utility access holes. The negative impacts include:

a) Public health concerns about inhabitable buildings and littered spaces
b) Increased homelessness in streets that are unmanaged by the improvement district

c) The loss of spaces, such as parking lots and other street furniture, that have been overtaken by street trading and homeless shelters in these areas

This study aimed to investigate the role of city improvement districts and their mechanisms to positively impact management structures on space through a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District. The research shows that improvement districts play a pivotal role in not only enhancing the physical aspects of urban spaces but also in fostering a sense of community, safety, and identity. By pooling resources, knowledge, and efforts, property and business owners within these districts have exemplified the power of collective action in shaping the destiny of their neighborhoods. It is noteworthy that improvement districts hold the promise of further innovation and collaboration. The lessons from the study underline the importance of adaptability and inclusivity for the continued success of these districts. Moreover, the ability of improvement districts to bridge the gap between local authorities and communities, offering supplementary services and a shared vision for urban progress, remains a compelling model for urban development. The research suggests that space characteristics and residents' perceptions of their surroundings play a significant role in influencing management behavior. Furthermore, the case study is unique as it supports a bottom-up approach to management, making it a successful method approach. Nonetheless, further research is necessary to delve into the perceptions of local administrations and how they determine and inform urban planning decisions concerning these districts.

In conclusion, the chapter sums up the investigation into the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District and its capacity for management. It utilized interviews, questionnaire analysis, and on-site observations to examine how these factors relate to city improvement districts with a case study of Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District. The analysis revealed that the structure and management process in place significantly increased the livability of spaces where social groups live and their everyday activities. These findings emphasize the value of this management mechanism as a tool for neighbourhood management. This mechanism further evaluates specific features and helps understand complex relationships between people and the built environment. Field observations provided crucial insights that supported the analysis results, underscoring the importance of combining data from various sources. The author advocates for ongoing research, dialogue, and collaboration among stakeholders to ensure

that improvement districts continue to evolve, meet the dynamic needs of urban environments, and contribute to the creation of vibrant, resilient, and inclusive communities. It is worth embracing the belief that improvement districts will remain at the forefront of urban revitalization efforts, offering tangible hope for the continued enhancement of our cities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Focus	Interview Guide
Land Use	1. How long have you been in this area (Hillbrow)? _____Years 2. What factors made you settle at this location? i. Cost of property ii. Accessibility iii. Natural/Environmental Characteristics iv. Safety/Security v. Family ties vi. Other (specify) 3. What is the current use of the building you oversee? i. Residential ii. Commercial iii. Mixed-use use such as commercial and residential iv. Other (specify) 4. Has the use of your property changed or incorporated a new use in the last 5 years? a) Yes b) No If yes, specify the use and why
Management Processes and Service Provision	1) When did you join the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District…? (in years) 2) What reasons do you have for joining? 3) What services does the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District offer to you? 4) Does Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District show a vision that represents your interest? a) Yes b) No If so, which vision does it represent?

If not, which would you like it to represent?

5) Do you participate in the activities of the improvement district? a) Yes b) No

If yes, which ones?

If yes, how has the participation affected you or your property?

If yes, are you satisfied with the services offered by the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District?

If not, why?

6) Is there a significant difference in service provision that you have experienced since the establishment of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District? a) Yes b) No

If yes, which ones?

Please tick the appropriate response in areas to the services/outputs below and your satisfaction criteria

Service/ Output	*Very satisfied with the service*	*Averagely satisfied with the service*	*Service needs improvement*	
Reduced crime				
Safe movement in the street such as daily walking				
Cleaner streets and lanes				

	Cleaner open spaces such as parks, public areas				
	Upgrades of public spaces				
	More responsive repairing of effects such as by the municipality				
	Reduced vandalism such as streetlights				
	Increased public and private building repairs				
	Improve community programmes				
	Improved networks between building managers				
	Improved networks between building managers and tenants				
	Awareness of community activities				
	Shared management responsibilities such as eKhaya and the municipality departments				
	Cohesion with service providers such as security teams, cleaners				

	1) What do you consider your best feature living in this locality, and why? 2) What do you consider your least favourite feature or challenge of living in this locality and why? 3) What are your recommendations to curb these challenges in daily living experiences and processes in your area? 4) Do you believe that the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District has been able to mitigate these challenges? a) Yes b) No, If yes, how? 5) Are there developments that are not suitable for Hillbrow eKhaya in your opinion? a) Yes b) No If yes, which ones, and why?
Management structure in place	1. Is there a local advisory board for development in the CID? 2. Is there a precinct plan for the development of the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement District? a) Yes b) No If yes, is it in current use? 3. Are there any incompatible businesses carried out within Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement district? a) Yes b) No If yes, which ones? 4. Are there plans or moves to advocate for other land uses by the government? 5. Are there any levies paid on properties in Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement district for services provided? 6. Are there prioritized areas in the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement district reserved for future development? If yes, where? 7. Are there prioritized areas in the Hillbrow eKhaya Improvement district reserved for community development? If yes, where?

	8. What role does the CID play in the development of government projects and services? 9. What role does the CID play in the expansion of infrastructure to support development in the long term? 10. What is the role of the Improvement District concerning the following? (a) Urban development 11. What other institutions/public agencies are involved in the processes of regulating urban development in the improvement district? In addition, what is their role? 12. What problems/challenges do you face in the process of service provision in the improvement district? 13. What problems/challenges do you face in the process of advocating for urban development in the improvement district? 14. What are the positive development influences of the improvement district on the urban space? 15. What are the negative development influences of the improvement district on the urban space? 16. What are the prospects for the future development of the Hillbrow eKhaya improvement district? 17. What measures are you putting in place to accommodate the changes that will come about?

Appendix B

List of Interviews

Resident 1: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 12 September 2022

Resident 2: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 12 September 2022

BM 1: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 12 September 2022

Resident 3: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 14 September 2022

Resident 4: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 14 September 2022

BM 2: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 14 September 2022

KY 1: Representation for the improvement district, Johannesburg, 16 September 2022

Resident 5: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 19 September 2022

BM 3: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 19 September 2022

Resident 7: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 21 September 2022

BM 4: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 21 September 2022

Resident 8: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 22 September 2022

BM 5: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 22 September 2022

KY 2: Non-governmental organization representative, Johannesburg, 22 September 2022

Resident 9: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 5 October 2022

BM 6: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 5 October 2022

Resident 10: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 5 October 2022

BM 7: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 6 October 2022

Resident 11: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 6 October 2022

BM 8 Building Manager, Johannesburg, 7 October 2022

Resident 12: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 7 October 2022

BM 9: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 7 October 2022

Resident 13: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 7 October 2022

BM 9: Building Manager, Johannesburg, 10 October 2022

Resident 6: Flat Tenant, Johannesburg, 10 October 2022

KY3: Security representative, Johannesburg, 10 October 2022

List of meetings attended

1. Daily routine maintenance, Hillbrow Ward, Johannesburg, 12 September 2022
2. Neighbourhood Soccer Tournament, Hillbrow Ward, Johannesburg, 22 October 2022