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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Innovation to convention!

An Exploratory Study on the Evolution of Urban Regeneration in Maboneng, Johannesburg

Mikhaela Anja Sack

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, in the school of Architecture and Planning, in partial fulfilment of the required outputs for Program Code: FC004-Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning.

Johannesburg 2016

DECLARATION

I, Mikhaela Anja Sack, do herein declare that this research is entirely my own work, except where otherwise stated and fully acknowledged, and has not been produced, published, or submitted at this or any other tertiary institution. It is being submitted as part of the requirement for the completion of a Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Signed ……..

Mikhaela Anja Sack

Johannesburg 2016

ABSTRACT

Maboneng displays an interesting approach to urban regeneration being driven by a single developer vision. Central to this approach has been the establishment of a new economy in support of an increasing property market which is being encouraged through a dominant branding and marketing strategy identifying the 'neighbourhood' and community as intrinsically artistic. This study aims to juxtapose this structure of urban regeneration and city based development as defined by the City of Johannesburg and to track the evolution of the precinct from an informal and innovative approach toward a more structured and conventional upgrading mechanism. Addressing the question of creating space within the inner city by exploring what the spaces are, who is using them and how the manifestation of a new identity affects the preexisting reality.

The report thereby presents a discourse around the evolution of the Maboneng approach within the context of Johannesburg and determines the potential transferability of key principles that the City could draw upon in informing future growth and development agendas within the inner city.

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ACRONYMS

CBD- Central Business District

CID-City Improvement District

CJP- Central Johannesburg Partnership

CoJ- City of Johannesburg

JDA- Johannesburg Development Agency

NUP-New Urban Policy

NCW-New Conventional Wisdom

UDZ-Urban Development Zone

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 DELIVERING AND CREATING 'CURATED SPACES' AND URBAN EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE CITY

> *There was nothing here when I moved in there was no plan for a bigger Maboneng there were just two buildings and I knew that there were more buildings that had been bought but there was not this idea of a precinct* (Respondent 3. 2014).

"In a complex Johannesburg setting, Maboneng is the evolving result of a vision toward a shared urban future, through the metamorphosis of the city's existing space economy" (Maboneng Precinct. 2015). The Maboneng Precinct is characterised by being a developer driven urban regeneration initiative. It is a small urban neighbourhood occupying largely light industrial buildings on the eastern edge of the Johannesburg Inner City (Maboneng Precinct.2015). Delivering a particular identity and experience has been central to the Maboneng development, as the precinct has grown so has its vision and expectations. The precinct has developed in stages yet its growth from its inception in 2008, with the Arts on Main project has been exponential and unpredicted as described within the quote above (Maboneng Precinct. 2015).

The primary property developer Propertuity has expanded to include the development of 25 buildings which are in varied stages some being complete, in the process of completion or within the process of being developed (Maboneng Precinct. 2015). The extent and rate of growth was unforeseen and has been supported by the emergence of a particular brand of development which makes use of a 'creative community', which is made up of artists and practitioners within artistic or creative industries, in producing a specific urban experience (Maboneng Precinct. 2015). This development has taken advantage of a process of repurposing the light industrial buildings that had defined the character of the area previously and creating mixed use buildings as well as a mixed use neighbourhood for the production of a space in which one can live, work and play (Respondent 9).

The development of this precinct draws on the urban regenerative policy of the City of Johannesburg and the local and global experience of re-inventing city spaces that have become abandoned or been subject to urban decay and degradation (Ntshona. 2013, 10). The concept of urban regeneration thereby relates to the identification of decline in inner-city economies, quality of environment and social life and the adverse response of renewal to kick start economic growth and social well-being (Sibutu. 2010). This story of renewal also takes into consideration the creation and utlisation of opportunities within the city both from the spatial and economic perspective. Within this research paper the dynamics of Maboneng's development will be identified and explored from the position of understanding that the city environment in which we live is illusive, and the solutions which emerge to the realities of a human existence within this context are inevitably reflective of such complexities. The base from which this study emerges, questions the experience of the Maboneng precinct within the context of the city and the implications of urban regeneration strategies in response to issues of urban degradation and decay and as a component of city building.



Figure 1.1: Direction Sign Board within Maboneng Precinct Centre[1]. (Source: Sack, 2014)

[1] The sign board locates key attractions and makes a statement about the brand and visual aesthetic of the precinct. The sign defines the identity of the precinct boasting the logo of the area as "connected, urban, neighbourhood", this makes a clear statement of the vision for the area and is more abstractly a depiction of the 'curated' experience. The colour selection, style of the sign and dominant presence within the landscape serves as a statement being made to the users that this space has a very particular and curated identity.

1.2 LAYING THE FOUNDATION:

"Urban regeneration is widely experienced but little understood phenomenon. Although most towns and cities have been involved in regeneration schemes, and whilst many development companies, financial institutions and community organisations have participated in one or more such ventures, there is no single prescribed form of urban regeneration practice and no single authoritative source of information" (Roberts & Sykes. 2000, 3). The phenomenon of urban regeneration was and has been experienced by post-industrial cities across the world since the 1970's. However for Johannesburg the experience was different and marked largely by the fact that the transformation was not only of a change of the city scape but rather "the entire fabric of society changed" (Garner. 2011, 10). There is no guaranteed method or approach to urban regeneration, but rather its exploration and implementation should be viewed as cyclical, and requiring constant observation (Roberts & Sykes. 2000).

The implication of this observation is that in order to engage meaningfully with urban regeneration it is must be structured with a view toward longevity and sustainability which is best ensured through a reflective flexibility which allows for adaption (ibid). There cannot be a blanket approach which attempts to create a normative implementation but rather "each generation faces its own particular set of problems, has its own priorities and works in ways which reflect these priorities. However, whilst each successive generation will face its own particular challenges, the value of learning from previous experience cannot be denied" (ibid, 6). The theory and implementation of urban regeneration has despite its past inadequacies continued to be the go to approach in responding to urban decay and as a mechanism for responding to pitfalls within property markets. The utilisation of the urban regeneration strategy has thereby required an evolution from its original construct to a more strategically informed process which reflects a broad range of stakeholders and possible considerations which must be taken into account and managed effectively in order to ensure the success of a project.

The objective of this paper will be to unravel the way in which the process of Urban Regeneration has occurred within the Maboneng Precinct and to determine how and if this

differs from the existing examples within Johannesburg. Furthermore to identify whether this case can be used to as a model for best practice of urban regenerative given its context and if not what are the suitable alternatives. The city of Johannesburg has long looked toward urban regeneration as a tool for reforming and re-imaging the city. This model has had varying success and been subject to criticism on the basis of having negative social and economic impacts on existing communities through displacement and gentrification. In Maboneng the formation of a likeminded community presents potential for a new form of engagement between a 'creative class' and its surrounding environment. Alternatively it could be understood as a unique circumstance which is highly dependent of the convergence of a number of specified conditions in order to achieve fruition. Attempting to understand the specificities of this context allows for a reflective interaction with the notion of urban regeneration within a broader context, as the engagement with stakeholders at a street level illuminates a different condition from that discussed within the grand theorizing of city spaces. However it is also important to note and explore the trajectory that development has taken within the context of Maboneng and unpack the dynamics around the precinct taking on a more conventional or expected form through the establishment of a formalized City Improvement District (CID).

The possible lessons that the Maboneng precinct could hold leans toward an approach that looks at a more flexible application of urban regeneration that seeks to be more inclusive and respond to concerns that have been expressed amongst academia for as long as urban regenerative planning has been around. Furthermore this report seeks to identify the point at which Maboneng's more organic form of regeneration (Respondent 7), is replaced with a more structured approach.

1.1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The inner city of Johannesburg has long been subject to a condition of urban decay. Efforts have been made to address these issues through the use of a wide variety of Urban Regeneration strategies which rely on different stakeholders to function. What is now necessary is to take a step back to review and inquire as to who it benefits and how it operates.

1.1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

i. What lessons can be gained from the form of urban regeneration taking place in Maboneng?
ii. What are the implications of these findings on how urban regeneration can take place within Johannesburg?

1.1.3 Sub-Questions

i. What are the forms of Urban Regeneration taking place within Johannesburg and more specifically within Maboneng and what criticisms have emerged?
ii. What is the objective for Maboneng, and how has it evolved with regard to vision, stakeholders and implementation to formulate its own unique brand of urban regeneration? What does it offer to the range of inner city stakeholders?
iii. What has been the impact of broader city policies, such as the UDZ on the development?
iv. What structure of urban management has been developed in Maboneng? Is it different from that being implemented in other precincts?
v. Does the case study of Maboneng set a new precedent for the way in which urban regeneration should take place within the city of Johannesburg?
vi. Is this approach something which the City should adopt in pursuing future urban regeneration strategies in Johannesburg?
vii. What is the significance of shifting toward a CID approach, why has the Maboneng precinct moved into the CID structure?

1.2 HYPOTHESIS

The model of Urban Regeneration in Maboneng serves as a prototype for the City because it offers a flexible approach which presents an opportunity for city development within public, private partnerships lessening the fiscal burden of revitalization for the City, yet opening the door to a lack of sensitivity toward social and economic issues.

1.3 RATIONALE

This research will serve to discuss the nature of urban regeneration in the context of Johannesburg and illustrate the way in which this widely applied approach is being used at the level of neighbourhood development. In gaining a better understanding of this process this research seeks to explore the way in which cities evolve, and describe in part the manifestations of unique spaces and places and what they mean for the people building and using them. The city is made up a complex network of interconnected spaces, each relating to the other and in turn even neighbourhoods which are vastly contrasted can support one another. What is particular about the case of Maboneng is that despite being a part of the broader network this is not immediately apparent but rather the space is seen to have been developed in isolation in a way detached from the realities of the city. This is expressed in part through the apparent disconnect from public transport, the networks for which lie just beyond the precincts boarders. This unique circumstance when coupled with the way in which the neighbourhood has been branded and developed to attract a particular demographic is an intriguing case study as it allows for an observation of a space which is perceived as producing an urban environment which is unique. Furthermore is moves away from the traditional model of the City planning for urban regeneration which is a more top down approach through the production of master plans and the construction of large scale catalytic projects. This model serves rather to view Urban Regeneration from a local level through the use of Placemaking and the creation of a community that engenders a new urban space.

1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- To identify the unique conditions within Maboneng and determine if this particular development will add to the broader regeneration discourse within Johannesburg.
- Unpack the tools of development utilised within the establishment and consolidation of the precinct.
- Explore the impact of city policies and management structures on the way in which the Maboneng precinct has been established and will continue to be developed.

The research question thereby lies in defining the dynamics at play within the context of the Maboneng Precinct and in so doing outlining the necessary conditions for development to

occur in this context. Beyond this the research is informed and anchored in the literature around urban regeneration in the city as a whole which specifies the foundation from which the precinct has been built. Furthermore in asking these questions dynamics of sociological, spatial, political and economic interests, intersections and conflicts will be exposed. As such the outlying objective is to identify the way in which this model of development responds conditionally to the needs of city planners, citizens and private interest within these arenas.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The research is confined within the methodological approach of the case study. This provides a structuring element to the research which is constrained by access to information and research materials and the human fallibility which should be considered in the context of a study that relies heavily on interviews and the information collected through the engagement with multiple stakeholders and an analysis that draws on an ethnographic approach.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODS

The case study is a research methodology which lends itself well to the requirements of explorations within the field of social sciences. It allows the researcher to "focus on a case and retain a holistic and real world perspective" (Yin. 2014, 4). The study relies on a review of existing literature around urban regeneration, which defines a successful or recognizably suitable establishment of urban regeneration principles as well as outlining the pitfalls. Furthermore this paper includes an analysis of these conditions making use of interviews with development professionals both within city and built environment professionals, business owners within the precinct and representatives of the development agency driving development in the area.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF RESEARCH REPORT

Chapter 1: Delivering and Creating 'Curated Spaces' and Urban Experiences Within The City. This chapter defines the research question which frames the study. The chapter thereby introduces the structuring elements and breakdown of the report and research. The aims and

objectives of the study are provided framing the direction that the study seeks to take. Lastly the chapter includes the scope, limitations and a brief introduction into the research method.

Chapter 2 Research design and methodology. Within this chapter I explore how the use of the case study model structured and aided this report. Furthermore I identify the types of sources that have been used to inform my research and provide insight into the implications of their use. In addition I provide an account of the evolution of my study and describe how it has been influenced by my experience in producing this report.

Chapter 3 Literature review Part 1. Defines the theoretical framework which informs development in Maboneng and urban regeneration as a whole within both the city and the world. This is important as it frames the analysis of the report by providing the foundation of the central theory and how it should and can apply to the rest of the paper.

Chapter 4 Literature review Part 2. Within this chapter an overview of the history of Johannesburg planning policy is explored this serves to define the socio economic environment and provide a background into the transformation of the City. The value of exploring this experience lies in the identification of the effect that years of dysfunction have had on our city. The provision of a historical context serve further to draw a link between the character of the city and how Maboneng within this context is shaped and determined.

Chapter 5 Locating and Identifying Maboneng. Within this chapter the precinct is located and the implications of its context are unraveled. Furthermore this chapter begins the exploration into this context by defining the spatial identity which characterises the precinct and is evident within multiple scopes of understanding.

Chapter 6 Contrasting and comparing an analysis of three inner-city precincts. This chapter presents a comparative exploration into the Maboneng precinct by juxtaposing the precinct with Newtown and Braamfontein which are established inner city precincts which have been shaped and revived by processes of urban regeneration driven by the City through representative agencies and partnerships with private interests.

Chapter 7 Analysing the case of Maboneng. Within this chapter the cumulative data collected and presented within this paper is explored as it relates directly to the specific conditions of development within the precinct. These are assessed and the ability of the precinct to engage with key principles of responsive urban regenerative development is discussed.

Chapter 8 Conclusions. Providing a summary, final analysis, and drawing lessons and recommendations for the city that reflect on both of the argument being presented and the experience of the researcher.

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

2.1 THE PATH OF INQUIRY-INTRODUCTION

The human experience is as much a part of how we conceive of and understand space and its potential for transformation (Simone. 2008). In that sense my research derives from a fascination with the city's capacity to respond to change, adapting and regenerating its parts. As such my pursuit has been to gain an understanding of the complexities that inform the reality of urban regeneration in Johannesburg not only from the point of view of the physical infrastructure but also from the social infrastructure that is so pivotal in informing space (ibid).

Occupying the study area and observing the way in which the space is used and how people carve out their existence within the area is thereby a significant part of the ethnographic approach (ibid): in so doing immersing oneself not only as an observer but as a participant. The selected study area allows for an investigation into the shared consciousness of the particular space as it is defined by physical and non-physical attributes and mapped by the experiences which individuals have had within it. Within this chapter the methods utilised in the production of this report as well as the experience of producing the analysis will be explored. As such the implications of using a qualitative case study method will be outlined, and the value of this approach will be identified. The various data collection tools will also be addressed with regard to their advantages and disadvantages.

2.2 IDENTIFYING THE TOOLS FOR RESEARCH

2.2.1 The Use Of Qualitative Research

The qualitative, interpretive, or naturalistic research paradigm defines the methods and techniques most suitable for collecting and analyzing data. Qualitative inquiry, which focuses on meaning in context, requires a data collection instrument that is sensitive to underlying meaning when gathering and interpreting data. Humans are

> *best suited for this task, especially because interviewing, observing, and analyzing are activities central to qualitative research* (Merriam. 2009, 1).

Qualitative research is subject to the context and as such each case in which this method is utilised will be different however the underlying focus of the methodology remains the same. That is that it deploys a line of questioning which is open to not only the direct or calculable facts but rather takes into consideration the human aspect of experience and interpretation (ibid). As such "qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences", the qualitative study is thereby a key tool for social sciences studies (ibid, 5). The key to a qualitative study is to recognise that individual situations are unique and contextual and the intent is not to predict a potential outcome but rather to comprehend "the nature of that setting-what it means for participants to be in that setting" (Patton. 1985, 1).

The above descriptions of qualitative research methods serve to introduce their value, particularly in the context of a social science research paper such as this. Furthermore the researcher is identified as an integral tool for research in and of his/her self as one can interact and analyze the data (Merriam. 2009). This is valuable as ones observations are thereby seen as contributing to the research and adding to the analysis (ibid). Additonally the qualititative approach is inductive, drawing from a multitude of sources, both direct as well as the more abstract source of the researchers observations (ibid). An amulgamation of sources result in an analysis which is well informed yet not defined by a pre-determined hypothesis that is driving some burden of proof (ibid). The flexibility that this affords the study is significant and emmensely valuable in the case of research such as this which is located within the social sciences.

2.2.2 Defining The Case Study Approach

The intent of using a case study is to gain a detailed observation or in-depth comprehension of either a single or numerous 'cases', located within 'real-world'/everyday contexts (Bromley. 1986.1). The understanding gained from this detailed observation allows for a

greater appreciation of the specific context and the potential to learn something new about a real-world context (Yin. 2014). The case study approach "enables the researcher to gather data from a variety of sources and to converge the data to illuminate the case" (Baxter & Jack. 2008, 556). There are still numerous permutations of the case study approach namely a case study can be "explanatory, exploratory, descriptive, multiple-case studies, intrinsic, instrumental and collective" (Baxter & Jack. 2008, 547-549).

In designing a case study three steps are identified:

i. That one must define the case, this can either refer to some extraordinary event or an everyday or common occurance for the latter, one should include a strong theoretical framework which determines the selection of your case and validates the value of the research (Yin. 2012). The implication of this type of case is that it provides for an informative exploration and insight into the experiences within a common context (ibid).

ii. To determine the design of the case study for which there are four typologies. The first two use a holistic approach of a single-unit (referring to the primary entity of the study namely the area in which urban regernation occurs) of analysis either in a single or in multiple contexts (ibid). The third and fourth versions refer to single and multiple cases which use multiple units of analysis this is defined as an embedded design (ibid).

iii. The third step refers to the use of theory to design the work framing the research question. This is not to say that some form of grand theory construction is necessary but rather that a simple set of realtionships are acknowledged and questions are identified in relation to the existing network (Sutton & Staw. 1995). The framing of questions within theory provides structure and validity to the research.

The next component to be noted about the case study approach is the variety of sources that it can incorporate, to this end six potential sources are identified namely:

- *Direct observations (human actions/physical environment)*
- *Interviews*
- *Archival Records*

- *Documents (Newspaper articles, letters, emails, reports)*
- *Participant-observation (researcher experience)*
- *Physical artifacts*

(Yin. 2012, 10)

The value of the researcher identified within the data collection is a central component to why the case study method is unique. It does not merely present the quantifiable information but it recognises the value of human experience in percieving actions and outcomes within a given context. By using this variety of sources one is then able to cross check findings against different sources ensuring the integrity of the findings and analysis (ibid). Furthermore the value of this approach is the potential for analytical generalisations to be made. This involves using the "theoretical framework to establish a logic that might be applicable to other situations" (ibid, 18). From the scoial science persepctive the adoption of this model of study outlined above, presents a suitable structure for examining the questions posed by this paper. As it incorporates a range of sources and potentially analytical units that can represent the conditions present in Maboneng.

2.3 USING THE CASE STUDY APPROACH TO COLLECT DATA

This research is primarily a qualitative exploration as it seeks to examine the tangible and measurable outcomes of the Maboneng precinct against the experience and interpretation of the space from those who have engaged with the precinct. The use of more quantitative techniques was considered but was however hindered by a lack of resources and time, the experience of which is covered further within this chapter. I therefore have made use of interviews and existing literature to form the basis of analysis. The research takes on an inductive study approach allowing for some flexibility or for a more reflective observation, and utilises a variety of sources in informing the context. In identifying what lessons can be gained from an examination of urban regeneration in Maboneng a multilayered approach is necessary, as the study requires a comprehensive understanding of the literature as well as an inductive field study which will include the use of multiple sources.

This study draws on elements of an ethnographic research approach and is reinforced by the use of other qualitative data, exploring the dynamics of Maboneng. The analysis serves to juxtapose the conditions specific to this case to the body of literature existing around other urban regeneration strategies within the city and beyond. Thus looking at the different ways in which this development has been coordinated and implemented.

Figure 2.1 below depicts how the case study model has been used to outline the different components of this study. In this context a single embedded case study design has been utilised. The elements from which the analysis is drawn look at firstly the developer, secondly the people who have invested in the area, thirdly the spatial reality of the precinct and lastly the City's involvement. Each of these lenses provides insight into the entire context of Maboneng. The focus of the case study is to identify the particular dynamics of the Maboneng precinct and to analyze it in the context of the literature and theories around urban regeneration. This research draws on a combination of exploratory and descriptive styles as it both identifies the initial stage of the Maboneng project which was less structured and defined and had no set outcomes as well as describing the current form of the intervention within its actual context (Baxter & Jack. 2008, 547-549).

I selected Maboneng as my case study because it is an area which is currently relevant within the contemporary discourse of the city as it is rapidly expanding and going through constant processes of transformation and new planned growth. I have personally always found the way in which pockets of unique space emerge within a city interesting, how communities are formed around commonalities and interests found within a particular space. To this end Maboneng is intriguing to me as not only a unique urban space but beyond that as a lens from which to see a shift within how people are using the inner city. This is not to say that I perceive the case of Maboneng as providing any all-encompassing wisdom, however its popularity and use has demonstrated that in this particular brand of development there is some worth that if understood could hold some potential for redefining the way in which we engage with the city. I do recognise though that any use of this context as a case study needs to reflect the negative associations that are perceived when using this form of placemaking rhetoric, taking the success of this case with "a pinch of salt"/healthy degree of skepticism is thus essential.

The geographic boundaries of this area are clearly defined and it is in the process of becoming a formalised CID, creating further opportunity to identify extended relationships which relate to the process of managing and regularizing a precinct. The dominance of a single developer as the primary driver and funder of development as well as the demonstration of a desire to incorporate a broader range of users also presents a curious case which should be further understood within is context. The Maboneng precinct is therefore a melting pot of users, “shapers” and everyone in-between and as such presents a situation which on the surface appears to be unique or if not at least bold and intriguing and worth understanding in greater detail.

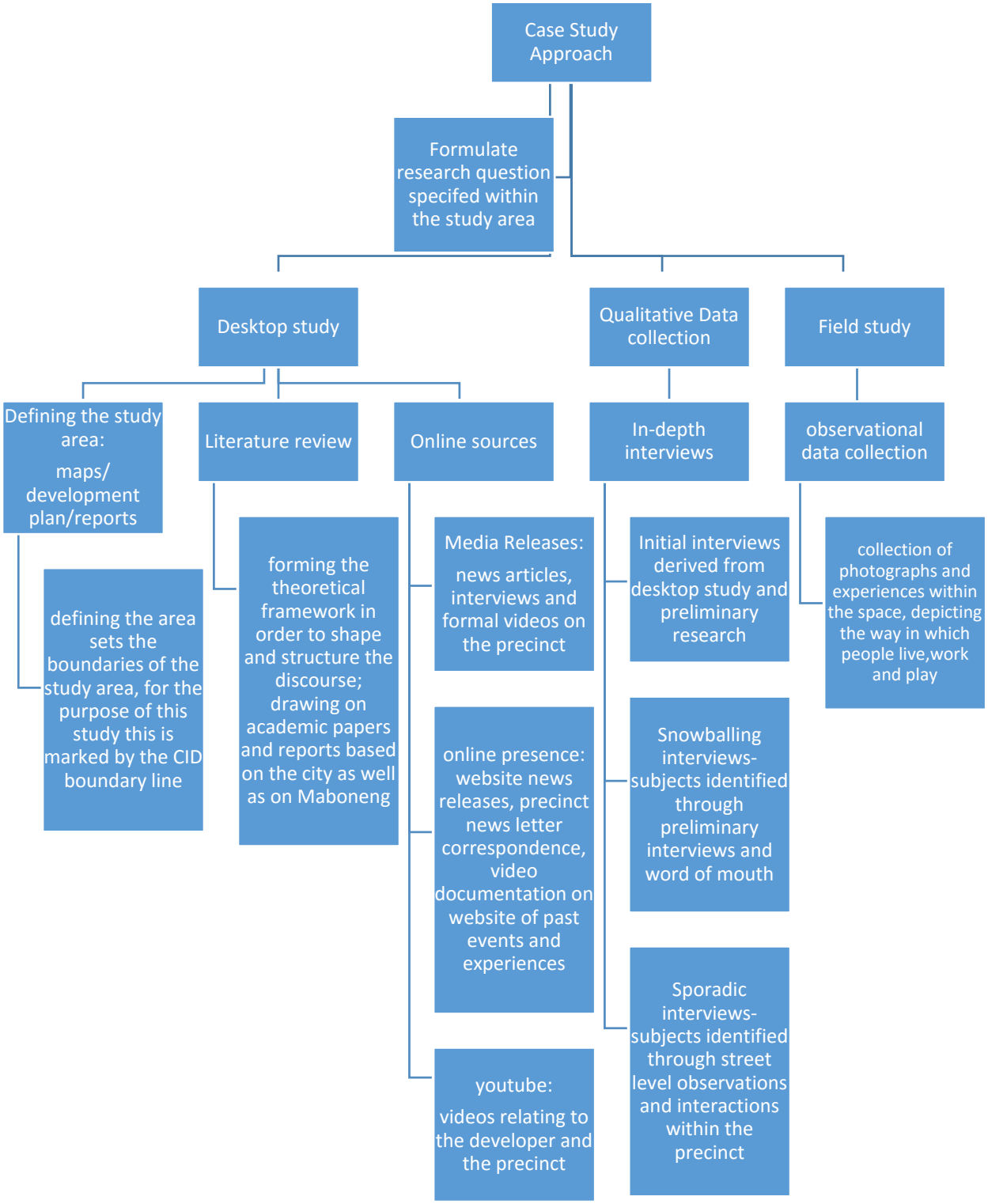


Figure 2.1: Components of the Case study

2.3.1 Desktop Study

The desktop study component was vital from the start of the process. Through the use of digital mapping and online information I was able to identify the area and become familiar with the Maboneng precinct. Using this analytical source provided an entry point from which to identify urban regeneration as a potential line of inquiry. As the research progressed the desktop study incorporated the collection of relevant documents such as planning proposals for the precinct, articles about the development and issues that had arisen, and academic works about the precinct and other such developments in Johannesburg and globally.

The literature review defines the theory behind urban regeneration and explores the experiences of other neighbourhoods within the city of Johannesburg and more broadly within cities across the world. As such through the use of literature and online sources a theoretical framework has been established to validate the relevance of this study (Yin.2012). From a more abstract position the online presence of the precinct presents a unique opportunity to explore a variety of commentaries, artistic expressions and videos produced in the relation to the area. This has in turn added to my observation of the precinct and has influenced my analysis of the spheres in which spaces exist within current society, allowing for a more critical reflection into the area. The use of alternative media sources takes advantage of present day realities in which a physical space has a virtual presence which is both key in defining it and paramount to its success and identity. The online presence serves furthermore to define part of the 'creative identity', providing a platform from which to develop it and for it to be distributed. This approach refers to a qualitative content analysis which in the context of this paper relates more specifically to an interpretative data collection approach. This derives meaning from human action, the technique draws on social communication in a variety of forms (Berg. 2007). In the context of this research the sources that were used were selected to diversify the position and present opinions that reflect the broader realities that are occurring within the precinct rather than to narrow the view.

The advantage of using these sources is that they provide a chronological growth trajectory and show subtle nuisances and shifts that occurred within not only the development but also how the precinct has being perceived. Source selection was thereby prioritized to ensure that

it was reflective of not only of the present conditions in the precinct but the evolving character which it expressed.

2.3.2 Qualitative Data Collection

In-depth interviews were a key source for the research as they provide specific insight into the context of the study area. They present the information from different angles as the respondents experiences are varied and may relate to owning property and/or being involved with the development as well as having insight into more than one area of the city. The richness of personal experience is an asset to the research as the interviews were insightful and multifaceted. Identifying the interview participants was enabled by the containment of the context as experiences related directly to the area are identified and explored. The interviewees for this research have been selected from three sources, the first of which was profiling candidates through the desktop study. The second identified sources following from initial interviews as well personal networks and contacts. The third identified respondents within the field, incorporating business owners and people with particular experiences within the precinct at a local level.

