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Dala Diana, Fleury

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Migrants and the urban regeneration of Rockey/Raleigh High Street in Yeoville: A case for a successful planning for diversity in inner-city of Johannesburg

Fleury Dala Diana

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg, 2008

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report in my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____
(Signature of candidate)

_____day of_____(year)_____

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research report is to assess the extent to which the City of Johannesburg is implementing the inner-city regeneration process with regard to social inclusion in this era of migration. The research is motivated by the current trend in planning which emphasizes the need to overcome the issue of diversity. Planners aim to contribute to create cities where human and social capital is pooled to pull the city out of decay and where different people from different cultural and historical backgrounds come to live together.

The research focuses on the case-study of Rockey/Raleigh High Street, the business hub in the suburban inner-city area of Yeoville. The area has been chosen because it is characterised by a high level of diversity and it is where migrant owners of all sorts of SMMEs trade. The research has collected data through interviews conducted with migrant business owners and representatives of the Yeoville Stakeholder Forum (YSF), the city agency JDA and the inner-city Forum. It has also used secondary data from survey research done by the University of the Witwatersrand, Tufts University and the French Institute of South Africa.

The findings of the research have been analyzed through the lens of planning theory and the criteria of mainly qualitative and quantitative methods. They show that the CoJ's commitment to urban regeneration that serves to celebrate and build on the diversity of social inclusion of the migrants in the inner city is less significant. The research recommends the strengthening of the relationships between the city council, the citizen action group and the migrants of Yeoville, the review of the conception of urban regeneration by the City Council and the building of social capital by the migrants.

DEDICATION

To all people involved in inner-city regeneration that really links people and places and creates that environment where African diversity is truly celebrated.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CBOs: Community-Based Organisations

CoJ: City of Johannesburg

JDA: Johannesburg Development Agency

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations

RRHS: Rockey/Raleigh High Street

SMME: Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises

YCDF: Yeoville Community Development Forum

YCF: Yeoville Community Forum

YDF: Yeoville Development Forum

YPF: Yeoville Police Forum

YSF: Yeoville Stakeholders Forum

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background

In the early 1990s, like the rest of South Africa, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), especially the inner city, went through transitions in economic, social, cultural and demographics. Whereas the early impact of this multi-facet transition of the CoJ's inner-city was economic decline, social disadvantage and physical degradation, the demography also shifted from mainly whites to blacks making the inner city a black-residential neighbourhood (Morris, 1999). It is important to include, in terms of the demographic reconfiguration, the foreign-born nationals whose influxes during the same period have made the inner city the destination of immigrants mainly from Southern Africa followed by Central Africa and West Africa (Morris, 1999; Landau, 2007).

The novel picture of inner city of Johannesburg appeared as an urgent urban challenge that needed an appropriate response from the CoJ. The response came from the 2000-2005 term mayoral priorities (City of Johannesburg, 2006) in which the Executive Mayor defines six priorities during his term of office. The inner city regeneration was the fifth priority. Through it, the City of Johannesburg is committed to restoring a vibrant life to the inner-city. The intention is to save it from decay so that it can play an increasing role in economic, social and cultural regeneration of the CoJ as well as of the country (City of Johannesburg, 2006).

Thus, the CoJ has embarked on a huge and ambitious process the success of which depends on human, social, and economic factors. Its hugeness and ambition lie in the fact that Johannesburg is increasingly becoming cosmopolitan and multicultural with all the challenges that this reality entails. One of the great challenges is how to deal with the nationals and foreign-born nationals to ensure social integration and pacific coexistence. In South Africa their encounters have provoked violent clashes, in particularly the violence against migrants (Horner, 2007; Landau and Hakima, 2007); xenophobia, mistrust and even exploitation by members of the police force (Morris, 1999). This reality expresses the frustration and fear of the 'strangers' (immigrants) who are accused of bringing South Africa and the inner-city in particular into decay. This allegation is not only made by ordinary people, but on occasion by government or city officials (policy-makers). Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a prominent South African politician, was entirely against migration into South Africa during his watch as minister of Home Affairs (Landau, 2007). Furthermore, the ANC-led government formulated preventive policies with respect to immigrants (Center for Development and Entreprise, 2004). These facts are expressions of non-openness by the government and confirm the fear of migrants mentioned above. In spite of the fact that immigrants are generally unwelcome, there is an emerging recognition of the dynamism and the positive impact the immigrants bring to the country. Since the launch of the inner-city regeneration process, there is a recognizable improvement that is taking place even though much still needs to be done (Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). Those accused of degrading the quality of life in the inner-city are actually making a difference through their small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMME). Walking down the Rockey/Raleigh High Street (RRHS) in Yeoville, one cannot miss this visible reality. On this basis it may be said that many immigrants are enterprising entrepreneurs. Peberdy and Rogerson (2003) question South Africa's conceptions on immigrants in "South Africa: Creating New Spaces?" paving the way to further research in this area.

1.2. Problem Statement

Many human rights scholars (Landau, 2007; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2003; Rogerson, 2004) and NGOs advocate for the recognition of the positive contribution immigrants are making in all manner in South Africa. This advocacy aims at providing a number of facts of migration dynamism to policy-makers and to citizens to suggest another approach *vis-à-vis* the issue. In addition, this study agrees that the urban regeneration of CoJ should tackle not only the inner city's physical and the economic restoration but also its social dimension. Engelbrecht (2004: 10) defines urban regeneration as the redevelopment of derelict residential or industrial areas usually linked to the development of human and social capital. However, a careful scrutiny of the CoJ's inner-city regeneration documents and the implementation of the policy by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) reveals that the social dimension and processes have not been given prominence. Yet, the current trend of its growing diversity coupled with its gradual transformation into a cosmopolitan and a culturally diverse city implies that the CoJ has to work toward a sustainable regeneration (Reeves, 2003). This means that the CoJ has to think and act in a way that integrates different inhabitants (nationals as well as foreign-born migrants) to create social cohesion. Thus, the way forward is to embrace the demonstrated skills and dynamism of the immigrants as a vehicle of social integration into the inner city of Johannesburg.

1.3. The Aims of the Research

The aims of the research are twofold: to show the participation of the large immigrant community to the inner city regeneration process, and from that finding to discuss the feasibility of successful planning for diversity in the inner-city of Johannesburg. The research is an assessment of the urban regeneration process as it is being implemented with regard to social integration of the migrant population. 'Success' in this case underlines the social cohesion as it can be expected if one desires to live in a city of

collective resource (Healey, 2002). Moreover, it entails the ideal of mongrel cities where human and social capital (Sandercock, 2003a) is pooled to pull the city out of decay. Further, it establishes the dynamics of togetherness in a city where people from different cultural and historical backgrounds live together (Engelbrecht, 2004). Chipkin (2005: 103) observes that the regeneration of the inner city is eternally provisional, fleeting and chaotic.

This research is a case study of Rockey/Raleigh High Street in Yeoville because it is one of the inner city's areas characterised by a high level of diversity. Moreover, it constitutes to and has been the hub of economic life in Yeoville. Immigrants are owners of all sorts of SMMEs: retail shops, fashion shops, restaurants, taverns (bars) and hair salons (barber salon). This can be viewed as immigrants' response to or involvement in the inner-city regeneration process initiated by the CoJ. However, the question is whether the perceived involvement of the migrants is a result of the shared information between the CoJ and the migrants. If the answer, in the findings of the research, will be that of an informed response, then the emphasis will be put on the need to deepen the collaboration between policy-makers and the immigrant community in order to strengthen the right to city and to create a viable cosmopolitan city (Sandercock, 1998, 2003a, 2003b, 2003d, 2005). But if the case is that the contribution of the immigrants is based on their need to include themselves in the city, then the focus will be for both sides to collaborate so as to ensure a multicultural city.

1.4. Rationale

This study contributes to the body of research on the nature and level of the impact and participation of the immigrants to the planning process of the urban regeneration in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Additionally, it will contribute to the academic debate on inclusive cities with respect to the CoJ. It can serve as a review of the policy or planning approach hitherto used in inner-city regeneration. The findings will serve to deepen the understanding of immigrants' realities and to break down the myths about immigrants that are misleading.

1.5. Personal Motivation

It can be argued that one of the unintended results of the inception of democracy in South Africa is for the country and its major cities, such as Johannesburg, to become the destination of a large number of foreigners, mainly from African countries but also beyond the continent. As far as South Africa is concerned, the world phenomenon of migration adds itself to the agenda of the post-apartheid South Africa in creating a nation of inclusion, integration and freedom. The new outlook is the accommodation of foreign nationals within the limits of the country's resources. Reluctant to tackle the issue of the migrant population efficiently and effectively in the beginning, South Africa is shifting policy to open space to foreigners. Scholarly criticism, the commitment of civil society and the involvement of the concerned foreigners account for this positive change. However, there is still a long way to go. Compared to international experience, South Africa has room for improvement. This can be done with contributions from all actors so far discussed.

The above therefore constitutes the personal motivation of the researcher to shed more light on the immigrants' strengths and capabilities. The CoJ can build and implement policies that will strengthen diversity in the city and promote inclusion and integration. By observing the immigrants in activity in RRHS, the researcher is convinced that there is a lot to share with the academic public with regard to immigrants and in view of planning theory and practice. It is of the greatest concern that the study will be valuable if it comes up with findings that show there is no reason to fear migration and human mobility. Every effort should be made to turn this 'energy' into a force of achievement for South Africa as a place to celebrate the success of cultural diversity and a land of opportunities that seeks to make a positive difference in the world.

1.6. Research Questions

How is the CoJ promoting or implementing the inclusion of the immigrants to the urban regeneration strategy in the inner-city?

1.6.1. Sub-questions

Is the migrants' participation to the urban regeneration process a vehicle for a successful planning for diversity in inner-city of Johannesburg?
What is the evidence of planning for social integration from the CoJ?

1.7. Research Methodology

The following method is underlying this study: qualitative case-study. Data will be collected using semi-structured questionnaires and questionnaire. The research is mainly qualitative in nature; it will explore the possibilities of strengthening participation given the limits of what could be done by the policy-makers and the immigrants to achieve a viable multicultural and inclusive city. To this end, the research will deal with immigrant business owners and officials of the CoJ (Department of Development Planning). The motive is to know the plans of the CoJ on multiculturalism and inclusiveness in planning in the context of urban regeneration and the self-evident dynamism shown by immigrants. The argument is that since Yeoville is a recognised place of diversity where nationals and strangers are engaged in multiple activities, the regeneration of the city cannot ignore multiculturalism and inclusiveness as aspects to deal with.

The research methodology will also deal with story-telling in the view that through this method people are expressing their own stories, and beyond that their needs, aims, concerns and ideas for the improvement of any policy or strategy. Sandercock (2003c: 11) argues that stories and storytelling are important methodologies in planning, but are not fully understood and valued. She believes that 'a better understanding of the work that stories do can make us better planners' (our faculty guidelines require single

quotation marks not double, citation needed). Furthermore, she believes that storytelling is at work in participatory action research. The research also consists of the examination of the immigrants' participation in the Yeoville regeneration project. However, according to the articles published on the first phase of the project, there is no mention of the presence of immigrants in those meetings or the meetings between the JDA and Immigrants (John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University [and] Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, 1998). Hence, this raises doubt that the policies on Yeoville's regeneration will reflect the diversity of the area. Sandercock (2003c: 19) firmly asserts that 'Planners have a tremendously important role in acknowledging the voices of minority groups, designing meetings in which such groups are comfortable speaking, and encouraging them to speak'.

The case study of RRHS constitutes the practical part of the research. There are two main reasons that motivated this choice. Firstly, Yeoville is one of the inner-city areas which offer interesting field of research because of its richness of diversity — a key concept of this study. That is to say the area provides the possibility of research on multicultural planning and inclusion. Secondly, Yeoville is an area of inner-city where urban regeneration is taking place with a visible impact on the immigrants in RRHS. The Rockey/Raleigh High Street case-study may offer, through its findings, a measure of the extent of urban regeneration. In other words, what has been done to ensure that the area constitutes and even improves as a place not only for immigrants but also of diversity and inclusion where people regardless of their origins work together to realise the regeneration of the area.

Although the research is mainly qualitative, it will nevertheless make use of some data from the survey research by the University of the Witwatersrand, Tufts University and the French Institute of South Africa (hereafter Wits-Tufts-Ifas survey). The aim is to bring some objectivity to the study in order to avoid bias and prejudice (Sarantakos, 2005)

1.8 Conceptual Framework

This work will refer to literature on the following three concepts: immigrants, urban regeneration, diversity with its corollary terms of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism as they are conceptualised by planning theory and practice. Each of the concepts is relevant in this research for several reasons. The aim of the research is to inter-link these core concepts. To this end, the concept of immigrant has to be reviewed as linked to urban regeneration. The former is seen as the vehicle of the latter. This is the first strand of the conceptual framework. The second strand will address the fruitful diversity that migration brings in the host society as a challenge and a chance for planning whilst integrating the fact of cultural diversity.

The city of Johannesburg is increasingly becoming multicultural or cosmopolitan with its economic, social and human consequences and also its challenges to planning. Johannesburg is experiencing what other global cities are experiencing, that is, they are being shaped by globalisation (Sassen, 1996). In her analysis of mobility across the world, Sandercock (1998) argues that we live in a time of intense migration. The truth of her observation is amply justified when one looks at the city of Johannesburg and particularly at its inner city which has become the destination point for immigrants. Yeoville, one of the areas of the inner city, provides evidence of this fact through its diversity which impacts on its regeneration. Planning in such a context implies a broader approach which should go beyond a vision of a city inhabited only by nationals. Thus, the literature review will consist of the examination of the aforementioned concepts.

Campbell and Fainstein (1996:1) argue that "planning adapts to changes in the city, which in turn is transformed by planning and politics". In other words, this underlines the dialectic relationship between cities and planning and the dynamic character of planning as an activity, a science, and an art. Planning for urban regeneration has become a necessity as pointed out by Morris (1999), Tomlinson, *et al*. (2003), and Chipkin (2005) who argue that the CoJ is in the throes of decay, economic decline, high rates of crime and so on.

Urban regeneration is an urban process, which originates from American planning following the Second World War in order to address the decline of city centres. The same approach was also promoted in the United Kingdom. However, the term urban regeneration was not used as such in the emergence of that mode of planning. American planning prefers the concept of urban renewal whereas European literature uses the term urban regeneration (Engelbrecht, 2004). In its first phase, planners used the term urban renewal, but changed to urban revitalization in the second phase and urban regeneration from the 1980s. The evolution of the terms is linked to the shift of the approaches. Urban renewal is related to the improvement of the physical aspect of the city whereas urban revitalisation emphasized the aspect of bringing back life to the city including apart from physical dimension, the environmental dimension and aiming at revitalizing the city economically and socially. The implementation of the urban regeneration encompasses various actors: politicians, planners and the targeted beneficiaries of the programme. Concerning the last group, there is a debate about their participation, contribution and types. In the era of migration (Griessman, 1993; Sandercock, 1998), one notices the presence of immigrants and their contribution to the urban regeneration worldwide cannot be dismissed (Carmon, 1998).

The literature on migration issues divides the immigrant communities into three main categories (Castles and Miller, 1993; Turton, 2003; Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006):

- Family Migration: called the reunification of the family, it is when members of close family join those already in the host society.
- Economic Migration: it is when the main reason of migration is based on the economic motive. People may find the opportunities of business in the host society.
- Humanitarian Migration: this category comprises the sub-groups of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Asylum Seekers and Refugees.

The categorisation of the migrants is not as fixed as it may appear because the reasons or causes for migration can be mixed and causing the groups to overlap. Castles and Miller (1993: 553) note for example that economic migration and humanitarian migration can generate other chains of migration due to the rights of family reunion. This research encompasses all these categories, interviewing migrants who are entitled to legal stay in South Africa, regardless of the causes of their migration to the host country. However, IDPs are not part of the study as this group represents the nationals or citizens of the host country.

Already incorporated in fields like management, and viewed as the result of the emergence of social and human rights movements, the rise of the feminism, globalization and migration (Griessman, 1993; Sandercock, 1998), diversity is the new paradigm embraced today by planning theory and practice. In fact, the profession's new-found sensitivity to the issue is revealed in the writings of Sandercock (1998; 2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2005), Burayidi (2003), Pestieau and Wallace (2003), Watson (2002) and Thompson (2003). Planning for diversity is in its infancy, however it is already equipped with tools or strategies to make it expedient. This point will be developed in Chapter Three of the research. However, it is should be noted, as Sandercock (1998) has pointed out, that planning theory and practice with regard to social integration and diversity is still a political utopia which cannot be expected to be achieved fully; the aim is to create inclusive cities.

Speaking about the concept of inclusiveness is not an easy business. The term entails emotion and is therefore likely to create tension within the city. With regard to the debate on inclusion, Kabeer (2005) and Landau (2007) share the view that the term is 'empirically void'. On this basis, there is doubt on the realisation of the goals for building inclusive societies (Landau, 2007). Writings on the building of inclusive cities mention different modes of inclusion ranging from assimilation and integration to visions of cultural hodge-podge/bricolage (Landau, 2007: 5). Who can be assimilated or integrated and to what degree? In other words, who is responsible for granting citizenship and consequently deciding who is included or excluded? According to Landau (2007), it

appears that the responsibility lies in the state and civil society. In that case, where can a planner be located? If he works for the state, can one expect him or her to play an active role towards more inclusiveness? And what might be his role if the planner works within civil society? The tendency worldwide is to close frontiers to strangers. More and more states have set up this type of policy, which is obviously challenged by civil society. That is the case with the South Africa's 2002 Immigration Law criticised by the Centre for Development and Enterprise for its hesitancy and confusion on the issue.

To some extent, the concept of inclusion is linked to multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, two facets of diversity. Neither Multiculturalism nor cosmopolitanism can be taken for granted. Basically, there is a need to rethink these concepts and to adapt them to the planning profession in its current trends, which are shaping cities worldwide. Multiculturalism is a subject of debate among scholars and even politicians and civil society activists. For instance, as ideology, multiculturalism is contested by the conservative rightists and liberals "who claim that the cult of ethnicity, the notion of group rights and the pursuit of difference threaten the universalism and neutrality of the liberal state" (Sandercock, 2003b: 31).

In light of the explanations brought by different scholars in the concepts discussed above, this research will address the questions of the urban regeneration, immigrants and a multicultural approach in the planning of inner-city Johannesburg in general and the case of RRHS in Yeoville area in particular. Chapters 2 and 4 will respectively further the discussion of those concepts.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The study will consist of the views and opinions of the immigrants and trade on RRHS. Yeoville is part of inner-city Johannesburg. For purposes of accuracy in the research and to avoid a broad approach of the inner-city regeneration and the contribution of the immigrants, the research uses the RRHS of Yeoville neighbourhood as the case-study. However, the question is whether the findings can be related to the entire inner-city and further to the case of other inner-cities nationwide as well as worldwide. Dealing with the concepts of multiculturalism, diversity, inclusion, immigration, the research will be at risk of encountering subjectivity both from the officials who will be interviewed as well as from the immigrants.

1.10 Outline of Chapters

The research report is divided into five chapters. Chapter One introduces the study by highlighting the background, purpose, objectives, approach, perspectives and expectations of the research. Building on this, Chapter Two will give an overview of the main concepts used throughout the research. The chapter reviews the literature on urban regeneration, migrants and diversity. Beyond the mere fact of describing each of the concepts, the aim is to draw the interface or the synergy between the three concepts. The chapter tends to show how they interrelate to each other. It will also develop the strategies viewed as the tools to assess the process of social integration. Drawn from planning theories and planning literature on diversity, the three following strategies will be presented and discussed: institutional and legal framework, radical planning and participatory process.

Chapter Three takes a look at the experience of planning in Africa, as the research is about a planning issue in an African city. Most of the studies in Africa use Western methodology as problem-solving instrument or thought in Africa. This sometimes veils the dynamism from African scholars to address local issues with their own approach. The chapter will show the effort made by scholars working in Africa to improve the role of

planning in the continent. From a general perspective, the chapter will turn to the local experience of Johannesburg with respect to inner-city regeneration. The aim in that section is to evaluate how far the CoJ has gone in its first attempt to implement social integration in the inner-city.

Chapter Four deals with the presentation and discussion of the findings based on the data collected through semi-structured interviews. The two sections of presentation and discussion of the findings are preceded by a description of the study area of RRHS.

Chapter Five contains the summary, conclusion and the recommendations of the research. The summary and conclusion section goes back to the previous chapters and with the findings provided in Chapter Four, answers the research question and sub-questions. The study formulates the recommendations concerning each group of the actors identified in the urban regeneration: migrants, civil society and the CoJ. Also, the study announces the prospects for future research that seeks to deepen the question of urban regeneration, social integration and the migration.

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is twofold: to present and discuss two urban processes namely, immigrant-led urban regeneration and planning for diversity. In addition, this study will endeavour to link the three concepts of urban regeneration, immigrants and diversity, the basis of the conceptual framework. The purpose of establishing this linkage is to measure the extent to which the experience of migrants in urban process can lead to social integration and inclusion. Ultimately, the chapter will also explore the deeper meanings of the three concepts.

This chapter has four sections. The first section examines the literature on the urban regeneration process. The second section aims to underline the participation of the immigrants to urban regeneration. Given the fact that the conceptual clarification of migrant has been dealt with in the first chapter, the second section of the present chapter prioritizes the linkage between urban regeneration and migrants. The third section explores the literature on diversity and its corollaries of multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and cultural diversity. The evocation of the concept of diversity has to be understood in the linkage with urban regeneration and the contribution of the immigrants to the urban process. Indeed as Carmon (1998) reveals, the dynamism of the migrants to the implementation of the urban regeneration is the symbol of the richness of diversity that reshapes cities all over the world, which needs as the research argues, proactive and effective planning to allow the deployment of its full potential to make

cities places of social integration and inclusion. The final section will introduce the reader to the ongoing prime conceptualization of the planning for diversity and will provide three strategies or planning models that will be used as instruments to evaluate the process in the CoJ.

2.2. Urban Regeneration and the role of the Immigrants

2.2.1 Urban Regeneration: the Concept and its Meanings

The terms birth, growth, death and resurrection are usually applied to describe human activities. Analogically, they are of certain importance in urban studies when addressing cities' issues. Indeed, cities can be founded (birth); they can grow, die and resurrect. The two last words refer to the decline and revitalisation of cities respectively. Decay and regeneration of cities have constituted the points of concern, subjects of studies in academic as well as political arenas in Northern hemisphere. Judd and Parkinson (1990: 13) note: "since the 1970s the scale of economic decline in cities in both Europe and North America has provoked a debate about the future of cities, and whether they could, or should, be saved". Through debates, whatever place it has been held, definitions and meanings of urban regeneration were highlighted. However, the reflection of the future of cities has not made use of the same terms to conceptualize the urban process. Engelbrecht (2004) notes the difference between planning theory and practice in North America and in Europe concerning the revitalization of declined cities. The American planners use the concept of 'urban renewal' whereas European planner prefers 'urban regeneration'. For the purpose of the research, the idea of 'urban regeneration' will be used to refer to CoJ and its engagement with the city's regeneration.

Crouch (1990: 2) observes that urban regeneration is about "the state or local community to bring back investment, employment and consumption, and enhance the quality of life within an urban area." Urban regeneration is an improved urban process and strategy conceived in the backdrop of the emergence of the concept of partnership with the growing force of the private sector.

As a concept of urban process which deals with the declined cities following the early years of post Second World War, the concept of urban regeneration emerged in 1950s in America. At that time, as said earlier, the common term was urban renewal. Urban regeneration as such was adapted from the 1980s. Since its implementation, urban renewal/regeneration has entailed some positive results in many inner cities (Carmon, 1998; Crouch, 1990; Judd and Parkinson, 1990). Carmon (1998) points out that a highly visible change is property-led urban regeneration. Large and small businesses were brought back to the cities to revive it, attracted by new opportunities to increase profit; hence, the phenomenon of gentrification.

However, it is not only business owners who contributed to achieving some positive outcomes of the urban regeneration. Another group which made a difference in urban regeneration is immigrants of the new wave. There is literature that underpins the evidence of the participation of the migrants in the inner-city, drawn from forced migration, development or planning studies.

2.2.2 Immigrants and Their Role in the Urban Regeneration

Looking into the global transformation of cities and regions under the influence of globalization, Sassen (1996) and Sandercock (1998, 2003a, 2003b) argue that we are engaged entirely in the age of migration. Throughout continents, especially in the most advanced countries of North America and Europe, the phenomenon of migration is evident. Influxes of migrants, whether legal or illegal, enter those countries with several motivations: growing inequalities in wealth between North and South (Sandercock, 1998), ethnic and religious struggles or turbulence and warfare in many newly independent countries (Sandercock, 1998; Carmon, 1998), the demand for labour in the developed countries (Carmon, 1998), the greater ease and reduced cost of transportation, among others (Carmon, 1998).

Sandercock (1998) observes that international migration is not an invention of the late 20th century. Rather, migrations have been part of human history. However, she

recognises that there has been a growth in the volume and significance of migration since 1945, and particularly since the mid 1980s. Carmon (1998) further distinguishes the old from the current trend of migration. She uses racial, ethnic characteristics and skills as elements of difference. Citing Carlson (1994) and Coleman (1995), she writes:

> *The characteristics of the new immigrants, those who are part of the current large wave, are different from those of former waves. While in the past, most of the immigrants into the developed countries were white Europeans, recently, most of them have been non-whites from developing countries, and thus, racially and ethnically different from the majority in the host country (Carmon, 1998: 209).*

In addition, referring to her work (1996), Carmon (1998: 209) asserts in the domain of skills that "while in the past the majorities were rural people with little schooling and marketable skills, among the recent immigrants there are big groups of urban, skilled workers, who are often highly educated".

There is a unanimous acknowledgement of the fact that migration and displacement affect societies around the world (University of the Witwatersrand Forced Migration Studies programme, 2007) in terms of economic and socio-cultural aspects (Carmon, 1998). Carmon reveals (1998) that economic impact of the immigrants is more visible in the host countries than in the sending countries. In the socio-cultural aspects, the influence is the emergence of a growing diversity within cities and regions (Sandercock, 1998, 2003a).

There is a lot of literature on economic benefit of migration for receiving countries. Other literature however focuses on the urban process with regards to urban regeneration. Previous studies tended to focus on the decline of the city resulting from the presence of immigrants. Citing Glazer (1992), Carmon (1998) observes that the research question has now been turned to "will the new immigration…be an asset in dealing with problems of [urban] decline or a liability?" The answer has been found to be positive, according to the

findings of research undertaken in the USA (Winnick, 1990) and South Africa (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2003; Rogerson, 2004) to give two examples. Kloosterman and Rath (2003) focus on the question of immigrant entrepreneurs by drawing examples from many countries of the first world. They highlight many dimensions of the entrepreneurial dynamism of immigrants profitable to the receiving countries. What is relevant to the research is the recognition they made by saying: [The] migrant entrepreneur can add vitality to particular streets or even neighbourhoods in cities. If streets are deserted by indigenous businesses and replaced, in an invasion-and-succession sequence, by foreign entrepreneurs, deterioration can be reversed" (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003:3).

Carmon (1998) notes that the contribution of immigrants has not yet gained them recognition in the socio-cultural terrain. The overall reaction from the citizens of the host countries is rejection. Although there are some policies in some countries which see diversity as an asset, immigrants still suffer marginalization and social exclusion. They are labelled a threat and feared because they are thought of as lowering the standards of living. That is to say, diversity is still a watershed issue in the 21st century predicted as the age of migration (Sandercock, 1998). The issue is further nourished by a body of literature that is discussed in the next section.

2.3. Diversity: The Concept and its Meanings

2.3.1 Introduction

The term 'diversity' has been approached through a number of lenses by social sciences and management studies. This fact justifies the growing interest sciences are taking in diversity, in order to engage with an improved management of the cities at international, national and local levels. This interest can be captured beyond those fields when one looks at the way the planning field is incorporating diversity in its processes. This section aims at giving an account of the literature on diversity by focusing on a couple of elements: conceptual clarification, nature, dynamics, types, critiques and so on.

2.3.2 Concept and Definitions

The term 'diversity' is surrounded by confusion and it entails different meanings. One can speak about diversity in culture and politics. Attached to culture, diversity can be said of making multiculturalism as ideology of including people of diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. When diversity is related to politics, it is viewed as political and social policy of encouraging tolerance for people of different backgrounds. Diversity viewed through cultural, social and political lenses is what constitutes the perspective of approach of planning theory and practice and the one that the research will use.

2.3.2.1 Diversity in the Cities and Regions: Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitanism

Through the concept 'diversity' as addressed in a related literature, it appears that diversity is a term that is broad or generic in the sense that its nature encompasses different social realities in cities and regions. Griessman (1993) in his analysis of the nature of diversity gives a catalogue of elements that constitute diversity: race, sex, gender, national origin, religion, social status, social class, occupation, language, dialects, age, personality, temperament, sexual orientations, life styles, educational diversity, obese persons, persons with disabilities, immigrants and newcomers. According to Griessman (1993), those categories portray a heterogeneous population. Moreover, they classify population into those who define themselves as 'we' or 'insiders' and those who are defined as 'they' or 'outsiders' (Polzer, 2007). Those markers are commonly used in a given society but they are not all always regarded as relevant. The emphasis can be found in the model of state policies with regard to diversity. When a society stresses its policy of diversity to accommodate races, culture, religion or all the related-culture markers, one can speak about multiculturalism or cultural diversity. By contrast, when a city or region focuses on the coexistence of different nationals in order to overcome the barriers of nationalism or patriotism, the ideology is identified as cosmopolitanism.

However, a clear-cut distinction between both terms does not always appear in the literature on diversity. For instance, in Sandercock's (1998; 2003) publications, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are used as two terms that are intertwined. Other planning theorists use solely multiculturalism or cultural diversity (Burayidi, 2003;

Thompson, 2003). In the lines below, the section goes on by giving an account of both terms through their historical evolution and through the lens of social sciences and planning.

2.3.2.2 Multiculturalism

The last century was marked by a growing need of the recognition of pluralism or cultural pluralism. This fact of our world's history sheds light to the conceptualization of diversity according to the terms to which it is attached. When the term is pluralism of identities or cultural singularities, the ideology of diversity is said to be multiculturalism or multicultural society (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).With the growing number of movements for the recognition of pluralism, multiculturalism has become a major topic of political and intellectual discourse (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). However, as Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) put it, multiculturalism is not a consistent philosophy, concept or practice because it presents heterogeneous meanings and policies.

Influenced by discourse which originated from the United States, Canada and Australia (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006; Reeves, 2003), multiculturalism has been advocated as ideology of a society in different categories which include the following:

- Descriptive category: multiculturalism serves to indicate the social change which occurs in a society and alters the ethnic configuration of the host population. From a homogenous population, the latter becomes more heterogeneous.

- Normative category: the category underlies the meaning of multiculturalism as related to the phenomenon of immigration. The norm is for a state to recognise multiculturalism as a result of immigration. Therefore the state takes a step further by recognising that it becomes a country of immigration.

- Interpretation of 'culture': this category addresses multiculturalism as an interpretation of the concept of culture. In addition, it underlies the inter-penetration between the culture of the host society and the culture of the

immigrants. As a result, a new culture of the host society emerges by the fact that it receives new elements brought by the incoming culture.

- Personal attitude/public norm: the category highlights the fact that individuals and the state embrace multiculturalism as attitude and norm of tolerance toward others, be they whether territorial and historical minorities or immigrants, to overcome fatal consequences of nationalism, chauvinism, forced assimilation and ethnic cleansing.

- Cultural diversity as a goal: under this category, multiculturalism aims at exploring ways of accommodating cultural diversity fairly by recognizing the right of minorities or immigrant groups to express their particular customs, ways of living and religious beliefs.

- A political-constitutional principle: this category underlies multiculturalism as the political, legal and cultural autonomy of ethnic groups within political and state organisation.

The categorisation of the meanings of multiculturalism according to Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) has not established a clear distinction between different meanings. It seems being redundancy. Nevertheless, it shows how a society or individuals can conceptualize the ideology by focusing on one or other aspect of multiculturalism. However, for the purpose of the research, multiculturalism as a political, social and cultural ideology which tends to accommodate cultural diversity and allows all the concerned actors to enrich each other is the retained meaning here. Furthermore, the relevance of Bosswick and Heckmann's (2006) categorisation lies in the relationship it draws between immigrants and multiculturalism as type of diversity. In fact, most of the meanings establish the emergence of multiculturalism and its conceptualisation as inherent to the phenomenon of migration. Multiculturalism can be said to be a response from individuals and states to migration.

However, in terms of political pragmatism which implies the power to put in practice the ideology and philosophy of multiculturalism, there is a controversy between theorists who wonder whether the recognized cultures and religions should enjoy a political status. The discussion arose to reveal the controversy regarding political thought on multiculturalism. Whereas the pro-multiculturalists argue that multiculturalism is a positive force that creates a viable society's nationhood whose population has become increasingly multi-ethnic through immigration (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006), the opponents respond by depicting multiculturalism as inherently divisive, a threat to national unity and is likely to create cultural ghettos (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). However, the controversy does not prevent some states, especially the western, to opt for multicultural policies with positive and negative effects, depending on each state and its particular history which shaped its nationhood.

2.3.2.3 Cosmopolitanism

In 'On cosmopolitanism', Derrida (2001: 3) asks: "where have we received the image of cosmopolitanism from? And what is happening to it?" In an attempt to respond to Derrida's question, one can say that cosmopolitanism stems from a couple of origins. Etymologically, cosmopolitanism (cosmopolis) derives from the Greek words 'cosmos' meaning world and 'polis' for city or 'politēs' for citizens. That is to say, cosmopolitanism came from the Greek tradition. It was the ancient Greek philosophers who first made use of cosmopolitanism to describe as universal love of humankind as a whole, regardless of nation.

The etymological explanation and the evocation of the early users of cosmopolitanism indicate that cosmopolitanism as ideology has its early roots in philosophy. Recall the famous answer of Diogenes of Sinope "I am the citizen of the world" when asked: "where are you from" (Derrida, 2001).

From the ancient philosophy, cosmopolitanism as a concept and ideology evolved gradually to capture the attention of modern and contemporary philosophers such as Kant

and Derrida. Immanuel Kant for instance exposes his ideas on cosmopolitanism in his 1975 essay 'Toward Perpetual Peace'. Naussbaum (1997) argues that Kant's essay is a profound defence of cosmopolitan values drawn on stoic legacy. In fact, Kant addresses cosmopolitanism as a guiding principle of universal hospitality, common sense of world belonging and peace-building. Kant privileges a cosmopolitan humanity. In addition, he advocates for the idea of world citizen. His legacy is also echoed in the human rights and international law and global order (Habermas, 1997).