The process involved in-depth interviews with ten respondents from varied backgrounds. The interviews were conducted over a period of eight months and were each between thirty minutes to an hour, with only one follow up interview being necessary. Audio recordings of the interviews were captured and transcribed later, as well as detailed notes through the discussions. The locations of the interviews were varied with some taking place in Maboneng and others in different precincts within the City. The difficulty was that most of them occurred within public spaces, coffee shops, busy offices and on the street. Although this made for an interesting experience it made transcribing the interviews later difficult as there was often a lot of background noise. The process of arranging interviews involved contacting the subjects to pre-arrange meetings. This was not an easy task, I found that it was difficult to arrange interviews with some people due to conflicting schedules. For some of the sources making initial contact was the major constraint as they would not respond to emails or be available telephonically.

The ethics requirements of the university stipulated that the interviews had to be anonymous. It limited the reliability and credence of my sources as although I can justify their selection by not naming my sources the fact that I have spoken to valuable respondents who could add credibility to my argument is lost. However the fact that the interviews were anonymous did result in some of the respondents sharing experiences and information that they themselves claim they would not have if their names were attached to the statements. This provides a more in-depth and less censored look that I may not have had if I had been citing the sources directly. By conducting the interviews myself and through engaging with the respondents on a one to one basis, I was able to expand beyond the predetermined line of questioning and gain greater detail about the their experiences. This was very useful as it expanded on the information but also helped me process thoughts about the precinct and challenge any preconceived ideas I might have had.

In order to further the input I received I attempted to do a series of shorter surveys with business owners in the precinct. This was unsuccessful as finding the managers and owners of businesses on site proved very difficult and leaving the survey for later completion wheeled no results. I was however able to complete four of these surveys which ended up being short interviews of roughly 15 minutes with business owners who were available. These were very valuable as they provided insight into the experiences of those who are at ground level interfacing directly with the precinct. Further inputs included informal discussions with development practioners which were not recorded through audio transcript but rather their input was credited. The table below provides a very brief description of the interviewees further detail of the background and value of these sources can be found within Annexure 1.

SOURCE	STRUCTURE	DESCRIPTION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
Respondent 1	Formal	Urban strategist and development manager	25/6-02-2015
Respondent 2	Formal	Business owner and artist	18-11-2014
Respondent 3	Formal	Business, property owner, and artist	09-12-2014
Respondent 4	Formal	Built environment professional and Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) representative	03-11-2014
Respondent 5	Formal	Built environment professional and JDA representative	13-02-2015
Respondent 6	Formal	Development professional	03-12-2014
Respondent 7	Formal	Business owner and brand consultant for developer.	01-12-2014
Respondent 8	Formal	Business owner and urban designer	01-12-2014
Respondent 9	Formal	Entrepreneur and business owner.	06-03-2015
Respondent 10	Formal	CID and urban regeneration specialist	08-05-2015
Respondent 11	Informal	Architect and urban designer	2014-2015
Respondent 12	Informal	Architect and Newtown Improvement District (NID) board member	2014-2015
Respondent 13	Short survey	Business owner/property owner	2015
Respondent 14	Short survey	Business owner	2015
Respondent 15	Short survey	Business owner	2015
Respondent 16	Short survey	Business owner	2015

Table 2.1: Brief outline of Respondents

2.3.3 Field Study and the Identification of Graphic Sources

The field study refers to my experience observing people and interactions within the precinct. The use of this tool further encouraged my selection of the case study approach as value is placed on the experience of the researcher (Yin.2012). The expression of this source is identified through the narrative of the neighbourhood captured within the use of photographs and through my analysis. My experience in the spaces of Maboneng and other inner city precincts, informed how I engaged with my research. The field study component included frequenting the Maboneng precinct and engaging with the markets, restaurants, shops and exhibitions. This also led me to a meeting of people who had been evicted in the neighbouring area of Jeppestown, telling their narrative of what it means to be a resident in certain conditions in the city. These experiences feed into how I perceive the space of Maboneng and how that has shifted over time as I became more engaged with the space.

Further photographs were sourced online as they provide a valuable insight into the city environment, from the view of those engaging with the space. The use of imagery is very important and I have been very selective about what images I choose to incorporate as they are an important part of the evolving narrative of this research. This includes the use of maps which have been selected to aid in presenting not only the context of the Maboneng but also in painting a broader picture of the city as a whole.

2.4 ANALYSING THE INFORMATION

2.4.1 Shifting Expectations And Questions

The initial research focused on Maboneng as a unique condition, seeking to unpack the dimensions of development including economic, physical and social constructs. As the research continued it became clear that more direction was necessary and what emerged was a realisation that what needed to be explored was the process of urban regeneration taking place and in so doing considering the practices shaping the inner city in the last two decades.

Urban populations are on the rise and current planning models such as urban regeneration, inevitably result in some form of exclusion (Pieterse. 2008). This occurs within the city of Johannesburg and within programmes implemented by the local authority. Therefore the question is how we can readdress imbalances that emerge through strategies which are capitalist models and entrench contradictory agendas and outcomes (Murray.2008). In this context Maboneng cannot be the mecca as it is perceived by property owners, developers and the creative class. It is then necessary to identify what contribution it can make to further this discourse.

2.4.2 Analytical Breakdown Of The Study

The sources of information discussed in detail above will provide the analytical content that informs this research report. The diagram below illustrates the way in which the processes in Maboneng will be classified. This approach breakdowns the Precincts development within four workable components which are paramount to defining the nature of the conditions within the neighbourhood. The compartmentalizing of these elements serves to manage the way in which the research has been conducted and furthermore serves to create categories from which assessment criteria can be set.

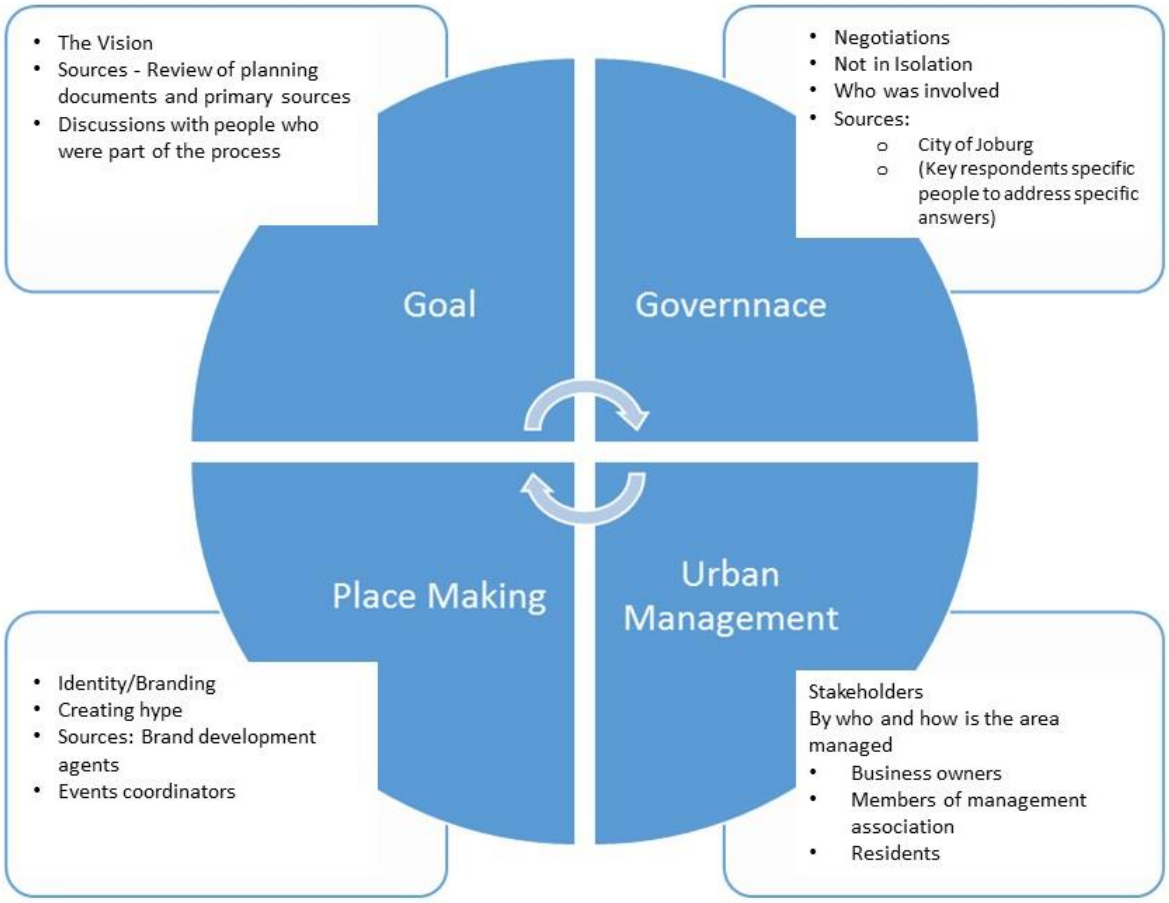


Figure 2.2: Diagram of key components of Urban Regeneration in Maboneng.

2.5 NECESSARY CONSIDERATIONS OF THE STUDY

The process of interviewing subjects is often faced with ethical considerations that one should take into account. The nature of this inquiry is professional and structural and as such does not speak to the specifics of anyone's personal or emotional state and thereby has limited ethical considerations. The interviewees were all professionals, academics or business owners who understood the nature of the project and were able to express the experiences they have had in the area telling a cumulative narrative of the precinct. To avoid the potential ethical issues that could arise from interviewing children the telling of their presence within the precinct has come from the interviews with other respondents and the incorporation of newspaper articles and other sources. Ethical considerations have the potential to cripple

ones research however by approaching the limitations head on it possible to counter the restrictions and proceed in an effective and meaningful way.

The primary limitation of this study is the timeframe in which it has been conducted which needs to be observed to make the process effective. Accessing the area from certain parts of the city posed a challenge as it involved having to navigate indirect and sometimes unsafe routes.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The method utilised within this study serves to identify the area of Maboneng, for the purpose of an observational analysis of the specific and unique circumstances that define the area as noteworthy. This case study research model was best suited as it allows for an exploration rather than a proof of the conditions present within the area. The limitations of the study are manageable and do not impede in any substantial way on the possible deductions that I was able to draw from the research. Furthermore the availability of alternative case studies which I could draw on with regard to urban regeneration in the city of Johannesburg serves as an example of how this research model provides the best presentation and analytical tools.

CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW PART 1

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Overview

The literature review provides a theoretical and conceptual structure from which to assess the urban regeneration process in Maboneng. As such outlines what urban regeneration is and how it has evolved as well as how it applies to the study area. Other theoretical considerations such as gentrification, urban renewal/regeneration, "the Right to the City" and 'new urbanist' principles will also be discussed and defined as they relate to the circumstance of development and urban regeneration projects. The sources have been drawn from the global body of literature however there is a strong leaning toward South African academia and authors as they relate more adequately to the specifics of the conditions present within Johannesburg.

3.1.2 Unpacking Urban Regeneration

Planning practices across the globe are currently being informed by the need to provide a more holistic approach to city building which better reflects the diversity of conditions that are present within the context of the urban environment. The development of Maboneng has sought to embrace this more holistic approach and take into consideration the wide range of users that the space encompasses (Respondent 1). However the social and economic disparities within the inner city present a very different reality to those expressed by the respondent. The processes involved in creating city spaces are diverse and complex as they have to reflect the very nature of the cosmopolitan environment, in which there is a convergence of difference. Thus the interests of different actors serve as points of conflict or/and possible negotiations. Understanding how processes of development occur within the city landscape is a central objective in any city based study. The city is a growing organ that changes constantly yet maintains linkages to various contextual and social realities that I need to be dissected in order to gain some understanding of what is occurring.

The literature review thereby starts by unpacking the broad body of text surrounding the theory of Urban Regeneration, which has been at the heart of responding to issues of urban decay. By providing an overview of the broader theory as discussed and critiqued within the sphere of academia over past decades one can form a normative perception of what urban regeneration means at a more intricate level and understand what characterises this particular city re-building technique. Following from which this chapter explores the context of specific dynamics that occur within the study area.

3.2 URBAN REGENERATION

> *Urban Regeneration is performed in different cities under various guises, including, 'renewal', 'rejuvenation', 'revitalization', 'renaissance', and more recently 'smart growth'…Jane Jacobs (1961) convincingly demonstrated how state-driven urban renewal programmes destroyed vibrant inner city neighbourhoods.*

Despite the reoccurrence of urban regeneration as a mechanism for responding to urban decay the idea of renovating and renewing has often been criticized as being exclusive and thereby promoting gentrification (Murray.2008). The reality is that despite criticisms being made for years it is still the most popular approach although the variations are different and for the most part over time planners have attempted to respond to some of the key concerns relating to the establishment of urban regeneration projects and programmes.

However as a point of departure in exploring the diverse and complex reality of the city there are some normative assumptions which should be defined at the start so as to clarify how the city can be perceived through various discourses. The first of which is the understanding that the city is not just a physical space, that it is defined by an amalgamation of social, political, economic, environmental and historical elements (Harvey. 2009). As such the approach to examining the city must be multidisciplinary and must engage with a wide range of theoretical positioning (ibid). Furthermore the perception and how we conceive the city landscape is an essential part of how we interact with this space (ibid). The point of these normative observations is that when I engage with the literature I am seeking to view the city from a perspective that appreciates and recognises the multiplicity of the city landscape and how

people are an essential and inseparable component of that environment and how it can be understood.

In trying to identify a core criteria, for this study, that is required in order to create socially responsive and sustainable urban regeneration process there are three scopes of urban regeneration practice which can be identified; international precedents, the Johannesburg city driven approach and private developers as expressed within the conceptual framework below. This is not to say that there is any misconception that these categories serve as independent lines of questioning. The reality is that they are bound to be overlaps as although the central practice of urban regeneration has been subject to various transnational reinterpretations the foundations remain largely the same. As such within this section I will explore the evolution of urban regeneration and identify how the process developed internationally and then locally. Furthermore I will locate the key debates that have emerged around the practice of urban regeneration and discuss how the literature affects the way in which I assess the processes of development in Maboneng.

3.2.1 The Evolution of Regeneration

The primary reason for urban regeneration is commonly attributed to a need to respond to urban decay and for the most part this characteristic is sufficient in defining the central objective. It is necessary to understand the needs which emerged within the city that led to the formulation of urban regenerative responses. To this end Roberts through an examination of various global cases of urban renewal, has identified five generalised themes which have led to this process (2000). The first of these themes refers to the “connection between apparent physical conditions and the nature of the social and political response” (Roberts.2000, 10). This relates to the evolution of space and how it is used and reflects changes with the economy and society, for instance towns which have previously revolved around an industrial economy are then rendered useless when that economy collapses or is relocated (ibid, 11). The space is then in need of transformation as its previous use based structure is no longer sustainable or relevant, change is inevitable (ibid, 11). The second theme relates to issues of housing and health in urban areas, Roberts refers to a historical precedent in this regard referring to the “grand schemes of civic renewal”, with regard to the

slums of the Victorian city (ibid. 11). In this case “the city paid insufficient attention to the living conditions of the majority of urban residents” and had to improve the “urban living conditions for health reasons” (ibid 11). These conditions were a product of a mass and uncontrolled process of industrialisation defining urban development (ibid). The third theme refers to a desire to associate social improvement with economic progress (ibid). This is expressed within table 3.1 as a shift in focus over time toward more socially responsive processes of urban regeneration. The fourth theme refers to the need to contain urban growth (ibid). This relates to the effects of urban sprawl, of unregulated and uncontrolled expansion of the urban landscape which leaves existing less desirable urban areas abandoned and subject to disuse and decay. Furthermore this results in a decentralisation of the city and its services making the provision of transport and infrastructural requirements far more complex, expensive and in some cases unattainable. The last theme speaks to the “changing role and nature” (ibid, 15).

The historical narrative of urban regeneration occurs most dominantly within European and American cities, following from a period of repair of wartime damage, in 1945 and the “reconstruction of towns and cities”, which had been subject to neglect due to the war and shifting economic demands during that time (ibid, 15). The case of London serves as an expressive and reflective model for which renewal was occurring at this time around the world. The redevelopment of towns was led by a national rhetoric, and set by the central government (ibid). Local authorities were given detailed guidance and a set criteria defined by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (ibid). As such the case of London reflects the shift toward a strong emphasis on urban policy and transformation projects driven by high density populations as well as the need to revive the city context following the post-war decline (Ntshona. 2013).

Period	1950's	1960's	1970's	1980's	1990's
Policy type	**Reconstruction**	**Revitalisation**	**Renewal**	**Redevelopment**	**Regeneration**
Major strategy and orientation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'masterplan' suburban growth.	Continuation of 1950's theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation	Focus on in-situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still development at periphery	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice more emphasis on integrated treatments
Key actors and Stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and decentralization in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships	Partnership the dominant approach
Spatial level of activity	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially, later more local emphasis	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Private sector dominant with selective public funds	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding
Social content	Improvement of housing and living standards	Social welfare improvement	Community based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support	Emphasis on the role of community
Physical emphasis	Replacement on inner areas and peripheral development	Some continuation form 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas	More extensive renewal of older urban areas	Major schemes of replacement and new development; 'flagship' schemes	More modest than 1980s heritage retention
Environmental approach	Landscaping and some greening	Selective improvements	Environmental improvement with some innovations	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability

Table 3.1: The Evolution of Urban Regeneration, London. (Source: Stohr. 1989 & Lichfield. 1992 in Roberts, & Sykes.2000, 14)

Table 3.1 depicts the trajectory that urban regeneration has taken since the 1950's in London. This table provides a very succinct representation of the evolution of urban planning practices from which the process of urban regeneration has emerged. The growth pattern that is evidenced within the table is a tendency toward more socially responsive planning which seeks to engage the interests of the greatest number of people. Furthermore the table depicts the shift in where development was being focused which has progressively become more entrenched within the inner city. This provides a very clear interpretation of how urban regeneration was taking place within cities in the north. It must however be cautioned that this provides a general pattern and the processes herein described cannot be seen as all encompassing. Despite referring specifically to the context of London the table does demonstrate conditions which reflect global trends.

3.2.2 Different Models of Regeneration

As mentioned previously there are no two cities that are alike and as such there are no two processes of urban regeneration which are the same as in each circumstances the response to development needs to be specific to the context. However it is possible to draw parallels and similarities between different models of urban regeneration. In this section I will identify and outline some of the key models of urban regeneration and those that relate to the context of Maboneng. The first model I will look at is the Barcelona model, which is defined by a "combination of civic participation, the strong role of public spaces and the use of mega urban projects" (Gonzalez. 2011, 1407). In this case the development of the city has been driven through various agencies and interests, with private development groups or associations playing an active role in how and where development takes place (ibid). The objective within this case is to redevelop and create opportunities within the city but also has a strong focus on the production of tourism within the city (ibid).

The Bilbao model is often cited as being significant within the wider discourse of urban regeneration in general, it made use of culture and iconic architecture to re-launch an industrial economy in crisis" (ibid, 1407). However the prelude to the Bilbao model which began in 1992 was the case of Glasgow began as early as 1983, both revolved around the revival of a post-industrial economy in decline (Gomez.1998). In this circumstance economic

policy and the process of revival was driven largely by central government and not the local authority, focusing on a policy tool that used iconic place creation coupled with strong marketing to revive the perception of the city (Boyle.1993). The idea behind this strategy was to re-brand the city and alter the negative perception of real social conditions with the expectation that this will have a knock on effect and bolster the investment confidence as well as encourage from within the city a new identity (Gomez.1998). Development projects were thereby focused on programmes which would present a new city such as 'arts and culture' festivals, lighting of public spaces, conversion of industrial buildings into luxury housing and the building of cultural centres such as music hall that could attribute to the brand of a cultural city adding to the tourism industry (ibid).

These examples have a heavy emphasis on "the strength, leadership and direction of the respective local authorities" and require "partnership arrangements between different levels of public institutions and with the private sector" (Gonzalez. 2011, 1408). In Glasgow the policy failed as it did not incorporate and engage with the multitude of social and economic realities that were present in that circumstance (Gomez. 1998). As such despite the change of image there was little economic recovery, as the issue of sector development and employment creation was not dealt with (Gomez. 1998). The adoption of the model in Bilbao was also limited as the attempt to transfer models to other countries requires a rigorous and informed identification of the issues present within the different circumstances and a plan to address the discrepancies (Gomez. 1998). More broadly despite the popularity of these models the agenda of promoting civic participation has been the source of much contestation with regard to how this has manifested and the conception that the reality of this outcome is subjective at best and in most permutations is not achieved at all. This is often a source of critique for urban regeneration programs as they are seen to exclude the communities which are most likely to be affected by their implementation despite assurances that they will be participatory and inclusive processes (Gonzalez. 2011, 1412).

The models presented above do not fully express the wide scope urban regeneration models as a whole. They do however introduce some key concerns that must be considered when pursuing a programme of urban regeneration. Namely that there must be acknowledgment that the process is complex and is not transferable without detailed consideration and

identification of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT analysis) of a given development programme. Furthermore that it is necessary to have a coherent structure in place to implement, drive and programme any development. The categories of which are identified in part within the models defined above as being either State-led, Private-led or Community-led. Therefore in the ideal world urban regeneration should:

- be context specific and defined by a comprehensive investigation of the conditions present within an urban area;
- take into consideration the physical, social, economic and environmental realities of an urban area;
- be based on strategy which inclusive and integrated and bring about transformation which is positive, balanced and structured;
- be sustainable;
- establish set outcomes which can be measured;
- use all resources such as natural, economic, human and other, as well as possible;
- strive for consensus amongst all interested and relevant stakeholders through partnerships and participation;
- recognise the pursuit of achieving set objectives and be responsive to shifts and changes within the needs or the urban area to ensure development is responsive.
- Have a structured or clear driver or a stable partnership;
- Recognise the human element, through creation of communities and responsive design.

(Roberts. 2000)

Despite the evolution of urban regeneration policies and practices there is still much contestation around it use and whether it is an effective and inclusive way in which to transform cities. Some of the key debates that are expressed with regard to regeneration refer to whether projects are context specific and take into consideration the unique circumstances of the area in which they are being implemented (Booth. 2005, 258). Secondly to the opposition between policies that target physical transformation over socioeconomic structure or between policies which secure economic regeneration and those which favour social development (ibid). Thirdly to the tension between the traditional public-policy-led

approach and the property-led approach (ibid). Lastly between urban regeneration being led by local authorities and the need for specialist agencies to manage it (ibid).

3.2.3 State, Private and Community driven approaches to Urban Regeneration

State driven regeneration refers to projects and processes of development that are funded, driven and implemented by primarily the local authority or agencies of the state and is seen as the traditional form of urban regeneration (ibid). These projects are attempts by the state to increase the economic value of areas and create opportunities for the users of the space. These programmes are not inherently exclusive however they intend on attracting investors and commitment by private investors that cater to particular markets and economic groups. The state is involved to some degree in any urban regeneration program or at least it should be, as development and where and how it occurs is regulated by conditions determined by the local authority. As such large scale urban regeneration programs tend toward involving a state body in some form to ensure efficient and responsive implementation.

Property/private-led development initiatives are borne from a "growing scarcity of public funds, increasing devolution of responsibilities and functions to local level and rising public private partnerships" (Peyroux.2006, 9). The model of private urban regeneration in itself has various permutations and is also context specific, however at the core of this approach is a relationship between development and potential value or rise in real-estate value. As such the developer or private institution invests in the development of an urban area with the objective of protecting their own returns as property they own in the area increase in value (Peyroux.2006). The primary focus of this model is thereby the protection of fiscal interests, for which it is criticized. However there is no argument that there is a need for such process in order for redevelopment to occur, as realistically the state is unable to afford such transformation on their own. However what is necessary is for an adoption of this model that is engaged with being more inclusive and participatory with a broader scope of stakeholders.

The use of private-led development presents as possibility in which the city landscape becomes increasing divided by the haves and have-nots and in the context of Johannesburg this is occurring at a rapidly growing scale with the emergence of large edge cities on the

periphery which are growing with the intention of catering to the middle and higher echelons of society. The division of the economy is thus very evident in cities around the world in which the poor are unable to access these new markets. This model of development is widely discussed as being exclusive yet it continues to be utilised and it will continue to be used in future development as it allows the state to release responsibility for redevelopment. The literature would suggest that there is no viable or progressive alternative, therefore a new form of building more inclusive cities is necessary and this is valid, however until we are able to identify a different strategy we are left with the only option of making the best of what there is in place.

The core of the debate is that the inevitable outcome of the adoption of this approach is essentially a process of gentrification, which is also evident in the case of Maboneng in which the area becomes increasingly more expensive to live in and access. The process of gentrification and other forms in which a shift in cost based accessibility occurs is an indicator of a space becoming more exclusive and has been a key feature in urban regenerative practices globally, nationally and at a local level. The question that is thereby brought to light is how we engages with alternative processes that bring about change without negatively impacting on the existing community which creates a beneficial situation for all. The reality of the South African city within its new democratic context is that one now has a right to access the urban space, however although one has the right and freedom to do something does not translate to the ability to do so.

The community driven approach requires a well-structured long term programme which is initiated by a mobilised community. It has emerged in various cities around the world and is commonly referred to as a grassroots approach. In the South Bank area of London this approach gained some momentum in the 1970's and 1980's following the failure of previous grand plans to make any change to the communities present in the area as they were not sensitive to the needs within that location (Baeten. 2000). The community movement reshaped the regeneration agenda by "campaigning against office development schemes in favour of affordable housing and public improvement of public spaces" (ibid, 294). The 'Coin Street Campaign' as it was known succeeded, in preventing the office development, funded and driven by developers and the local authority and with the aid of the Greater London

Council, implemented a housing scheme of 400 houses to accommodate 1300 residents (ibid, 294). This example shows the power of community driven initiatives which with a mobilised force are able to actively shape their environments. The community approach relies on partnerships for funding projects at a large scale however they have been present in varied degrees in neighbourhoods and communities in cities across the world and introduced interventions at different scales. The objective of this approach is for the city to be informed by the people actually occupying the space rather than by grand projects and schemes which do not consider the livelihoods already present in the community.

3.2.4 The National Context- The South African Approach To Urban Regeneration

Within the context of South Africa the adoption of urban regenerative strategies with inner city areas has been in response to the "commonly recognised urban processes of accelerated decentralisation, 'white flight' from inner city areas, institutional capital investment and suburbanisation of high order service functions" has equated to the "physical decay of South African CBD's" (Visser & Kotze. 2008, 2565).

"In the South African context, the process of urban transformation has been shaped by local factors including the legacy of apartheid, legislation and settlement planning, private sector investment decisions, political, social and economic transition and inter-governmental relationships, government capacity and financial constraints" (Engelbrecht. Unknown, 4). Urban centres are an essential component of economic policy as a source of regional economic growth and creating a source of stable revenue (Engelbrecht. Unknown). In the context of specific policy formation the formulation of strategy is targeting local development although policies such as the UDZ and the National Urban Renewal programme (URP) have been implemented at a national scale in response to economic conditions, the primary drivers of projects occur at the scale of local and metropolitan government (Engelbrecht. Unknown).

The National URP was launched in conjunction with the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) in 2001 with the intention from the State to "conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment, bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government in a coordinated manner" (Mbeki. 2001). The

key feature of these national policies is thus to address issues of poverty through targeted area development, focusing on the decentralisation of decision making and development of local/municipal structures, improving service delivery and encouraging partnerships to ensure programme success (Department of Provincial and Local Government). The national policy is thereby aimed at targeting urban renewal and reinforcing local level government for implementation. There is however a clear national objective for responding to issues of poverty and decay and creating new opportunities for more vulnerable groups both within the built up urban areas as well as within outlying townships (Department of Provincial and Local Government).

The trend for urban renewal programs within the national context has thus been to focus on mobilising and activating people and making them and integral part of their own development, coordinating and focusing the relationships between different spheres of government and leveraging private investment (Rauch. 2002). Apart from the national policy outlined above there is no general program for regeneration in South Africa. Therefore each province and furthermore each local authority will have its own approach and programme to respond to the development objectives defined by national government. In Cape Town development builds on the national agenda by using developmental incentive policy to encourage development in targeted areas which need focus, this is done through the Urban Development Zone (UDZ) policy, social housing subsides, developmental guidelines relating to zoning, parking and heritage (Cape Town Partnership). The development programs further seek to respond to vulnerable social groupings through the use of BEE structures (Cape Town Partnership).

In Durban the key outcomes from regeneration are the increase of economic activity, reduction of poverty, improving the viability of the inner city, creating effective and sustainable urban management structures, tackling issues of safety and security and creating institutional capacity (Durban.gov). The trend is however that the local authorities formulate a programme of development which reflects key developmental objectives, and programmes which that state department or an agency of the state will implement. Private and community development that arises does so largely within the scope of development zones created through programmes like the UDZ which are a state incentive or run independently.