Thinkers like Derrida under the influence of Kant enriched the meaning of the concept of cosmopolitanism. Derrida (2001) emphasises the concept of hospitality by revisiting the perennial question of 'open cities' or 'refuges cities'. He argues that cities should be place of hospitality and refuge to immigrants and newcomers.

In spite of having its roots in philosophy, cosmopolitanism has also been a concept of other fields such as anthropology, sociology and politics in such a way that those fields have developed respectively a cultural, sociological and political cosmopolitanism. Cultural cosmopolitanism underlies respect or consideration of other cultures besides one's own culture of origin. Sociological and political approaches on cosmopolitanism are dominated by a number of theoretical considerations on the relationship between cosmopolitanism, nation-state, universalism and institutional cosmopolitanism. Beck (1998, 2006) is among those leading figures on sociological and political cosmopolitanism. Beck (2006) develops a new concept or critical theory of cosmopolitanism which challenges the old model of nation-state and the world state. He stands against a world order which promotes hegemony and ethnocentrism for a sociological and political cosmopolitanism whose foundations are:

- Acknowledgment of the otherness of the culturally-different people;
- Acknowledgment of the otherness of the future;
- Acknowledgment of the otherness of nature;
- Acknowledgment of the otherness of the object;
- Acknowledgment of the otherness of other rationalities.

In other words, Beck (2006) advocates for a cosmopolitan world which recognizes pluralist states and societies. Hence, cosmopolitanism is being pushed close to universalism which emphasizes the concept of human dignity and human rights to be enshrined in the international law. The interest in a new cosmopolitanism leads to the political project of institutional cosmopolitanism which argues for the formation of global citizens, the establishment of global democratic institutions and global governance on common issues such as global warming, crime against humanity.

The rich meanings of cosmopolitan are of extreme importance for the relationship between immigrant and cosmopolitanism. Naussbaum (1997) maintains that the emergence of immigrants provides cosmopolitan with new meanings. The ideology is increasingly rethought and expanded to the dimensions of an ideology of greater inclusion. This is viewed in the works of Taylor (1992) and Appiah (1998) who emphasize mutual recognition as parameter of a successful multiculturalism and cosmopolitan.

The account of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism discussed above reveals many convergent points in both ideologies: the shared aim of social integration of the immigrants, the celebration and consideration of the otherness (Beck, 2006). This is a viewpoint from the perspective of the ultimate objective of both ideologies. However, from the perspective of the definitions, the viewpoint can be of the ideologies being different. Let us turn to the similarities or disparities of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism.

2.3.2.4 Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitanism: Different Faces of the Same Coin?

When dealing with diversity in cities and regions, does one refer to multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism? Are both concepts different and the same realities expressed differently? Inspired by Gilroy's (2000) approach of multiculturalism, Czeglédy (2007) claims that there is an established connection between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Gilroy (2000) has done so because, as noted by Czeglédy (2007), he finds out that the notion of multiculturalism contains a stubborn imprecision. Nevertheless, the linkage that Gilroy (2000) has established between both concepts opens a perspective that suggests the existence of dialectical relationship between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. But this dialectical relationship constitutes a new issue namely, that of the chicken-egg dilemma. Does multiculturalism give raise to cosmopolitanism or vice versa?

Sandercock's (1998) work: *Towards Cosmopolis. Planning for Multicultural Cities* contains one dimension of that relationship. Indeed, Sandercock writes:

> *According to The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1992), 'cosmopolis' is 'a large city inhabited by people from many different countries'. Working with this definition, the world already has many cosmopolises – but the word itself tells us nothing of their qualities, or their quality of life. So I would prefer to call such cities cosmopolitan metropolises, or metropolises that are characterized by significant cultural (racial, ethnic, and sexual) diversity. It is the mission of this book to construct a normative cosmopolis, a Utopia if you like, but a Utopia with a difference, a postmodern Utopia to which I will not ascribe built form, and which I insist can never be realized, but must always be in the making (1998:163).*

The key point of this quotation rests on the definition of cosmopolis in Sandercock (1998). The definition emphasizes one aspect of the nature of cosmopolis, the coexistence of different national origins in a city. Simply put, one can say a cosmopolis is the world in a city (Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2004). Sandercock (1998) is right when she stresses

that this type of city includes a cultural diversity. Sandercock's analysis can be captured by the hypothesis that a well managed cultural diversity in a city or region is likely to lead to the building of a cosmopolis. In other words, Sandercock is somehow against the idea of a granted cosmopolis. The fact that people from different nations reside in the same society is only the de facto cosmopolis. But to ensure tolerance, mutual acceptance, there is a need to formalise that cosmopolitanism.

In another dimension of the relationship, a built or formalized cosmopolitanism constitutes a solid foundation of multiculturalism. This dialectical relationship renders multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism shifting and slippery terms which can lead to confusion. The problem can be resolved by looking at the approach of Gilroy (2000) cited by Czeglédy (2007). In fact, Gilroy (2000) goes beyond the dialectical relationship to connect multiculturalism to cosmopolitanism. This perception of the connection suits the approach of this investigation. To simplify the connection, the term diversity will have prominence in this research. This approach opens space for the research to address the question of planning and diversity with more latitude.

Urban regeneration is occurring in the context of an era of growing consciousness of diversity and migration. This is exemplified in many societies in the North as well as in the South, as it is the case in South Africa in general and Johannesburg in particular. Indeed, the inner city regeneration process in Johannesburg is taking place in an era of growing diversity. The task of planning in theory and practice is to further conceptualise that inter-linkage between the three concepts under study in this research to achieve an urban regeneration where physical, economic and social aspects are developed altogether. The subsequent section gives an account of the linkage between urban regeneration and diversity.

2.4 Urban Regeneration and Diversity

Urban regeneration is driven in part in many cities by migrants. Foreign national populations strengthen or bring more diversity in a city. Wilson (1966:xiv) points out that intellectuals in favour of urban renewal argue:'[The] city is the source of urbanity and civility, of the diversity, a collection of neighbourhoods and subcultures with distinctive and desirable (or at least inevitable) ways of life which ought to be preserved '. On one hand, diversity refers to the mixture of population belonging to the same country. On the other hand, it is also true to say that diversity entails the different populations composed by the national and foreign nationals residing in a city. One can stand for the latter explanation based on the current fact of the age of migration (Sandercock, 1998).

However, what has emerged as circumstantial social and global reality can turn into a formal and built configuration in a city that can be of paramount advantage for the life of today's cities. Urban regeneration can be assigned the mission to serve that diversity. The service of the planning process is understandable as a way of urban regeneration to ensure that diversity is enriching the process and every member takes part in the programme according to his means and strengths. Thus, urban renewal will fulfil its true mission of being tool and not the goal (Wilson, 1966). Furthermore, it will portray a social and human face as part of the ends it is committed to serve.

When it integrates the human or social dimension, urban regeneration broadens its emphasis and thus it is described as social renewal or social integration (Muchnick, 1970). Planning entirely devoted to the social dimension of its practice is said being social planning. The presence or the preoccupation of incorporating the social dimension has not always been the case in the urban regeneration. This led to criticism by many reviewers of the process as implemented in American and British cities (Muchnick, 1970; Diamonstein, 1978, Sanders, 1980; Gibson and Langstaff, 1982; McQuade, 1966; Kaplan, 1966). Diamonstein (1978: 16), for instance in Sanders (1980: 103) describes urban renewal as an urban process "*that lacked humanity, scale, and any sense of community or architectural distinction*" — the panacea for America's troubled cities.

Scholars have gone beyond the raised failure to suggest the inclusion of the social dimension through citizen or public participation (Wilson, 1966; Long, 1966; Muchnick, 1970). As Muchnick (1970: 14) puts it "neighbourhoods are not merely physical entities but social networks". Therefore, urban regeneration has to target the social and human regeneration which is the building of the social cohesion, the encouragement of the building of the social networks where migrants' community can have space for developing a sense of belonging. This can be captured in the ongoing development or theorization of planning in the era of diversity

2.5 Planning in an Era of Diversity

2.5.1 Introduction

The integration of the concept of diversity in planning theories and practice has led to the conceptualization and conception of a novel way of planning. As stated by several scholars (Griessman, 1993; Sassen, 1996; Sandercock, 1998; Reeves, 2003), the novelty of our time is the growing phenomenon of migration worldwide, affecting the patterns of cities and regions. Diversity is imposing itself in neighborhoods. Different people from different cultural and religious backgrounds and from different countries are mingling in big cities that become global (Sassen, 1996). Is the growing migration an asset, opportunity or a threat for cities and their citizens? The first reflex is to view the phenomenon as a threat rather than an asset to a given society or culture. Indeed, diversity in our societies is a challenge. There are those who reject diversity preventing it from materialising in a destructive way. They imagine other alternatives which can sustain and underpin peaceful coexistence between people and beyond civilizations. It is the approach taken by planners. Planning is a necessary concept in the debate on diversity. In other words, planning embraces the diversity issue to review its practice. The articulation of that practice has led to the theorization of diversity in planning or giving birth to the multicultural approach as one of the normative approaches of postmodern planning. The formulation of planning for diversity as a theory stems from the adoption of the practice

which takes into account the concepts of difference, inclusion, citizenship and right to the city. This is practiced in western countries, a destination for a huge number of immigrants through different perspectives and consequently with different results ranged from positive to controversial ones.

2.5.2 Approaches to Theories and Practice of Planning for Diversity

Although it is occurring worldwide or mainly in the world's most economically competitive cities, diversity as influenced by migration is unique to each city because of its peculiarity or internal dynamics of that city. However, the way it affects a particular city in economic, social or physical terms is almost the case for other cities. For that reason, Pestieau and Wallace (2003:253), despite the differences between cities, argue that "ethno-cultural diversity is intersecting with city planning internationally over the same issues". It appears in the literature so far produced with respect to planning and diversity that some scholars adopt the same perspective.

The contribution made by all of them leads the formulation of theories which develop and explore new trends of planning and new roles of planners. The literature shows that the adoption of diversity-oriented planning process went through a vibrant debate as some planning practitioners are not keen to leave technical dimension of planning for a multicultural approach. The main argument presented is the bias of the process of planning described as 'neutral and technical activity' (Pestieau and Wallace, 2003: 256). Like Pestieau and Wallace (2003), Burayidi (2003) thinks that the planning process has to come out of the comfort of its technicality to opt for multicultural approach. Burayidi (2003:261) writes "I called on planners to broaden their 'understanding of the knowledge construction process and to embrace other ways of knowing that had been marginalized in the process of modernity".

Burayidi (2003) is indicating the direction planners in the age of migration should follow. Many scholars look to the same direction. Burayidi (2003) speaks of Baum (2000) who suggests that planners be facilitators of discussion of culture within and between

community members. Qadeer (1997: 482) admonishes planners to work for the elimination of discrimination, cultural biases in the use of land, the housing market and the provision of urban services (Qadeer in Burayidi, 2003: 261). Qadeer's (1997) admonition carries the background of a particular city or society. However, it does have its relevance for a broader perspective because it can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to other cities and planners. Sandercock (2003d: 319) shares the vision of her counterparts by affirming Rushdie's (1992: 394) point that "the 21st century is indisputable the century of multicultural cities. It will also be the century of the struggle for multiculturalism".

Clearly, the scholars' position or planning theorists draw attention to their disagreement with some professionals. They call to some extent to the review of what Burayidi (2003) calls the 'culture of planning'. Culture is not only a matter of legacy, heritage from the past and fixism (Appadurai, 2000). It is also a matter of aspiration to think about the future. For, the future of planning lies in the management of diversity within cities. The culture of planning processes which favours the technical and never revisited neutral activities will not help planning to survive postmodern or the age of migration. It will be using old tool for a new and highly challenging phenomenon. In a visionary approach, scholars such as Sandercock (1998, 2003a, 2003b, 2003d, 2005), Qadeer (1997), Burayidi (2003), Pestieau and Wallace (2003) support the idea of planning which seriously considers diversity. They support the relevance of planning for diversity.

To affirm the relevance of planning-oriented diversity is a great step but not sufficient. The way forward is to be equipped with adequate tools, to define and refine planning, what it should be in the context of diversity, what roles planners have to play? Responses to those questions are all about to think about strategies of intervention.

2.5.3 Strategies for intervention

A) Institutional and Legal Framework

Different societies that tackle the challenge of diversity, cities that aim to accommodate diversity have gone the path of engaging state or the ruling power to order and regulate people's experience of diversity to make the latter an element of progress and a real asset. It is the path of institutional and legal framework. Each sphere of the state or government is accordingly involved in the formulation and implementation of institutional framework. More specifically, the question of institutional and legal framework is undertaken in its formulation in the level of national government or the nation state. The implementation lies at a local level or local entity where the diversity is experienced on a daily basis (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006).

The institutional, legal and administrative framework is indeed the manifestation of the involvement of the state at any of its spheres and its agencies such as police in the multiculturalism project to build a city of common good. The institutional framework includes a number of formal attitudes, decision and practices from state apparatus to ensure not an immediate but the important steps toward an enriching diversity for cities and regions. It includes: the proactive integration policies (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006; Sandercock, 2003a), the creation and strengthening of civic culture (Sandercock, 2003a).

Proactive integration policies are a broad approach comprising strategies or policies of the process of the inclusion of the previously excluded or the vulnerable segment of the people in the institutions and relationships of the host society. Integration as a key word in those policies can be understood as "a process that of strengthening relationships within a social system, and of introducing new actors and groups into the system and its institutions" (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 2). Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) note that sociological theory has built two theories around integration, there are system integration and social integration. In the lines of the purpose of the chapter, the theory of social integration is the most appropriate because it refers to the "inclusion of individuals

in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. It is the result of the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups" (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 2).

As a process, social integration entails four steps or dimensions: acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. When they are being applied to the integration of immigrants considered as special case of social integration, they are conceptualized as structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identificational integration (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). The current literature on integration policies raise the four concepts as basic dimensions appropriate for the development of tools of any intervention from the state.

Aimed at being used as such in the next chapter, the four concepts deserve a brief explanation to establish their respective meanings. The structural integration refers to the rights and access to position and status in the structure of a society that is its core institutions: the economy and labour market, education and qualification systems, the housing system, welfare state institutions and full political citizenship (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).

Cultural integration underlies the socialization process by which immigrants can acquire knowledge, cultural standards and competencies to interact successfully in the host society with its citizens (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). The process can be done through language centre and intercultural exchange.

The interactive integration stresses the inclusion process in the primary relationships and social networks of the host society through indicators including social networks, friendships, partnerships, marriages and membership in voluntary organizations (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).

Finally, identificational integration is the process of incorporation undertaken in the subjective level. It refers to the feelings of belonging and identification with groups, particularly ethnic, regional, local and national (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).

It is worth to note the four dimensions of social integration are not independent entities. Rather, they operate in inter-dependence dynamics. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) emphasize, for instance the fact that certain core elements of cultural integration are preconditions for interactive integration. They go further in showing the linkage between the dimensions by outlining the contribution on the same of each of them when they define integration with regard to immigrants as "process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society and forming a feeling of belonging to, identification with, that society" (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 11).

The term 'interaction' places the host society in relation with the immigrants. The host society or city as well as the immigrants group have roles to play in the process of the interaction. The path toward the success of the process can be traced within the nature of power relations, the experience of communication between both actors, the actions of immigrants. In addition, between the two actors, city professional or planners have to intervene to facilitate the interaction. This leads to mention other strategies in planning-related concepts.

B) Radical Planning

Radical planning emerged at the turn of twenty-first century as set of planning theory and practice, which originated "in the planning tradition of social mobilization in the revolutionary movements and struggles of the 19th and early 20th centuries" (Rangan, 1999: 47). It made its path within other planning theories two centuries ago, advocated by Marxists, Utopians and anarchists as a way of social mobilisation to challenge the established order —the ruling class or the state. The pursued goal is the attainment of good living conditions, social cohesion, the building of a society of equity. It is Friedman (1987) who first theorises on radical planning that he terms social mobilization. Friedman

(1987: 83) defines it as "ideology of the dispossessed, whose strength derives from social solidarity, from seriousness of their political analysis, and from their unflinching determination to change the status quo." Later, the term 'radical planning' has prevailed. Rangan (1999) defines social mobilization as radical planning. Sometimes, radical planning is seen as interchangeable with insurgent planning. However, difference has to be made due to the fact that radical planning is not necessary oppositional to resemble to insurgent. In radical planning, there is a room to work with or against the state or the ruling class to achieve a new order of equity. Nevertheless, even if it is depicted as social mobilisation, radical planning or insurgent planning, this tradition of planning thought is about the oppressed, there is need for social transformation "in the interests of greater social, economic and environmental justice" (Sandercock, 1999: 41).

At the turn of 21st century with the search for transformative solutions to attain the creation of living space where pacific coexistence reigns, with the integration of immigrants, radical planning can highly serve as another strategy for intervention. It is advocated by Sandercock (1998) as the excluded or the least privileged to "fight for their rights to the city". Radical planning is indeed the way of redressing social injustice or inequalities. The relevance of radical planning as strategy will be outlined later.