3.2.5 Johannesburg, the 'World Class City'- Exploring the Dynamics of Inner City Regeneration

Regeneration in Johannesburg thereby uses the three drivers of state, private or community. The most powerful of which is the state as it has the ability to formulate supportive policy and must be supportive if at least not in the way, in order for either of the other two forms to be successful. This is expressed through the creation of the inner-city charter of 2007 which established a clear "vision for the future of the city" (CoJ; Garner.2011, 28). The state is however represented within various different forms and bodies, from a bureaucratic stand point the City is responsible for wholescale urban management, which was simplified and made theoretically more effective through the "amalgamation of four separate metropolitan councils that governed the region into one centralized municipality" (Garner. 2011, 28). The formation of specialized bodies for development such as the JDA was a key structuring mechanism for the City of Johannesburg as it meant that although the City was still responsible for the creation of policy and strategic planning a separate body was responsible for its implementation. The specialization of the JDA with projects involving regeneration "tasked to stimulate and support area-based development initiatives" (ibid, 40). The implication of this division of labour is both positive and negative as although the corporate structure of the JDA means that it runs somewhat more effectively in rolling out projects and producing the necessary outcomes which makes for a good city building body it separation from the City itself can led to inefficiencies and hold ups within the application and processing of plans.

Other partners for development include as mentioned above private-sector bodies, the city is partnered with the Johannesburg Inner-city Business Coalition (JICBC), which was formed in 1998 and is managed by the CJP, and this forum has a vested interest in the "rejuvenation of the urban environment" (ibid, 40). The second non-state body is the responsible corporate citizen which forms part of the City Improvement District agenda of the CJP, this process involves property owners at all scales seeking to implement extended services and growth in their areas (Garner. 2011, 40). The third body is the Charter Partnership Forum (CPF) which represents a range of inner city stakeholders that are in support of the inner city charter (Garner. 2011, 41)

3.3 CITY DEVELOPMENT TOOLS, STRATEGIES AND INADEQUACIES

3.3.1 Gentrification-Setting the Red Rope, the Production of Class Targeted Development

Gentrification is seen by some as being a central component of Urban Regeneration (Visser & Kotze. 2008, 2565), furthermore with regard to this case study it serves as a critical observation point as Maboneng is evidently an expression of the gentrifying process. The theory of gentrification encompasses the processes by which mid to high income families or individuals (gentrifiers) renovate houses, buildings or stores in deteriorated urban neighbourhoods with the objective of improving property values, the result often tends to displace low-income families and small businesses (Cameron.2003). As such at the core of the gentrifying processes is the "change of the housing tenure and population structures" the later provides a point of much contestation as resulting from its implementation a process of "displacement and replacement" is said to occur (ibid, 2370). This definition allows for an understanding of the theory however it should be noted that despite a relatively simple definition the theory in itself is subject to broader academic discourse and debate. Locating the theory as a universal theory versus a localised theory is one such position in which there is some contestation. Smith notes the importance of finding the correct balance between these positions (1996). Smith argues that localised theory poses the threat of understanding the condition as purely local which would be to focused on the immediate condition of a specific case and would provide little insight as to how one space is translatable to another (1996). However by locating the discourse within a Universalist frame one could also overlook the specific conditions which define a particular space. Thereby what becomes necessary is a more general theory and understanding which is attune to the particularities of each circumstance. This distinction is particularly valid within the process of defining the nature of the condition as it is used within the context of city building. Locating the theory enables the creation of more detailed and complex observation into the processes driving change within the cityscape.

Moving beyond the manner in which the theory is located within the broader discourse and defining what the implication is of its variations is significant, to this end the manner in which it emerges within the British context is twofold. The first gentrifying processes as defined by

Cameron refers to urban renaissance which serves to make the environment more aesthetically appealing and in so doing serve to 'counter movement' from the space (2003, 2376). The alternative is neighbourhood renewal which "focuses on the population of disadvantaged neighbourhoods especially areas of social housing" (Cameron. 2003, 2376). These fundamental objectives are then further subject to debate around the space being repurposed for the use of housing or replacing existing housing (Cameron. 2003). In the case of Maboneng a more traditional gentrifying approach of repurposing old industrial buildings has taken place the exclusion is based more on the fact that the space is being created in an exclusionary way as it targets a particular market and those who cannot afford it are unable to access it.

For the purpose of this paper unpacking the dynamics of gentrification is central as it defines the nature of development within the area of study. Within the gentrification discourse the different players and stakeholders are identified. Through an understanding of the different actors involved one can begin to expose the condition of the space and who drives its development. This is a pivotal point in this particular study and this theory provides the ground work in defining the realities which need to be exposed from both a universal and local positioning.

3.3.2 The 'Revanchist City' vs the 'Emancipatory City'

This line of inquiry serves as an extension to the gentrification debate which calls to question policies which serve as tools to manipulate spaces to fit particular social demographics and identities. This follows from the discourse around the 'Revanchist City', the theory of which is derived from 19th century France and reflects a "reactionary, nationalist movement seeking revenge against the perceived liberalism of the Second Empire and the proletarian uprising of the Paris Commune which sought to reassert a sense of traditional decency against the incivility of the mob, workers, and foreigners and the decadence of the monarchy" (Smith.2001.69). The revival of revanchism emerged as a product of "rewriting urban and social policy in the wake of the 20th century American liberalism", engendering an urban space defined by the interests of the white middle-class (ibid).

One such application of revanchism was in the 1990's in New York City under the leadership of the chief of police, William Bratton and Mayor Giuliani (ibid.68). Under their leadership the seminal document, which served as the foundation to U.S. revanchism was produced "the innocuously named Police Strategy No.5" (ibid). This document introduced the ideas that formed the 'Zero Tolerance' policy as it outlined that "a decent society is a society of civility" (ibid). The document further identifies a list of 'undesirables' who "have stolen the city from its rightful citizens, creating 'visible signs of a city out of control'" (ibid.69).
The outsiders that are defined within the documents range from street peddlers, to prostitutes and include a variety of activities such as public drinking and loud clubs to public urination, street artists, and 'dangerous mentally ill homeless people'" (ibid). Although homelessness is not a crime the document served to vilify the "homeless who were the first targets of the new revanchism" (ibid).

The notion of 'zero tolerance' is derived from the social scientific theory referred to as the 'broken windows' thesis. Which states that if it is allowed for windows to be broken without repercussion these lesser crimes would snowball into larger ones furthermore the 'disordered' look of the neighbourhood perpetuates criminal disorder (Wilson & Kelling.1982). Zero tolerance is thus an initiative which seeks to stamp out petty or minor crimes by persecuting these acts to the full extent of the law to ensure that worse offenses do not occur. Since the start of the 'zero tolerance' policy in New York in the 1990's the practice has spread as a response to growing issues of decay and disorder in cities across the globe. The proliferation of this approach has led to the perception of 'zero tolerance' as a complementary strategy to urban regeneration, "the wholesale gentrification of central urban landscapes" (Smith.2001.70).

This revanchist approach sought to take back public spaces and 'clean up the city'. As such this approach served to define urban public spaces by the interests of a selected often white middle-class minority veiled behind a perceived intent to engender 'decency and civility', which served to disenfranchise marginalised groups such as the poor, people of colour and immigrants (ibid). This is pertinent for the context of Johannesburg as these slogans and intentions are framing our current development policies. They beg the question from who do we need to reclaim the city and what are we seeking to 'clean up'. If the intention is to create

a safer and better urban environment for everyone not just those who pass the test of civility then one needs to acknowledge the potential pitfalls that were experienced in the context of New York as 'zero tolerance' led to an increase "in police brutality and abuse, with a rash of police murders, shootings, beatings, sexual assaults, wrongful arrests, and various forms of corruption suggesting a police force out of control" (Smith.2001.70).

This policy demonstrates the extreme of gentrification, yet it is not the only form that it has taken. It is important to consider that the mobilization of the middle-class does not necessarily have to end in the formation of a police state. Rather if one looks to the experience of Toronto the form of gentrification is a tamer animal all together. Caulfield describes it as a "kind of middle-class reaction; not against the working class, but against the repressive institutions of suburban life…a critical response to the city's postwar modernist development and growth boosterism in what became known as the 'reform' era of the 1970's "(1988.624). The drivers of this gentrification movement were described as breaking free from an era which was in their view defined by ``a routine of placeless space and monofunctional instrumentality'' (Caulfield, 1989, 624-625). Lees defines this focus as being less on critical social practice and more on ``emancipatory social practice" (2000, page 393). This is a converse view of what gentrification can embody when viewed in parallel to that of the revanchist city as in this context the experience is of discovering "a process that liberated the middle classes, united different people in the central city, and created opportunities for social interaction and tolerance" (Slater.2003).

This form of gentrification was a thereby a "process initiated by counterculture groups seeking inner-city spaces as an expressive act of resistance against modernist ideology" (Slater.2003.1194). Thereby rather than moving into the city as a form of revenge or need to 'take back the city' the process was rather a rejection of the "monotony of suburban life, and for the stultifying conventions of the postwar Fordism that facilitated suburban expansion, overcame resilient pathological images of inner-city neighbourhoods and transformed them into what Ley termed as 'oppositional spaces'" (Slater.2003.1194). This process was expressed through the creation of urban spaces which were "socially diverse, welcoming difference, tolerant, creative, valuing the old, the hand-crafted, the personalized, countering hierarchical lines of authority'' (Ley.1996.210). One should however not be disillusioned into

thinking that this process was somehow all-inclusive or that it was immune from some of the criticisms that serve as mandatory in any discourse around gentrification such as the perception that the process threatens the availability of affordable housing stocks and displaces the vulnerable (Ley.1996).

It is important to note that the creation of an 'emancipatory city' has a double-edged quality. The heterotopic approach which is largely what is discussed above, is focused on a counter site in which "the potential for real places to be temporarily transformed into other places" is realized (Foucault.1986.24). The other side of the coin looks to the utopian character of this approach which is less specific in context and rather defines the potential to affect change anywhere and create an ideal space. This presents the ambition of this process rather than the reality, however it builds upon the view that urban space is identified as something more than just a physical environment.

> *A city isn't just a place to live, to shop, to go out and have kids play. It's a place that implicates how one derives one's ethics, how one develops a sense of justice, how one learns to talk and learn from people who are unlike oneself, which is how a human being becomes human* (Richard Sennett. 1989.83).

Cities are thus potentially seen as a place for life, learning and self-discovery, through which the intent is now being defined as trying to produce livable cities (Lees.2004).

These theories are however very polarized and demonstrate an extreme within how public spaces can be defined by particular groups of people. They do not express the possibility of a middle ground which tempers the politicization of the 'emancipatory city' and the harsh policing of the 'revanchist city' to form an urban environment which is open and fluid and shaped by a diversity of experiences and expectations. It is however essential to assess how these forms of gentrification have taken place. They demonstrate how regardless of the intention if the process of gentrification is driven by a middle-class or social elite or any specific grouping the outcome is tailored to their intentions and as such tends toward an exclusion of those who do not fit in. The question thus of how these effects can be avoided

or mitigated whilst processes of gentrification occur is essential to defining the future of this approach.

3.3.3 The 'Right to the City'- Exploring the Question of Social Justice from the Position of Lefebvre

This theory has held much attention and critique within the academic scope as it asks directly the question of who does space belong to and how is that determined. As our basic constitutional right we as citizens have the right to access public spaces and in part define the spaces in which we live. This theory bares the reality that often city planning and development is exclusionary and oppressive. One might have the right to shop wherever you want but if a public space is made inaccessible due to cost or even physical restrictions then that right is infringed upon. More so if a public space is designed beyond the needs of its relevant populace then that is an infringement on ones right. At the core of this argument is the foundation that as city dwellers we have not only the right to access but to shape our environments, we should make the city suit our lifestyle and needs rather than creating it as a space which excludes us (Lefebvre.1974).

Thus at the centre of this idea is the need for participation, for the city dweller to be involved in their reality and condition. Furthermore it identifies the need for the state to play a supportive role of the dweller who should be able to communicate their vision for the city. On the other hand in the event that processes of gentrification occurs with consent as it provides an economy for city dwellers it should be recognised as being in conjunction with the wants of the citizens. Just as these processes should not be imposed on unwilling participants so to should it be acknowledged as a desired outcome for some. In general the state is supportive of any process by which the city space is maintained and developed from funding by another party however it should maintain its role as representative and mediator between the interests of citizens and those of capital ventures.

3.3.4 New Urbanism -The Value Based Approach to Creating Urban Neighbourhoods looking to New Conventional Wisdom (NCW), New Urban Policy (NUP) and Placemaking theory

The foundation of new urban theory is based on an observation of the urban space needing to be more responsive to the people that occupy that space as such cities must reflect the patterns of use that are determined by its occupants and users. This understanding has been championed by Jane Jacobs (1961) who led a movement toward community based development in cities which recognised the need for a planning approach which was less imposed and more 'organic'. Driven by the needs and communities and responsive to the limitations and challenges which are present within the urban landscape. The approach to city building which Jacobs pursued was based on five principles:

i. to view cities as ecosystems as living organisms "suggesting that over time, buildings, streets and neighbourhoods function as dynamic organisms, changing in response to how people interact with them… how each element of a city-sidewalks, parks neighbourhoods, government, economy- function together synergistically, in the same manner as the natural ecosystem" (Jacobs. 1961).

ii. for mixed-use development integrating "different buildings types and uses, whether residential or commercial, old or new", this implies a diversification of the built environment as well as it users calling for and "organic, spontaneous and untidy" city character (ibid).

iii. relates to the contestation of traditional planning approaches that rely "on the judgement of outside experts, proposing that local expertise is better suited to guiding community development…prescribed government policies for planning and development are usually inconsistent with the real-life functioning of city neighbourhoods", thereby prescribing a bottom-up community planning approach (ibid).

iv. relates to the need for higher density calling for a need for critical mass, the common assumption within planning theory blames high density for "crime, filth, and a host of other problems", Jacobs argues that "high concentration of

people is vital for city life, economic growth, and prosperity" (ibid). The critical mass approach Jacobs argues encourages vibrant communities.

v. refers to the need for local economies development "based on adding new types of work to old, promoting small businesses, and supporting the creative impulses of urban entrepreneurs". Jacobs contests the general assumption that "specialized, highly efficient economies fuel long term growth; and that specialized, highly efficient economies fuel long-term growth; and that large, stable businesses are the best sources of innovation" (ibid).

These features form the foundation of new urban theory which is targeting the development of responsive urban environments. Jacobs's observations of the urban landscape have also formed a foundational value for placemaking theory which is a growing movement particularly within American cities calling for the ground-up/ community driven development of city spaces and places.

The ideal environment which is created within the context of this theory is resilient and reflective of the needs and demands people have on the space that they occupy and use. The emergence of 'new urbanism' thereby places a focus on a "design-oriented approach to planned urban development…created primarily by architects and journalists, it is perhaps more ideology than theory, and its message is carried not just by academics but by planning practitioners and a popular movement" (Fainstein.2005, 10). The new urbanist approach refers to a particular built form which includes a diversity of building typologies, "a mix of uses, intermingling of housing for different income groups, and a strong privileging of the 'public realm'" (ibid).

The aim is to create a neighbourhood which is akin to a village with a "limited size, has a well-defined edge and a focused center" (ibid), the idea behind which is to provide for the "daily needs of life accessible within a five minute-walk" (Kunstler. 1996, 117). 'New urbanism' is founded on the ideals of creating well structured, diverse and compact neighbourhoods and centres that are walkable, with a variety of purposefully made public spaces following particular architectural guidelines and striving for harmony and human scale (Respondent 11).

The shortcoming of this movement is that it is too focused on inserting new patterns of placemaking within existing structures and in so doing fracturing existing social networks. It seeks to implant the neighbourhood or 'habitat' which is conducive to building a community based economy and lifestyle rather than building from the existing fabric. The danger here is that it can result in an exclusionary process in which the new 'implanted' community drives out the host by either pricing them out or creating a new local economy which is no longer supportive of the pre-existing condition. This is not always the case however a delicate balance is necessary to ensure that the original community is developed and supported within the new development agenda and that they remain major stakeholders in the future planning of the space.

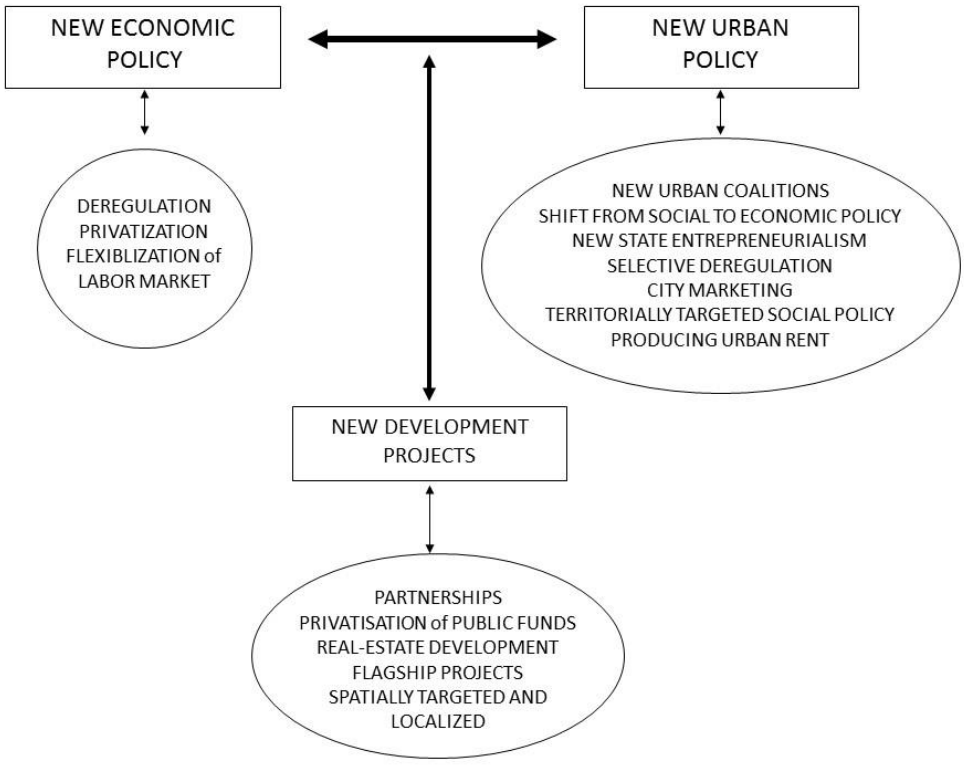


Figure 3.1: Relationship between the NEP, NUP and UDP principles. (Source: Swyngedouw. et al. 2002, 553)

Figure 3.1 illustrates the relationship between the different factors and components which are shaping the new urban fabric, which is determined and led by the objectives outlined within the NUP movement as well as the outcomes determined by the NCW theory, which in turn are determining the way in which placemaking rhetoric is being created. The growth of

the urban regeneration model is visible within the NUP which seeks to encourage a processes of refocusing built development along economic foundations in which drivers are decentralized, privatized and centred on the increasing fiscal value of urban landscapes.

3.3.5 The driving force of the creative class

This refers to the mobilization and utilization of a 'creative class' which drives and encourages development in decayed and under utilised areas. In cities around the world 'creatives' are forming new types of neighbourhoods with a particular brand and economic landscape which is particularly attractive to not only likeminded people put also to tourists and the 'trendy' city users. Reddy through an interview with Steven Sack (Former Director of Arts, Culture & Heritage for the COJ) defines the parameters of a culturally/ creatively driven precinct development within an acronym of CENTRAL, which describes the necessary parameters for defining an area as a cultural precinct:

C-cultural industries
E-entertainment
N-neighbourhood markets
T-theatres
R-religious organisations, recreation centres
A-art; visual and public art, art galleries, artist residence
L-libraries and bookshops.
(Reddy. 2011, 10)

The mobilisation of a 'creative class' or rather a creative economy is an unfolding theory. It is borne from the recognition that in certain circumstances a particular socioeconomic dynamic has evolved which recognises the production and consumption patterns of a particular social group which has cumulative investment potential (Pratt. 2008). The general assumption is however that the value of the creative or cultural production lies in a "rapid turnover of product and a winner takes-all-marketplace" (ibid. 115). Within Pratt's analysis the creative class is seen as merely a tool for capital turnover and something which fails to provide any

future within the way in which policy can be formed around it (ibid). The value of this mobilisation lends itself more adequately to a private development model as it encourages an economically active production as well as targeting a specific occupational grouping to support it. The notion behind the value of developing creative hubs and culturally defined precincts is an essential characterizing element of Maboneng that has been defined largely by its cultural identity both physically and within its brand (Reddy, 2011). The requirements listed above are discussed in further detail within the analysis of the precinct however it serves to outline the necessary spatial components in order to define the place.

3.4 POLICY AND PROCEDURE- CITY BUILDING STRUCTURES WITHIN JOHANNESBURG

3.4.1 The CID Approach

> *An Improvement District is a defined geographic area within which property owners agree to pay for certain services to enhance the physical and social environment of the area. The services provided are supplementary to those provided by the local authority and usually include safety and security patrol officers, pavement cleaning, litter collection, maintenance of public space and the removal of illegal posters* (CJP.2006).

The CID approach has been adopted internationally in response to a need for greater control, area management and economic encouragement in urban and even suburban areas (Peyroux. 2008). Furthermore the ultimate goal of the CID "is to maintain and manage the public environment at a superior level and thus enhance the majority of the property owner's investments" (KUM. 2005, 6). In the context of South Africa the implementation of CID has been present within all major cities as a way of fostering partnerships and creating a structure of management beyond the city (Ntshona. 2013). As such the private sector "played a key role in the transfer of the model, the adoption of the legislation and the spread of CIDs within the city" (Peyroux. 2008, 141). The context in which the CID model emerges is much the same as that of urban regeneration discussed above noting the need for a targeted approach to development in relation to a distinctive political and economic condition expressed within the duality of South African society (ibid).

The first interpretation of the CID approach in South Africa occurred in Johannesburg in 1993 through a pilot project led by business and property owners from the CJP within the CBD, which emerged in the context of a fragmented municipal structure and a need for transformation in the city (ibid). The development of the model has evolved over many years and through processes of exchange with other cities and has been adopted both through the CJP and by new emerging institutions as well as a less formal voluntary groupings (ibid). Furthermore the formulation of CID has not become legislated across the country with only selective provinces having a legal framework from which to formalize the CID process (CJP. 2006).

In the areas and provinces in which the CID is not legislated the structure of a CID is utilised yet this is voluntary (CJP.2006). The categories of CIDs are thereby defined as legislated CIDs, voluntary CIDs and special projects, the last two are not legally ratified and as such "are not based on a legal binding agreement between property owners" (Peyroux. 2008, 144). Despite the lack of formality within some interpretations of the CID approach the existence of many voluntary CIDs across the city expressing the strong support of this approach amongst business owners (Peyroux. 2008). It must be noted that despite underlying similarities no CIDs are the same, each is defined by its distinctive combination of uses, businesses, stakeholders and users as well as having different driving objectives and definitive projects (ibid). Further distinctions exist between Improvement Districts, that are inner city areas of regeneration tackling concerns of 'crime and grime' and Management Districts, focused on creating of competitive nodes largely located in suburban areas by utilizing marketing to create hype and interest (ibid).

In order to legislate a CID in Johannesburg a formal application must be made to the local authority which will be considered in "terms of the Gauteng City Improvement District Act No.12 of 1997 which was ratified on the 9th of December in 1997" (CJP. 2006). The most important requirements for legislating and for a legislated CID are outlined below:

- *Defined geographic boundaries*
- *Consultation with all property owners and major tenants*

- *51% majority vote needed to be legally established. Local authority must approve the CID.*
- *Every property owner needs to be informed about the establishment of the CID.*
- *Once a district is legally authorised 100% of property owners have to contribute financially.*
- *CID authorises council to levy an additional tax on members, who are required to pay them just as they have to pay rates.*
- *CID has its own board of directors elected from the members of the CID Section 21 company.*
- *urban management company can be appointed to manage the day-to-day operations*
- *CID provides supplementary services and are not a replacement of local authority baseline services*

The scope of CIDs have progressively increased and as areas are able to stabilize and provide the primary level services such as cleaning and security, efforts are made to incorporate further development and focus on creating competitiveness for a precinct (Respondent 10). The key of the CID is that it creates a unified body which is able to shape its environment. This body enables participation locally and within the municipality, facilitating a more open and participatory development format. The CID model also provides for greater sustainability as the maintenance and management of projects encourages investment from both the private and public sector (Respondent 10). As such CIDs are increasingly looking to new urban policies and best practices in creating environments which are suitable to the needs of owners and residents as well as that are competitive nodes within the city.

3.4.2 The Urban Development Zone (UDZ) - Building Private Investment in the CBD

The UDZ refers to a public sector investment programme which incentivizes development within demarcated zones or 'empowerment areas' within cities across South Africa (Mbhize. 2013). "The incentive takes the form of an accelerated depreciation allowance applicable to the value of new buildings and improvement to existing buildings" (Cox et al. 2015). The UDZ

was launched in 2003 within a National Budget Speech by the then Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel and was implemented in 2004 and initially made available till 2009. This was later extended to the end of March 2014 (Mbhiza. 2013). A review is currently underway which seeks to extend the UDZ deadline till 2020 (Cox et al. 2015). The primary objective of the incentive "was to promote urban renewal and inner-city rejuvenation through private sector property investment", secondly the UDZ aimed at "broader economic development and job creation" (Cox et al. 2015). It is noted that the UDZ was not central to the involvement of the private sector in leading the charge of renewal within the inner city and in some cases businesses have not made use of the UDZ at all, as such the incentive is an added bonus rather than a key driver of development (Respondent 5; Cox et al. 2015). The map below indicates the boundaries of the UDZ as defined by the COJ, this boundary refers essentially to the inner city regeneration zone.

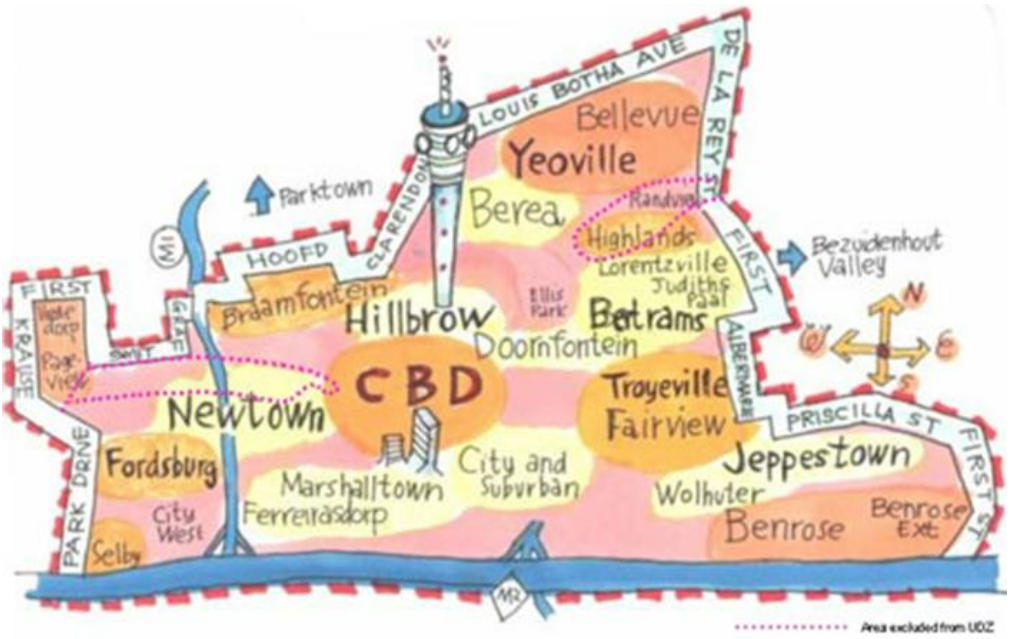


Figure 3.2: UDZ boundary map (source: COJ.2015)

Mbhize recognises three indicators of effectiveness of the UDZ, firstly the growth of rental markets within the designated area, secondly rental growth is supported by 'quality tenants and vacancy reduction', this is attributed to an increased confidence amongst investors, the third aspect refers to the quantity of "building plans passed within an area" (2013, 28). The

UDZ has been attributed to a cumulative investment of over R9 billion, with the creation of around 65, 000 construction related jobs (Cox et al. 2015, 48).

The *Inner City Transformation and Investment Trend* Report compiled by the JDA and City of Joburg indicates a list of projects and investors which and who have benefitted from the UDZ, this includes:

- *Bank City (FNB)*
- *Chancellor House*
- *Turbine Hall*
- *Southpoint: Braamfontein Student City*
- *AFHCO*
- *City Property*
- *Johannesburg Land Company: Zurich Re Building*
- *Lionshare: group hotels*
- *Absa Bank: Absa Campus*
- *Standard Bank*
- *Anglo American Corporation*
- *BHP Billiton*
- *Mapungubwe Hotel*

(ibid)

In order to claim the UDZ incentive the following requirements are necessary:

- *Building requirement- erection of a new, extended, added to or improved building of at least 1000m² or purchased such a building directly from a developer having met the requirements.*
- *Location within UDZ- the site must be located within the UDZ demarcated area as defined by the city of Johannesburg.*
- *Trade requirement- the building must be used for purposes of trade/business*
- *Ownership- building or part of the building upon which a claim is made must be owned by the claimant.*

- *Time requirements- the refurbishment/development of a building must have commenced following the establishment of the UDZ*
- *Location certificate- is required as proof that the property falls within the UDZ boundaries*
- *The cost can only be deducted (the benefits of the incentive) on completion of the development*

(Mbhize. 2013, 29-33)

The UDZ is a useful incentive for the city, this is evidence by the continuous extension of the deadline for its applicability as well as plans to extend to existing boundaries to include various station precincts that incorporate the transit oriented development program currently pursued by the city of Joburg (Cox et al. 2015). The UDZ is however not a central driving force for encouraging private led development in the city but rather an indication of commitment by the city to actively pursue engagements with the private sector to improve the conditions and quality of life being delivered within the context of the inner city.

3.5 BUILDING THE FOUNDATION OF THE INQUIRY- CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework is a key component in any research as it "lays out the key factors, constructs, or variables, and presumes relationships among them" (Miles & Huberman. 1994, 440). This provides the platform from which the research can be launched. The conceptual framework indicated below illustrates the way in which the propositions of this paper can be formulated through the juxtaposing of the wider theory, which has been defined through this comprehensive review of the literature and informed by the theoretical framework explored below, within the study of Maboneng. Defining the parameters of the theory as it relates to this case study will serve to establish a set of criteria by which the conditions within Maboneng will be assessed. Figure 2.1 below depicts the conceptual framework and highlights the relationship between the different variables highlighted within.

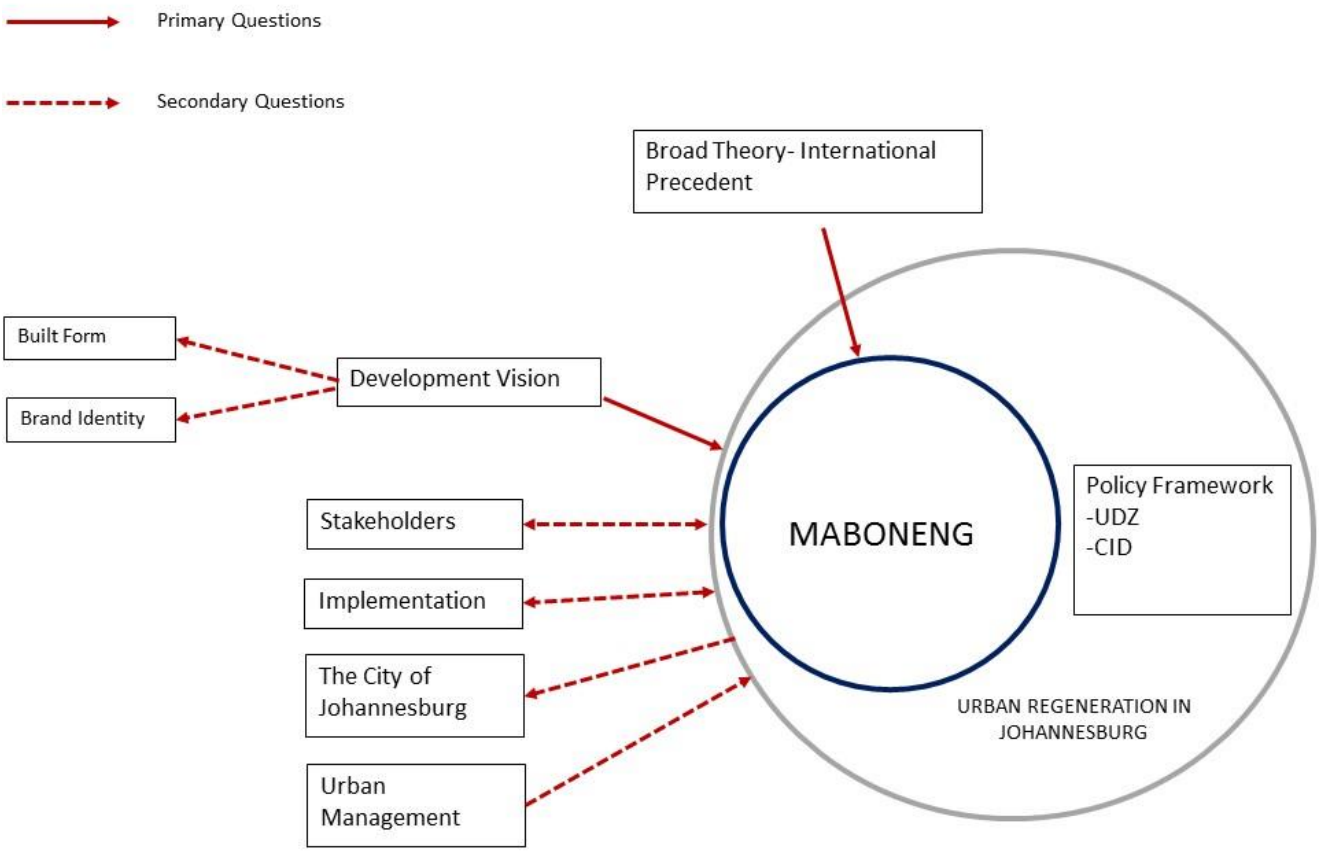


Figure 3.3: Diagram of Conceptual Framework

The relationships explored above are defined by the experiences discussed within the literature review and demonstrate key observational requirements to be made within the study.

3.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework guides the research question in relation to the key points of discourse. The diagram below depicts the connections that can be made across the different theories. This is relevant in that it highlights the way in which different components of this study are affected by one another.

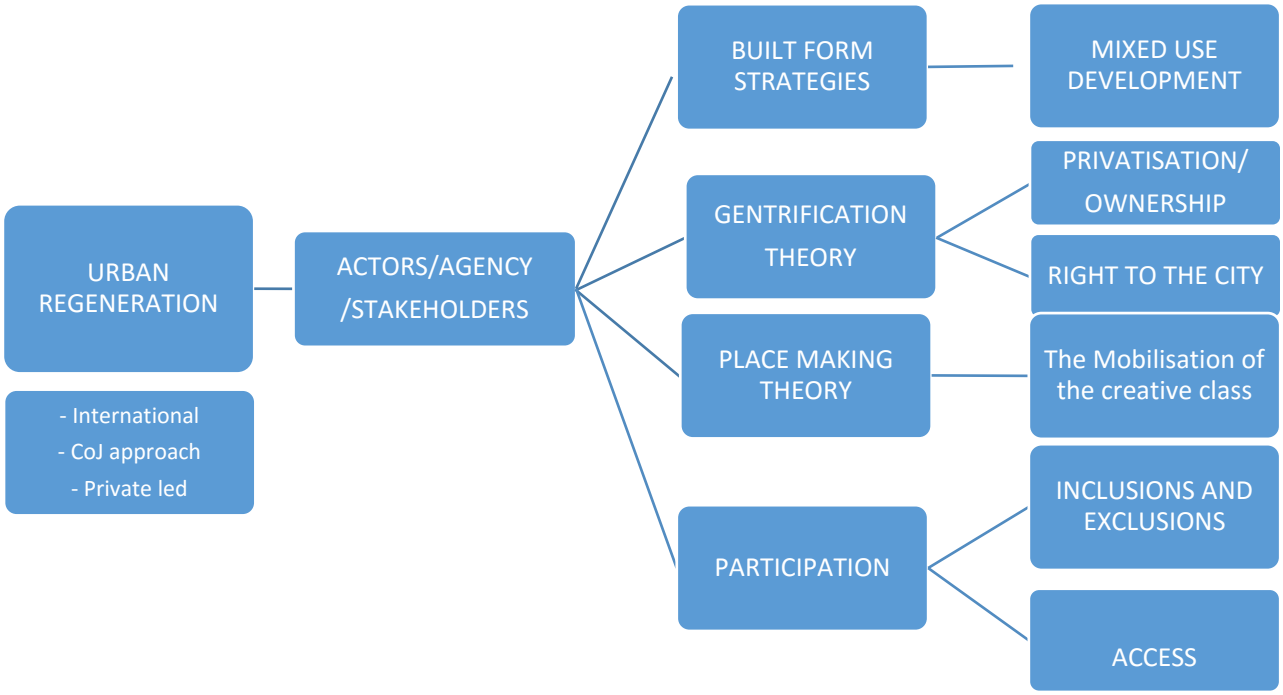


Figure 3.4: Theoretical Framework

3.7 CONCLUSION

"New Urban Policy (NUP) and New Conventional Wisdom (NCW) encompass concepts of social cohesion and responsive governance…the central political and economic imperative for local governments influenced by NUP and NCW is to build competitiveness through a search for new opportunities and distinctive sources of advantage" (Winkler. 2009, 366). Cities are complex as has been stressed previously and development is predominantly driven by private

capital investment, unless the City's agenda is in line with what investors want to create there is an inevitable gridlock.

The literature explored within this review provides a framework within which one can understand the way that urban regeneration has occurred within the context of Maboneng. By exploring the way in which urban regeneration has migrated from areas globally and locally it is possible to see how different circumstances breed different results. The implication of the social experiences which have shaped South Africa and its current position as a key destination for people from not only all over Africa but across the world, means that its experiences do not fit the mold of those shaped in European and American cities. Therefore the realisation of this grasping for a cosmopolitan identity will be further explored within the context of Maboneng.

CHAPTER 4
LITERATURE REVIEW PART 2

4.1 WHAT MAKES A PLACE?

Mabo**ne**ng is a product of its context defined by the city of Johannesburg and shaped by the people who occupy the space. Within this chapter I will identify the historical legacy which has shaped the way in which the city has evolved, and which has affected the way in which spaces in the city are experienced by different urban communities. Furthermore I will identify key policies which have determined the way in which the city has progressed beyond the constraints of its past and define the agenda which maps its future development. Lastly I will outline the development of the precinct and identify its location.

4.2 CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

4.2.1 Historical foundation of Johannesburg

The conditions of decay within Johannesburg which have led to the need for urban regeneration within the inner city are a product of historical, social and spatial dynamics. The city of Johannesburg was established following the discovery of gold in 1886 (Beavon.2004). Within its first 10 years it became the financial and commercial hub of sub-Saharan Africa, with financial institutions and mining houses forming the foundation of its infrastructure (Bremner.2000, 185). Furthermore it was the largest urban centre in Southern Africa with a population exceeding that of Cape Town at 102,000 people (Chipkin.1993).

The gold economy not only supported the establishment of a fast paced city built on the backing of institutional and financial tycoons, which seized the opportunity of a growing population but also catapulted the country as a whole into the modern age (Harrison & Zack.2012). Although the promise of wealth and gold attracted people from all over the world the nature of the Witwatersrand gold fields was that it required deep-level mining (ibid). The implication of which was that gold mining required investment and was therefore dominated

by the ‘Randlords’ who had made their wealth on the diamond mines of Kimberley (ibid). The Witwatersrand thereby became the largest gold mine in the region which demanded a large labour force (ibid2). Early Johannesburg was dependent on the gold reef, and its initial settlement was not considered permanent (Beavon.2004). The mining camp did however evolve into a town including “banks, shops, hotels and boarding houses, a stock exchange, and the inevitable saloons and brothels” (ibid, 6). From 1889 to 1891 the population decreased by a third and more so during the South African War. However by 1928 there was “sufficient confidence in the future of Johannesburg to formally proclaim it a city” (Harrison & Zack. 2012, 558). In the 1930’s the mining boom increased Johannesburg’s growth exponentially and the inner city became defined by high-rise buildings (Harrison & Zack. 2012) which are visible in figure 4.1. This image depicts the railway and the station which formed an arterial transport linkage through the city and its surrounding areas. The image shows the incorporation of urban structuring elements that were significant at the time such as wide boulevards that formed a more permeable urban space.

In the 1970’s the “rigid planning regime effectively barred developers from producing underground parking” (Bethlehem. 2013, 17). The objective behind this planning was to encourage the use of public transport structures which at the time was a city bus service as the tram system had been discontinued by the 1960’s (Garner. 2011). The outcome was the creation of an inner city environment which housed large office blocks with insufficient provision for parking and a public transport infrastructure which was lacking. This was a period of growth and the diversification of an economy which had previously been dependent on gold and was now invested in manufacturing and the growth of a service sector (Harrison & Zack.2012). The city environment was however constrained by the restrictive planning which had formed it, and not responsive to growing trends such as the flourishing private automobile industry.



Figure 4.1: Rissik street 1954 (Source: Hilton T, Gauteng.net)

As such the City became an impractical location for siting businesses as accessibility by the preferred means was restricted through the lack of parking provision. The insufficient infrastructural support for the needs of the private market as well as rising concerns around instability and crime (Garner. 2011. 19) led to an exodus from the inner city with businesses and residents opting to move toward the peripheries and toward edge cities such as Rosebank, Sandton, Fourways and Edenvale (Bethlehem. 2013, 17). These areas allowed for ease of access and greater growth models and projection. This was not unique to Johannesburg and it reflected not only the conditions being experienced by economic, political and social issues locally but also the global trends of suburbanisation (Garner. 2011).

4.2.2 The Landscape of Segregation

The physical manifestation of segregation in Johannesburg was apparent from as early as 1887, and by 1907 the patterns were entrenched within the city's urban fabric (Beavon.

2004). As such any account of the city's development must be cognizant of the central tenet which was the unequal nature of this socially and racially segregated city (Guillaume.2001; Beall et al.2002; Murray.2008). Figure 4.2 depicts the way in which segregationist policy was evident within the urban environment as this scene shows the policing that black South Africans were subjected to in areas that were classified as white. The legislation that created influx control and pass laws ranging from the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, the 1934 Slums Act and the 1982 Black Local Authorities Act were abolished or redefined in the 1986 Abolition of the Influx control act (Johnson-Castle. 2014).

Legislation around land tenure and geographic segregation that dated back from the 1913 Native Land Act and included the 1950's Group Areas Act within all it various permutations, took a little longer to unravel however prosecutions under these acts were outlawed in 1991 and ratified through the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1993 (ibid). These acts sought to control the movement, employment and settlement of black, Indian, coloured and Asian people within the country (ibid). Spatial segregation under this legislation led to areas being developed and zoned not only on the basis of purposing but also with the intent of creating areas for different races as well as structural barriers which served to separate them. The collapse of these legal structures led to a new wave of migration into the city in the 1980's (Garner. 2011). Spatially the implication for cities like Johannesburg were that town planning and city structuring was being driven by social policies of exclusion rather than by a need to create sustainable, livable, or integrated cities.



Figure 4.2: Boy being detained and needing to provide his pass book on the streets of inner-city Johannesburg (Source: 'Police Swoop' Ernest Cole. 2010)

4.2.3 The New Grain of the City

The abolition of these segregationist acts allowed for internal migration of people from the peripheral areas that to the city in search of "accommodation, retail opportunities and most importantly well located housing" (Bethlehem. 2013, 17). The lack of transport infrastructure was again a key issue to functioning within the inner city and as such the mini-bus taxi industry boomed despite a total lack of provision of "taxi ranks, stops and loading areas" (Bethlehem. 2013, 17) and in conjunction with the use of private vehicles issues of traffic congestion and overcrowding came to fore (Garner. 2011). The increased urban population in places like Hillbrow, Berea and the CBD presented an opportunity for an informal economy to take root occupying strategic areas connecting to transportation nodes and responding to movement patterns within the city (Bethlehem. 2013, 18; Respondent 11). The people per hectare density in these critical areas, surpassed the capability of many "building managers to cope and management systems broke down, especially in sectional title buildings and other environments that required greater levels of social cohesion" (Bethlehem. 2013, 18). By 1992

the strain on property markets and management worsened as new sectional title ownership laws facilitated an increase in property purchasing within the city yet failed to establish effective building management bodies (Garner. 2011).

As a result of this urban decay “concerned private-sector and inner-city organisations established the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), to assist in urban management and the establishment and management of City Improvement Districts (CIDS)” (Garner. 2011. 21; Respondent 10). The establishment of these bodies demonstrated the need to go beyond the structures of government in order to ensure that urban spaces were managed and responded to growing demands of urban residents. The ushering in of the new political order in 1994 placed a further strain on an already crumbling city government structure, and “newly elected local authorities had to deal with a wide range of problems and subjected to a dizzying process of institutional restructuring, making for an unstable city government” (Bethlehem. 2013, 18). The frail government structure, built upon the dysfunctional remnants of apartheid planning and had to file for bankruptcy in 1998, and had to be bailed-out by the National Treasury (Bethlehem. 2013, 18).

The extent of the city’s collapse was felt by 1997 in which major investors backed out of the inner-city, and major centres such as the Carlton hotel and Johannesburg Sun were shut down (Garner. 2011). This low point for the city was recognised by local government and through a consultation process with various inner city stakeholders a new vision and plan was established (Garner. 2011). In 1999 the Inner City Spatial Framework was developed by the municipality with the intent of responding to issues around economic and spatial inner-city conditions, this led to the development of the Inner City Economic Development Strategy (Garner. 2011). Key urban renewal programs were defined for the following areas: “Newtown, Constitution Hill, Braamfontein, Greater Ellis Park, Jeppestown, High Court Precinct, Civic Precinct, Rissik Street Post Office, Pageview/ Vrededorp and the Fashion District” (Garner. 2011, 21).

By 2000 after a considered process of restructuring a metropolitan municipality was established which served to create a centrality for the local authority. This was essential to mounting an effective mechanism for development as the new municipal structure “evolved

into the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council with a single revenue base, organised into 11 administrative regions and a number of service agencies" (Garner. 2011, 24). The strategy which was formulated to improve the conditions of the inner city was multilayered and included a wholescale urban restructuring which targeted not only the inner city but also included "proper integration of the townships and investment in township infrastructure" (Bethlehem. 2013, 18). The scope of this development was both grand in scale and complexity and sought to encompass the greater metropolitan region of Johannesburg through responsive and proactive city building strategies that saw the transformation of the entire metropolitan as fundamental. At the core of this new approach was a need to consolidate and deliver on the basics services within the city as a whole and as such addressing the inadequacies of municipal structure that was inherited by the new government which was a key obstacle to overcome. In order to manage the day to day the Inner City Task Team was formed in 2002 and focused on "crime reduction, informal trade management, taxi management, by-law enforcement, service delivery coordination and revenue collection" (Garner. 2011, 24).

2006 marked a milestone for the development of the inner-city with the launch of the inner city summit and charter (CoJ). The plan for Johannesburg was to revitalize and recreate the city, to redress the legacy which apartheid planning imprinted and reimagine the city as a mix of people, uses and income groups to represent not only the pinnacle of South African cities but more so to become the centre of the African continent as a whole (CoJ). Now 21 years into South Africa's democracy its cities are showing signs or revival, with the inner city population of Johannesburg having grown by 23% from 2001 to 2011 (Cox et al.2015). Through processes of trial and error the city's urban regeneration programme has sought to develop and reengage with the urban fabric creating public spaces as well as functional environments that attract young professionals and people looking to create a life within the city (Brodie.2008). The creation of economic opportunities within the city has furthermore decreased inner city unemployment by 17% from 2001 to 2011 (ibid). This growth in the inner city serves to further investor confidence which is made visible through the growth of not only large corporate institutions with the inner city but also with the emergence of a 'boutique economy' and a new entrepreneurial group.

It should however be noted that the process of regeneration in the city has been contests over how development occurs and for whom. This is most critically identified within the case of the inner city's 'bad buildings' programme which aimed at redeveloping buildings which had become derelict and run down and bring them up to code (Murray.2008). However although there is value in improving the condition of unhealthy, structurally unsafe and potentially criminally occupied buildings this does not account for the fact that most of the occupants of these buildings are "ordinary poor people living their daily lives on the streets of Johannesburg" (ibid, 218). Where the city has targeted these building for urban regeneration the residents have been evicted (Rubin.2013).

The responsibility of the city is thereby by law to find alternative accommodation, this is firstly not always possible and secondly fails to account for the fact that these residents have chosen to be in these buildings despite the squalor as that is how they are able to survive or access work (Murray.2008). The discourse around the 'bad building' project, was further highlighted by the evicted residents of one such building known as the San Jose building appealing to the constitutional court to repeal the eviction, they won this case and the city was unable to develop the building (Rubin. 2013). This case serves to represent some part of the opposition to urban regeneration as in some cases people are displaced in order to make way for progress, and what becomes of them?

4.3 STRATEGISING THE CITY

The process of regenerating the city of Johannesburg has not "conformed to a single, all-encompassing master logic but instead is governed by the complex interaction of overlapping and intersecting processes" (Murray.2008, 193). The general objective driving regeneration is to respond to the decay and disinvestment of the inner city. Bethlehem identifies four drivers of regeneration for Johannesburg, all of which have a bearing and have played some part in Maboneng although in varying degrees, they are:

- Public investment in urban renewal and infrastructure
- City Improvement Districts
- Institutional and corporate investment
- Private, entrepreneurial investments, particularly in the residential sector (2013)

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was established in April 2001, becoming an agent to facilitate public investment 'breathing new life into the area', their work can be divided into two phases (Bethlehem. 2013). Phase one encompassed the first five years from its establishment focused on "high profile one-off investments aimed at catalysing the process of regeneration" (Bethlehem. 2013, 19). The catalytic projects include the "symbol of inner city renewal, of Nelson Mandela Bridge, as well as the Constitutional Court, the Newtown Development including a major new event space at Mary Fitzgerald Square" (ibid). These projects served as a kick-start to urban regeneration igniting "excitement and energy in relation to the CBD, and began to create a community of enthusiasts and investors" (ibid).



Figure 4.3: Collection of images of various projects run and initiated by the JDA in a range of locations across Johannesburg. Projects in order from left to right, Greater Ellis Park, Braamfontein, Rea Vaya, Newtown, Constitution Hill, Fashion District (source: JDA)

Phase two includes smaller scale initiatives programmed toward a supportive role and 'catalysing' agent for private sector investments (Garner. 2011, 44). The projects pursued by the JDA for the second phase encompass many "precinct upgrades in which public spaces and infrastructure were created, replaced or improved" (Bethlehem. 2013, 19). The upgrade of the public environment includes "public lighting, pavements, small urban squares, parks and community halls" (ibid) the objective of which seeks to meet the demands of well-produced public spaces. This extended into the production of innovate public space and expression and was "supplemented by a programme of creating outdoor public artworks throughout the inner city and in many of its parks, helping to create a sense of place and a renewed affection for the City" (ibid). One of the more significant projects within this component of work "was the implementation of the Rea Vaya, Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transit System" (Bethlehem. 2013, 19). The impact for which extends the process of regeneration and programmed development to incorporate a Transit Oriented Development (TOD) focus.

At the core of the future planning and development ideology of Johannesburg as a whole is the 2006 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS). The GDS is a long-term strategic plan "to ensure sustainable delivery of services, deal with social and economic development, involve local government and promote a safe and healthy environment" (CoJ. 2015). The plan presents a consolidated approach drawing on the full range of existing city development strategies and considers the "provinces GDS, the National Spatial Development, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and the strategies of surrounding municipalities"(CoJ. 2015). The GDS was informed by a participatory engagement including discussions at "ward level and at sectoral workshops convened by mayoral committee members with community and non-governmental organisations, organized labour and representatives of business" (CoJ. 2015). The plan envisions a city built upon the experience and cooperation of nine key sectors, with the potential for growth in the city, in the pursuit of creating a 'World-Class African City' (CoJ. 2006).

These sectors are: "economic development, community development, housing, infrastructure and services, environmental, development planning and urban management, transport and health and safety" (CoJ. 2006). In order for the City to reach the goals and expectations which it has set for itself there must be substantial and measurable growth within each of these sectors and furthermore there must be a holistic approach which incorporates and acknowledges a mutually reliant relationship between each of these sectors. Within the development of planning and urban management the City's vision is "of a spatial form that embraces the principles of sustainability and inclusivity and should progressively increase opportunities and quality of life for all communities and residents" (CoJ. 2006).

The experience of development within the area of Maboneng explores the dynamics described by the City as being fundamental to its own vision of development. The central objective of the City's mandate in becoming a 'world-class African city' is the need to "negotiate the challenges and position ourselves to grasp at emerging opportunities" (Masondo. 2006). The GDS is thereby a targeted approach "grappling with issues of poverty, eradicating social inequality, ensuring quality service delivery" as well as redressing the effects of apartheid planning particularly within the 'dormitory townships'; further challenges include responding to "infrastructural backlogs, creating employment opportunities, reducing

the high cost of doing business, reducing transportation costs and combating crime and grime" (CoJ. 2015). Urban decay in Johannesburg is the byproduct of the issues defined by the CoJ, it is the visual and physical embodiment of collapse and inadequacy within the city.

Drawing from a collective past experience the CoJ responded to issues of urban decay within the city by encouraging private sector led development to foster a more economically supportive environment. The city aims to improve social cohesion through the development of public spaces that focus on "arts, culture, heritage, sports and recreation" (CoJ. 2006). To encourage such development the city has adopted fiscal incentives such as the UDZ as discussed in chapter 3.

4.4 CONTEXT OF MABONENG

Occupying a small area on the eastern edge of Johannesburg Inner-city the Maboneng Precinct presents a unique condition. The precinct lies wedged between the Elis Park and Doornfontein precincts to its north, city suburban forming its western boundary and the established area of Jeppestown to its south east. It can be described as an island an enclave of urban experience detached from Johannesburg as a whole. The reality of how this small precinct stands alone is however recognised by the development body and a remedy for this condition is sought through an engagement with neighbouring precincts which have partnership approval.

The precinct was established by a private developer as a new investment zone in 2008, which sought to transform the previous industrial area into a destination in the city in response to the opportunities presented by broader processes of the inner city regeneration program initiated and supported by the Johannesburg city council. The map depicted in figure 4.4 demonstrates the variety of projects currently completed or underway, and showing the proposed boundaries for the CID pending approval (Maboneng Precinct. 2015). The development is premised on mobilising interest around a particular brand of city living embodied by artistic expression and promoting a rediscovery or reinvention of this particular city space (Respondent 9. 2015). This development has incorporated the refurbishment of old

buildings for new uses such as residential, hotels, business and retail spaces (Maboneng Precinct. 2015). The mobilisation of the space has revolved around the creation of various activities such as the revitalisation of the street through Sunday markets, bicycle rental and monthly events and the creation of artistic hubs through cinema, art galleries, alternate exhibition spaces, comedy, live music performances and public art expressions.