C) Participatory Process

Participatory process is the strategy to bring the previously disadvantaged into the planning (Sandercock, 2003a). However, it is not yet clearly articulated in planning and diversity. There is a timid reference to it when theorists address the role of planners in multicultural approach. Perhaps the reason lies in the emphasis put on institutions or officials as first actors to foster the implementation of cosmopolitan policies as it is shown by Sandercock (1998, 2003a) and Thompson (2003). However, they all do know that the inputs of other actors are not to be neglected. This the case of immigrants without whom a successful integration cannot be thought. Their involvement is possible through the channel of what planning terms public participation.

Adopted as one of the core concepts to planner's work, public participation, indeed, broadens parties involved in planning by allowing planners to deal with others rather than to deal only with politicians. But the vast literature covering the meaning of public participation makes it difficult to understand the real essence of participatory process. For the purpose of the research, there is no need, however, to be concerned about the definitions. As Carp (2004: 242) has put it, one can by participation understand the active relationship between planners and planning subjects with respect to one or another of the public programmes. The aim is to obtain from the people a contribution to national development. In that respect, it emerges that public participation is of enormous importance to planning for diversity, even if it is used as a strategy. It is however up to planners to use its potential strategy to foster transformation in cities of diversity. This matter is further dealt with in the next section.

2.5.4 Initial Expectations

This section deals with centring the initial expectations around the selected strategies to explore in what ways, institutional and legal framework, radical planning and participatory process can ensure viable implementation of planning theory and practice in the context of diversity.

A) Institutional and Legal Framework

The institutional and legal framework underlies the leading role of politicians or decision-makers in multiculturalism. The bureaucratic approach of cosmopolitanism is of extreme importance to design, orientate and shape the ways towards the city-building in an era or in the reality of cultural diversity. The future of cities or societies worldwide lies in the effective and efficient management of diversity by the nation-state at the national as well as at the local levels. As far as the institutional and legal framework is concerned, the government, its spheres and apparatus have to take the following steps:

- The creation of a department of diversity,
- The official commitment to diversity clearly stated in the specific policies,

- The articulation of the commitment on the part of politicians in their discourses and attitudes,
- The state commitment to diversity-training for state members, planners or personnel in charge of diversity-related department in city council.

In the perspective of inner-city of Johannesburg or RRHS in Yeoville area the strategy of institutional framework with the four steps imply measures to be taken to achieve integration in economic and social dimensions. The case study of RRHS seeks to demonstrate that through the institutional commitment the contribution of immigrants in urban regeneration can drive the cosmopolitanism of the area and beyond of the inner-city. The institutional and legal framework has to lead toward the four interdependent dimensions of social integration: structural, interactive, cultural, and identificational integration.

B) Radical Planning

The success of multiculturalism depends to some extent on the capacity of the immigrants to raise their voice and concerns to be heard by other actors. This can be done through radical planning or social mobilisation. The realisation of that project needs a unification of all the immigrants working in the same sectors. Their mobilisation through structures or communities has to be working in collaboration with the state or city to find means and paths of consensus. Immigrants have to establish themselves as stakeholders or partners to collaborate in taking further the revival of the area. Their mobilisation must serve to pinpoint their potential if they are ignored. It is what is expected of immigrants involved in the regeneration of RRHS.

C) Participatory Process

Participatory process is valuable in the search for successful integration since it allows the consultation of the immigrants by policymakers and planners. It will offer a platform to the former to articulate their opinions on matters concerning living and belonging to the host society. More specifically, immigrants in RRHS can be consulted about the impact of the urban regeneration process and their role. Together with all the other actors, they can seek new ways of improvement to foster city-building or rejuvenation. Those ways have to be related to social integration, economic revival or to any other strategy that needs to be done to realising the cosmopolitanism. One of the conditions to achieve or fulfil the requirements of participatory process is the capacity of politicians and planners to break barriers to transcend the limits of their own communities and values in order to really and in a transparent way interact with immigrants' communities.

2.6 Conclusion

Literature on planning and diversity is young gauging by the dates of publications of books and articles. The ground-breaking Sandercock's book: *Towards Cosmopolis* was published in 1998. The Journal "Planning Theory and Practice" addressed planning and diversity as central themes in its September 2003 issue. That is to say there is still room for improvement on the unresolved theoretical issues (Sandercock; 2003a). Nevertheless, the literature is already useful and reliable in addressing the issue of diversity and city-building in the era of migration. The literature has served for many purposes: the conceptual clarification, the highlight of the linkage between the three main concepts of urban regeneration, migrants and diversity, and the definition of the strategies of intervention to assess the inner city regeneration and social integration process in the CoJ. Sandercock (1998; 2003a) develops a number of strategies founded on planning theories with regard to social transformation. The research, however, has considered only three as instruments. There are institutional and legal framework, radical planning and participatory process. The choice is justified by the active interaction the three strategies

are likely to offer between city officials and the immigrants and by their use in international practice where they brought some positive results.

In concluding this chapter, it is worth to note that the theoretical discussion has led to the observation that Sandercock's (1998, 2003a) publications carry a lot of emotion. Referring to Sandercock as the one who re-awakens the romance, Harrison (2002: 82) says: "Sandercock is full of romantic hope for planning". This leads one to wonder whether Sandercock's project could be accomplished. Sandercock (1998) describes that project as 'utopia' and assumes it. Fundamentally, the project is a dream. Will it one day come true? Will planning for diversity really be transformative? Are there reasons for hope? Maybe the answer is in what Harrison (2002: 85) calls planning's tragic visionary to say 'planning dreams will never be realized in any absolute sense'. To sustain this project, the emotional resources are needed. However, as Sandercock (2003a) believes, even though the project cannot be fully achieved, it has to be a process always in making and worth to be supported. How are African planners and the CoJ dealing with that project? This constitutes the content of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

African planning: An overview of the Johannesburg's approach

3.1. Introduction

In the previous pages, the research has focused on western planning perspectives or initiatives to explain and clarify its main concepts. These then determined three strategies of analysis in the process of urban regeneration towards social cohesion. From a certain point of view, African planning trends can be seen to lack the theoretical foundation to tackle the issues in this study. The research shows itself to be western ideas-dependent, neglecting to give an account of an African initiative. However, it is useful to emphasize that the reason why/perspective through which the research utilizes the western set of planning tools can be found in Bollens (2004, cited by Watson: 2006) paper. He asserts that planners who are working in areas where fractures are deepening and where people are less conscious of those fractures need to look to cities where there is a longer background of grappling with such issues. South Africa and its big cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban) are facing the issues of urban regeneration, immigrants, and diversity, which have arisen since the 1990s. The CoJ started to address urban decline and to look at the social cohesion issues in the early 1990s when the problem emerged. The same issues have already been addressed in many western cities with relative success. Furthermore, planners of those cities have built up some theoretical roots. However, the focus on western planning thought does not imply that the northern hemisphere's theories must impose themselves everywhere. Rather, it must be emphasised that they have a limited relevance. For that reason, Watson (2006:3) advises that "we seek alternative sources for thinking about questions of value and rationality…" It therefore appears that the task of planners in Africa is: the production of a set of planning tools or a local/African approach to different issues affecting the continent.

Urban decline, immigrants and diversity are among the burning issues. The production of knowledge for Africa does not necessarily mean the production of a new rationality but rather sometimes the meta-narrative discourse on given knowledge to make it relevant to Africa. In this chapter, the research will look at the theoretical debate and vision of planning in Africa and it will give an account of Johannesburg's early experience of urban regeneration and social integration in the era of migration.

3.2 African planning: a theoretical debate and vision

Planning, like all other structures that make up African post-independence modern states, is a legacy of the colonial era (Mabogunje, 1990). Africa has been under the influence of western-inspired planning theory and instruments. However, there have been movements, determinations and projects to restructure and re-build African cities in an African-nourished theory and practice. Since 1956, urban research in Africa turned to the problematics of urbanisation. Mabogunje (1990) reveals that 1956, with the publication of the recommendations of the UNESCO-sponsored conference, is the major benchmark in the history of the urban research in Africa. The focus on a particular problem in African urbanisation differs from one era to another. During colonialism, the cultural paradigm dominated urban research in Africa (Mabogunje, 1990). Colonial urbanization focused on the theoretical frameworks of culture contact, cultural pluralism, cultural adaptation and technological imperatives (Mabogunje, 1990). In the post-colonial era, the question of whether African cities should serve as the driving force for economic and social transformation of the African countries emerged. This issue came to the fore due to the lack of satisfaction of what was expected from urbanization in Africa: the driving-force to the modernisation of the continent. This question is still a burning issue in much of the African urban research, even in the big African cities that have embraced European modernity. The failure to attain expected and targeted achievement led a number of African researchers to go back to theoretical foundations or instruments and question their relevance, problem-solving efficiency and effectiveness. Throughout the continent, centres and institutes of African urban research have been created. Similarly, scholars engage in research fields dedicated to dealing with new or recurrent issues of African

urbanisation. The waves of globalisation, the persistent social fragmentation, the challenge of migration and poverty constitute some of the current concerns of the African researchers. The likes of Mabogunje, Philip Harrison, Alison Todes, Vanessa Watson, and Mark Oranje, to name but a few, are greatly contributing to the African urban research debate. Mabogunje (1990), for instance, has undertaken the enormous and challenging task of assessing the research on urban planning in the post colonial era in Africa.

The aforementioned scholars currently reflect under a new paradigm and a new trend of planning which is postmodernism. However, the ideas of modernism in planning that many claimed to have abandoned still remain. Both paradigms, modernism and postmodernism warrant explanation here. Two main categories dominate the literature of planning theory: the modernist theory and the post-modernist theory of planning. Modernist theories, also called procedural theories (Harrison, 2005), are rational or comprehensive-centred and based on the idea of reason as the sole principle. Modernist planning is rooted in a positivist tradition. The rationale that it entails is the basis for predictive techniques and methods of analysis and modelling.

The modernist planning era ended with a paradigm shift to postmodernism. Indeed, the postmodern era is identified with the delocalisation of decisions based solely on reason or authority. Postmodernism claims the usefulness of diversity, difference and pluralism. With regard to planning, Harrison (1998) contends that the post-modernism brought a new era or a new perspective to urban planning. Under the impact of postmodernism, planning has shifted to an argumentative turn which also known as normative planning.
Friedman (1995) refers to normative planning as an approach that articulates good planning practices and what planners might need to do to achieve them. He adds that normative approaches can be seen to be concerned with increasing pluralism and democracy in the planning process. In effect, planning activities are seen to occur within the social, economic and legal context of the place and people. Normative planning understands that it is vital to include the people's experience and views to the betterment of decision-making and to allow the participatory governance.

In today's planning in Africa dominated by the paradigm of postmodernism with a pluralism of ideas, thoughts, rationalities, celebration of different opinions and diversity, the challenge for African planners is to invent or to dare thinking about African or local rationalities to address issues in Africa. "On the Edge of Reason: Planning and Urban Futures in Africa" is one of the writings in which Harrison (2005) captures and highlights the challenges, hopes and eagerness of the African planning to think about an African approach to the planning theory. In other words, Harrison (2005) tries to understand the meanings that planning can represent for the future of Africa. Apart from Harrison, Watson also tries to equip African planning with an adequate set of strategies. Harrison (2005) is delighted by the fact that before him Watson (2002) had already tried to research the usefulness of the normative planning theories in African context. However, he points out that Watson (2002) focuses her analysis on the limitations of Africa to successfully apply the normative planning theories due to the informalisation, kinship, weak states, and fragmented civil society. In sum, Harrison (2005) regrets the pessimistic and negative perspective embraced by Watson (2002). In contrast, he argues for a positive view of planning in Africa notwithstanding all the challenges. He writes:

> 'Watson ends with a negative picture of Africa and argues that it is not possible to think about planning in Africa outside of the issue of development. It is possible, however, to move, at least partially, away from developmentalism. Rather than seeing Africa as an incomplete or deteriorated example of modernity we might focus on the ways in which Africa, and its many different parts, is…in the process of becoming something new that is both part of and separate to western modernity. This new imaginary may help open the conceptual space to think about the production of space in more positive ways'(Harrison, 2005: 11).

The positive ways that Harrison advises to think about do not mean Africa has to necessarily create authentic planning thought. Rather, as he argues, in the lines of postcolonial thinking, Africa might search for hybridity defined as a source of change and creativity. Hybridity refers to the interstices between Occidental rationalities and the rationalities of the colonial era (Harrison, 2005).

In another article, Watson (2006), like Harrison (2005), undertakes the same search for local or African knowledge to address the issue of differences in cities. In the article, Watson (2006) shows a deep concern about the scourge of inequalities, differences and urges for the introduction of values to try to solve the problems. Like Mabogunje (1990) with urban research at an Africa scale, many other researchers have undertaken the same project with Johannesburg. In the waves of Johannesburg's emergence as a post-apartheid city with the issues of diversity, migration and poverty, researchers such as Simone AbdouMaliq (1999), A. Morris (1999), Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002), Bremner (2002; 2004) R. Tomlinson (2003), C. Rogerson (2004), Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) have thoroughly studied the city. Below, the chapter goes on to introduce Johannesburg and its efforts in urban regeneration and attempts for social integration with regard to immigrants.

3.3 The City of Johannesburg and the Planning Process of the Implementation of Diversity

3.3.1 Introduction

Previous research (Morris, 1999; Tomlinson *et al.*, 2003.; Rogerson, 2004) revealed that the city of Johannesburg, in the post-Apartheid South Africa, entered a demographic, social and political reconfiguration with the arrival of African foreigners to its inner-city in the mid 1990s. This has made the country more diverse, adding to the racial diversity. Some of the newcomers have gone on to play an active role in South African society. Through their entrepreneurship, they started SMMEs in the inner city of Johannesburg in general, in RRHS in particular. The majority of enterprises have been in informal economies, which, by the way, have flourished (Bouillon, 1999, quoted by Gotz and AbdouMaliq Simone, 2003). As such, they started entering the living space of the nationals, reframing the sense of belonging with regard to neighbourhoods (Gotz and AbdouMaliq Simone, 2003; Chipkin, 2005). Foreign nationals unconsciously made a claim: a new sense of belonging termed 'becoming' (Gotz and AbdouMaliq Simone, 2003). The emergence of these new complexities in post-Apartheid Johannesburg's inner

city posed a challenge to the metropolitan municipality. The latter's response to the fear and tensions raised by the new population reconfiguration across the city seem relatively inadequate.

Within the literature (Tomlinson *et al.*, 2003; Rogerson, 2004; Chipkin, 2005), the CoJ's responses ranged from economic, to cultural and social dimension; these measures fall into the framework of urban regeneration. The section below outlines the major steps that Johannesburg's has experienced in the process of urban renewal.

3.3.2 Inner City Regeneration: Johannesburg Experience

Johannesburg's inner city regeneration is aligned with international practices in terms of the objectives. In fact, wherever it is implemented, the regeneration of city centres aims at upgrading the declined cities to bring back life by attracting investment. The wellbeing of the communities is a balanced approach between physical, social and economic aspects of the process (Crouch, 1992). Regeneration is a planning decision to overcome the decay of the cities. Post-apartheid Johannesburg's inner city fell into decay in almost all sectors of life it is thus understandable that the City Council introduced a number of programmes for its economic regeneration and physical improvement (Rogerson, 2004).

The regeneration of the inner city of Johannesburg is of extreme importance because it goes beyond the sole limits of the CoJ. In fact this is illustrated through the implementation of Johannesburg 2030, which aims at making the inner city 'the golden heartbeat of Africa' (Fraser, 2004, in Rogerson, 2004) and at helping it become a world-class city. Furthermore, the Inner City Charter adds the vision of making inner city a cultural capital (CoJ, 2007).

The formulation of such visions boosted the revitalization process of the inner city whose early initiatives took place during 1990s. The initiatives consisted of development proposals and spatial framework organized into a series of precincts or activity districts (Rogerson, 2004). The boost brought into the process can be summarized as follows:

- The inner city regeneration became a core priority during the Executive Mayor's 2000-2005 term of office: it is an important step toward the revitalization programme with many advantages. Being incorporated as a core priority, the inner city regeneration has benefited from the particular attention, an adequate budget for its achievement and in the longer-term can be an assessment point of the transformation of Johannesburg.

- The establishment of the Johannesburg Development Agency as the city's implementation authority whose task is also to deal with the inner city: it is another element of the materialization of the institutional-care of the inner city regeneration.

- The launch of Johannesburg 2030: as the most important policy document produced for the city development. Joburg 2030 plays the role of economic fostering for the inner city regeneration through its objectives of creating conditions for higher levels of economic growth (CoJ, 2006).

- The 2002 recognition of the inner city as a major economic generator of employment and services and the heart of the city for its image.

- The 2003 launch of the Inner City Regeneration Strategy: the strategy is designed to concretize the vision of Joburg 2030. To this end, it develops five pillars of intervention: Address sinkholes, Intensive urban management, Maintain and upgrade infrastructure, Ripple-pond investments and Support economic sectors. The overall objective of the five pillars is to raise and sustain levels of private sector investment (Rogerson, 2004).

- The 2004 Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan: the document designed as a three year business plan seeks the translation of the Inner City Regeneration Strategy into concrete projects. It constitutes the inner city as part of Region 8 of

the administrative area of the CoJ. Rogerson (2004) reveals that the importance of that business plan lies in its effort to synchronize the efforts of all agencies under the auspices or authority of the CoJ. As such, the inner city regeneration benefits from a coordinated and ordered action toward its implementation.