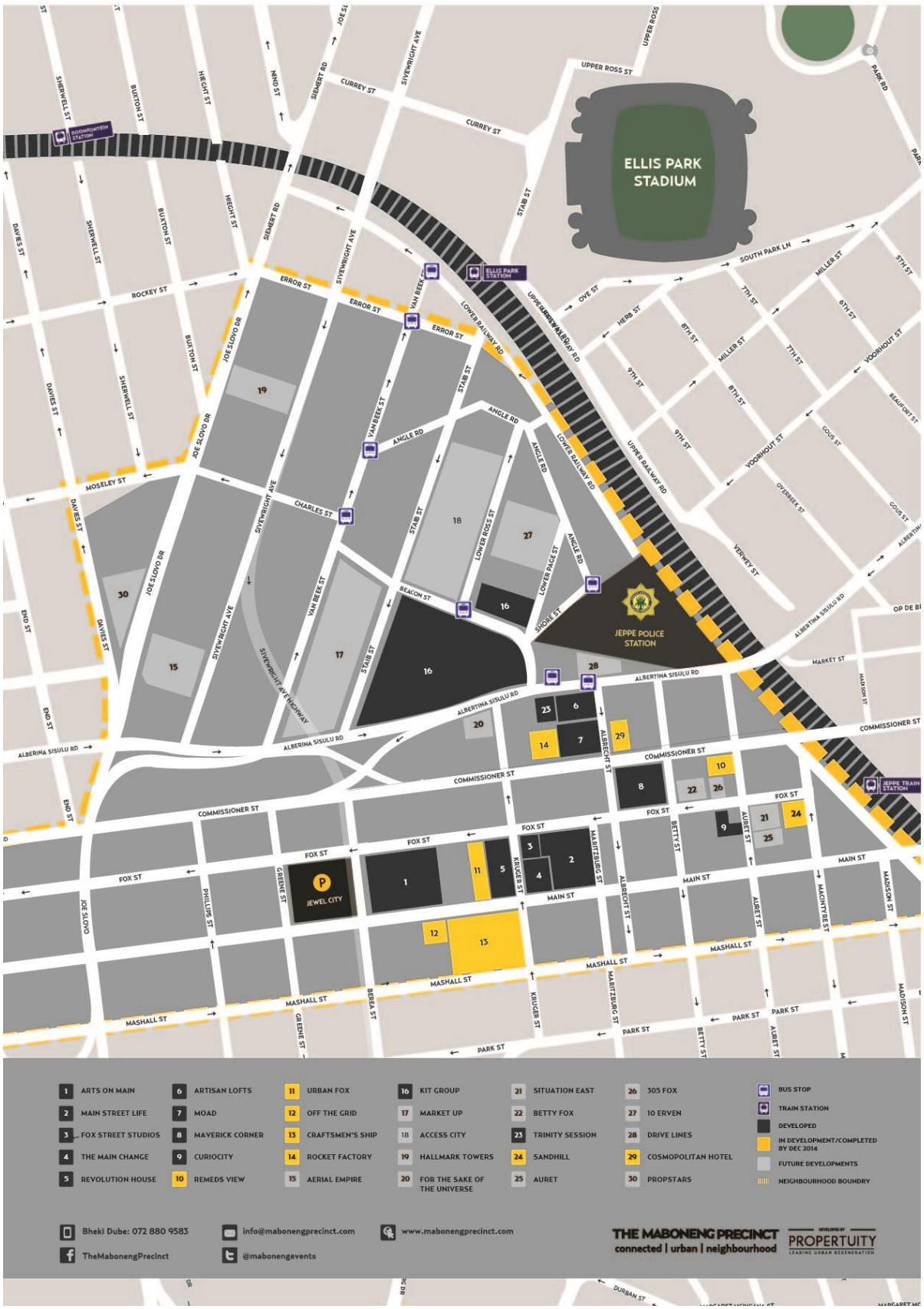


Figure 4.4: Maboneng Precinct Map. (Source: Maboneng Precinct, 2015)

4.5 CONCLUSION

The city context is thereby an environment which is defined by its ever growing demand and density. The local authority as a reflection of the National Policy is thereby required to create a responsive environment. The conditions and realities presented above express the objectives of the city's growth plan, which is aimed at producing a sustainable environment which engages with a multitude of uses and industries as well as responding to the use patterns of a socially and economically diverse population. Within this new city environment the private investor is a major stakeholder and city building force. Understanding the role that this actor has within the city landscape is paramount to understanding the forces defining the urban fabric. For Johannesburg one must ask if the goal is a "World class African city", as described by the city of Joburg, whose definition or ideal is determining what this means, for whom must the city be built?

This is a question which dominates most of the criticism around urban regeneration. The projects and schemes are on the surface creating great potential for growth but the question is in the longer term who pays for this at a deeper level, at a social level and how is this justified?

The inner city is an environment that thereby hosts a growth paradox, a fluid and solid identity. The fluid is represented by the human city the population and socially diverse context of the city which has many divergent and contested components. The fluid is a space of much discord but also holds the potential for great and unexpected revelations and partnerships. The solid is the built form the seemingly immovable concrete structures which have been molded and reimagined through the process of both growth and regeneration. The shaping of these spaces are however criticised as favouring "municipal authorities, in a class-based alliance with property owners and real estate developers", against a vulnerable and impoverished population (Murray.2008, 193).

The effect of which is that cities that are driven by an elite which have the ability to buy and influence political and development agendas and create increasingly hostile environments for those without influence and authority. The critique thereby lies in the perception that development is inevitably 'top-down' imposed upon dwellers and uses who have no power to determine or shape their own environment. This is a particularly pessimistic view of the way in which development can occur that although holds validity fails to express the responsibility of civic society to empower themselves. In a democratic city such as Johannesburg is meant to be the social underdogs must enforce their power to ensure that the city is one that they want to live in.

CHAPTER 5

Locating and Identifying Maboneng



Figure 5.1: Iconic art installation in Maboneng. (Source: spaza)

> *There can be no doubt of the need for capital reinvestment in economically stressed inner city neighbourhood…street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, social diversity, and funky clothing outlets are deemed necessary regeneration ingredients. Municipalities across the globe are thus rushing to endorse Richard Florida's (2005) celebration of a new 'creative class' in urban centres. In the process, they hope to attract investors, higher income households, the 'creative class', and tourists to occupy the cafes, galleries, sidewalks, and rehabilitated residential stock of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods once lacking in creativity*.
>
> (Winkler. 2009, 363)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Increasingly across the globe cultural infusions are being utilised as a catalyst for transformation within city precincts, drawing on the pull attained through attracting the 'creative class' and creating 'neighbourhoods' that follow a particular brand and ideal (Reddy. 2011). Culture is thereby seen as an "engine driving creativity around city regeneration, and as a tool for a new forms of economic development and social inclusion" (Comunian. 2005, 1159). The City of Johannesburg has along with cities across the world embraced principles of new urbanism which encourage participation from the 'creative class', that are defined as entrepreneurs, urban dwellers and users that are artistic and inventive, which they draw on to produce urban environments that are responsive to the needs of its users (Respondent 1). The perception is that the 'creative class', softens the often harsh urban environment making it a more desirable location to live, work and play. This in turn provides an environment which holds greater potential for economic stimulus and a more stable environment for investment.

The principles of new urbanism as described within literature review, are central to understanding the story of Maboneng as a place of creativity and expression that has been able to convert the movement of turning functional and logical spaces into a profitable and effective tool. Furthermore as being a space that is able to encourage economic/spatial development by harnessing the creativity paradigm which as Florida defines relies on the "3T's", Technology, Talent and Tolerance (2000). Florida's argument states that growth is reliant on the 'Talent' of creative people, who favor ethnically diverse 'Tolerant' places, this type of environment "encourages the concentrations of 'cultural capital' wedded to new products and processes (Technology) leading to business formation, job creation and economic growth" (2000). There is however a limitation to this theory despite its organic impression the reality is that it implies a top-down approach and the use of culture as part of a process of revitalisation raises the question of 'culture for whom?

The Maboneng Precinct has developed in the way on the back of this 'creative class', as when Propertuity (the developer), was trying to answer the question of how to regenerate the buildings they had purchased they "focused on art and urban living, entrepreneurship, small businesses and creative businesses design and how you mix that together with mixed use and

income" (Respondent 1). It has drawn on the credibility that the 'creative class' generates, in the context of it location this has been paramount to tackling the perceptions that people have around the 'crime and grime' in the city. By drawing creatives into the area Propertuity, has banked on a trickledown effect within the precinct in which by generating a space for artists and the like to produce their work, in turn 'their work and brand' rub off on the precinct (Respondent 2 & 3). Figure 5.1 serves as a testament to this idea as the signage was launched as part of the branding scheme to familiarise people with the new name of the precinct that was established through an art exhibition (Respondent 1). The continuation of the artistic character and attempt to engage new urban principles within the precinct is evidenced within figure 5.2 depicting public art installations, sidewalk restaurants and shop fronts encouraging street level activity and promoting a particular aesthetic brand and identity within the neighbourhood.



Figure 5.2: Illustration of street level activation in Maboneng. (Source: Mikhaela Sack)

5.2 THE SPACE AND 'PLACE OF LIGHT'

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

Within the exploration of the development experience in Maboneng it is necessary to identify the space it occupies and has created. Purcell highlights the way in which space is understood as an intricate and dynamic engagement with a multitude of influencing factors. As such understanding ones environment exceeds the direct physical interaction and implies a much broader experience. From that reflecting on the transformation that has taken place in Maboneng requires the identification of different dimensions of spatial awareness/consciousness that define the precinct. Within this section of the report the spatial dynamics of the precinct will be explored taking into account the different scopes in which space must be both examined and understood.

5.2.1 Description of the Precinct

The precinct is made up of 15 city blocks located on the Eastern side of Johannesburg, and lies between and within the Suburbs of City and Suburban to the West, and Jeppestown the East. More broadly its neighbours include North Doornfontein to the South East, Troyeville to the North East and New Doornfontein to the North as visible in Map 5.1 below. The precinct is located within a light industrial zoning belt with "the majority of the buildings used for residential, commercial and light industrial purposes accommodating panel beating, welding, artisanal and storage businesses" (Urban Genesis & Anne Steffny. 2014, 7). This provided a flexible framework from which to repurpose the existing buildings, contributing to the speed at which the development has been able to occur as zoning applications can delay the progress of development.

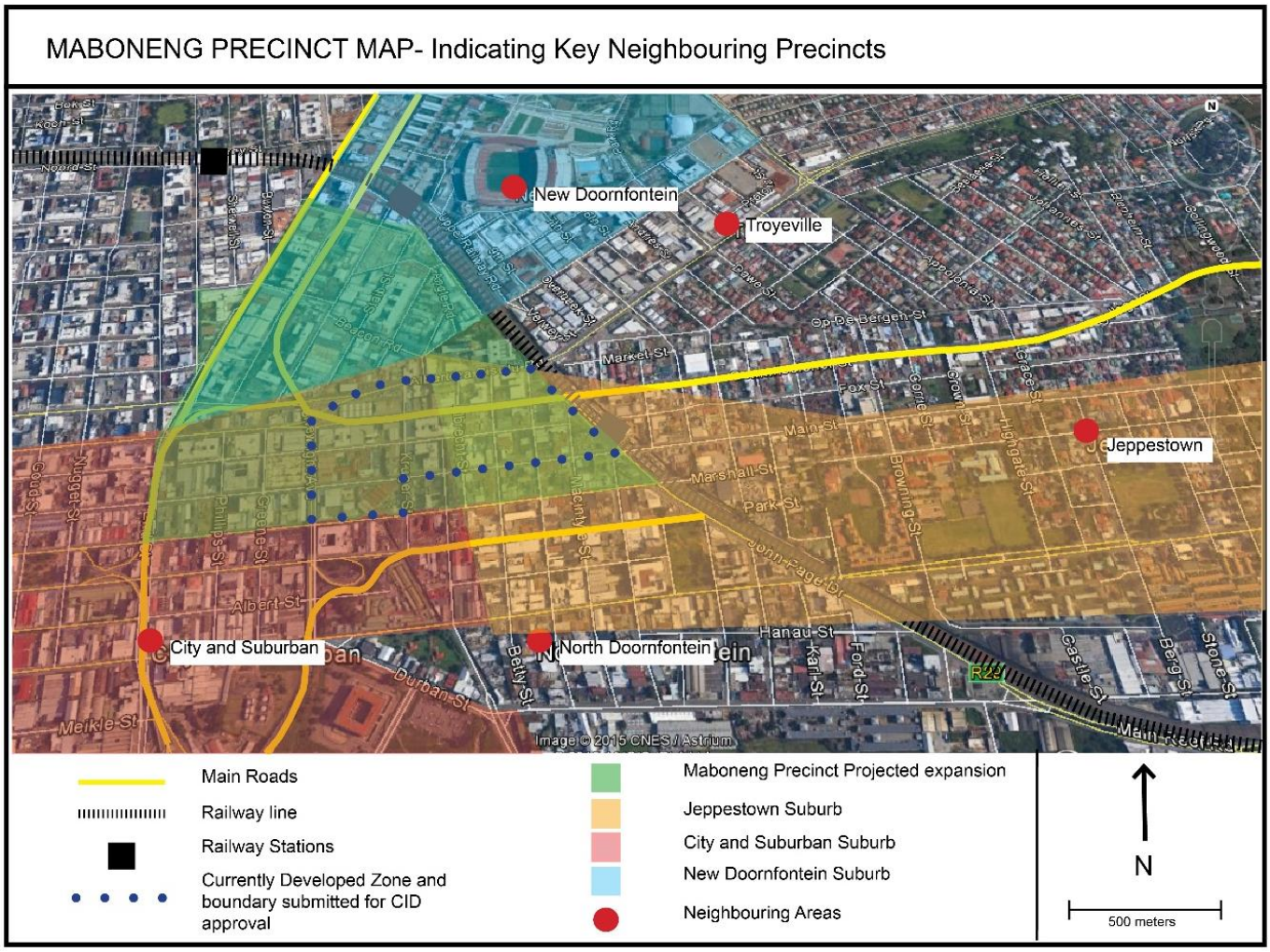
The precinct is not large enough nor sufficiently established at this stage to be entirely self-reliant furthermore the intention of the Precinct is to engage with the city in which is located rather than becoming its own insular bubble which would add no value to the city as a whole as expressed within the interview with Respondent 1. In Map 5.1 it is possible to identify both the current precinct as well as the planned cross over into existing suburbs and neighbourhoods. This is inevitable as unlike precincts such as Braamfontein or Newtown which predate any attempt at regeneration, Maboneng is a curated place and as such overlaps with existing neighbourhoods. It is therefore important to understand the relationship between this new insertion to its immediate urban context.

- City and Suburban

  The first phase of the Maboneng Precinct, namely the Arts on Main project lies within the City and Suburban, which is part of the Eastern Sector of the Inner City. Its uses are characterised by the CoJ as being light industrial manufacturing, automotive and commercial, the area is seen as being gritty, subject to significant urban decay since the 1990's and largely unmanaged (2009). This neighbourhood is seen as a regeneration anchor with major catalytic projects such as the Fashion District- retail and light manufacturing with small but dense residential and dense informal sector activity, Jewel City- initiated by the private sector within the diamond industry, to create secure business environment through closing off streets and creating building clusters that could be made secure and the Absa Campus-institutional and commercial block covering three city blocks (CoJ. 2009).

- Jeppestown

  The second phase of expansion began to push into Jeppestown, which is divided into two sectors. The Eastern half is primarily a mixed-income residential neighbourhood, with a density range from medium to high, housed within low to medium rise buildings defined by a "historic built fabric" (CoJ.2009). The Western side, in which the Maboneng Precinct has been developed, is earmarked for mixed-use development. The plan for the area encourages "serious catalytic intervention to showcase the mix of young and old, new and old, residential and light industrial" the specification for development "puts emphasis on the recycling and refurbishment of older industrial stock supported by infill and new development" (CoJ. 2009). Further emphasis is made on ensuring that the neighbourhood should be affordable and should retain its unique architectural heritage. Part of this identity are the car repair shops and related commercial enterprises that are prevalent within this location. A key issue within the area is how to deal with buildings being occupied and run illegally, this problem creates difficulties with regard to urban management as well as with security (CoJ. 2009).



Map 5.1: Map Locating the Maboneng Precinct in realtion to surrounding areas.

The cross over with New Doornfontein visible within Map 5.1 expresses the plan of the precinct drivers to push into the area, this is already evidenced by the location of the Propertuity offices within New Doornfontein. The precinct has created and attracted a new community in a location in which there was no residential occupation and limited light industrial activities and many of the buildings were vacant for a long time (Respondent 1). The people who work or move through the space at a more organic level are the people who have lived and worked within the broader area before Maboneng was established. This is possible due to the permeability that still exists within the precinct. This is relevant in that it demonstrates a responsiveness by the developer to retain the preexisting movement patterns.

The precinct has developed with the intent of not alienating its neighbours as much as possible, given that attempts at retaining positive relationships have been made and will be addressed in more detail later.

5.2.2 Perceived Space- The Built Form

In order to generate an effective urban development scheme it is necessary to incorporate a range of physical and managerial services. The built form of the area lent itself well to the intentions of Propertuity. The initial development was not driven by the broader precinct plan, the first phase was more of a risky experiment trying to create something new for the area. As such in 2008 the old DF Corlett offices and warehouses were converted to a mixed use commercial development which includes artist studios, office spaces, galleries, and retail outlets, known today as Arts on Main (Maboneng 2.0. 2012). Development in the rest of the precinct followed suit with major urban fabric upgrade and management improvements, including a 7-million rand co-funded pavement improvement done in partnership with the JDA (Urban Genesis & Anne Steffny. 2014, 9). The objective from the beginning of the process has always been to renovate and reimagine rather than building new structures.

Propertuity in collaboration with their architects Daffonchio and Associates, have thus embraced an approach of celebrating the existing structures and finding ways to protect the heritage of the area as much as possible. The reality is that unlike most of Jeppestown which is rich with old heritage buildings, in Maboneng the existing structures were mostly dilapidated and were utilitarian structures. In the case in which it has not been possible to salvage complete buildings the elements which can be used have been retained and integrated into new works that follow the current aesthetic using steel and bare brick to identify with its industrial heritage (Daffonchio. 2015).



Figure 5.3: Fox street studios. (Source:Mikhaela Sack. 2015)

Figure 5.3 depicts the way in which the old and new structures are combined as the original building forms the first four floors with a penthouse apartment extension built on the top floor. The ground floor provides spaces for a street front café/restaurant. The other three floors were designed to provide office or studio spaces. The building exemplifies the intention to develop the precinct as mixed-use. The aesthetic draws on the industrial quality of the area by using dark steel structuring elements. The use of lighter materials such as the bamboo wrapping on the balconies illustrates the desire to create a softer architectural treatment.



Figure 5.4: Outer corner of Main and Berea streets. (Source: Mikhaela Sack. 2015)

Within figure 5.4 a continuation of the industrial aesthetic is apparent as well as the pavement upgrades that were done by the JDA, although the mosaic tiling seen herein shows signs of deterioration and a lack of maintenance. The built form of the precinct draws on key urban design and planning criteria encouraging the development of not only a mixed use precinct but beyond this through developing mixed-use buildings. This supports the ethos which the developer has tried to entrench within the area which is creating a space in which one can live, work and play (Maboneng. 2015).

The pavements are another key component to supporting the lifestyle that has been created in the precinct as the need to generate walkable spaces through which people are able to access the offerings of the precinct is necessary. Despite these intentions figure 5.4 illustrates the ways in which the private development is encroaching onto the public domain and compromising the use of the sidewalks. This demonstrates a blurring between the public and private domains. The selling of a new more conscious lifestyle is expressed further in figure 5.5, which depicts the incorporation of healthy urban living through the provision of facilities for cycling. This has however not been developed into the fabric of the precinct as there are

no dedicated lanes for cycling. Although there has been talk of converting Fox street into a pedestrian boulevard to make the precinct more walkable (Respondent 1. 2014).

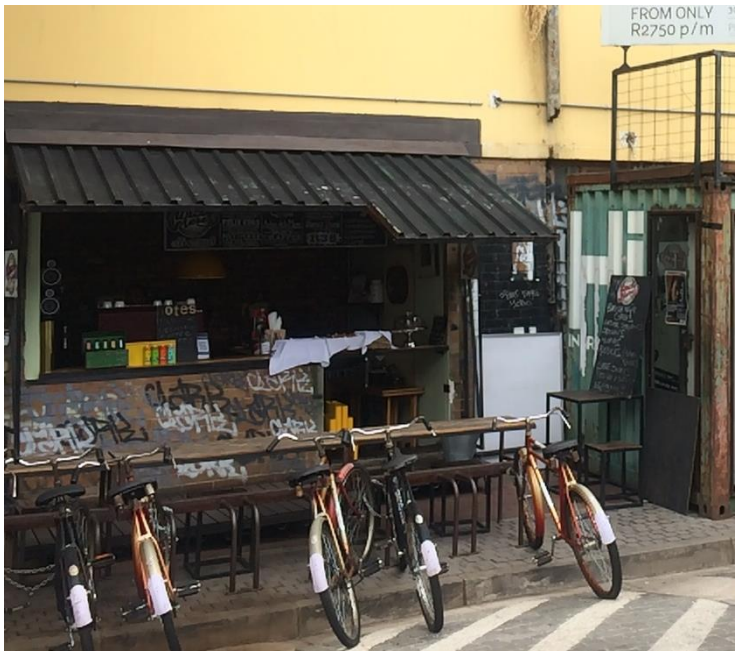


Figure 5.5: Bicycle rentals offered by the Information Centre. (Source: Mikhaela Sack)

5.2.3 Conceived Space- The Development Vision

As a result of the precincts connection with artists and the 'creative' class the conceptual space is very much a part of the everyday experience. The people that have been attracted to it are characterised by their desire to not only break a mold by returning to the city but also to contribute toward the spatial consciousness that their environment will inhabit. It is important to note that those who are being drawn back into the city are reflective of a particular class as the inner city of Johannesburg has never been devoid of people if anything its urban population has grown exponentially. However that population is made up of lower income groups who do not provide sufficient investment into the city to sustain its growth. Drawing wealth and investment back into the city is thus essential to ensuring rather than its survival as is the case in some contexts, an improved offering for users, improved facilities and amenities and a more stable and sustainable urban environment.

The effect that an influx of capital and creative drivers has on Maboneng is that it is under constant revision and adaptation and that it is not only occupied physically but also conceptually. This is at least the intention, this is exemplified within the Maboneng 2.0 precinct plan which is an open ended proposition embodying what the space could become (Maboneng 2.0, 2012). The conceptual or imagined space is further explored through current forms of information sharing. Having a webpage allows for a constant and instant relationship with a number of people this means that people are able to 'visit' Maboneng virtually, the experience of space is thus transcended beyond the physical possibilities.

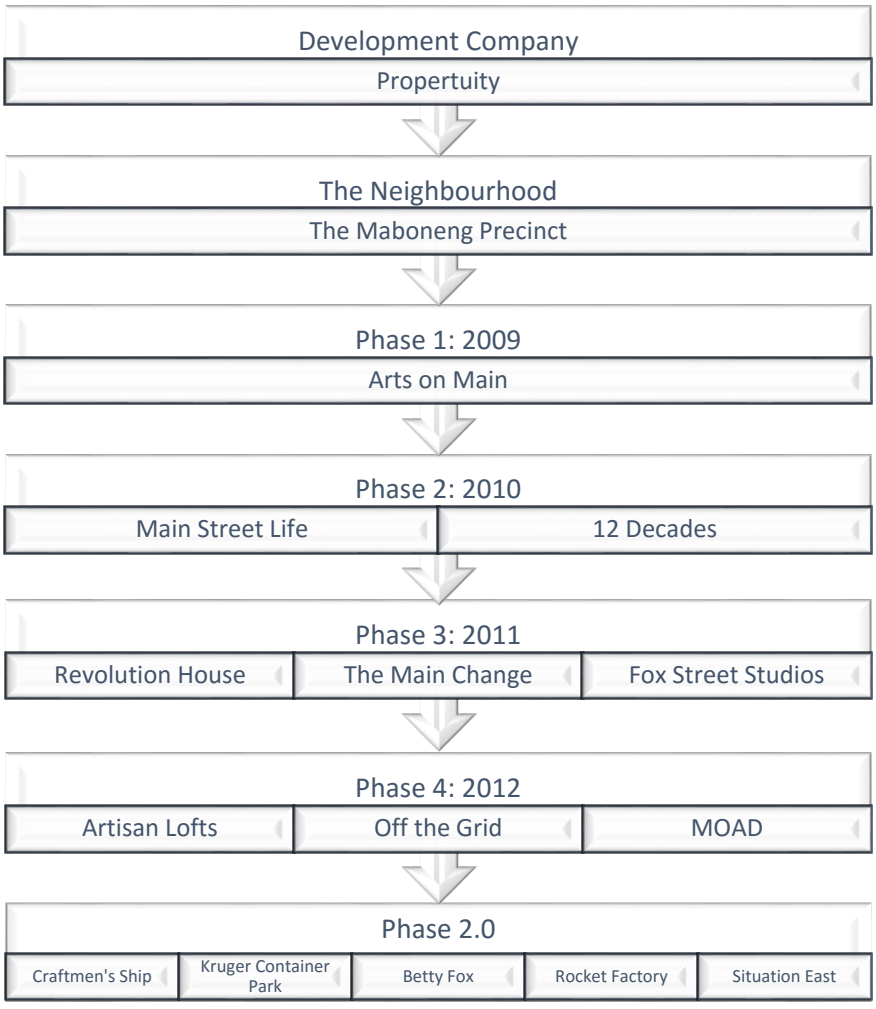


Figure 5.6: Growth Trajectory of the Maboneng Precinct including completed and planned developments. (Source: Maboneng 2.0. 2012)

Figure 5.6 shows a timeline of development, within four years there were nine projects that had broken ground. The rate of development has been rapid and has been supported by the

buy in that came from a strong branding and marketing component. The brand is the central component of the conceived space, it is the vision, the promise and the expectation created through identifying a lifestyle and aspiration that people have to re-encounter the urban landscape in a new way. The branding of the development was aimed at achieving "critical mass", igniting a new energy and interest in the development so that it takes off (Respondent 7, 2014). The conceptualisation of the brand in itself took on an almost workshop approach, "bringing together projects, ideas and communication around culture, entrepreneurship, urbanism and design" and developing a network of 'creatives' that had started to emerge with the launch of Arts on Main (Respondent 7, 2014).

At the core the intention of the Maboneng brand is "lifestyle, it's an urban lifestyle which doesn't exist elsewhere in Johannesburg it is fresh and new, and has a unique identity which is distinctly African as well it doesn't shy away from its Africaness" (Respondent 7, 2014). Other precincts in Johannesburg are using this mobilisation and branding and are also making claims of creating a uniquely African experience and in their own way they do. They draw on similar cultural attributes to encourage use and development and this evolves into their own specific identities. Marketing and communication are key to encouraging the growth and development of the brand. Using social media to ensure a virtual presence is supported through event and social planning. The circulation of newsletters and programming schedules ensure that residents, users and visitors of the space are made constantly aware of the next big thing in Maboneng. The generation of interest produces activity and feet on the ground which is fundamental to make the precinct economically competitive.



Figure 5.7: Current site of future Craftmensship development.

(Source: Mikhaela Sack)



Figure 5.8: Rendering of the new Craftmensship residential development.

(Source: Daffonchio & Associates)

The figures above show the value of creating a vision, the undeveloped site seems derelict and without hope, however by presenting the opportunity that exists through the eyes of the artist ones imagination is ignited. The before and after of selling people on the possibility is often used by developers, this is also characteristic for the precinct as it is about presenting the potential beauty that has yet to emerge and this is an embodiment of the conceived space.

5.3 THE LIVED SPACE-MEETING IN THE MIDDLE

Neither of the spatial realities described above can exist without the other. The Maboneng precinct is thereby found somewhere in between, where the reality is transformed and informed by the possibilities envisioned by the collective consciousness of the creative class. Within this scope the complexities of the space emerge, beyond the physical environment and the promise of tomorrow are the nitty gritty necessities of everyday life. Herein lie the tangible experiences of the urban environment and the successes and pitfalls of the Maboneng Precinct.

5.3.1 Quantity vs. Quality

The rate of development has been exponential, in the pursuit of rolling out new buildings and developments the necessary processes were not always taken into account. The issues discussed below have been compiled through an analysis of the interviews conducted with all of the respondents:

- Parking

  As discussed within chapter 4 the provision of parking is an issue throughout the inner city and as such is a real concern for Maboneng. There is however a point at which these inadequacies of the past must be addressed to improve the future functionality of the area. Furthermore it must also be considered that beyond past infrastructural failings the current public transport network has not developed in an adequate fashion to mitigate the need for parking. This issue must be acknowledged as this lacking

impacts businesses within the area that loose patronage as a result of this inadequacy. Figure 5.9 demonstrates on-street parking provisions in Maboneng.



Figure 5.9: Parking provisions. (Source: Mikhaela Sack)

- Security

  Safety is a concern across the city, and the lack thereof affects areas to different degrees. Despite efforts to counter criminality within the precinct through the provision of security guards there is still not only a perception of insecurity but this is very much a reality. The first component of insufficient security is based on the location of the precinct. Access to the precinct can involve passing through other inner city neighbourhoods in which security remains a critical issue. As such there have been instances of hijackings and 'smash and grabs', involving people come to and from the precinct. This is a challenge which is difficult to solve as it requires an upgrade of security within areas that are not managed by the Maboneng precinct. This problem is also expressed by all users of the precinct including those dependent on public

transport that have to walk through the 'unsafe areas' to get to their bus or taxi. Furthermore "locals maintain that the hostels and many of the abandoned buildings accommodate criminals and drug dealers, thus making it unsafe especially for the children to walk in the streets" (Urban Genesis & Steffny. 2014).