- The 2007 Inner City Charter: the last born in the long list of decisions toward an effective inner city regeneration plan, the Inner City regeneration Charter is the result of intensive dialogue between all the stakeholders. It aims at finding ways to further inner city regeneration. It envisages reinforcing the inner city's pursued image of a place of business and residence that accommodates people from different backgrounds and eradicates poverty.

During the 2000-2005 mayoral term of office, the inner city regeneration has seen some positive outcomes such as establishing Constitution Hill, Newtown cultural precinct, the fashion district, Metro Mall, Mary Fitzgerald Square, Faraday Taxi Rank, Nelson Mandela Bridge and upgrades in Main Street and Braamfontein. This reflects the physical dimension of the inner-city regeneration, which needs to be aligned with economic and social aspects, two other dimensions of the city intervention.

3.3.3 Economic and Social Strategic Interventions of the CoJ

The economic dimension of the response of the CoJ is the regulation of the informal economies operated by immigrants. To accommodate the migrants and their activities, the CoJ undertook the upgrading and building of new spaces. The Rockey Street Market in Yeoville exemplifies this initiative (JDA, 2004; Gotz and AbdouMaliq Simone, 2003). Physical regulation has been enforced by the new terms of commerce to formalize the activities of the hawkers or street vendors.

The economic strategic intervention of the CoJ also allowed the diversity of the market. That is to say the immigrants enrich the local market by their traditional products, before then unknown in South Africa. This manifests in fashion or clothing products imported

from Francophone West Africa, Botswana, Kenya, the Somali Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Zimbabwe (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2003; Rogerson, 2004). This corroborates what Sandercock (2003a) seeks in the strategy of the market as a means and way of achieving the integration process of the immigrants. In fact, it comes out in Sandercock's (*ibid*) perspective of the market as a response to the challenge of difference in cities. She goes on that for the strategy to be workable it entails the use of progressive mechanisms. Further, Sandercock (*ibid*) advocates for the diversification of the market by the introduction of a permit and the provision for goods and services from the immigrants' communities of origin.

However, Lipietz (2004), in her assessment of the intervention of the CoJ, finds that there is no reason to celebrate whole-heartedly. She contends that there is still a lack of the vision in social integration and the building of social networks between foreign and national entrepreneurs. She goes on arguing that it is because the CoJ privileged the approach of viewing immigrants as investors along the lines of neo-liberal and market-oriented policies. That is to say that the CoJ has opted to work only with those who are skilled and capable of contributing significantly to the attainment of the inner city regeneration programme.

Rogerson (2004) asserts that the CoJ took the initiative to work on that aspect by attempting to build or bring together foreign and national entrepreneurs in the field of fashion through social networks. This followed the findings of the research undertaken in the fashion and clothing enterprise (Rogerson, 2004). On the basis of social capital, Rogerson (2004: 418) notes that the major conclusion found that limited social capital existed between South African and immigrant entrepreneurs. In terms of collaboration between both groups of entrepreneurs, there are few linkages between them. Rogerson (2004) outlines that immigrants suffer hostility from South Africans and police harassment due to uncertain legal status. The CJMM, taking into account the recommendation of forging business association between immigrants and South African entrepreneurs, has engaged in that way with its partners. As a result, Rogerson (2004)

asserts the project initiated by the then GJMC reflects success in growing networking and cooperation between South African and non-South African enterprises.

3.3.4 Provisional Assessment of the Intervention Process of the CoJ

The planning process of city-building in an era of diversity cannot be a one-day enterprise. However, as the meaning of the term 'process' suggests, it must be a dynamic and daily sustaining effort. The expected positive results depend on the vision which underpins the task. For CoJ the vision of improving the economic viability of inner city Johannesburg (Beall, *et al*. 2002, in Chipkin, 2005; Lipietz, 2004) is based on the integration of South Africa as a country in the global economy. In other words, it is the vision of CoJ which claims the status of 'World Class city' (Johannesburg, 2030). This vision drove the CoJ to view and work with immigrants as investors without social integration. Later, the CoJ committed to rectify the unfortunate consequences of its interventions. The rectification is illustrated by the project undertaken by the CJMM in the fashion and clothing domain. In this respect, some positive results have been made.

The evaluation of the strategic interventions of the CoJ reveals, in terms of planning, the lack of participatory process (partnership), the lack of associational organisations and the invisible role of planners as mediators and negotiators. In addition, there was no exploration of intercultural exchange. The CoJ focused strongly on the economy as a means of integration. Though the economic aspect as Sandercock (2003a) argues, it is not sufficient to address issues of social integration holistically. The CoJ plays down immigrant entrepreneurship as a vehicle of social integration and economic booster to achieve the vision of Johannesburg as World Class city. This approach has revealed the lack of strong institutional framework, specific policies to deal with social integration, the lack of communication and collaboration. However, it may suggest that the CoJ is committed to work on the dimension of social and cultural integration. This is further examined in the next chapter which deals with the process of social integration in the context of RRHS in Yeoville.

3.4 Conclusion

A number of reasons justify the inclusion of the African planning experience in this chapter: to give a brief account of the African scholars' and theorists' commitment to planning and to avoid the impression of the lack of an African approach to the current pressing issues affecting cities today. This overview has also served to introduce Johannesburg's experience in the urban regeneration and social integration process as an African attempt at urban problem solving. Historical, social, economic, political, cultural and environmental dimensions were briefly presented. The essence has been the focus on the current phase of African planning whose theoretical thought has been drawn mainly from the South African example. However, that does not imply that planning theory in Africa is dominated by South Africa. Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya also participate in the debate (Demanya, 2006). Nevertheless, what can be said about planning theory is that Africa is still in the early periods of its search for adequate tools for a better practice of planning on the continent. Watson (2002) and Harrison (2005) have started this project that needs to be continued. Because various issues of fragmentation, poverty, inequalities and conflicts affect Africa, planning theory must be up to the challenge. It is noteworthy to recognise some encouraging outcomes that have been obtained so far. Researchers are, for instance, making use of the knowledge and critiques provided by Johannesburg's experience. However, if the impression is that there is little reference to an African set of strategies, one has to understand that the research does not take the perspective of "an African solution to African problem". The research is not about an African response or view on inner-city regeneration and planning for diversity. Similarly, the research does not share the idea of Africa as an object apart from the world (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). The researcher draws on the best practices of the North to outline strategies of intervention, to develop theoretical framework. It also makes use of inputs from African scholars as much as it might. As it shall be showed in the next chapter, the research indeed looks at local experience. The exploration of the RRHS case study will demonstrate this.

CHAPTER FOUR

Case study: Immigrants, Urban Regeneration and Planning for Diversity in Rockey/Raleigh High Street. (Analysis of the Process)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the analysis of the urban regeneration process and whether or not it leads to the building and celebration of the diversity in inner-city of Johannesburg. The focus of the analysis in this case study is Rockey/Raleigh High Street in Yeoville.

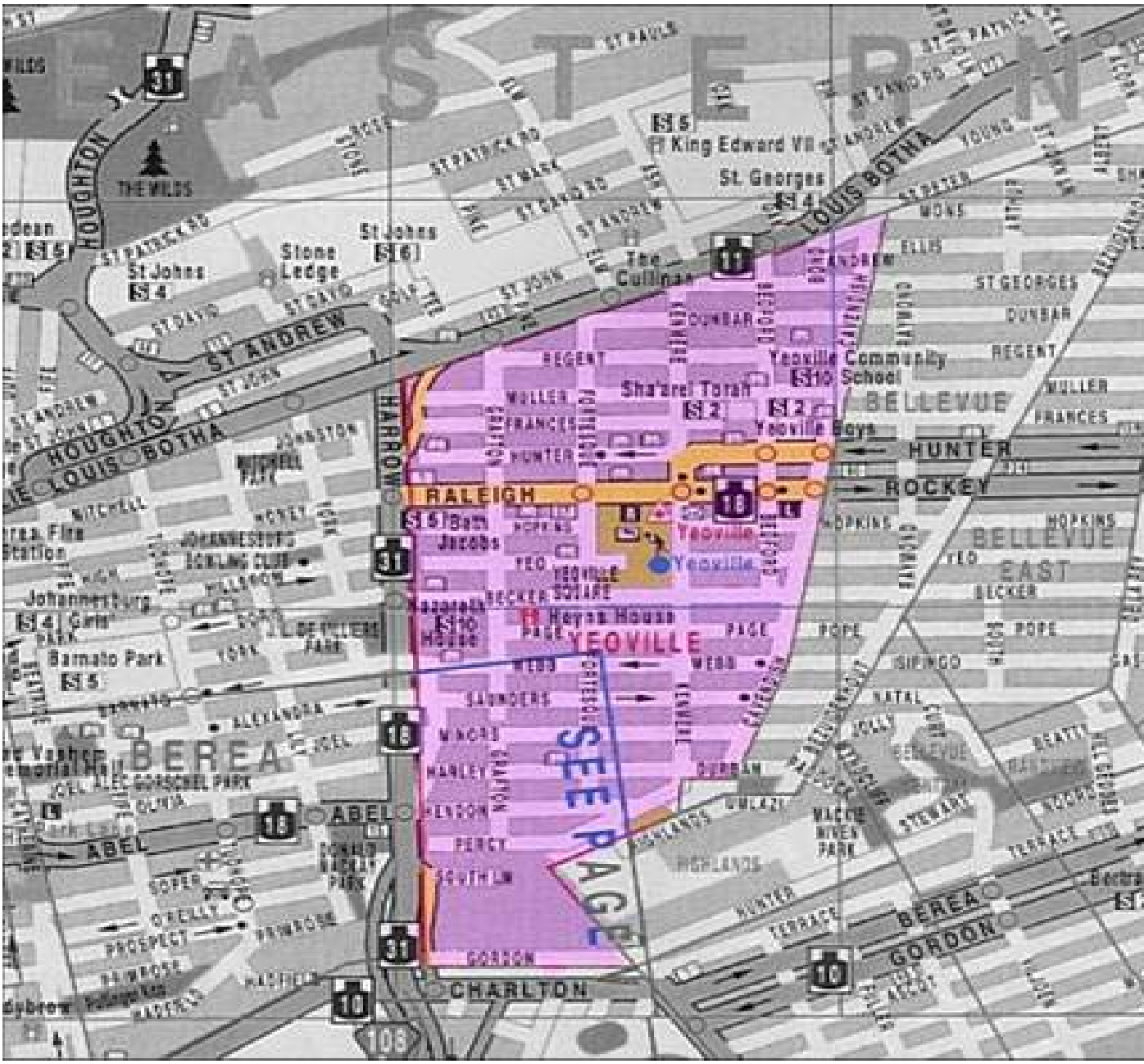
The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section consists of the presentation of the study area through the perspectives of the urban regeneration, diversity, and migrant entrepreneurship. The second section presents and discusses the findings of the research in order to determine the impact of urban regeneration on social planning in the area and in the era of migration.

4.2 Study Area

4.2.1 RRHS and the Urban Regeneration

RRHS constitutes the focal point of the research. It is also the chosen area of Yeoville where the JDA has aimed to implement the urban regeneration project in the neighbourhood. It is so because RRHS represents the social, cultural, and economic hub of Yeoville (Meyer, 2002). It is, therefore, understandable that the CoJ planned to regenerate Yeoville through the revival of RRHS (*see figure 1 and figure2*).

Fig. 1: Map of Yeoville and RRHS



Map of Yeoville, the suburban area of the CoJ and its main street of Rockey/Raleigh in yellow. Source: www.joburg.org.za

Fig 2. RRHS (*Photo: Fleury Dala*)



The executive marketing and communication of JDA, commenting on behalf of his institution says:

> *The vision we have developed for Yeoville Rockey-Raleigh High Street is that it will be an attractive well maintained safe, secure and convenient urban environment, which is sustained by a vibrant local mixed use economy, providing opportunities for convenient shopping, accessible retail, entertainment, recreation and social services facilities predominantly to the neighbourhood community and attractive to the sub-regional community' (JDA, 2004, unpaged).*

Yeoville was a viable node during the white-dominated era. Development was well managed: business, security, safety, sustainable neighbourhood were ensured (Meyer, 2002). However, the political transformation which occurred in the country with the demise of the apartheid regime had a heavy impact on livelihood of the area. The whites gradually moved out to other suburban areas such as Rosebank and Melville (Meyer, 2002). Therefore, it was hard for the new occupants — largely from disadvantaged backgrounds — to sustain the level of development of Yeoville. Thus, negativity began to

reign (Levin, 1996). Traditional businesses moved on. Property prices plummeted with the result that banks red-lined areas in Yeoville and urban management declined.

The decline of Yeoville reached its peak with the murder of Jamaican-born Ridely Wright, a restaurateur in Rockey Street, in 1996. Stakeholders and ordinary members of the Yeoville community demonstrated against the government for not taking into account the regeneration of their area. Since then Yeoville, as a part of the inner city in Johannesburg, gained attention from the municipality for its regeneration. However, as Smithers (3/01/2008) indicates, the regeneration of Yeoville has been initiated by Yeoville inhabitants who stood against the multi-faceted decay of their neighbourhood. A proposal document "Rockey/Raleigh Street. Urban Regeneration Initiative" drafted by the then Yeoville Community Development Forum (YCDF) and Rockey Raleigh Management Committee (RRMC) was submitted to the CoJ in October 2000.

In December 2004, the JDA announced the Yeoville regeneration initiative with its focus on RRHS, identified as a 'potential economic node'. This RRHS regeneration-based is motivated by the fact that "Yeoville hangs off the central core of RRHS, which houses the commercial and public activities of the suburb" (Kollenberg, 1996).

After the feasibility study, the JDA identified four areas of intervention: intensive urban management, economic redevelopment, public environment upgrade, and marketing.

- The intensive urban management intervention focuses on by-law enforcement, town planning scheme enforcement, informal trade control and regular delivery and maintenance of services, utilities and public environment management.
- The economic redevelopment determines appropriate strategies and resources required to promote and support sustainable local economic development.
- The public environment upgrade concentrates on upgrading and ensuring the effective and efficient functioning of engineering infrastructure and services, including the road network. The upgrade will also encompass the development of the civic node, which will cover all community facilities.

- The marketing interventions will provide and determine coherent mechanisms, strategies and resources that are necessary to effectively promote High Street for new investment (*See figure 3*).

Fig.3: KFC in RRHS (*photo: Fleury Dala*)



KFC in RRHS is a new investment in the area. It is a result of RRHS regeneration

4.2.2 RRHS and Diversity: immigrant Entrepreneurs

Yeoville is a place for homeowners and peace seekers throughout the centuries. One of the oldest suburbs of Johannesburg in the perimeter of Central Johannesburg, Yeoville represents a land of destination for many people within and outside South Africa, making the place, according to Smithers, the chairperson of Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF) in Meyer (2002: 33) "internationally known as a cosmopolitan suburb, in which racially imposed boundaries were overcome". The Wits-Tufts-Ifas survey shows that Yeoville is the preferred place of arrival for migrants, either foreign nationals or South Africans.

During the apartheid regime, 90% of Yeoville's occupants were whites from various western and eastern European countries. Due to the legislative constraints on residential 'locational' decisions, the only black people legally allowed to live there were domestic workers. However, since the 1990s, a transformation of the suburb has begun. Yeoville has turned into an African cosmopolitan junction (Levin, 1996) or Pan-African area (Smithers, 2/01/2008). Black households have migrated to the inner city from the former townships and from rural areas, as well as from other African countries (Meyer, 2002). If Yeoville's population shifted from a white-dominated to black-dominated area, the community is still multicultural, multilingual, multiracial, a mini-symbol of the rainbow nation (Levin, 1996). The business places vacated by White business owners is today, in part, occupied by Black and migrant entrepreneurs. The presence of the latter is obvious throughout the RRHS with their different economic activity, mainly operated to support the livelihood of these new inhabitants (Smithers, 2/01/2008; Nigerian 2, 4/01/2008). Among the many types of business run by migrants are entrepreneur restaurants, grocery shops, beauty care and clothing shops, communication technology, entertainment, hardware stores, etc. (Meyer, 2002). The term 'in part' indicate that migrant entrepreneurs are not the sole entrepreneurs in the RRHS. There are fast-food chains (Nando's, Chicken Licken, KFC), clothing stores (PEP), banks (First National Bank, Standard Bank), to name a few, that are also in business in the RRHS (*see figure 3 here above*). Their return is one of the outcomes of the RRHS development. However, by mentioning migrant business owners, the intention is to point to the fact that RRHS is truly cosmopolitan, multicultural, and diverse. Migrants are nonetheless among the major actors. With regard to restaurants, RRHS gives evidence of its diversity by the number of tastes one can find, namely Ghanaian, Nigerian, Cameroonian, Congolese, Zimbabwean and South African foods. The CoJ's inner city committee, the JDA and the YSF and the migrants themselves recognise the diversity of the RRHS and the contribution made by the foreign population involved in businesses in RRHS. The building of the Yeoville market is a response from the CoJ to accommodate the diversity of RRHS. How are the stakeholders going beyond that fact to integrate social planning into urban regeneration? Is social integration moving towards constituting RRHS as a cultural and a social hub beyond Yeoville?

4.3 The Findings: Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.3.1. Methodology of Data Collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews consisting of four different groups: migrant business owners in RRHS, the chairperson of the YSF, a member of the staff directory of the JDA and a municipal authority. Interviews were designed differently for each group (*see appendix*). They were run from the 2nd October 2007 to 4th January 2008. Ten migrant business owners were interviewed using the appropriate questionnaire. Migrant business owners have been randomly chosen. However, the researcher made some prior observations. He decided to diversify the interviewees by choosing from different nationalities recognisable by the African names of the shops. Thus, the migrants interviewed are one Cameroonian, one Congolese (Congo Brazzaville), three Congolese (DRC), one Ethiopian, one Ghanaian, two Nigerians and one Zimbabwean. The order is merely alphabetical. It does not follow the date when interviews were conducted. Nine out of the ten of migrants were interviewed on the 2nd of October 2007 and the last interview was conducted on the 4th of January 2008. The diversity of the types of business in which the interviewed migrants are involved is consists of hardware, laundromat, beauty care, hair salon, restaurant, clothing shop, pubs or entertainment. The researcher was attracted by the size of the shops that suggests a sustainable, growing and promising business and whose owner is in touch with the management of the RRHS, JDA and the CoJ.

Apart from the migrants, other stakeholders engaged and involved in Yeoville or RRHS were interviewed: Ms Yael Horowitz, the programme manager of the 2006 Charter management of the Inner City (14/12/2007), the development manager at the JDA, Ms. Seipati More (19/12/2007) and the chairperson of the YSF, Mr. Maurice Smiths (3/01/2008). The three interviewees have been included as key informants from whom the researcher can draw information about the city's approach to urban regeneration-led social integration in the era of migration and the area's involvement in the process. Since the research is designed to find out not only the views and perspectives of one group,

either the CoJ or the migrants, but the views from many stakeholders, it is important to include officials from the city and the chairperson of Yeoville. Thus, the research will deal with a multi-faceted evaluation.

Contrary to the three last groups, the researcher has deliberately decided after inquiry and agreement with the migrants to keep their identities anonymous. Therefore, for the purpose of the research, they will be addressed by their nationalities. Other differentiations will be made among those who share the same nationalities. This is the case of the three Congolese (DRC) and two Nigerians. The former will be distinguished into Congolese 1, Congolese 2 and Congolese 3. Likewise, the Nigerian division will consist of Nigerian 1 and Nigerian 2. The migrant from Congo Brazzaville will be addressed as Congolese.

Whereas almost all the interviews followed the semi-structure designed by the researcher, and as given in the appendix, the interview with the development manager, Mrs. More is a particular structure because the interviewee freely gave an account of the work as it is being currently done by the JDA.

It has to be added though that the language criterion was not applied. The interviews were in a language spoken by the interviewee. Thus, there have been three languages: English, French and Lingala, an African language spoken by Congolese from Congo, Brazzaville, and Kinshasa. The task was easy as the researcher is fluent in the three languages.

4.3.2 Presentation and Discussion of the Findings

The presentation of the findings will be done according to each of the interviewed groups' perceptions on urban regeneration, diversity and social integration or the building of a cosmopolitan RRHS. The discussion of the findings will consider the five key strategies identified in Chapter Three as concepts or variables that determine whether the urban process of regeneration leads to social integration.

4.3.2.1. Presentation of the Findings

4.3.2.1.1. Migrants business owners

A. Perception of the Inner-City Regeneration.

The questions and sub-questions in (Questions 3-6) in the appendix were asked, specifically directed to migrants business owners about their knowledge, perception, awareness, role, and involvement in the urban process of regeneration taking place in the area. The first urban-regeneration related question tries to push them to think about the difference they notice in RRHS from the time they arrived or at the start of their business and the current time. All the respondents answered that there are differences in RRHS but in two opposed ways. Four said the difference is positive in terms of economic activity (boom), while six stressed a negative difference. The difference in the answers depended on such factors as the starting-time of business and the transformation of the neighbourhood as experienced by the migrants. Those who had been trading since the 1990s have seen the decline of business opportunities due to specific reasons. The Congolese 3 (2/10/2007), a pub owner, for instance, contends that the problem that he encounters currently is competition. He says that in the 2000s many migrants arrived and started the same type of business as his. The Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008), also a pub owner from the 1990s, attributed the decline to mainly social causes. He pointed out that the quality of the consumers or the residents of the area had fallen. Yeoville's population is poor, and economically below the previous middle-class white population who lived in Yeoville; moreover, the black population whether it is South African or foreign is unemployed. Sub-question 3 attempts to find out the main reason of trading in RRHS. Without explicitly implying urban regeneration, the question, nevertheless aims at probing whether urban regeneration was the motive. None of the provided answers cites urban regeneration. By contrast, the answers were diverse. In total, the researcher recorded eight different responses: social networks, affordability, profit-making opportunity, place of the first arrival, high density of the population, business place, tax incentive and personal history. The interviewees were free to name as many reasons as possible, yet six named two reasons and four just a single reason. It seems that the

majority decided to trade in RRHS because of the social networks since they own what the researcher terms culturally-related businesses targeting people or consumers from the same country. Four of the interviewed migrants mentioned explicitly profit-making opportunities as a reason. Four cited the social networks and profitability as reasons. These arrived in the area during a large influx of migrants.

On the question of knowledge and awareness of the urban regeneration being implemented, eighty percent of the interviewed migrants said that they had never heard about the urban regeneration process and were not aware of it. Twenty percent responded affirmatively, both male and female interviewees. It seems Nigerian 2 appeared to be the privileged informant because he attended the preliminary meetings with the JDA representatives; he was sometimes invited by the development manager Seipati More of the JDA[1]. However, Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008) said it is because he showed his commitment towards the development and revitalization of the area that he chose to collaborate with the JDA and the RRHS management committee and the YSF. Congolese 2 (2/10/2007) admitted that she heard about the urban regeneration but she did not know what it was really about. Congolese 3 (2/10/2007), the oldest of the interviewed group of migrants, did not notice anything when he was asked, even when he was given examples of the changes in physical dimension, that is, the upgrading of parks. Importantly, he wanted to stress the fact that very little is happening in terms of urban regeneration with the on-going physical deterioration and the disinterested responses from the CoJ.

The question on urban regeneration in Question 5 in the appendix was asked by the researcher after an explanation of the essence of the urban process to migrants that claimed their lack of knowledge and awareness of the urban regeneration. The question and the sub-questions intended to find out the consciousness level of the migrants who have taken part as actors of the urban regeneration. All the respondents described themselves as actors in the urban regeneration of RRHS. Four of them simply responded by saying ‘yes’. Six others gave the reasons for their contributions by stating that they are paying taxes (50%) or that they are employing South Africans (33, 33%). Nigerian 1

[1] Mr. More was also interviewed.

(2/10/2007) described himself as making life easier for Yeovillites[2] through his business, in the sense that he offers in the neighbourhood what can be found in the CBD and therefore helps the Yeovillites to save money for transportation and time. The Congolese (2/10/2007) thinks she is making a great difference with her hair salon by offering a viable and attractive place. Similarly, the Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008) pointed out that his contribution is making the environment more physically attractive: "I bought, renovated and made the premises viable and comfortable". Through the responses of the interviewed migrants it appears that they are all aware of the asset they are for the neighbourhood and feel proud of it.

A further question and sub-question in Question 6 of the appendix investigated the migrants' sentiment as actors to find out if they go beyond the mere fact of being economic actors. They were also asked on the social networking or social capital within businesses of RRHS. On the question of the membership of any organisation within the business community, only one respondent, the Nigerian 2 formally belongs to an NGO called the 'Yeoville Trust' that he established with South Africans and foreigners. Ninety percent do not belong to any formal association. Three respondents, Congolese 1 (2/10/2007), Congolese (2/10/2007) and the Ethiopian (2/10/2007) said they belong to the community of their origin but their respective associations are not business related. It is only their way of socialising with people of their community of origin. On the question of attendance at meetings, sixty percent of the interviewed migrants claimed they do not attend business-related meetings. Some of the migrants of that group gave reasons: the Congolese (2/10/2007) said that she is the only woman and therefore feels shy to attend a male dominated meeting. Congolese 1 (2/10/2007) said he ignores the existence of any organisation but he looks forward to joining one. Forty percent of the remaining respondents attend meetings but not all do it on a regular basis. The Nigerian 2 through his NGO 'Yeoville Trust' and the Zimbabwean are regular attendants—they trade at

[2] Yeovillites refers to the residents of Yeoville. The research makes use of the term in the following of the then
Yeoville Community Development Forum that first used in its draft of "Rockey/Raleigh Street. Urban regeneration initiative initiated in September 1999 and completed in October 2000 by Maurice Smithers, chairperson of the then YCDF and Rockey Raleigh Management Committee (RRMC) and current chairperson
of the YSF.

Times Square. Congolese 2 (2/10/2007) admitted having attended meetings twice in four years as a trader at Piccadilly. Nigerian 2 said he attended a meeting with regard to RRHS issues.

B. Perception of the Diversity

Trading at RRHS for the migrants implies being part of the 'rainbow street' (Meyer, 2002). It is also the duty of the migrants to be aware of the diversity that makes up the street. Therefore, the research includes a question on diversity: migrants are asked whether they feel they are members of the multicultural community of RRHS and to what extent they interact with South Africans (*see question 7 in the appendix*). Eighty percent of the respondents described themselves as a member or as feeling part of the RRHS multicultural community. To show his sense of belonging to the cosmopolitan RRHS, the Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008), unlike others who responded simply by saying yes, said: "I am part of the community. That's why I am worrying about the type of development. I have established "Yeoville Trust whose membership is composed of South Africans and foreign-born business owners operating in RRHS". The remaining twenty percent of the respondents did not describe themselves as part of the multicultural community. The Ghanaian (2/10/2007) justified his answer by saying: "I am here to make money"; the Cameroonian (2/10/2007) pointed out that the crime issue prevents him from feeling he is part of the community. When he was asked what he understood by crime the Cameroonian said that calling himself a member of the multicultural implies the commitment and socialisation with others and employing South Africans. He is reluctant to socialise due to lack of trustworthy people and because of the suspicion that characterises relationships in South Africa.

With regard to the sub-question, "To what extent do the migrants business owners relate to South Africans and whether South Africans are aware of their contribution towards a more multicultural RRHS", seventy percent of the respondents affirmed that they interact with South Africans, but only one, Nigerian 2 is doing it formally through his NGO, 'Yeoville Trust'. The Zimbabwean, the Congolese and the Ethiopian have received some

South Africans who sought advice and information on businesses. Nigerian 1 thinks he relates to his customers only. The Ghanaian said very few South Africans appear to be aware of the diversity in the neighbourhood. The majority do not care. Finally, the Cameroonian thought the South Africans with whom he interacts are the job seekers. Thirty percent did not relate to South Africans in any way.

Regarding the further sub-question on the possible conflict between the migrants and the South Africans, none of the respondents experienced any conflict. However, Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008) added that although there is no burning conflict, the only problem he sees is the animosity of South Africans who think they can trade wherever it pleases them. Moreover, he emphasizes that it is because the municipal by-laws are not adequately enforced.

C. Social Integration

Questions 8, 9, and 10 (*see the appendix*) have been posed to refer to social integration in the way the migrants and the city council collaborate towards the building of the cosmopolitanism in the RRHS. Question 8 deals with the measures or initiatives taken by the city council towards social integration in economic terms, cultural exchange, and social networks. None of the interviewees knows about the measures or the structure set by the city council towards social integration in any of the three respects. Two added that the only economic measure known to them are taxes. Congolese 3 (2/10/2007) stressed there is no need for cultural exchange because he thinks Congolese are integrated. Question 9 relates to communication or collaboration between the city council and the migrants' community. All the respondents emphasize the lack of interaction with the CoJ. However, two mentioned a casual collaboration with the police on safety and security matters. Question 10 was about the public participation process. Eighty percent of the interviewees have never attended a meeting held by the CoJ to raise concerns and needs of the migrants.

A last question, entirely open and where the interviewees were asked to make any further comment, recorded diverse responses. Congolese 3 (2/10/2007) called on South Africans to start learning and knowing about other Africans ahead of the 2010 World Cup, which must be a show of African solidarity. Congolese 2 (2/10/2007) looked forward to the CoJ to strengthen the ties with the migrant community who have a role through their contribution —she sees them as a bridge. Congolese 1 (2/10/2007) wanted the city to address Yeoville's issues in all respects. Congolese (2/10/2007) emphasised the need for a business environment incentive to allow for the growth of business on the street. The city council has to take economic measures towards the achievement of the economic revitalisation of RRHS. In that way, she stressed that the issues of hawkers and dirtiness must be addressed. She said: "we need a clean city".

For the Ethiopian (2/10/2007), the regeneration of the area is attainable if the city appropriately tackles crime and corruption. Likewise for Nigerian 1 (2/10/2007), the crime issue is a real concern for the betterment of the street. In addition, he added that on social integration, the CoJ has to address the issue of access to social and health services for the immigrants, citing the case of migrant women in labour who experience xenophobia in public hospitals. His countryman, Nigerian 2 (4/01/2008) is concerned about the parking and traffic by-laws issue. The lack of appropriate parking prevents customers from choosing the street as a place of entertainment. Therefore, it is detrimental to the business in the area.
The Zimbabwean (2/10/2007) commented by providing a fourfold answer: the review of taxes, municipal help for loans at banks, meetings on a regular basis with the police, and the need for South Africans to overcome their superiority complex.

On a totally different note, the Cameroonian (2/10/2007) and the Ghanaian (2/10/2007) expressed their unhappiness of being in South Africa and looked forward to making money and going back to their respective countries. In sum, the concerns shared by some of them were the lack of South African solidarity with other Africans, the safety and security of the business environment, crime, environmental and physical improvement, the commitment from the CoJ.

4.3.2.1.2. Yeoville Stakeholder Forum

A. Overview

In the interview conducted with the YSF on the 3/01/2008, the researcher dealt with the chairperson, Mr Maurice Smithers. According to Smithers (2006) the YSF is "a multi-organisation structure comprising of the Community-based Organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), institutions and political structures" listed below in footnotes[3].

The YSF follows the steps laid out by previous organisations such as the Yeoville Development Forum (YDF) and its successors, the Yeoville Community Forum (YCF) and the Yeoville Community Development Forum (YCDF). Those organisations initiated citizens' action group in Yeoville (Meyer, 2002). They played the role of a voice for Yeovillites to raise Yeoville's issues and to influence decision-making processes by the city council affecting the physical and social space of Yeoville. The YDF, founded in April 1995, was dissolved in the middle of 1997 and, at the time of its disbandment, was called YCF. The then forum emerged to oppose the city council's suggestion "to fence off part of the Yeoville Park, the biggest public green space in Yeoville as secure parking for the Yeoville Recreation Centre" (Meyer, 2002: 84). Successfully, the residents prevented the implementation of that town planning (Meyer, 2002). The forum then was brought to a higher level when it legally constituted itself and designed a constitution. The physical legacy of the YDF/YCF is, for example, the building of a clinic in Yeoville (Meyer, 2002). Even after its dissolution, the YDF/YCF left some projects achieved by its successor citizen organization, the YCDF, which came into being in June 1998. There are for instance "the steps into the Yeoville Park" (*see Figure4*) and the "hawker's market," commonly known as "The Rockey Street Market" (*see Figure 5*) (Meyer, 2002).

[3] ANC Joe Slovo Branch (ward 67); Christians for Peace in Africa; Congo Heart of Africa; Curriculum Development Project; Grace Community Centre; Ivorian Community; Kopanong; Kuthalani; Self Help Christian Refugee Association; Siyophila; South Africa National Traders Alliance; St Aidan's Church; St John's College; Trinity Congregational Church; Unemployed Forum; ward 67 Ward committee; Yeoville Baptist Tabernacle Youth Department; Yeoville Community Action Group; Yeoville Community Policing Forum; Yeoville Tourism; Yeoville United Artists; Youth Desk (Yeoville SAPS. *Ex-officio: Ward Councillor; Community Development Worker*.

Fig. 4: Steps into the Yeoville Park *(Photo: Fleury Dala*)



Fig. 5: The Rockey Street Market: view from RRHS (*photo: Fleury Dala*)



The Rockey Street Market is the symbol of the recognition by the Yeoville citizen groups and the CoJ of the African diversity of Yeoville and RRHS.

YCDF inherited the structure of the YDF/YCF. It drafted a more detailed constitution in line with the political transformation of the whole country (Meyer, 2002). Nowadays, the civil action in Yeoville and in RRHS is run by the YSF. It pursues the vision of the "upliftment and development of Yeoville as a vibrant social, economic, and cultural centre, serving the varied interests of all members of its diverse population" (Constitution of the YCDF, Preamble, 1(b), quoted by Meyer, 2002). Among others, the YSF plays the role of constructive mediator within the neighbourhood, bringing together all its diverse interest groups so that they might advance in the same direction for an outstanding physical, economic and social regeneration of Yeoville. Therefore, it is worthy conducting interviews with citizens' action groups such as the YSF to investigate the commitment of the forum towards urban regeneration-driven social integration in RRHS. The approach in the interview with the chairperson as well as with the JDA's development manager and the city council's representative was different from the interview with the migrants. Indeed, with the former, the interview collected data on perceptions of the urban regeneration and social integration.