The second component of security deficit has been as result of mismanaging the security personal, this has occurred in a few ways. One has been the shift from a precinct security force to a private company the result has been that the security personal are not always the same, this goes against the attempt of the precinct to create more of a community in which regular users are familiar to one another. The second has been an issue of jurisdiction as the security providers within buildings and on the street are not one in the same. As a result there have been issues of 'passing the buck' as the street guards to not engage acts of criminality within the buildings and *vice versa*. This compromises the quality of security service being delivered.

The third has been somewhat counterintuitive as it has been created by the perception that there is security. Namely the Taxi's have begun to use the precinct as a parking lot particularly at night, as mentioned already there is no abundance of parking as is, the implication has been that firstly the extra cars block business entrances from view making them vulnerable to passing acts of criminality and secondly that the taxi's themselves invite a criminal aspect into the neighbourhood (Respondent 13). This condition is as described by a business owner who has had a particular experience with the Taxi's, and indicative of a perception that there remains within the precinct despite the added security a degree of criminal activity. Despite this particular incident being isolated it adds to other experiences that were reflected across the interviews that despite the additional security there are still very real conditions of criminal activity both within and around the precinct that serve to threaten the perception that the Maboneng precinct model poses some form of answer to broader issues of safety within the city.

- Planning codes

  Due to the rapid growth of the precinct some of the developments did not comply with planning regulations of the City. The most obvious is the information centre on Fox street which occupies the pavement which is a public domain. The installation of this container is semi-permanent and requires a permit from the city, which is unlikely to have been attained as it contradicts the planning bylaws.



Figure 5.10: Information Centre on Fox street, photograph above depicts pedestrian walking in the street to get past the centre. (Source: Mikhaela Sack. 2015)

The second component has to do with the speed of construction directly. This has had a twofold implication the first of which has been that the safety standards on construction sites have not been fully observed, although there have thus far not been any incidents this risky construction method puts workers in harm's way and is not compliant with building regulations. The second effect has been the quality of workmanship, in the haste to develop corners have been cut in the execution and selection of materials. This quick fix construction is useful to cut costs but is

detrimental in the long run as it compromises the integrity of the development and the product that the developer is selling.

- Cleaning

  Waste disposal is well managed within the area for the most part and the collection of waste actually presents an informal employment activity within the precinct, namely the trolley pushers that use Fox street as a movement corridor so as to avoid the alternative route of Commissioner Street on which the traffic moves very quickly. Despite the good management of waste collection currently this has the potential to create a real problem with the projected numbers of users and residents still to come to the area.

  The need for cleaning is however fundamental as this refers to dealing with "abandoned buildings, graffiti on building walls, open fires and under way areas" (Urban Genesis & Steffny. 2014). These issues can become hazardous and pose a threat to the people using the area. The graffiti is hard to manage as differentiating between the planned and programmed works versus those which are spontaneous will be a contradiction. Figure 5.11 includes photographs showing graffiti that acts against the precinct aesthetic, as well as the trolley pushers using Fox street, they are a good symbol to maintain within the precinct as they represent an element of permeability and inclusion. The image depicting the uncovered storm water canal is a concern as is presents a health and safety hazard.

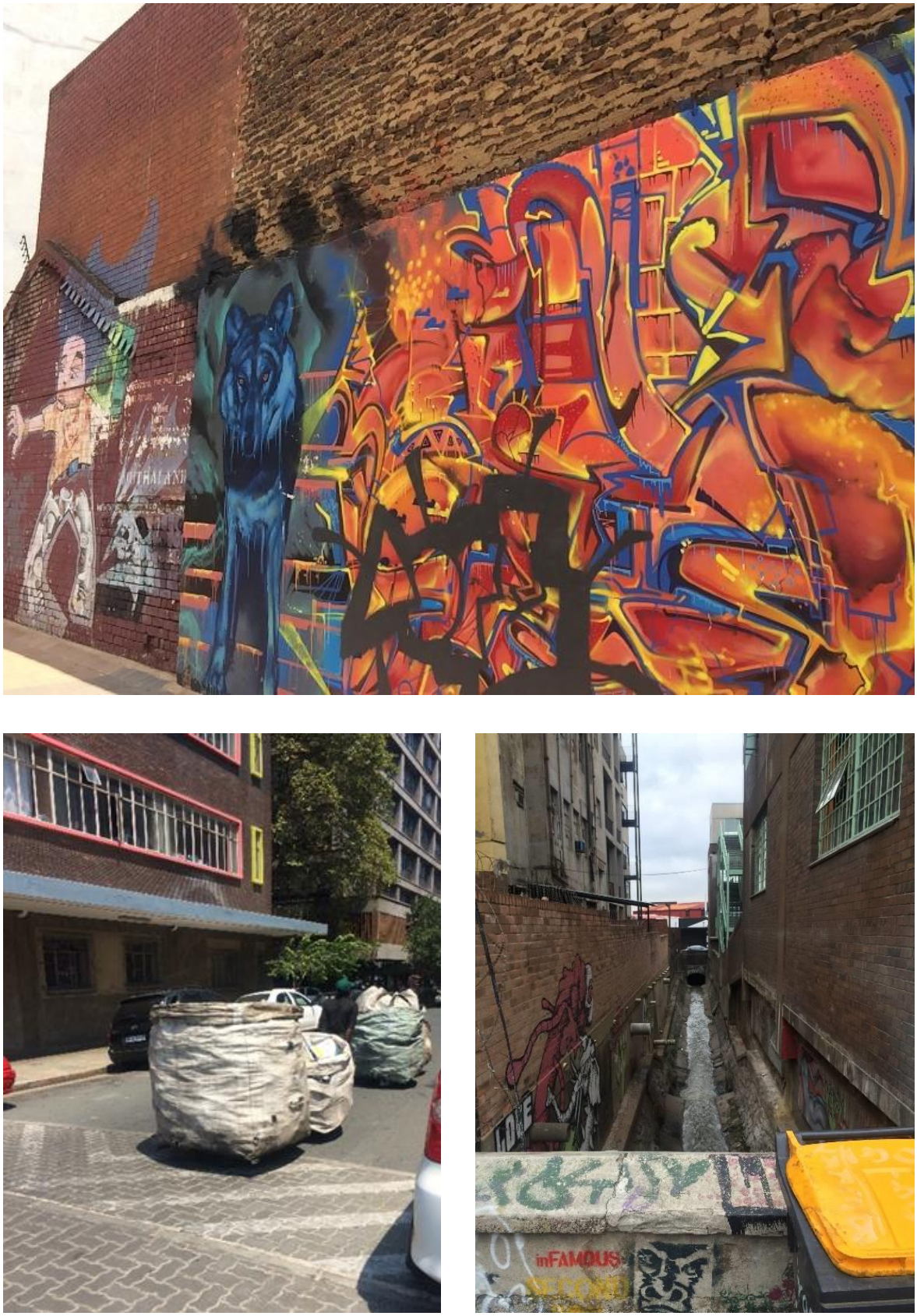


Figure 5.11: Cleanliness. (Source: Mikhaela Sack)

5.4 CONCLUSION

The Maboneng precinct is still relatively young and it is already going through its second 'metamorphosis', how it will emerge at the end of the 2.0 stage no one can be certain however it is anticipated at this stage that it will not be its last transformation. The urban environment is always subject to reinvention and re-evaluation of its potential and priorities, as such the curated identity of Maboneng will always be in a state of flux, looking for new opportunities to attract future visitors and users.

How people and their impact on the environment is managed is paramount to the sustainability of the precinct. It is thereby not surprising that the precinct is moving toward becoming a formalized CID. This would provide greater predictability, management and control within the area. Additionally it would enable a more sustainable structure and possibly a less top down development of the greater precinct. The financial support that a CID would provide would serve as an additional benefit allowing for greater investment back into the area, growth generates growth. The passing of a CID will not however solve all the issues that the precinct faces. The effect could be some discontent amongst business owners who fail to see the virtue of the CID approach.

Unpacking the dynamics of the Maboneng growth potential should also be tempered with a grasp of the socio-political tensions described in chapter four could in which more vulnerable groups are at the mercy of elites and top down development. The formalisation of a CID or any management structure which can affect the living conditions of all communities within the precinct should thus seek to be as representative as possible. The failure to do so would result in a perpetuation of exclusion.

CHAPTER 6

CONTRASTING AND COMPARING

AN ANAYLSIS OF THREE INNER-CITY PRECINCTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The Inner City Regeneration Strategy for Johannesburg is intended to raise, encourage and sustain private investment in the inner city which serves to increase property values, by creating an environment which is supportive of growth and development (Source: CoJ. 2015). The CoJ recognises that in order to achieve this aim a number of criteria must be met. Namely these are a need for intensive urban management, the upgrade and maintenance of infrastructure, the support of economic sectors with the potential for growth, discouraging dereliction in buildings that could affect the area values, and encouraging investments which have a 'ripple effect', uplifting an entire area (Source: CoJ. 2015).

The City has been actively encouraging processes of regeneration and currently has several active regeneration projects within the inner-city and more within the greater metropolitan area (JDA. 2015). For the purpose of this research two comparative studies have been identified, the selected areas share many similar components with each other as well as with the study area. The areas identified for comparison are Braamfontein and Newtown. These precincts have been selected as they are well recognised precincts within the city and lie within the UDZ, furthermore like Maboneng they have been driven by a form of cultural regeneration, making use of public art and a creative class in mobilising activity.

Both areas have experienced regeneration within their specified CID's and beyond. The Braamfontein CID was formed in 2004, and is managed by the Braamfontein Management District BMD (Braamfontein. 2015). Newtown is currently a voluntary CID known as the NTCID (Respondent 12), coordinated by the Newtown Management District NMD (Newtown. 2015). These areas thereby provide a particular insight into different stages of management as well as how to respond to various stakeholders. These areas are also far more established both physically and historically and as such serve as an interesting counter point from which to

examine the longevity and vulnerability of urban regeneration. Furthermore they were both developed at similar times as part of a 'cultural development arc' linking Constitution Hill, the Civic Centre, the University of the Witwatersrand, Braamfontein, and Newtown and which sought to create a cultural network of spaces within the city (Respondent 11).

6.2 BRAAMFONTEIN

The Braamfontein name and area dates back to the establishment of Johannesburg in 1886, in 1988/9 the Braamfontein Township was declared, unofficially taking the name of the original farm (Brodie.2008 & Burocco. 2013). The built form within the area evolved over the years and in the 1950's the area was transformed by two initiatives, firstly the relocation of the City's offices from the CBD to Braamfontein Hill and secondly the rezoning of land for commercial rights (ibid). This radically changed the area drawing in major investors such as Eskom, SAB, ICI and Shell (ibid). The area was subject to the decline felt across the city and between the late 1980's- 2000's it was faced with the exodus of major institutions and businesses, however unlike many other areas in the city Braamfontein did not feel the worst of the capital flight as it retained two very influential corporations, namely Sappi and Liberty (Burocco. 2013).

> *By 2002 it became clear that the urban decay in Braamfontein desperately required attention. Problems at street level included broken sidewalks, dirty pavements, and inadequate rubbish and refuse removal. Homelessness, informal traders, traffic congestion, unauthorised taxi ranks and a myriad of associated problems all compounded to the rapidly developing perception that Braamfontein was an area not in control of itself. Because of the magnitude and complexity of the problems linked with urban decay, a variety of solutions and interventions are required, most specifically excellent urban management, to deal with these issues on a practical on-going basis.*
> *(Braamfontein. 2015)*

The decision was made to use the establishment of a CID to redress the issues of decay within the area, making using of large anchoring businesses such as Sappi, Liberty, SA Breweries and the JD Group (Fraser. 2008). The approach adopted herein was to formalize as a CID to ensure a management structure within which urban regeneration could occur. The CID was thereby

formed in 2004 to manage the interests of property owners within the northern portion of Braamfontein. However the drivers of the regeneration plan for Braamfontein came from three directions the University of the Witwatersrand, the council and the private sector (CID), as these were and still are the largest stakeholders within the area (Fraser. 2008). Furthermore the processes included a vast collaborative and participatory component informed through workshopping and engaging with the direction which development was to take.

The urban regeneration plan included numerous projects connecting the various anchors within the area. Focused primarily on the upgrading of public spaces and the provision of new cultural amenities. The installation of the Eland in 2007 was the last public realm intervention and it serves as an iconic marker for the area (JDA.2015). A connective upgrade included interconnected pavements connecting walkways throughout the area with street furniture, lighting and public art interventions enabling movement and forming an armature for the common identity within the area (Albonico.2005). The urban regeneration framework served as a catalyst for development throughout the area with property owners responding by improving their buildings (Albonico.2005).

The lack of management in some of these areas has however led to a failure to adequately maintain some of the interventions which were put in place. For example on Juta Street heading away from the CID toward Eendracht Street, within the area referred to as the Heartlands district, public art interventions along the pavement were subject to vandalism (Respondent 11.). The provision of basic services provided by the BMD through Urban Genesis management include security, cleaning, maintenance and marketing. The approach adopted by Urban Genesis is to use the security guards as brand ambassadors providing information services for people using the space (Braamfontein. 2015). The marketing strategy involves “branding, collaborative promotional strategies, market research and a communications campaign” (Braamfontein. 2015).



Figure 6.1: Braamfontein CID Map, showing broader Braamfontein area (Source: Braamfotein.2015)



Figure 6.2: Juta Street pavement upgrades incorporating public art interventions.

It should however be noted that the Braamfontein Precinct is incredibly complex, the information provided above describes the context primarily of the CID and the urban regeneration plan that took place within the area. It should be acknowledged that a broader area beyond the CID seen within the Map above is as much a part of the precinct and just as important in the story of urban regeneration for this particular area as the CID. What the urban framework plan achieved was a catalytic urban regeneration programme. Which involved an upgrade of streets, pavements and public infrastructure, following from which investors took the opportunity to renovate and repurpose the buildings in the area. Two of the primary drivers of the knock-on development were 'Play Braamfontein', a development company based in the Braamfontein area and led by Adam Levy which have upgraded 9 buildings with a mix of uses and the 'South Point' student accommodation development group which have built a range of student housing within 13 buildings as well as the development of other properties for commercial and business use. As for development beyond the boundaries of the CID the Wits gateway, Art gallery and Wits theatre form an integral part of the cultural fabric of the precinct and have informed the processes of development taking place.

6.3 NEWTOWN

The Newtown precinct forms part of a network of regeneration projects within Johannesburg, aimed at bolstering tourism within the city through the production of culturally significant areas (CoJ). Historically the area was a "racially mixed working class district where bricks were manufactured" (Newtown. 2015). In the late 1890's the brick yard was replaced with a railway marshaling yard. Until 1906 the area retained it racially diverse working class community, following which all African and Indian residents were relocated and the Johannesburg Town Council bought and renamed the area Newtown.

This first phase of redevelopment entailed the building of a "fresh produce market known as the potato sheds which were built along the railway line, a mill, an abattoir and a power station". In the 1970's the market was relocated. Following which in 1976 the area experienced its first cultural regeneration as it became home to artists, actors and musicians, marked by the establishment of the Market Theatre (Shand. 2010). The revitalisation took

shape physically through the construction of museums, cafes, bars and jazz clubs and became a space of racial blurring tugging at the fabric of apartheid. Cultural identifiers became as much a part of the Newtown identity as anything else as early as the late 1980's (Shand. 2010).

From the early 1990's to 2000 the area experienced various attempts to retain its cultural significance. Development occurred at various levels driven in part by state initiatives and funding as well as by attempts to revive smaller cultural institutions operating outside the mainstream agenda (Shand. 2010). The last phase of renewal is defined in part by the establishment of the JDA in 2001 and the broader development of the 'Cultural Arc' which served to link Newtown to the rest of the city. The NID was formed in 2006 under the direction of Lael Bethlem who was then running the JDA (Shand. 2010).

The Newtown precinct has been developed and redeveloped time and time again. It has been subjected to political maneuvering and power plays but despite this has managed to achieve an impressive level of cultural development. The precinct is currently been revitalized through the completion of a major shopping centre and the construction of a new hotel, by the Atterbury Development group. With regard to cultural developments the science centre has been completed and is functional bringing busloads of students into the city. Furthermore the Market Theatre has undergone a major renovation improving the structure, seating and acoustics whilst retaining its unique character.

The Newtown Precinct/Newtown Improvement District (NID) is managed by the SAID management company. It is not a legislated CID however the intent is to formalize the process. Currently the precinct works on a voluntary contribution basis by which property owner's pay toward the provision of additional services. The main problem that the NID faces is that large portions of the land tenure within the precinct belong to the City and as such are zoned as Municipal land, which is land which is exempt from paying rates, as such they neither pay municipal rates nor contribute to the NID (Respondent 12). Development in the area has therefore been either private or driven by the JDA which is located on the southern edge of the precinct. Furthermore the JDA has had to subsidize the precinct by contributing to the NID to provide basic additional services such as security and cleaning (ibid).

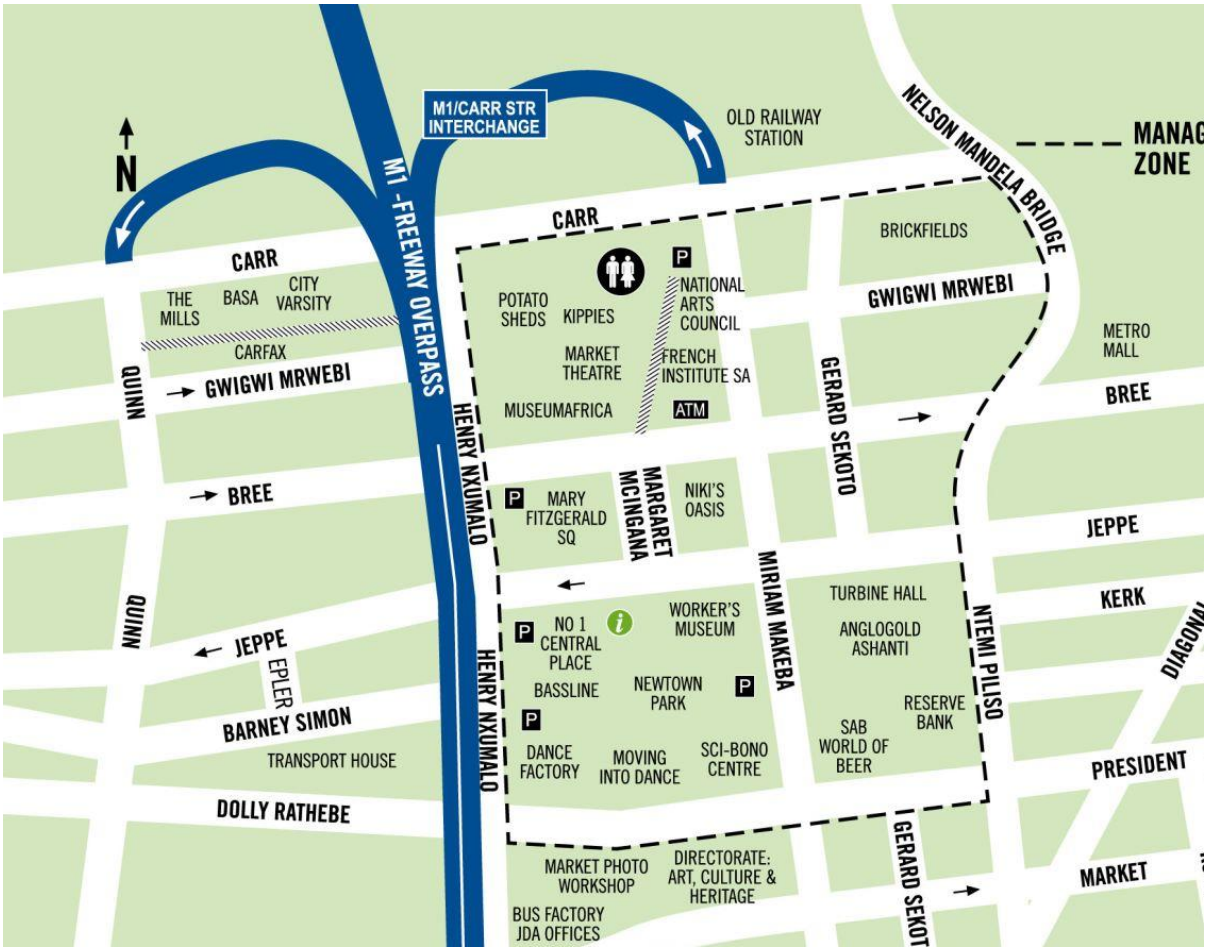


Figure 6.3: Newtown Precinct Map (Source: Newtown. 2015)

The demarcated area illustrated above is however under review with the expectation that if the boundaries are extended it may be possible to better fund the NID and as such make it more effective. This review of the CID also considers the extension of contributors and is defined in large by the new relationship between the precinct and Atterbury which has led to a reconstruction of the CID into the NTCID which is currently being revised and developed (ibid).

Like Braamfontein the NID is also affected by the area beyond its boundaries and its failure and success is integrally connected to the way in which the whole precinct is engaged beyond the parameters of the CID. For example the Metro mall development and taxi rank are a key nodes defining Newtown's connectivity and permeability and the SA Reserve Bank who fall within the precinct area, yet are not contributing members of the NID are a major financial player within the neighbourhood and have their own management of the public spaces which

contribute to the general aesthetic of the precinct. The Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg and its surrounding neighbourhood have a key influence on movement through and use within the precinct. The NTCID seeks to respond to the broader network of spaces which can contribute to building the precinct brand and versatility. Understanding that urban regeneration encompasses the whole area and not just that which falls within the CID is an important distinction to make. As it demonstrates the extent of stakeholders and complexity of the processes of development and management that must be considered.

6.4 JUXTAPOSING MABONENG AGAINST OTHER REGENERATION PRECINCTS

CLASSIFICATION	**NEWTOWN**	**BRAAMFONTEIN**	**MABONENG**
SIZE	0.85 km² precinct area	3.28 km² precinct area	150 000m² built space
ZONING	Municipal/Commercial /Light Industrial	Commercial/ Residential/Educational	Light Industrial
POPULATION	2505 (2969.65 per km²) (Census 2011)	7007 (2133.69 per km²) (Census 2011)	500
HOUSEHOLDS	861 (1018.30 per km²) (Census 2011)	3090 (940.93 per km²) (Census 2011)	250+/-
BRAND	“Creative capital of Johannesburg and South Africa: dynamic, vibrant, sophisticated and cosmopolitan, boasting the best cultural offerings in	“clean and safe corporate district, educational centre, entertainment and arts hub” (CID Forum)	Connected, Urban ,Neighbourhood “A sustainable, well managed, well maintained, clean, safe, connected, vibrant mixed-use neighbourhood.

	Africa", (Debnam. 2006)	"Youth-culture developing 'SA's capital of cool' driven by student residence" (South Point.2015)	
KEY PROJECTS	• Nelson Mandela Bridge • Market Theatre • Mary Fitzgerald Square • Sci-Bono Discovery Centre • Museum Africa • Metro Mall • Bassline • Dance Factory • SAB World of Beer • Brickfields Housing	• Nelson Mandela Bridge • Joburg Theatre underground Parking • Bertha street upgrade Sappi Theatre Park • Multiple street and public space upgrades • Wits Gateway • Metro Link reception centre (JDA.2015)	• Arts on Main • Main Street Life • 12 Decades • Revolution House • Main Change • Fox Street Studios • Remeds View (student housing)
KEY STAKEHOLDERS/ DRIVERS OF URBAN REGENERATION	• JDA • Johannesburg Property Company • Private property owners • Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC)	• CID/Private Interests • State • Institutional (WITS) • South Point Student Housing Development	• Propertuity/ Jonathan Liebman • Property/ Business Owners • Mafadi Property Sales

	• Private developer (Atterbury)	• Play Braamfontein- Development Company	• JDA- through supportive public environment upgrades
CREATING LINKAGES THROUGHOUT THE CITY	• The CJP encourages a dialogue throughout the CID's within Johannesburg pushing toward partnerships which seek to link precincts and facilitate development across the city.		
NECESSARY RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBOURING PRECINCTS	• Braamfontein • Fordsburg	• Civic precinct • Constitution Hill • Park Station • Newtown	• New Doornfontein (Greater Ellis Park) • Jeppestown • Jewel City • ABSA Campus • Fashion District • City and Suburban
COMMUNITY Shaped within different spheres namely business types, residents and institutions.	• Low to mid income residents of JHC Brickfields Social housing facilities • Students • Education and skills development	• Students • Corporate businesses • 'Creative class', small businesses such as cafés, and boutiques	• Mixed income groupings • 'Creative class', business owners and brand ambassadors
MANAGEMENT COMPANY	• SAID	• Urban Genesis	• SAID

ECONOMIC STABILITY AND OUTPUTS	• Continued development and investor input- New Town Junction and City Lodge	• Continued growth building off catalytic effect of urban development plan • Emergence of new businesses	• Continued growth and development • Increase of property value at a rate of 5% per annum (Maboneng) • Extension of development area • Move toward CID legislation
COMMON SHORTCOMINGS	Gentrification debate • The effect of urban regeneration as the creation of exclusive spaces which are only accessible and useable by those who can afford them. This is visible throughout the city through the 'gating' of precincts, this is in effect the creation of boundaries between areas which are part of the precinct and those beyond in which 'gates' are been formed to keep undesirable people out. In the context of these areas this is achieved mostly by the provision of private security who mark the distinction between spaces for all and spaces for a few.		

SPECIFIC SHORTCOMINGS RELATING TO - Gentrification - Spatial dynamics - CID - Placemaking	• Lack of informal trading accommodations- craft market outside of the Market Theatre was removed and no provision made to replace it despite the fact that it was supported by tourists using the space • Lack of information distribution and online presence • Ineffective security management • Not sufficient access to financial contribution toward CID • Lack of unified spatial identity across the precinct with sufficient signage	• Lack of informal trading accommodations • Online presence lacks substance • Disjunction between the CID and the broader development drivers in the precinct • Lack of provision for public parking • Decisions and effects largely driven by top down approach due to the concentration of big business who have the capacity to dictate the conditions • Fragmentation of social groupings resulting in a lack of common identity • Student village approach results in lacking of broader offerings supporting a diversification of residential component	• Lack of direct access through public transport routes and road networks • Lack of parking infrastructure and planning • Insufficient public spaces and green/open spaces directly linked with the precinct • Need to keeping public spaces public • Lack of signage and continuity of space • Spatial cross over beyond and entering the precinct problematic • Conflict of a mixed use precinct, reflected in issues of daily management

	• Displacement of homeless squatters • Lack of effective policing in general-criminality and drugs a common element within the precinct • Lack of maintenance with regard to infrastructure and public spaces	• Lack of management and maintenance with regard to advertising boards, public art and public spaces which is unsustainable	such as noise control. • Formal management structure missing

Table 6.1: Comparative analysis of three precinct in which urban regeneration has been used to transform the area.

The comparisons drawn within the table above provides a view into how these precincts are different and similar to one another. There are some factors identified herein which refer to the broader context of implementing urban regeneration programs within the context of Johannesburg.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In comparing these precincts it is clear that Maboneng does have a lot to offer particularly with regard to the versatility and accessibility of its conceived space. The virtual presence that has been developed as part of the brand and marketing of the precinct has created an additional platform on which users can participate in the space. Newtown and Braamfontein are established and complex urban environments that have been shaped by large scale urban regeneration initiatives driven by the JDA. Private investors have seized the opportunities that these conditions have created by buying in and developing within these areas they have not however had the level of influence that has occurred within the context of Maboneng. These cases do however demonstrate the effectiveness of catalysing development and using mega projects to serve as a domino effect throughout an area and their potential serves in driving the development programmatically. However Maboneng demonstrates a flawed yet effective mobilization, using critical mass to generate an economy within an area which previously held little potential. The speed in which the precinct has developed is also impressive depicting a potential model for encouraging 'organic development' (Respondent 7).

The shortcoming of these precincts is that they are all largely an inadequate response to the needs of all urban dwellers however if we understand the city as a network of interrelated spaces, these requirements are addressed within different areas. What is important is to ensure that the connectivity and permeability of the system is not compromised in any way and that spaces that are created are not inherently designed to be exclusive in any form.

CHAPTER 7
Analysing the Case of Maboneng

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the specific conditions found within Maboneng and the model that has been applied in this particular context. It draws from the theory discussed primarily within chapter 3 as well on other considerations identified through the process of this research. This is used to determine a set of processes and components which are an integral part of urban regeneration in a given area.