B. The YSF, the Inner-city Regeneration and Social Integration

Smithers (3/01/2008) told the story of urban regeneration in RRHS. The project of the regeneration of RRHS originated from a citizens' meeting in Yeoville. In 1998-1999 they produced a proposal document submitted to the city council but it was never taken up by the city. The proposal presented the uniqueness of Yeoville, which they argued was twofold. First, the international reputation of the area[4] based on the transformation of the RRHS as a place of night entertainment in Johannesburg since the 1980s. Yeoville is the first of Johannesburg suburbs to be known internationally as a cosmopolitan suburb and

[4] Cf. the research initiated by the John F. Kennedy School of Government of the Harvard University and the Graduate School of Public and Development Management of the University of the Witwatersrand in 1998 and entitled "Yeoville and the New South Africa: a case study in urban policy". Many international students and researchers have researched in Yeoville. Smithers (3/01/2008) said in the interview for the current research that they have been interviewed by at least fifteen students from outside the country. Monika Meyer, a former German student in the department of Geography of the University of Hamburg who researched in the area in 2000 translated from German into English her master's thesis "Civil Action and Space: Problems and Possibilities. A case study of the inner-city suburb of Yeoville, Johannesburg", in February 2002. Meyer (2002) reveals that an author called Ohler has massively published in Yeoville in the magazine 'Geo-Special'.

Rockey Street is considered the cultural core of Yeoville (Smithers, 24/4/1999 quoted by Meyer, 2002). Second, Yeoville is pan-africanist in nature.

In 2002, they promoted their project and vision by meeting with the Economic Development Unit of the inner-city and held a discussion to sort out the problems faced by RRHS in particular and Yeoville in general. Indeed, according to Yeovillites, the area was declining and becoming disrupted. It projected the bad image of an area where illegality prevailed. Therefore, it was hard to attract business to rejuvenate the area. Fortunately, the Yeovillites's proposal was accepted and in 2003 the JDA launched the process. However, because of the absence of a formal citizens' group within the area that could be the interlocutor with the JDA working on behalf of the city council, the city corporate met with the Yeoville Police Forum and individuals. They thereafter decided to form the same type of structure in the area that could collaborate with the JDA and the city council on the matters related to Yeoville. That is the YSF. The motto that drives the YSF in its mediation and advocacy role for the community to the city council is "Nothing for us without us", said Smithers (3/01/2008). The YSF is recognised by the city council. Smithers (3/01/2008) said that the YSF decided to design the membership structure opened to organisations only for three reasons:

- To avoid past experience of having individuals as members who represented themselves and fought for their own interests. Furthermore, it is difficult to deal with individuals and to communicate with them. Smithers (3/01/2008) said to gather fifty people in a meeting is a matter of good luck. The difficulty is representativity, in the sense that how it is possible that 36.000 Yeovillites[5] are truly and accurately represented by fifty people.
- The initiators did not want to take up all the problems of the area but they aimed at supporting the organizations and not taking their responsibility. Member-organisations know well the issues of their respective members and thus are able to address and to raise them adequately.

[5] This number represents the estimated demography of Yeoville by the Inner-City regeneration Charter in 2007.

- The membership opened to organizations gives more capacity to the YSF to represent the organizations with efficiency to the city council.

On the perception of the urban regeneration process, Smithers (3/01/2008) said: “How are we going to achieve and to encourage urban regeneration? Urban regeneration can help to bring back the old glory and pride of the area. That is our goal. It requires vision, hard work and it is achievable. However, what is happening? There is no proper urban management of Yeoville. It is mismanagement. I fight with my tenants for the upgrading because of the dirtiness. If the city wants to integrate people into the formal economy so that they can participate effectively, it has to create conditions, structures to allow people to develop their businesses in a sustainable way. But the city does not have a pro-active policy. It operates in the survivalist way and implements a low standard level of regeneration. YSF does not want the city to run the RRHS as a mall like Sandton and Rosebank because it will lose its pan-African character but the city must not let it discouraging people and let prevailing unlawful”.

The discussion with regard to the social integration or the integration of all the diverse communities that make up RRHS or Yeoville was started by the remark of the researcher who referred to the first meeting held in the area by the JDA and where immigrants’ communities were absent (JDA, 2004). The researcher wanted to know whether it was intentional for the JDA and YPF to exclude the migrants. Smithers (3/01/2008) argued that there was no such intention or a law excluding foreigners. However, he recognized that the JDA did not sufficiently communicate the news to ensure that the message reached all the communities. It did things quickly. Nevertheless, Smithers (3/01/2008) raised the communication problem in the area. There is no effective means of communication in the area with the community. In the past, there were communication channels such as pamphlets, free newspapers delivered on a weekly basis to every single household. However, the delivery stopped even if the newspapers still exist. It is due to the demographic change from a white middle-class to a black and multicultural group. Also, the problem of not having the same traders made effective communication more difficult when they utilised leaflets and word of mouth channels. Public advertisement or

notices don't seem to be efficient. He pointed out another problem, that of the absence of the representatives of the business community and property owners in RRHS. He added that there should be one like what used to be in the 1990s, with the forum initiated after the death of Wright[6] and called the Yeoville Traders Association. The members of that forum realised that for the sake of their businesses and the RRHS, they had to talk to each other and to develop the social capital, which was evidently absent according to (Smithers, 3/01/2008).

The YSF is aware of the diversity of the area and mainly its pan-African nature. It wants to implement the urban regeneration that takes into account this specific character of the area to design the RRHS with businesses suited to African tastes different from Rosebank and Sandton. Smithers (3/01/2008) argued that this is what we urge Yeoville to do, namely to follow what the IDP business plan did for Cyrildene by developing it as a Chinese business area. In its plan, the YSF suggested the location of the migrant office in Yeoville in building 26 in RRHS. That building is famous and iconic because Joe Slovo, the immigrant from the Jewish community used to live there. That would be a strong signal that migrant communities are taken seriously. The migrants' office can manage the programme of awareness with regard to social integration, English and French lessons. However, Smithers (3/01/2008) pointed out that migrant communities are in a way taken into consideration by the fact that the police meet with different communities. Nevertheless, Smithers lamented that the YSF sees no specific vision from the city council for the migrants and the RRHS. The YSF is not aware of policies encouraging migrants to trade in RRHS, social networks, or cultural exchange. Migrants do trade by survivalist reflex or for other purposes. Smithers (3/01/2008) argued further that the collaboration, communication, and participation process practice from the city council are too weak.

[6] Wright was a Jamaican immigrant who used to trade in RRHS and owned a restaurant murdered in 1998.

4.3.2.1.3. The City of Johannesburg: The JDA and the Inner-City Forum

A. Overview

The JDA and the inner-city are two entities of the CoJ in charge of the inner-city regeneration programme. They implement the urban regeneration according to the vision and under the auspices of the city council. The inner-city forum is responsible for the formulation, monitoring, and evaluation of the programme whereas the JDA is in charge of the upgrading or the physical regeneration. Thus, the research sees them as two entities that can be mixed in the same section. Attempts to conduct interviews with the mayoral committee of the department of development planning and urban management were unsuccessful. However, the mayoral head of the department of the development planning and urban planning recommended us to the inner-city forum interim programme manager, Mrs. Yael Horowitz who was interviewed on the 14/12/2007. That interview was followed by the one with the development manager of the JDA, Mrs. Seipati More, conducted on 19/12/2007.

B. The CoJ: Urban Regeneration and Social Integration

(i) The JDA

When asked about the inner-city urban regeneration with regard to RRHS, More (19/12/2007) said the city council and the JDA are committed to revitalising the street by turning it into a viable economic hub, a place of safety and security. The JDA's commitment towards the urban regeneration targets the upgrading of the Yeoville Park, paving and lighting. It mixes the physical approach with the social because the agency (More, 19/12/2007), despite not giving a social agenda as such, wants to create an identity for the area that is multicultural and where African influence predominates. That is why, for instance, a taste of that identity is given in the wall of the Yeoville Park where flags of different African countries have been exhibited (*see figures 6a and 6b*).

Fig. 6a: Some African countries's flags at the Yeoville Park wall (*photo: Fleury Dala*)



This figure contains Zimbabwean, Tanzanian and Mozambican flags.

Fig. 6b: some African countries' flags at the Yeoville Park's wall (*Photo: Fleury Dala*)



In this figure at the both extremes are Ivorian and Congolese (DR) flags

More said she has been approached by a group from an African country who have complained that the flag of their countries was missing. The same identity is created during the anti-litter campaign for a clean Yeoville with the messages printed in many

African languages and French. However, posters did not last longer enough for the researcher to have a picture of them. They had been already removed. The JDA pursues that goal to give an impression of Africa to tourists from overseas. When the researcher asked about the creation of identity, if it had done so with the participation or collaboration of migrants as a way of integration migrants communities, More (19/12/2007) claimed that the integration dimension of the JDA's mission is a bit complex. It is difficult to pinpoint what is happening. Nevertheless, the city is trying its best to accommodate everyone living in the area. In Yeoville, especially, the city encouraged the formation of a forum that was inclusive in the beginning. However, the forum is facing difficulties due to the lack of a proper link between the forum, the business people, and property owners. That follows from the fact that many do not live in the areas and thus do not feel really part of the neighbourhood. Also, many business owners are renting their shops. However, the JDA is committed to encouraging the business and property owners to join the forum in order to support what the city council is doing in order to revitalize the inner-city suburb of Yeoville. The JDA sticks to that social network because, as More (19/12/2007) recognises it, foreign-born populations are valuable to the area: "there are good inputs from the foreigners". However, she identified some challenges:

- Foreign inputs are not seen by all the South African-born population when they accuse foreigners of making the area dirty. However, More does not agree. That is why the JDA works to send a message of unity through the upgrading of the area and by its anti-litter campaign, irrespective of what and who people are.

- The JDA tries to communicate with foreigners but there is not a good response from their communities. Perhaps, thinks More (19/12/2007), they believe they are being accommodated and they end up not coming to the public meetings even though all the efforts and channels are being used to reach them. People are active. Very few are very supportive of the city council through what the JDA is doing. She cites an outstanding example of a Nigerian immigrant, the owner of the pub "The Zone" in RRHS.

(ii) The Inner-city Forum

As an interim programme manager of the inner-city forum, Horowitz was well placed to be interviewed. Also, her experience at the JDA and her participation to the 2007 inner-city summit add value to her expertise on the inner-city question or issue. Horowitz (14/12/2007) defined the space as "democratised space". It is only under this perception that the CoJ can create social cohesion and ensure the peaceful coexistence in the inner-city. The democratised space can also underpin the design of the space with the basics such as lighting and the encouragement of the social clubs. On the question of legislation with regard to planning and integration of the immigrants, Horowitz (14/12/2007) said regulations and legislation demand public participation. On that note, she remarked that the CoJ practises "communication and information dumping". She asked herself, in the meetings "who comes, what language is used? How does the CoJ deal with xenophobia and exclusion?" According to her, there is no real response from the CoJ due to what she terms "very little listening".

The migrants' desk is the office launched by the CoJ to deal with migrant communities issues. However, according to Horowitz (14/12/2007) the office does not receive enough support from Home Affairs and does not have enough resources. Consequently, the migrants' desk provides a low-standard of service. To enable the office to work effectively, Horowitz (14/12/2007) said there is need to equip it with translators and field workers.

In spite of the existence of the migrants, Horowitz (14/12/2007) is keen to see the creation of a responsible department that deals with economic or labour market issues to work more effectively towards the integration of the migrants. She revealed the proposal of the Nigerian community who approached the CoJ to create a market where they can trade Nigerian products. However, the CoJ dealt with the case wisely by accepting the proposal but expanded it to include other Africans to trade so that the market can express its African diversity.

On cultural exchange and social networks as means of integration, she recalled the experience five years ago with the fashion district when sub-projects training was undertaken with Mali designers teaching South Africans. In addition, the department of Art, Culture and Heritage is committed to enhance the exchange and the recognition of other cultures through music. That is an example of the celebration of diwali.

When asked whether the planners are trained to deal with diversity, Horowitz (14/12/2007) was not sure. At the end, she said that immigrants are an asset for the CoJ. The city council has to build on their strengths, on what they have, instead of thinking of starting something entirely new. This demands the shift of the mindset on the part of the South African officials.

In a nutshell, this section has attempted to give an account of the perceptions of the inner-city urban regeneration and the social integration. In the lines below, the research will discuss the findings in line with the identified strategies of chapter three.

4.3.2.3 Discussion of Findings

4.3.2.2. (a) Introduction

The presentation of findings in the previous section provides the perceptions of the migrants, the YSF, the JDA and the inner-city forum, respectively, through the migrants' business owners, the chairperson, the development manager (More) and the interim programme manager. In the current section, the researcher, in order to determine how far the inner-city urban regeneration has progressed towards social integration or the building of a sustainable diversity in RRHS, will discuss the findings with respect to the strategies or theoretical literature: institutional or legal framework, power relations, radical planning, communicative planning and participatory process.

4.3.2.2. (b) Institutional and Legal Framework

The previous chapter gave a sense of the meaning of the institutional and legal framework strategy. It argued that the strategy is the involvement of the state at any of its spheres and its agencies, such as police in the multiculturalism project to build a city founded on the common good. The institutional framework includes a number of formal attitudes, decisions, and practices from the state apparatus to ensure not an immediate but the important steps towards an enriching diversity for cities and regions. It comes out in the findings that the CoJ has moved towards that step. Horowitz (14/12/2007) reveals that the CoJ has an office called the migrants' desk. Smithers (03/01/2007) has recognized it. However, both complained about the efficiency and effectiveness of the service provided by the office even if in two different ways. Indeed, Horowitz (14/12/2007) called on the support from Home Affairs and resources whereas Smithers (03/01/2008) found the location of the migrants' desk downtown as being too far, showing that migrants' issues are not taken seriously. Smithers (03/01/2008) reveals that the creation is the initiative of the YSF. Its location in a multicultural area such as Yeoville and especially in the 26 building in RRHS would be a strong message to migrants with all the planned activities that it would fulfil. In addition, it also appears that none of the interviewed migrants mentioned the existence of the migrants' help desk. That, too, is a sign of a sustainable building process of a diverse inner-city in so far as some of those who are concerned about the office's service are not aware of its existence. Perhaps the communication channels are not utilised properly to reach those concerned. One can argue that if those who are involved in business and its leaders, representatives of their communities, ignore the existence of the migrants help desk, even worse might be true with regard to ordinary immigrants.

In line with the literature on the institutional framework (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006), the migrants' desk can fulfil the task of formulating and implementing proactive integration policies (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006; Sandercock, 2003a), creating and strengthening civic culture (Sandercock, 2003a). In brief, it has to ensure social integration in its four dimensions: structural, cultural, interactive and identificational.

In a structural dimension that refers to the rights and access to position and status in the structure of a society (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006), little is being done. Indeed, with regard to the interviewed migrant business owners, Smithers (3/01/2008) responded that they are not aware of the existence of economic or labour market policy incentives. Smithers (3/01/2008) blamed the lack of adequate management as a cause for the failure in implementing pro-active policies to create structures for people to grow their businesses in a sustainable way and therefore turning the RRHS into an envisaged economic hub. The call for tax incentives made by the Ethiopian (2/10/2007) is a vision and search for business environment. Horowitz (14/12/2007) proposed the creation of a department that will deal specifically with economic matters.

The cultural integration received some inputs or attention from the CoJ. This is seen in two ways that have come out in the findings:

- The involvement of the Arts, Culture and Heritage department that is usually holds musical concerts as asserted by Horowitz (14/12/2007), the carnival as part of the celebration of the new year, the encouragement of diwali;
- The painting of the Yeoville park wall with African flags by the JDA (More, 20/12/2007), which can be said to create a message of a multicultural awareness. This is maybe a small step towards the building of constructive diversity in the area but it can be sustainable in the future only if the march is not stopped in the midst of its process and if it is not of one day but an ongoing effort.

With regard to interactive integration, the research emphasises the social networks and membership in organisations. Those two sectors are the key to the building of a multicultural society. It appears that, with regard to the social networks, the interviewed migrants operate as isolated actors with zero degree of social networks beyond their communities of origin. This may suggest that they do not consider themselves somehow as leaders of the migrant community as a whole in which they can play the mediator role between the CoJ and their communities. The CoJ, in that way, according to More (20/12/2007) seeks the interlocutors not as individuals but as organisations to support

what it attempts in its inner-city urban regeneration. Smithers (3/01/2008) complained about the lack of business and property owners' organisations within the area. More (20/12/2007) praised the support from one immigrant also interviewed for that research (Nigerian 2) but finding out that ninety percent of the interviewed migrants are not involved in organisations or are not socialising to raise common matters of RRHS is indicative of people's lack of knowledge of the strength of a group towards the attainment of a viable inner-city urban regeneration in RRHS.

The identificational integration with respect to RRHS refers to the incorporation of the migrants' sense of belonging and identification to the local level of the CoJ meaning RRHS. On the part of the interviewed migrants, eighty percent said they feel they are part of the Yeoville community but it is rhetoric because it is not translated into practice since ninety percent do not belong to any organisation. Twenty percent said they are not part of the Yeoville community because they justify their stay in South African as wealth-seeking oriented: "I am here to make money" (Cameroonian, 2/10/2007). That is to confirm Landau and Haupt's (2007) argument of tactical cosmopolitanism or Chipkin's (2005) thesis of sense of becoming. However, the refusal to say that they belong to the community from the quoted migrants, can be understood as a response to the South African perception of foreigners (Morris, 1999). The Cameroonian (2/10/2007) observed that he cannot work with South Africans because he fears being a victim of crime — organised by his employees that he accuses of not being trustworthy. It may also be said that this response is due to the feeling from the migrants that they are not welcome, as More (20/12/2007) observed.

4.3.2.2. (c) Radical Planning

The success of the urban regeneration rests upon several actors and agents amongst the migrants. That is to say the latter has an important role because they live or trade in the area and therefore can come up with propositions to collaborate within the area with the YSF and on a greater stage with the city council. However, what comes out in the findings is that migrant businesses overwhelmingly lack social mobilisation. They are passive (More, 19/12/2007). There is not an organisation of migrant business owners. This leads to questioning the claimed sense of belonging claimed by eighty percent of the interviewed migrants. It is purely a passive sense of belonging.

4.3.2.2. (d) Participatory Process

In a broader sense, the inner-city regeneration charter is the outcome of the inputs and participation of the stakeholders of the inner-city and the city council. As a stakeholder and consulted organisation during the preparatory phase of both the inner-city summit of 5 May 2007 and the inner-city regeneration charter (CoJ, inner-city regeneration charter, July 2007), the YSF participated in the discussion with the researched area of Yeoville and RRHS. Again as a superstructure of different organisations with members operating in the area, the YSF is likely to represent the voice of a particular group of migrants. It attempted to do so in a broader vision based on the envisaged creation of an African identity where it can be assumed that the idea resulted from the demographic make up of the area (Smithers, 3/01/2008; 11/07/2006). However, the participatory process was not conducted in a satisfactory manner. Smithers (11/07/2006) raises this in the letter of the YSF to the Department of Development Planning, Transportation and Environment. This indicates clearly the state of the participatory process as undertaken or practised by the city council. Horowitz (14/12/2007) is right when she recognizes the weakness of the city council to utilize public participation to sustain the vision of democratized space. Furthermore, she (14/12/2007) reveals that the migrant communities as such did not take part in the preparatory stage of consultation with the stakeholders. In other words, they were not offered a platform to articulate their opinions and viewpoints on the inner-city urban regeneration. This also comes out in the interviews with the migrants' business

owners. Indeed, ninety percent of the respondents have never attended a meeting with the city council or its agency, the JDA. Again, the discussion can be similar to other strategies. The lack of strong organisations and the lack of knowledge of the urban regeneration process are prejudicial to migrant communities to even think about pro-active measures geared towards awakening the city council with regard to their needs, concerns, perceptions and contributions. In a strong membership in the YSF, they can contribute to make stronger the proposal of the creation of RRHS as an African place. Public participation is one the most debated and heated topic in South African governance. The motto behind it is '*batho pele'* (putting the people first). However, the translation into practice of the motto is controversial. Therefore, the response from the interviewed migrants, Smithers and even from Horowitz that confirms the criticism is in line with the practice of public participation in South Africa. With a country struggling to adequately address migrant issues, the steps towards the collaboration between the city council and the migrants' communities on inner-city cannot be expected to be great.

A proper communication or collaboration between the CoJ and all the stakeholders is the key to the success of the inner-city urban regeneration. The communication will help to seek consensus between the officials and the people on the ground, to reorient, reformulate and readjust for a better planning process. Migrants are among the people on the ground. Their perceptions can add value to the debate on the urban process. It is therefore the responsibility of the city council to ensure that they deal with them through the flow and dissemination of information. However, this does not appear to be the case as eighty percent of the interviewed migrants were ignorant of the existence of urban regeneration. In addition, they said that they had never been contacted by the CoJ or its agency with regard to revitalisation of RRHS. There is a lack of interaction between the migrant communities and the CoJ. Congolese 2 (2/10/2007) called on the CoJ to strengthen its ties with the migrant communities in order to work together. Only two acknowledged being invited and attending meetings with the police. However, these were casual and so they were held on a regular basis. But according to Smithers (3/01/2008), those meetings seem to be well managed and formal when he said that the police hold meetings with different communities. It is difficult to verify this since the interview with

the chairperson of the YSF took place after the majority of the migrant business owners had been interviewed. No one can argue that the CoJ is not communicating at all with the people on the ground in general or the migrant communities in particular. In fact, More (19/12/2007) points out that the CoJ is trying its best to succeed in urban regeneration and for that it needs the contribution of all stakeholders, which involves calling upon the migrants, business and property owners of the area. But people are passive and do not attend meetings. This shows that even though it is not successful enough, nevertheless, the CoJ communicates. Indeed, it is appropriately done when one considers the remarks against the department of planning, transportation and environment by the YSF on the timing and manner of seeking public participation (Smithers, 11/07/2006). Furthermore, Horowitz (14/12/2007) recognises that the CoJ is not listening enough to people.

The establishment of the migrant office is a channel of communication between the city council and the migrants' communication. But it is hard to argue that the CoJ is playing an open game with the Yeoville's stakeholders with regard to the public participation channel of collaboration. Several reasons push to defend that perception:

- the "very little listening" from the CoJ (Horowitz, 14/12/2007);
- the YSF's response to the Department of Development Planning, Transportation and Environment that expresses the unhappiness of the use of power from the CoJ: "First of all, we would like to reiterate our unhappiness at the shortness of time allowed in preparation for the meeting on 8th July 2007, the unavailability of documents until the last minute, and the brief period allowed for submissions to be prepared and handed in. It was clear from the RSDF meeting of 8 July that there was general unhappiness about the deadline and it is a pity the council was not able to extend it as requested. We urge you to be more considerate in future (this is not the first year this has happened) if you are serious about community participation in the planning process. It is important to remember that most of us are volunteers, doing this work in our spare time, which puts even more pressure on us if deadlines are too tight. We trust you will attend to this" (Smithers, 17/06/2006: 1). Smithers (17/06/2006: 2) adds: "We have no problem with this proposal though we are

not sure exactly what the council envisages by this. We have never seen any specific plan which maps out how and when this is to happen". Both quotations are indicative of the use of power by the CoJ that appeared to be detrimental for an implementation of the urban regeneration where people feel entirely concerned and a need for their voice to be heard and taken into account.

- The ignorance of the interim programme manager of the training of the planners to multiculturalism: that underpins the idea of the lack of mediation or facilitation that a planner has to play in the building of a cosmopolis.

4.4. Conclusion

Three sections have dealt with the analysis of the process through the case study of RRHS. The first section consisted of with the presentation of the researched area of RRHS with regard to urban regeneration, social integration and the diversity that makes up the street. This has been done also in the perspective of Yeoville and the CoJ. The outcome of the fieldwork done by the researcher has been given in the second section. Having conducted interviews with three groups of the actors involved in one way or another in the urban regeneration process, the migrant business owners, the YSF and the City council representatives; the JDA and the inner-city forum, the research recorded the perceptions of each the group on urban-regeneration-driven social integration and has presented them. It has been followed by an analysis on the third section under the strategies identified in chapter three. The analysis has pointed out the implications of the findings in the planning, practice, and theory. In other words, how the migrants communities, the YSF and the city council are acting in planning-orientated approach towards the building of a peaceful area through the urban revitalisation. It has come out that there is fundamentally a vision of creating an identity of the street and beyond that, of the whole area. However, the different groups proceed differently. There is a weakness to ensure that all the parties are on the same level and pull together in the same direction, due to causes such as ignorance of the urban process and lack or difficulties of communication. In the last chapter, the research will provide some recommendations for each of the concerned groups and will try to answer the research questions that guide it.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Introduction

This research into inner-city urban regeneration as a driving force to social integration or the building of a cosmopolis in RRHS in particular, Yeoville and the whole inner-city of Johannesburg in general, provides an assessment of the social dimension of the planning programme of revitalization. The response to the research question and sub-question will clarify the type of assessment the research draws from the analysis of the findings. The formulation of the recommendations based on the response to the research question will provide the prospective vision for better actions in the future on the part of different actors involved in the process and also for further study. After interviews conducted with different actors involved in the inner-city regeneration and in the Rockey-Raleigh Street revival, it is worthwhile to distinguish each of the actors to assign the specific recommendations. Indeed, responsibilities with respect to inner-city regeneration implementation are different from one actor to another. Each of them plays its role accordingly. Thus, the research identifies three actors; the migrants, the YSF and the city council, and formulates recommendations appropriate to each. This research opens the interesting field of links between migration, the increasing mark of the century, and planning theory.

5.2. Answers to the Research Questions

As observed in Chapter One, the study has designed the following main research question: How is the CoJ promoting or implementing the inclusion of immigrants to the urban regeneration strategy in the inner-city?

And the following sub-questions

(a) Is the immigrants' contribution to the urban regeneration process a vehicle for a successful planning for diversity in the inner city of Johannesburg? (b) Is there so far any plan of multicultural planning or social integration approach from the CoJ?

Based on the findings presented in the Chapter Four and on the discussion that followed in the same chapter, this study concludes that the immigrants' contribution to the inner-city regeneration is in theory a vehicle for the planning for diversity or the building of a cosmopolitan and multicultural inner-city of Johannesburg. Indeed, migrants in the inner-city of Johannesburg show their involvement in the life of the city through their economic activities. Bremner (2002) has strongly recognized the role of immigrants by saying that foreign nationals' migratory economic activity, cross-border trade and entrepreneurialism are becoming quite significant. The Wits-Tufts-Ifas survey (2006) confirms it when one looks at the rubrics of the preferred income generating activity and current income generating activity. The business sector is well positioned with 20% to 30%.

The city council in turn responds by aiming to create an inner-city that celebrates and welcomes diversity. The city council reiterates its vision and commitment in the inner-city regeneration charter. Therefore, on the part of the officials of the CoJ, there is recognition of the migrants' role, as stated in the city's documents and the interviews. If at the beginning, they were considering migrants' entrepreneurship only as an economic asset to the city, they are currently improving their approach. They are committed to go beyond the mere fact that migrants are an economic asset to create a sense of the CoJ as a hub of diversity in Africa welcoming immigrants. However, in practice, it is hard to clearly and firmly credit immigrants' contributions to urban regeneration as a driving-

force to the creation of city of diversity due to findings that highlight the weakness of adequate practice of the strategies such as institutional framework and public participation. The city's documents can easily mislead in the sense that there is likely a huge gap between what the reports say and the actual commitment of the city officials. For instance, the research argues that there is a difference in the understanding of urban regeneration between the stakeholders. The CoJ's comprehension is based on international experience and is market-driven. Foreign national capacity to respond to that type of vision is difficult to sustain given the fact their economic activity as far as it is concerned is not big enough compared to big businesses that the city really targets. In addition, the employment status of migrants in the inner city certainly does not encourage the CoJ to take them seriously as agents of the success. The Wits-Tufts-Ifas survey reveals the high level (almost 40%) of unemployment among the migrants.

In summation, the assessment to be made is that the immigrants' role as a vehicle of the integration of inner-city of Johannesburg has to be nuanced. From Morris (1996) to Landau (2006), studies of the issue of urban regeneration towards social integration in the era of migration show the little and controversial commitment of the CoJ. Both scholars, in line with others such as Beall *et alii* (2002) and Bremner (2002; 2004), point out the forms of social exclusion in the inner city.

If the CoJ may be praised for significant action, it is with the establishment of the migrants' help desk, but this praise does not extend to social integration policies formally formulated by the CoJ. The research did not come up with that evidence even after the interview with the interim programme manager of the inner-city forum. The CoJ lacks a clearly defined policy of social integration.

5.3. Recommendations and Perspectives for Further Studies

The success of an inner-city urban regeneration-driven social integration depends on the commitment of the actors concerned by the process: the city council, the migrants and the citizens' action group. Thus, it is important and appropriate to formulate recommendations appropriate to each of the actors.

5.3.1. Recommendations to the City Council

In order for the CoJ to improve its commitment towards the building of social integration in inner-city in general and RRHS in particular, the city council has to:

- To commit itself to specific policies with respect to migrants and their role in inner-city;
- To make migrants' communities aware of the existence of the migrants' desk. In addition, the migrants' office must be adequately funded and equipped with people trained, open-minded and keen to work with migrants;
- To improve its communication strategies with migrants. Public participation practice must be improved so that the migrants in inner-city must be included lest lack their input and knowledge might likely lead to policies and measures that would not be in touch with the realities of those concerned. The communication and collaboration will help to make the migrants really feel part of the process.
- Without work with the nationals in the areas of participation and collaboration, the results on the ground can be undermined. For that, the awareness campaign in a casual and formal means is to be used.

5.3.2 Recommendations to immigrants' Communities

After demonstrating through their economic involvement and other initiatives in the inner-city, according to the declared sense of belonging to the RRHS by eighty percent of the interviewed, the migrants' communities have to root their strength in the building of the social networks by joining existing organisations or interest groups. It is only within

strong organisations that they can work in collaboration with the city council and raise their concerns, needs, and point of view with regard to the urban regeneration process. Nothing can be obtained without their active participation and interaction with the city council. If the CoJ is seriously taking into consideration the vision of creating an inner-city with an African taste, the definition of African encompasses not only the black nationals but also their African counterparts. Here again, the migrants' communities, if they are well organised, can contribute immensely to the achievement of this vision by bringing the specificities of their culture.

5.3.3 Recommendation to Citizens' Action Group

In the current state of the urban-regeneration process, the example of the YSF shows that citizens through their civil action are involved in the process and are the voice of the all residents of the area, nationals and foreigners. Furthermore it demonstrates how it embraces the vision of African identity that stems from the presence of African populations in the area. The case of Yeoville is not alone within the inner-city. A similar vision characterises the work of Ekhaya precinct in Hillbrow. However, the action of the citizens' group can be strengthened if they take more steps towards working closely with the migrants' communities from whom they gain more support. Yet difficulties do exist due to the social conditions of many of the migrants and their reluctance. Nonetheless, it is only if they overcome those pitfalls that their actions can grow and attract serious consideration from the city council. In that way, the citizens' action group can lobby the city council and potential sponsors committed to African identity or a cosmopolitan vision of the inner-city. The citizens' action groups also have to strengthen its role of civil society in partnership with the CoJ even though the practice is somehow disappointing so far (Smithers, 3/01/2008; Horowitz, 14/12/2007).

5.3.4 Perspectives for Further Studies

The research has aimed at analysing the urban process of regeneration in the inner-city of Johannesburg through the case study of RRHS. The study has explored the planning practice of urban regeneration and a multicultural approach. As demonstrated by several scholars (Wilson, 1966; Long, 1966; Muchnick, 1980; Diamonstein, 1978; Sanders, 1980; Gibson and Langstaff, 1982; McQuade, 1966; Kaplan, 1966), urban regeneration is not an end *per se* but it is a tool that can serve many causes, such as social integration. In the beginning social integration was not researched in-depth but currently with the works of Sandercock (1998; 2001), Thompson (2003), Reeves (2003) and in the age of migration (Griessman, 1993; Sassen, 1996; Sandercock, 1998; Reeves, 2003) planning is digging deeper in what is termed the multicultural approach. Studies have been undertaken for big cities in America and Europe. The academic effort can be imitated for a big city of Africa such as Johannesburg, a destination for migrants across the African continent and outside. This research has attempted to shed light regarding the African experience. However the process is still ongoing. Further studies can provide some light on the policies' aspects and can be compared to the practice of the planners.

The research also draws on two fields: planning and forced migration. The suggestion is that further studies can develop more on both areas to find out how theories and practices of planning and migration studies can interlink and enrich each other towards the building of a cosmopolitan and multicultural inner-city of Johannesburg.

APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

Research questionnaire used in interviews with migrants business owners

1. Gender
2. Home country
3. Do you see any difference in Rockey/Raleigh Street at the time of your arrival to trade and now? Why did you decide to trade in Rockey/Raleigh Street?
4. Have you ever heard about urban regeneration of Yeoville? Are you aware of the project being implemented?

5. ? Or Can you describe yourself as taking part in urban regeneration of Rockey/Raleigh Street? How? What is your contribution?
6. Are you member of an organisation or association (Social or economic) in Yeoville or Rockey/Raleigh Street? Are you attending meeting of Rockey/Raleigh street related-issue?
7. Do you see yourself through your contribution as part of RRHS multicultural community?Do you capture South African awareness of your contribution to create a multicultural society in practice? Are South Africans showing some interest in your business and eagerness to learn? Has ever been a conflict between South Africans and you that necessitated the intervention of the city?

8. Is there any measure to your knowledge taken by the city council toward social integration in:

A) Economic terms or labour market? Or is the city facilitating immigrants' contribution to economic regeneration through policies?
B) Cultural exchange?
C) Social networks?

9. Is the city council communicating with you as business community?
10. Is the city using public participation process to deepen their knowledge of immigrants' needs and concerns? How?
11. Any comment?

Guiding or Indicative questionnaire used in the interviews with the programme manager of inner-city forum, the development manager of the JDA and the chairperson of the YSF.

What are the plans of the city to ensure that the diversity drives to social cohesion and to the creation of peaceful coexistence?

Is there any legislation with regard to planning and the integration of the immigrants?

Is there any department dealing with diversity in inner city?

Are there specific policies for immigrants?

Are planners employed by the city trained to deal with diversity?

Is there any measure taken by the city toward social integration in :

a) Economic terms or labour market? Or is the city facilitating immigrants'contribution to economic revitalization through policies?

b) Cultural exchange?

c) Social networks?

Is the city collaborating with immigrants' associations to solve any problem regarding their integration?

Is the city using public participation process to deepen their knowledge of immigrants' needs and concerns? How?

Any comment?

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