7.2 ELEMENTS OF URBAN REGENERATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Figure 7.1 is an interpretative summary of the components of private led urban regeneration models against which Maboneng is herein assessed. It has been developed by drawing on a range of sources identified within the literature review as well as within the interviews that I conducted. Furthermore it serves to introduce key components which are discussed in detail within this section.

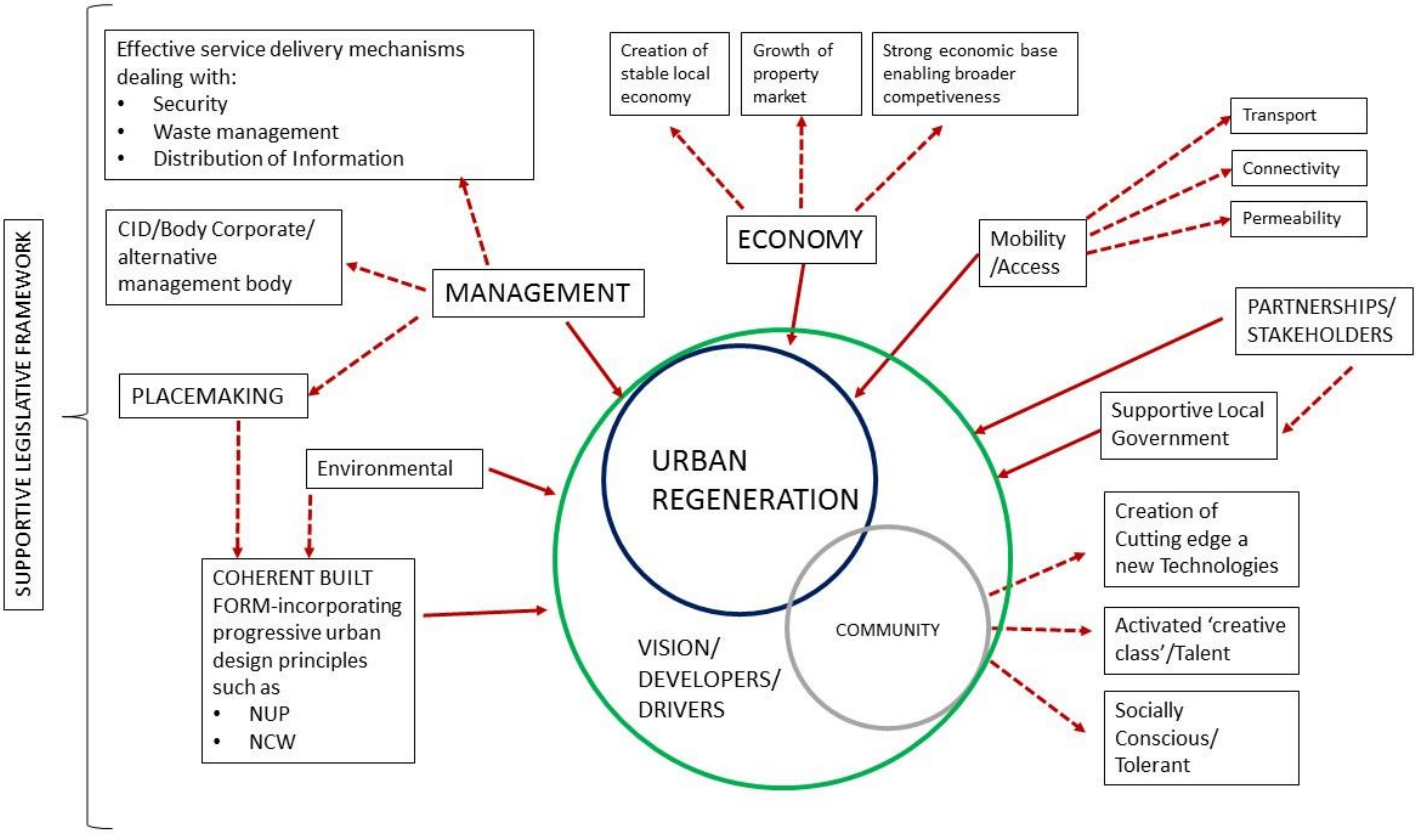


Figure 7.1: Urban Regeneration Outline (Sources: Florida. 2005; Boyle & Rogerson.; Gordon & Buck; Ntshona. 2013; McDonald. 2009; interviews)

7.3 GENERATING AN ECONOMY

This is arguably the most important component to address within urban regeneration as it has been intrinsically related to the required outputs of such projects since the 1950's (Ntshona. 2013). Unless a project is able to generate some form of economic output it is not likely to be viable as it loses investors. The economic outputs that must be achieved are firstly the value of property must be increased to gain competitive edge (Respondent 6).Secondly some form of local economy must be generated. The third component refers to the creation of diverse economic activities and the last economic factor that should be considered, particularly in the context of the South African city, is that of the informal economy. This requires a planned and active response to ensure that both the formal and informal markets are able to develop side by side.

7.3.1 Increasing Value

The precinct has been very effective at increasing the value exponentially. Before the Maboneng intervention the area was very run down, and almost abandoned. As the land is zoned for light industrial uses most of the buildings available for development were empty warehouses.

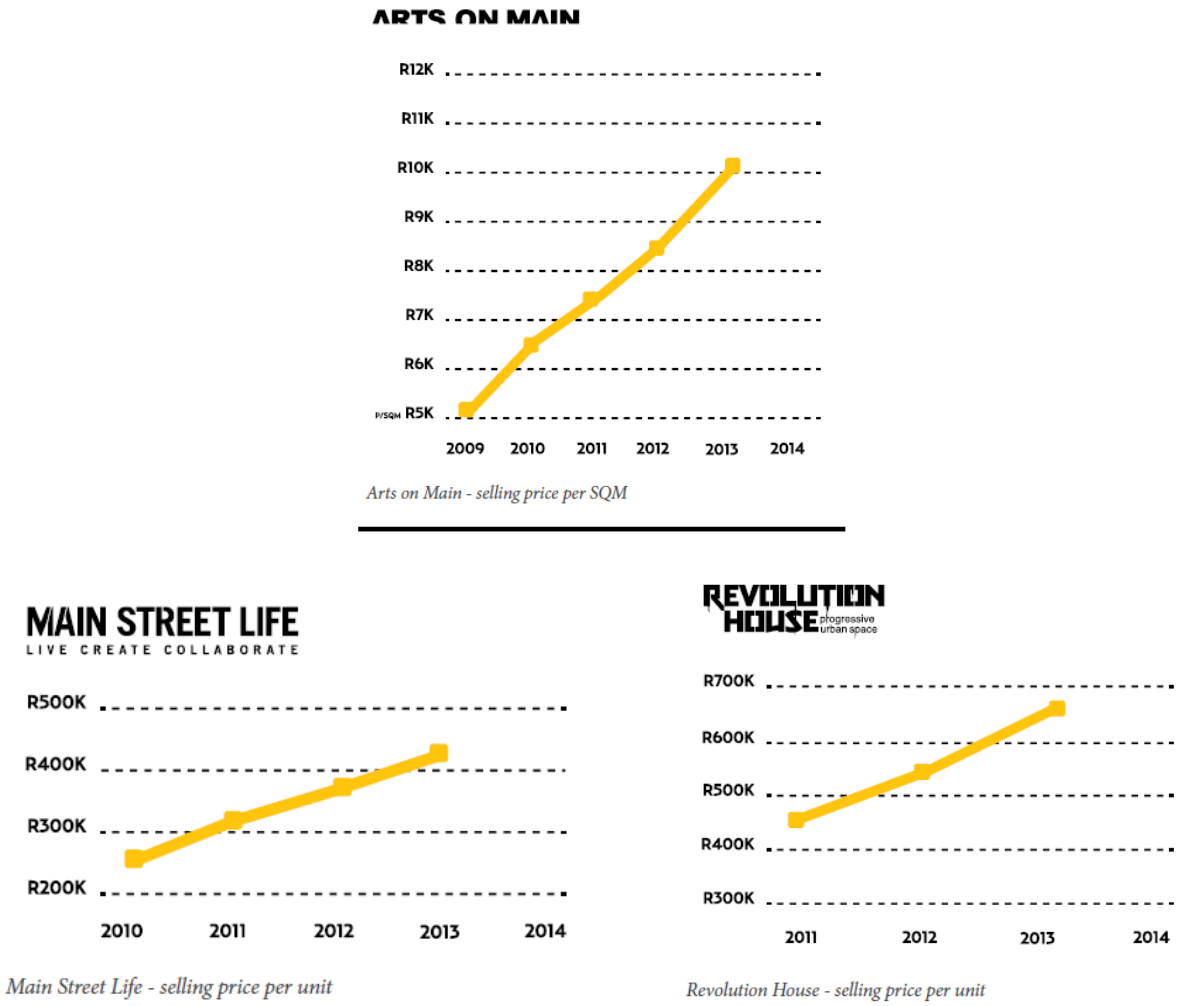


Figure 7.2: Graphs depict growth in property value. (Source: Maboneng Property Growth Report. 2013, 10)

The three graphs shown above within figure 7.2 illustrate the value growth with regard to three buildings within the Maboneng Precinct. The Arts on Main building was the first project by Propertuity and it launched the development of the Maboneng precinct. Its value doubled in four years as a result of the urban regeneration strategy employed within the area. Main

street life was developed as part of the second phase of the precinct formation and it too has had a large growth in value over a short period of time, this is further seen in the case of revolution house which was built within the third phase of the precinct development.

The development of mixed-use and residential buildings has thereby increased the density and demand within the area. The improvement of property values does not only apply to the buildings which have been developed but also for those that remained, building owners that occupied the neighbourhood for many years before the launch of Maboneng although skeptical about the intentions of the developer have welcomed the added value for their property which was previously verging on having no value at all (Respondent 13). The possibilities for growth, depicted within figure 7.3 demonstrate the way in which the developers are selling to possible investors by driving the prices of property up and encouraging the growth of a competitive market.

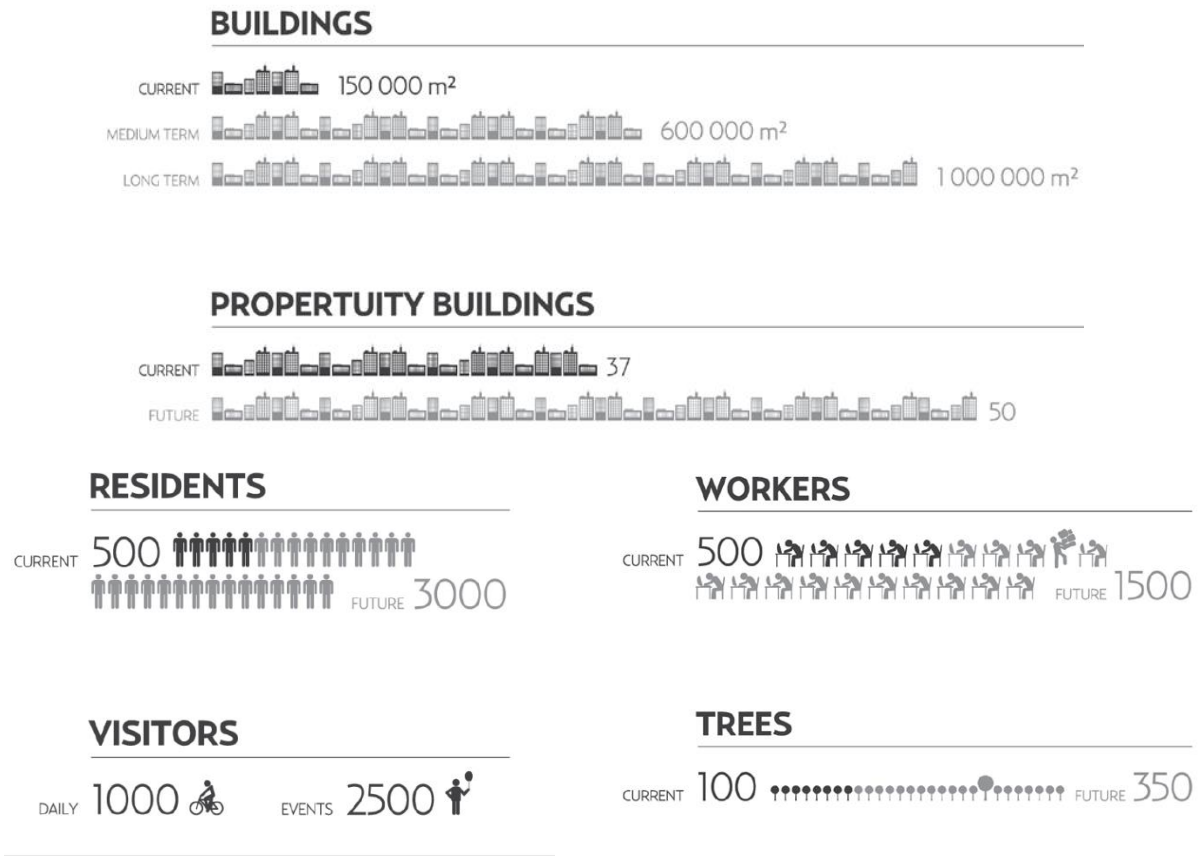


Figure 7.3: Current and projected developments, population growth rates and indication of investment potential based on the possibility to demonstrate growth prospects. (Source: Maboneng Property Growth Report. 2013, 10)

7.3.2 "Made in Maboneng" –the development of a local economy

The 'Made in Maboneng' initiative refers to a local consumer programme which encourages the buying of goods and services that are produced and supplied within the precinct. The main objective of which is to create a strong integrated local economy that offers growth opportunities to entrepreneurs operating within the area (Maboneng. 2015; Respondent 7.2014). This builds off the recognition that it is important to ensure, internally the success of the precinct by drawing on the community which has emerged amongst residents, workers and visitors.

One such way in which this programme is being accessed is through the creation of loyalty cards for residents and workers who are incentivized to spend in the area by providing small discounts or specials, it was developed in collaboration with the retailers and Propertuity (Respondent 7. 2014). The live, work and play mantra that the precinct encourages serves to feed into this economy to an even greater extent. The objective is to protect the business interests of the small investors as well as the larger ones by demonstrating that the consumer market is stable.

7.3.3 "The grass is always greener…"- competitive edge of the precinct

The reality is however that despite the cleverness of the developers, the precinct is currently not able to offer it residents everything they need, so although the local economy is supported it currently fails to meet all the needs of the residents and workers in the area (Respondent 3. 2014). Furthermore the benefit of the brand and the excitement around the precinct is not as sustainable for those who are faced with the cost involved in living in the area day to day. A number of the restaurants and eateries are rather expensive and fail to provide alternatives for those unable to afford what is on offer. For these people there is still a need to connect to neighbouring precincts which are able to provide necessary options. Although this poses a potential threat to the stability of the local economy, which is unable to meet the present demands, it fosters possible connections between the precinct and surrounding areas.

However measuring the competitiveness of the area is determined by more than the overflow from the local economy and in a more substantial way refers to the prospects for developers and investors in the area. This relates to the permanent structures, investing in a building or shop, and the temporary ones, using the space for exhibitions and events. Within the city of Johannesburg the various different neighbourhoods inevitably compete with one another as those with similar characteristics are chasing down the same investors and the same market groups (Respondent 5). For Maboneng its main competitors are the precincts highlighted above within the comparative precinct analysis (Respondent 4.).

There have however been opportunities for the creation of internal competitiveness with regard to the diversification of income offerings for property rental, with rents as low as R3000, which could be shared by two people and up to R18 000 a month (Respondent 1). Furthermore the creation of job opportunities serve to diversify the offerings and possibilities within the area.

7.3.4 'Coming Out of the Shadows'- Incorporating the Informal Economy

The informal economy has been the source of much contestation and confrontation within Johannesburg. Informal traders are very quick and keen to take advantage of the opportunities that emerge within the urban environment. However despite their presence all across Johannesburg the City has been unable to adequately respond to what this sector of the economy needs. Attempts have been made to formalise them in some parts of the city by creating permanent markets, however this fails to consider the nature of this survivalist economy. The informal trader is the nomad of the urban landscape trying to survive in enclaves throughout the city. The response from the City has not however been positive, with traders being forcefully removed and insufficiently planned for (Respondent 6).

In Maboneng there is no structural market place for the traders to occupy however they are present within the landscape and seem for the most part to be tolerated.



Figure 7.4: Informal traders selling fruit on Fox street in Maboneng. (Source: Sack. 2015)

7.4 PROVIDING EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT

The provision of an effective urban management system/body is essential to the success of a precinct. Inner city precincts augment the basic services provided by the local authority, by contracting private service providers to deliver 'safe and clean' programmes (Respondent 12). The question which emerges from this is who carries the cost of these provisions. The most common ways in which this concern is dealt with is through the establishment of urban management structures such as CID's.

Maboneng has functioned much like an informal CID receiving voluntary contributions from various property, and business owners within the precinct yet being relatively reliant on Propertuity for financial support as well as the management of certain aspects in the precinct such as its marketing and branding. The precinct has used two urban management companies the first of which was Urban Genesis, which was very effective at not only providing the services but also at promoting the Maboneng Brand, by using security guards, cleaners and landscapers identified with Maboneng branding (Respondent 1). The second service provider that they are using currently is SAID which has not been as popular particularly with regard

to the fact that they outsource security and the implications that this has had as referred to within chapter 5 (ibid).

7.4.1 Becoming a CID

Maboneng is currently undergoing the process of becoming a formalized CID the expectation is that amongst the various advantages this platform will enable a better dialogue between the precinct and the local authority, the benefit of which would be to facilitate further improvements with the public domain (Respondents 1 & 10). Furthermore the formalisation of the CID will increase the income of the precinct allowing for greater investment which is not wholly dependent on Propertuity who have until now been contributing to around ninety percent of the budget for urban management in the area (Respondent 1). The expectation is that now that residents and business owners have seen the benefits of contributing to the urban management they will want to engage actively with ensuring its continuation (ibid). Furthermore if the precinct as a whole were being managed better with contributions from all users the individual levies imposed by body corporates could be decreased as basic requirements are provided from within the public domain (ibid).

The benefits and services of the CID are expressed in greater detail within chapter 3 and part of the advantage which Maboneng has had through functioning like a CID is that these services are available although they are mostly being provided by Propertuity. However one could say that seeing as Propertuity is the largest property owner within the area they have the most at stake and as such it is in their interest to maintain a functional CID. The sustainability of this model is however questionable seeing that it makes the precinct almost completely reliant on Propertuity to stay afloat.

The formalisation of the CID will possibly provide better transparency around what is taking place within the precinct and will mean that other interests apart from those held by Propertuity will have a platform from which to be expressed. As such the CID presents the opportunity for the precinct to emerge from behind the shadow of Propertuity as property ownership becomes more diversified over time.

7.5 DRIVERS OF CHANGES- PROPERTUITY AND THE COMMUNITY OF MABONENG

One could describe Jonathan Liebmann as the 'pied piper' of the 'creative class'. He has managed to draw a following of likeminded people into a particular space and has enabled them by providing a canvas in which to create an urban landscape which they want to engage with. As such the case of Maboneng presents the way in which urban regeneration can occur when it is driven by the vision of a single developer and built upon the credibility and mobilising force of a 'creative class'.

Both the precinct and Propertuity have thereby developed in parallel to one another and their success and existence is mutually dependent. Now that they are trying to create a more sustainable model of management in the Precinct through the CID there is an attempt by Propertuity to cut the tethers and explore its brand and identity beyond the precinct. This is evidenced within local expansions into the New Doornfontein CID in which Propertuity's offices are currently located and in which they are board members of the CID (Respondent 1). This expansion has had a twofold intent to one test the waters for creating a link between the precincts and forming a mega-precinct but also for the developer to identify itself as separate from Maboneng (ibid). The transferability of Maboneng model is currently being pursued and put to the test by Propertuity through a similar development in Durban the success of which is still to be determined (Respondent 9).

The developer has been an instrumental component to the success which Maboneng has had despite their initial approach being somewhat exploratory and possibly reckless, these 'mavericks' (Respondent 3) have started to learn on the job with each development demonstrating a new openness to test waters and engage with exploratory processes in shaping the development (Respondent 1). This has been further extended through branches of the company expanding toward more adaptive and responsive 'grass-roots' interventions which can be implemented and tested within Maboneng, the prime example of this has been the development of the Global Regeneration Initiative for Neighbourhood Development (GRIND) studio.

The recognition that the community has a meaningful input to provide incorporates ideologies of placemaking theory which is driven by a community approach to city building that acknowledges that urban spaces are defined primarily by people and as such the people who are invested in the space by living, working or using the space should define the place that is created. Maboneng is not an example of placemaking theory as it is developer driven however it does incorporate the principles of the theory in creating a stable neighbourhood. The willingness to engage at any level with the residents and users demonstrates a degree of social consciousness at the level of planning within the precinct. Examples of how the space has been open to influence from its users is expressed by, "amazing positive stories like local entrepreneurs who started at the very bottom within the area and now have their own businesses, or local artists who have been inspired by what they were exposed to in the area and now have exhibitions and opportunities. Also with the workshops with the kids and how they have been exposed to new things so when you ask them what they want to be, they say like a graphic designer. It is very surprising how we have opened up opportunities" (Respondent 1).

The extent to which this openness or communication extends to all components of the planning and operations within the precinct is questionable. Amongst those interviewed who are permanent users of the space in some capacity, involvement in defining the decisions affecting the precinct requires active participation and a willingness to demand response. The view commonly held is however that the lacking at the moment is an accountable and identifiable body to deal with managing the social complexities which arise in an area which is socially and spatially diverse. What is important to note is that to create an environment in which stakeholders at all levels can effect change and shape their context, they need to be actively involved in the decision making process.

It thereby takes a particular community to drive change in their environment as well as a space which accepts this form of development approach. It seems that in Maboneng the corporate model of development has been tempered with community elements, allowing a space in which a unique community can develop which is separate from the development agenda.

7.6 THE BUILT FORM AND SPATIAL IDENTITY

The aesthetic of the precinct is not overly cohesive although the tendency has been toward a neo-industrial interpretation of building renovations (Daffonchio). Making use of steel facades and maintaining face brick walls to present a particular aesthetic quality. The development of the public domain has been limited. The pavements were upgraded through the joint venture with the JDA but has lacked maintenance and street lighting is inadequate. Signage, wayfinding and communication requires far more input in understanding the flow and movement corridors throughout the precinct (Respondent 1). In general the precinct presents a common identity across the different stores and functions, engendering a youthful and creative space. Attempts have been made to engage the public domain through the opening of the Arts on Main courtyard and market onto the street as well as the development of a court in which shops and restaurant can open on the corner of Kruger and Fox streets.

The conceived space is evolving and continues to be the product of artistic drivers and innovators and collaborative processes of engagement. This has become more programmed through the GRIND studio which encourages participants to experiment within the space and find new ways of engaging with living in the city. The ongoing exhibition which is Maboneng 2.0 encapsulates the vision and future of the place which has been grown within this area. Part of the brand that has been developed for the precinct speaks to the organic nature of development within Maboneng that the growth has not been forced onto the environment but rather has emerged naturally. This is somewhat of a romantic view although ideas may have emerged organically the reality is that as those plans and programmes have been driven forward and they have evolved beyond spontaneous occurrence.

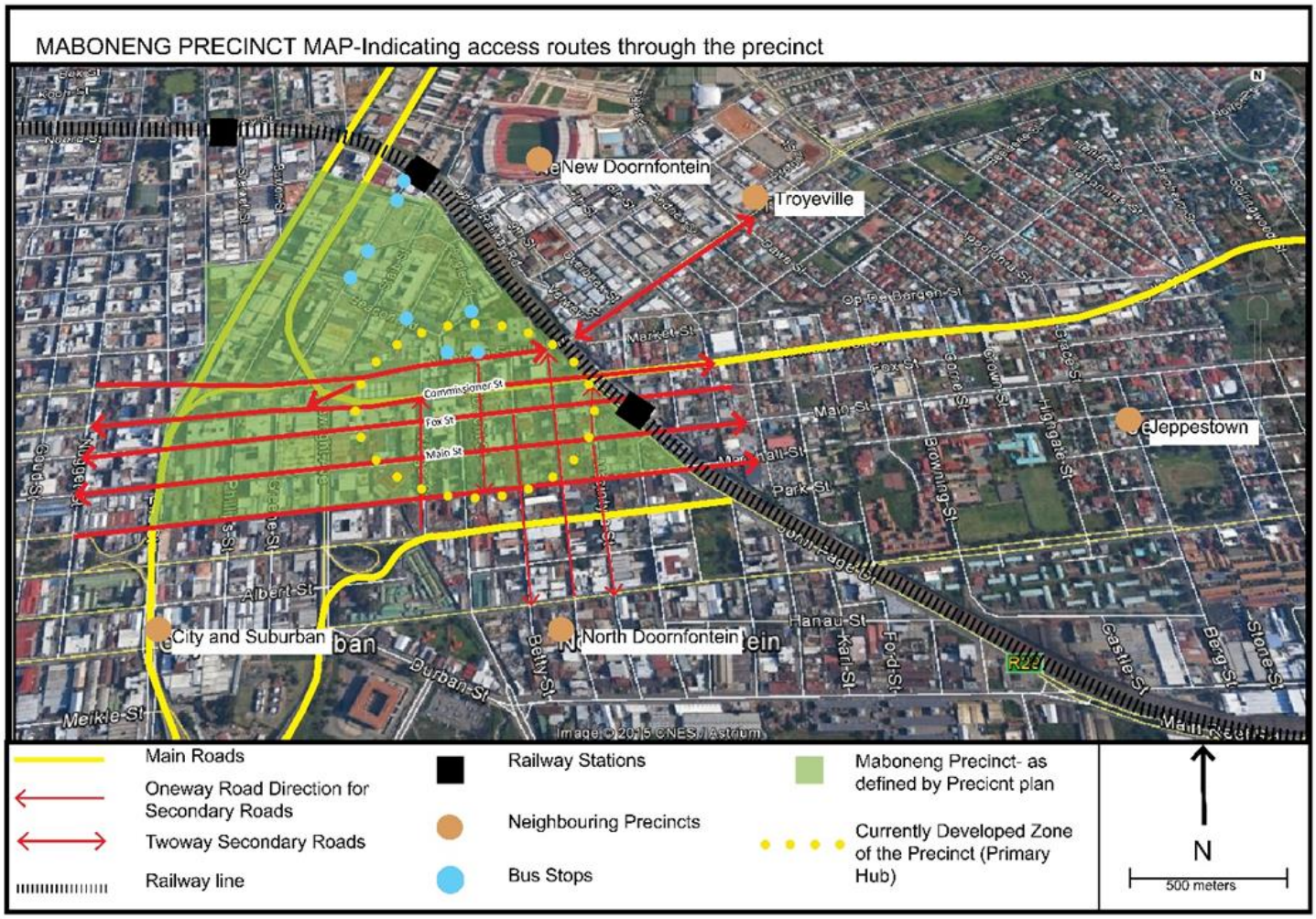
The spatial identity is thus a place which promotes cultural exchange and a softer urban environment at a more human scale than what can be found within other parts of the CBD. The community is a vital part of the urban landscape and serves as the catalyst for future development in the area. The branding focus of a connected urban neighbourhood does ring true as the people using and engaging with space are connected and driven by their context. The contestation of boundaries and the political character of the space are very relevant especially within the context in which the precinct lies. Issues of otherness and belonging

strongly identify the area as the community within has a very particular identity and those who are excluded from this can feel disconnected from the space and find it un-relatable. The Maboneng Precinct is thereby an enclave within the city a space of unique character which has been used in the creation of a place which is very supportive of likeminded people, those on the outside may find interacting with the space problematic thus limiting the appeal and access for all. Creating a form of gentrification not only within the physical and socioeconomic context but also through the homogenization of the local community excluding those who do not fit within the prescribed rhetoric.

7.7 MOBILITY AND ACCESS

At a more functional level issues of access and mobility are paramount to the success of any development. Map 7.1 illustrates the public transport networks as well as the main mobility corridors that run through the precinct. Maboneng is not a central node with regard to the public transport network as is visible within the figure below the primary node is located within New Doornfontein and Ellis Park. As these areas are adjacent access to these resources is within walking distance. However this has not be facilitated by the precinct through signage or through the provision of security along the routes to access the transport facilities.

The one-way system of roads within the precinct is difficult to navigate and the lack of appropriate signage exacerbates the problem, this to a certain level restricts and discourages private car users from accessing the area. Other issues of connectivity include the barrier created by Commissioner Street on which vehicles travel at high speeds this makes driving across this road difficult and as a pedestrian can present a harmful situation (Respondent 1). For some this barrier is seen as a problem for connecting Maboneng to its northern neighbour in which the public transport facilities lie.



Map 7.1: Key transport networks and access routes through the precinct.

7.8 CONCLUSION

Propertuity has fearlessly and somewhat bullheadedly charged into the unknown, they are 'cowboys', discovering a new horizon (Respondent 3). The promise and vision of the city that has been created in Maboneng represents an idealistic view of urban living. As indicated by Ntshona, the key principles of establishing 'sustainable regeneration' for 'sustainable communities', that are understood within this context as resilient, organised and stable groupings, are "design excellence, economic strength, environmental responsibility, good governance and social well-being" (2013, 23). In assessing what has been achieved in Maboneng one could conclude that the development has clearly succeed in addressing the first two principles. The principle of environmental responsibility is also met to a degree

through the fact that most of the projects has involved the recycling of existing structures. The principle of good governance is attempted through the structures which have been created by the establishment of the voluntary CID, however this is not representative of all the interests within the area. Social wellbeing refers to an abstract concept and as such is difficult to assess, nevertheless through the interviews conducted the lack of social facilities and public spaces that could contribute to a more cohesive and integrated community could be construed as hindering the achievement of this principle.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Urban regeneration in Maboneng has been used to facilitate and encourage development increasing the value of properties and through the processes of renewal, creating and enabling the formation of a specific community which lives, works and plays in the area. At the heart of this development has always been a strong economic objective or driver asking the question of how to make a unique environment that people will want to use, invest and engage with. This is undeniable as the evolution of the precinct has involved direct input from the private developer whose ultimate goal is to consolidate his investment whilst encouraging and supporting a community which is creative and unique.

Maboneng, at least on the surface seeks to represent and explore the realities of the urban lifestyle in creating a unique place drawing on the community which has defined it. This paper has sought to explore the dynamics which have informed how Maboneng has emerged and what has driven the processes of urban regeneration and defined the identity of this 'curated' space. My approach made use of some ethnographic research techniques such as secondary data analysis, observation, informal and semi-structured interviews. The selection of this approach enabled me to reflect on life in Maboneng by exploring the stories of not only how the precinct has been built and structured but also what it has meant to live and work within this particular space. Thus allowing for an understanding of the lived experience within the space and the affect that has on how it is perceived. This was particularly valuable for this case study as the development of Maboneng has been centred on not only a process of urban regeneration but also on creating a lifestyle which can be packaged with a particular brand and sold. The effect of which has been a form of commodification of the urban space as a product for consumption. Engaging with the space personally was thus an essential component of this research as it allowed for an observational analysis of how people interact and engage with the environment. The study of this environment has thus reshaped my understanding of how people relate to the spaces in which they live and work and how the

city as a habitat provides for a very different experience for different users. The contrast of Maboneng's curated experience was starkly defined as I would enter or exit the enclave, painting very clearly for me the way in which a space such as this exists both as part and more so in isolation from its surroundings. Places like Maboneng thus become destinations and hotspots where one can purchase access to a particular glamourized urban experience which does not really reflect the lifestyle or reality of those who live in the City to survive for whom the urban experience is not a choice but a necessity. The polarization of these realities is stark and it is not to say that creating pockets of activity is negative, as it is a reality of making the City more economically favorable for investors, but rather that there must be a balance between the desired and the necessary of urban life.

Thus within this research I have explored the literature and experiences which inform how urban regeneration can occur and has occurred both globally and within the context of Johannesburg. Beyond this I have also provided an overview of the historical context of Johannesburg, which I think is essential to understanding the precinct. South African cities are largely defined by the legacy of our history as it has shaped the spatial dynamics and politics which we now face and have to negotiate to develop and evolve. Through the observation into the evolution of Johannesburg I have also outlined policies and agencies which have been formulated and have emerged to encourage the development and regeneration of the city. One such body is the JDA, an agent of the state that was constituted to drive urban renewal and to revive the inner city. The prominence of urban regeneration as a policy driver for the development of Johannesburg is thus a central component of this report as well as its motivation. It is thus necessary to understand the impact that this process can have and the possibilities that it presents in defining the future of this city. As such this research has presented a comparative analysis of not only how the precinct is measured against a theoretical or critical framework but also how it compares to projects in Braamfontein and Newtown which have been informed by similar ideals and processes.

Seeing the prominent role that regeneration plays from my perspective as an academic as well as someone who is engaged professionally with the built environment determined my research question. Which sought to identify lessons from the context of Maboneng and determine if they can be transferred to the way in which the city of Johannesburg engages

with transformative strategies. Throughout the analysis of this report these ideas have emerged and are consolidated below.

8.2 LIMITATIONS

The Maboneng Precinct is a relatively new development and it has managed to grow exponentially in a short period of time as a result it has been met with some spatial and structural challenges and difficulties. These have been indicated and discussed in detail within the analysis of the precinct in chapter 5 and they include:

- The provision of parking which is a condition affecting most areas in the inner city adapted or transformed to attract different uses and population, this issue is further impacted by the lack and inefficiency of the public transport system within the city. There are networks of buses and the train which are in relatively close proximity to the precinct however the linkages between these services and the core of the precinct are lacking both in terms of legible functional linkages and extended security and management connecting to the existing services.
- The issue of security and safety, with regard to providing a responsive security force which acts as an effective deterrent. The delivery of this in Maboneng has been somewhat inconsistent however they have managed to radically improve the perception of safety through having a visible security force throughout.
- The management of the precinct has been lacking with insufficient communication between stakeholders and residents in the area about the plans and decision making, as well as issues of public space management and negotiating the complexities and inherent tensions of a mixed use precinct.
- Socially, issues of gentrification and exclusion are paramount however there is some contestation as to whether this is an issue for the state to address through well-structured progressive and transformative programmers or for the developer to take on. Regardless there has been some effort made to create diversity in the offerings particularly with regard to housing to encourage access to a wider social income grouping. However despite good intentions the increasing value of property will always serve as a barrier to access for more vulnerable groups.

- Beyond the economic exclusion is the condition which has been created through the attraction of a hegemonic and likeminded community, excluding those who would want and need alternative offerings within their urban space.

These limitations provide insight into the structural and social challenges that need to be considered for the creation of a more appropriate and responsive urban regeneration model.

8.3 LESSONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the pitfalls of the development Maboneng does have some value to add to the cityscape. It is an energetic and well supported neighbourhood which has demonstrated a degree of versatility and has provided a South African case study of the possibilities that regeneration led by the 'creative class' can produce even in a context in which the driver is led by commercial motivations. As such there are lessons that can be drawn from this experience and it does have something to offer the city beyond just a hipster village. These lessons must however be understood within their context and do not provide a blue print which can be transferred directly into any other area within the city. In pursuing the value of these suggestions and their applicability to different circumstances further critical inquiry and contestation is necessary to produce better and more balanced processes and mechanisms that can bring about the crucial changes needed to improve living conditions within a complex and rapidly growing City. The key lessons identified within this report are:

- The advantages of creating a network of connected neighbourhoods. This refers to Jacobs's theory of connected systems, which identifies the value of networked spaces that bring a multitude of people and economies together. This is an important concept for the City to adopt, which implies moving beyond a precinct planning approach toward a more integrated and responsive way of programming transformative growth.
- The value of branding and virtual communication as an essential mechanism for mobilising development and creating investor confidence. The City has a similar approach with regard to its branding and creating a communication platform which is

easy to engage with, however other similar precincts are not as effective in defining their online persona which limits their exposure and hinders the economic market that they can access.

- There are currently no adequate models that have been applied within the inner city that demonstrate effective community participation. This refers to the objectives of placemaking theory that seek to mobilise communities to drive development, making for a more sustainable and representative approach. For the city this can further encompass existing processes of participation and an expansion into their possibilities.
- A need for socioeconomic permeability. This is derived from the critique of gentrification and exclusion and specifies that urban spaces must remain accessible to all people and must create equal opportunities for growth within all areas of the city. Seeking solutions to mitigate the effects of increased land value which excludes socially and economically vulnerable users is thus essential if urban regeneration is going to be used as a broad brush approach to responding to issues of decay in the city, which I do not believe it can be.

The key lesson to be drawn from this report is that urban regeneration cannot be an overarching approach it requires detailed and specific responses that target issues that are particular to a given area. The adoption of which demands balance and sensitivity regarding social and economically vulnerable groups which needs to come from both public and private engagement.

8.4 CONCLUSION

This area of the city is rife with issues and problems which compromise the integrity of the space as well as having to skillfully negotiate the social urban politics which define the main challenges facing this area. However there is value and there is potential which has emerged from the urban regeneration which has informed development in Maboneng. Being that the precinct has been conceptualized by the vision of the developer it has been both beneficial and hindering, due to the dependency that this approach has on the knowledge base of the driving force. At the start of the process Propertuity was somewhat of a novice agency and they tackled Maboneng by drawing on the ‘creative class’ that were interested in developing

something new. They have all grown and developed since then, building credibility and expertise.

The State is however still responsible for the broader processes of change and development that need to occur within the city as such negotiating the social politics as well as the processes of development are fundamentally the task of the State. The Private sector does however have an important role to play and they should be open and willing to engage with the social processes that are evident within the city as they affect their ability to engage with the cityscape and its residents. Negotiating and balancing these processes are thereby integral to city building and development at any scale and as such adding to the undeniably complex reality of the city which must be pursued by all who seek to change and transform the urban landscape. Furthermore what is necessary is what Pieterse describes as "grounded, radical incremental transformation…and that our ability to exploit that scope depends on our wiliness to step beyond a narrow , reactive, interminable critical posture , to one where we take responsibility for letting the light shine through the darkness that engulfs our cities " (2008, 176).

Maboneng is an experiment, which I was drawn to as a case study because it presented an intriguing and creative space which seemed at the surface to be fragmented and somewhat of a shallow urban experience. My research has however demonstrated to me that it is rather a complex environment which has managed to somehow emerge within a landscape which was not really a part of Johannesburg's urban consciousness but rather lay at the edge undefined. However Propertuity is attempting to create an urban neighbourhood, through which they have fabricated this artist village which is not wholly functional and to me can be somewhat alienating. The very nature of this particular context is implanted as the community was drawn in and generated rather than supported and grown from what was already in place. How this survives and is sustainable is unclear as there lacks a rooting into the environment. I do believe however that there is potential for this type of development yet it cannot survive in isolation and as it stands currently it needs to connect to its surroundings and be more clearly defined as an urban space which implies a degree of unpredictability and spontaneity which may not be what those who are currently buying into a neighbourhood expect.

To this end I would recommend that elements of this model can be drawn upon in the context of Johannesburg and other cities. Namely a recognition of the value that can be gained through branding and managing a precinct. The CID model which is used in Maboneng adds value as it provides an additional support to the provision of services such as security which is a critical issue in Johannesburg. However there is a fine line between safety and creating an elite village which needs to be tread lightly. Balance is essential and thus ensuring that any management structure put in place is inclusive of representatives of different interests and economic backgrounds is paramount. The CID thus needs to work in conjunction with a vibrant and well defined organisation of community representatives, which respond to not only development but to the social wellbeing of the area.

The mobilisation of the 'creative class' is evidently growing in developments such as these, however it is not easy to replicate without the right type of 'identity' this can fail and as it is not readily quantifiable it is ill advised to peg all hopes of success for future planning on this element. Adding art and culture to a space is however still possible without drawing on the artistic elite. At the core of whether this precinct has any sustainable future is however the question of community, whether a group of people transplanted into the space without any real historic rooting to the neighbourhood are able to build sustainable ties to their surroundings. This is still a concern to me I think on a whole there is a lack of substance to the community which is located in Maboneng, it is a destination place, a space of excitement and allure however its lacks a coherent community presence which is evident in more established areas of the city.

The contradiction of this development is that the approach which is being adopted in this context is drawing on ideas of placemaking which is fundamentally a neighbourhood mobilisation of public space. However the spaces which have been activated are largely private and have not been truly mobilised from ground up, but rather have been fabricated using charming and aesthetic placemaking ideas, which are rustic and inviting. To this end Maboneng is unique and it cannot be replicated as it has been the product of a convergence of particular outcomes which were not predicted and cannot be transplanted. The developers are currently undergoing a process of trying to reproduce this concept in Durban and although

they may achieve this in creating a similar feel or aesthetic it would not necessarily have the same character or potentially success or failures that have occurred in Maboneng. The sustainability of Maboneng as a whole is still in question it developed faster than anyone predicted and constantly has to be reimagined and planned as its growth exceeds expectation however, how its success is measured is paramount. It may become the most affluent inner city neighbourhood yet if they fail to reconnect with the rest of the city and with their neighbouring suburbs the whole richness and advantage of being located within the urban core of the city is lost and it may as well be another prefabricated edge city which has no ties to its context.

CHAPTER 9

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ANNEXURE 1

DETAILED RESPONDENT CLASSIFICATION

AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. INTERVIEWEES

Within the table below the interviewees are identified as respondents and a brief outline of the value of their selection is identified.

Source	Structure	Description	Date of Interview
Respondent 1	Formal	Urban strategist and development manager working for and in conjunction with the developer. This interview took place over a two day period and explored the trajectory of development which occurred within the precinct. The interview was a key source of information as it explored how the idea of the precinct emerged from the perspective of someone who was present and involved in the transformation of Maboneng. The source was highly supportive of urban regeneration as well as the form of development occurring in the precinct.	25/6-02-2015
Respondent 2	Formal	Business owner and artist with experience in and around the creative development of the precinct as well as within other precincts within the city. The source provided interesting insight into the business motivations of being located within Maboneng and provided observations into the benefits and pitfalls of the area.	18-11-2014
Respondent 3	Formal	Business, property owner, and artist involved in numerous past and current projects within the precinct. This source provided a particular observation of life in Maboneng, painting a clear picture of a personal experience of living and working in the precinct. The interview speaks to the benefits of	09-12-2014

		planning in line with the intent of creating neighbourhoods, environments in which one can live, work and play. This source was essential in providing a scope of reality with regard to the actual conditions present within Maboneng as well as the processes of urban management which are occurring.	
Respondent 4	Formal	This interviewee speaks from experience working with the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) which is the primary city agency driving urban regeneration in the inner city. The participant had engaged with the Propertuity development group and as such was able to provide insight from not only a professional background, with regards to the processes of urban regeneration in the city as a whole but also more specifically could expand on the relationship between Maboneng and the city. Working on behalf of the cities primary mobilization body for regeneration translated into a source which could provide detail and explanation into the unique circumstances present within Johannesburg and the challenges which must be overcome in order to project the city into its future. This source was very insightful and considers there to be a value in urban regeneration strategy as a city building tool in the context of Johannesburg and what has been delivered.	03-11-2014
Respondent 5	Formal	This source has a professional background in the examination as well as creation of urban regeneration project and also from the body of the JDA. This source was not directly involved with the collaboration between the JDA and Propertuity and as such served primarily to provide insight into the broader role of the JDA in shaping urban transformation and defining the position of various pertinent stakeholders within the city context. The professional background of this	13-02-2015

		subject allowed for insightful observation and analysis into the conditions within the city and within Maboneng.	
Respondent 6	Formal	Development professional working within the city of Joburg with useful experience in examining the conditions of development at a street level. This source has been involved in various analytical studies for both private and public sectors in an attempt to identify key drivers within the city and trying to form a better foundational understanding of the conditions and people who make up the city. The respondent provided a broader perspective on city issues and helped me in the formulate ideas and observations into the city environment.	03-12-2014
Respondent 7	Formal	Business owner and brand consultant for Propertuity. The source exposed the approach to branding and creating a critical mass movement within Maboneng. The interviewees experience as a business owner and user of the space also served as useful in that it provided for a particular narrative of daily life within the space. The relationship between the source and the development company meant that the respondent delivered an informed position of what has taken place in this context.	01-12-2014
Respondent 8	Formal	Business owner and urban designer, providing an analytical view of the precinct which was reflective of the realties that take place within the area and considers the position of supportive and non-supportive groupings in the context of the scheme as well as further afield. The respondent juxtaposed a theoretical knowledge with the lived experience of being located within the precinct.	01-12-2014
Respondent 9	Formal	Entrepreneur and business owner. This source was important as an example of the opportunities created	06-03-2015

		through the development for small/young entrepreneurs to find a space within the city. As such the interviewee presents a very personal narrative which depicts Maboneng through tinted lenses. This was a very useful position to get as it demonstrates a degree to which the development has changed the lives of some who were using the space before or searching for possibilities within the city. It must however be weighed against the other sources and experiences as well as broader literature.	
Respondent 10	Formal	CID and urban regeneration specialist working for a private body that deals with CID management and development. This respondent was a great source of information with regard to how CID's work and are developed. The value of which is that it defines the future trajectory of the precinct. The subject had also engaged with the precinct professionally and as such provided insight into the direct processes of CID modeling which have and continue to occur within the context of Maboneng.	08-05-2015
Respondent 11	Informal	Architect and urban designer, this source was not formally interviewed. The source provided useful insight into ways of addressing the context of Maboneng drawing on experience of having worked with the JDA, the City and private partners on the development of various precincts throughout the inner-city region. The value of this respondent lies in a wide body of work and experience in using urban regeneration and new urban models in defining the built form and as such provided a critical insight into the processes of development at play in places like Maboneng.	2014-2015
Respondent 12	Informal	Architect and Newtown Improvement District (NID) board member, this source was also not formally	2014-2015

		interviewed but has engaged with the research in numerous conversations around the topic of Maboneng and the particular experience of the NID in managing and building a cultural precinct. The subject provides a long term view of urban regeneration projects in Newtown specifically serving as a valuable source for information with which to compare Maboneng to the NID.	
Respondent 13	Short survey	Business owner/property owner- located in the precinct since 1988 this source provided useful information with regard to the experience of Maboneng's development for those who were located in the area previously and included details on the effect of the Maboneng precinct on their business.	2015
Respondent 14	Short survey	Business owner- shop created in 2014 following alternative exposure through the weekly market, demonstrating the knock on effect of business opportunity and growth within the precinct. Source speaks to the advantages of association with the Maboneng brand.	2015
Respondent 15	Short survey	Business owner- shop established in the precinct in 2013 following the launch of Maboneng. Establishing connections between new businesses and the precinct brand.	2015
Respondent 16	Short survey	Business owner- shop established in the precinct in 2013 functioning on a network within and beyond the Maboneng precinct. The source provided further insight into the selection of sites for business within and beyond the precinct.	2015

2. QUESTIONNAIRES

The respondents did not all have the same background and could also not all be expected to answer the same questions as such a different set of questions were identified for each of the categories of respondent, these are detailed below.

2.1. Representative of Developer

1) Could you please define your involvement within the Maboneng Precinct? At what stage to you become in involved with the development of the precinct?
2) What drew you to be involved with the Maboneng precinct?
3) The precinct plan has evolved from its original form, how would you say your involvement has shaped that transformation if at all?
4) Who and what would you say has been the main driver of this transformation?
5) How is the process of development being informed by different stakeholders, including yourself as well as the people you engage with?
6) What has it in your experience offered to the range of inner city stakeholders?
7) Developments like Maboneng are often criticised for a number of reasons including issues of exclusion? Do you believe that this is the case for Maboneng?
8) What is notable about Maboneng is its development of a very specific brand and identity what do you think about this form of city building? Do you think that this template is unique in some way to the Maboneng precinct or has it drawn on external examples if so what are these?
9) What structure of urban management has been developed in Maboneng? Is it to your knowledge different from that being implemented in other precincts?
10) What distinguishes it from other forms of urban regeneration in the city?
11) Do you believe that this initiative has had a positive or negative impact for the growth and identity of this neighbourhood?
12) What impact has the UDZ programme had on the selection of location for Maboneng?
13) In what way has the UDZ added to the way in which Maboneng has been developed and how significant has it been for drawing in alternative investors?
14) How has Maboneng responded to criticisms from various bodies? Has this criticism in any way redefined the way in which development has taken place?

2.2. JDA Representative Questionnaire

1) Could you please define your what position you hold within the city planning department/ or what position you hold with the City?
2) What is the position of the city around urban regeneration as whole and as a tool for development?
3) What has been the role played by the City in Maboneng and other urban regeneration projects within the inner city as a whole?
4) Is the Maboneng Precinct different in any way to other urban regenerative strategies deployed within the city? What distinguishes it from other forms of urban regeneration in the city?
5) Has there been any opposition to the development of Maboneng or other precincts within the city? And from who has this opposition come from?
6) Developments like Maboneng are often criticised for a number of reasons including issues of exclusion? Do you believe that this is the case for Maboneng?
7) How does the UDZ incentive apply to the Maboneng Precinct? To your knowledge how much significance does the UDZ hold in the selection of sites for development?
8) What have been the outcomes of the UDZ establishment?
9) The precinct plan has evolved from its initial construct, how would you say the involvement of a city department has shaped that transformation if at all?
10) How is the process of development in Maboneng, to your knowledge being informed by different stakeholders, including yourself as well as the people you engage with? What does it offer to the range of inner city stakeholders?
11) Maboneng has developed a very specific brand and identity what is the cities response to this? Is branding a new form of urban identity as the city itself has adopted a similar approach? What does this mean for the future of development within the city?
12) What structure of urban management has been developed in Maboneng? Is it to your knowledge different from that being implemented in other precincts? Does the city play a role within this structure?
13) Do you believe that this initiative has had a positive or negative impact for the growth and identity of this neighbourhood?

2.3. Development Professional

1) What is your professional background and how does it apply to the built environment?
2) What is your experience (within your field) with Urban Regeneration from both a theoretical and practical perspective?
3) Who influences the direction that an urban regenerative project takes?
4) How is the process of development being informed by different stakeholders, including yourself as well as the people you engage with?
5) To your knowledge what has been the relationship between the development management team of Maboneng and the City of Johannesburg?

6) What in your opinion does the approach adopted within Maboneng offer to the range of inner city stakeholders?
7) Developments like Maboneng are often criticised for a number of reasons including issues of exclusion? Do you believe that this is the case for Maboneng and Urban Regeneration strategies across the city?
8) Maboneng has developed a very specific brand and identity what do you think of this identity driven approach?
9) What insight, if any do you believe we are able to gain for places like Maboneng?
10) Do you think they have created something different or a new approach or understanding to the way that development takes place within the city? What distinguishes it from other forms of urban regeneration in the city?
11) Do you believe that this initiative has had a positive or negative impact for the growth and identity of the existing neighbourhood?
12) What significance does the UDZ play in were and how these developments take place? Is it the primary driver for inner city investment or is there more to it?
13) What is the significance of the CID model?
14) Within the CID approach how does the relationship between the City and the Precinct differ?
15) How will becoming a CID affect the Maboneng Precinct?

2.4. Business/property owner

1) Could you please express your position within the Maboneng Precinct? When did you move into the precinct?
2) What informed your decision in purchasing property/ setting up your businesses in the Maboneng Precinct? What drew you into the precinct?
3) What have been the advantages and disadvantages of being based within the precinct?
4) How inclusionary has the process of development been since you moved into the area? Are you as an owner/business consulted/informed as to the direction the development is to take?
5) The precinct plan has evolved from its initial construct, what do you think has been the impact of owners/ business on the direction this development has taken?
6) Developments like Maboneng are often criticised for a number of reasons including issues of exclusion? Do you believe that this is the case for Maboneng?
7) Maboneng has developed a very specific brand and identity how do you feel about this? Has it improved how you function within the precinct?
8) (Business owner) Has the brand added to your own brand as a business?
9) How apparent/transparent is the structure of urban management that has been developed in Maboneng? Is it to your knowledge different from that being implemented in other precincts?

10) What in your opinion distinguishes it from other inner-city neighbourhoods?
11) Do you believe that this initiative has had a positive or negative impact for the growth and identity of this neighbourhood?

2.5. Business Owners Survey

Were you located within the Maboneng Precinct establishment? BEFORE / AFTER the precinct's

When did you set up your business in Maboneng?

Did the establishment of the Precinct determine your choice to locate your business within the precinct? YES / NO Why?

How has the precinct affected your business?

What if any are the advantages/ disadvantages to being located within the precinct?

What do you think about the Brand of Maboneng? Is the brand compatible with your business?

What do you think about Maboneng becoming a CID?

Are you aware of the cost implications of the CID structure? YES / NO

Are you willing to contribute financially to the CID? YES / NO

Are you benefiting from the UDZ? YES / NO

3. ORIGINAL SURVEYS

Res. 13

BUSINESS OWNERS SURVEY MABONENG

Were you located within the Maboneng Precinct [BEFORE / AFTER] the precinct's establishment?

When did you set up your business in Maboneng?

1988

Did the establishment of the Precinct determine your choice to locate your business within the precinct? Why? [YES / NO]

How has the precinct affected your business?

Property - value increase.

What if any are the advantages/ disadvantages to being located within the precinct?

A - Theft rate increased A - Increase in people
- Taxis parking @ night blocking entrances and pavements
pay security using safety

What do you think about the Brand of Maboneng? Is the brand compatible with your business?

Nice but not affecting business

What do you think about Maboneng becoming a CID?

Not Good

Are you aware of the cost implications of the CID structure? [YES / NO]

Are you willing to contribute financially to the CID? [YES / NO]

Are you benefiting from the UDZ? YES / (NO)

Res 14

BUSINESS OWNERS SURVEY MABONENG

Were you located within the Maboneng Precinct BEFORE / AFTER the precinct's establishment?

When did you set up your business in Maboneng?

APRIL 2014.

Did the establishment of the Precinct determine your choice to locate your business within the precinct?
Why? YES / NO

Close to brand establishment in market (space) good rental

How has the precinct affected your business?

IT HAS EXPOSED OUR BUSINESS TO PUBLIC. IT BRINGS PEOPLE THAT MAY NOT HAVE NECESSARILY COME HERE.

What if any are the advantages/ disadvantages to being located within the precinct?

High exposure (MEDIA). MANY FOREIGN TOURISTS. TRENDY – SUITS OUR BRAND. THE LOOK AND FEEL OF THE PRECINCT IS COMPATIBLE

What do you think about the Brand of Maboneng? Is the brand compatible with your business?

YES.

What do you think about Maboneng becoming a CID?

ITS NECESSARY TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITY, AND TO ~~BRING~~ PEOPLE BACK

Are you aware of the cost implications of the CID structure? YES / NO

Are you willing to contribute financially to the CID? YES / NO

Are you benefiting from the UDZ? YES / NO

Res 15

BUSINESS OWNERS SURVEY MABONENG

Were you located within the Maboneng Precinct BEFORE / AFTER the precinct's establishment?

When did you set up your business in Maboneng?

Sep 2013

Did the establishment of the Precinct determine your choice to locate your business within the precinct?
Why? YES / NO

City people like to be in the City hip & cool, opp for growth. cheap rent!!

How has the precinct affected your business?

Positively - niche market, could have been located anywhere cool to be here not bringing any walk in clients.

What if any are the advantages/ disadvantages to being located within the precinct?

A) Tourists, sunday big foot fall, style & attitude plays into it

B) construction permanently continuous since moved in annoying more than direct influence.

What do you think about the Brand of Maboneng? Is the brand compatible with your business?

Yes compatible clever brand, not so much a brand ppl working and living in the area creating the identity like minded people

What do you think about Maboneng becoming a CID?

For it: if they do more job.

Are you aware of the cost implications of the CID structure? YES / NO

Are you willing to contribute financially to the CID? YES / NO

Are you benefiting from the UDZ? YES NO

↓

buying residential to rent advantage.

Res 16

BUSINESS OWNERS SURVEY MABONENG

Were you located within the Maboneng Precinct BEFORE / AFTER the precinct's establishment?

When did you set up your business in Maboneng?

Aug 2013

Did the establishment of the Precinct determine your choice to locate your business within the precinct?
Why? YES / NO

Space (80 year old orginal doors) Heritage of building aesthetic

How has the precinct affected your business?

type of clientele suit business.

What if any are the advantages/ disadvantages to being located within the precinct?

A) Less foot traffic as wholesale focus.

D) edge of Jhb so not @ the centre of client base not central

What do you think about the Brand of Maboneng? Is the brand compatible with your business?

like idea + brand is compatible; Art crawl, older more mature. braamfontein no new clients more business from Mab + Newtown

What do you think about Maboneng becoming a CID?

Great idea, the better the place is the more ppl it attracts and more business cleaner + safer.

Are you aware of the cost implications of the CID structure? YES / NO

Are you willing to contribute financially to the CID? YES / NO

Are you benefiting from the UDZ? YES / NO

Not aware of it