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Ntuli, Lungisani Qaphela Petros

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Critical analysis of City Improvement District governance in inner-city Johannesburg

Lungisani Qaphela Petros Ntuli

Student Number: 479301

WITS School of Governance

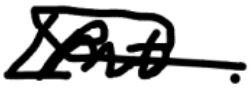
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Declaration

I, Lungisani Ntuli declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Management (Public and Development Management) at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. Further, I have not submitted this thesis before for any other degree or examination to any other institution.



Lungisani Ntuli

30 Mach 2020

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This thesis is dedicated to my late grandmother, Ntwini Nesta Malimela, for instilling in me the values of self-respect; belief in myself and to continue to push the boundaries. I would like to thank my wife; my children (Mphemba; Ndumiso and Mbaliyethu) for the unconditional love, support and patience throughout my studies. To my mum, Thulisile Mkhize, thank you for investing in my education over the years.

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Abstract

Building on the literature on governance of City Improvement Districts (CIDs), this report amplifies the view that urban governance should be about improving the lives of all the residents of the city.

This study used the qualitative research methodology to collect data through the analysis of relevant documents on governance and the management of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. Further to the analysis, the focus group interview was conducted with the management of the CID, Board of Directors representative and building managers using semi-structured interview questions to gather information and facilitate the discussion.

This study found that, even though neighbourhood development initiatives that are implemented by the CIDs make a positive contribution in terms of dealing with crime, grime and other urban management issues in the inner city - the CIDs are driven by the interests of the property and business owners. The critics of the CIDs model argue that their ability to define and control public space is driven by profit-making aspirations and as a result, amplify urban spatial and social imbalances.

This report argues that there is a need for a comprehensive neighbourhood development programme that will level the ground in the fight against the segregation of the disadvantaged inhabitants – from the upgrading of public space to community development.

Keywords: neighbourhood, public space management, urban governance

List of abbreviations

BID	Business Improvement District
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCTV cameras	Close Circuit Television cameras
CID	City Improvement District
CID Forum	City Improvement Districts Forum
CJP	Central Johannesburg Partnership
COJ	City of Johannesburg
HDA	Housing Development Agency
JMPD	Johannesburg Metro Police Department
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SAPS	South African Police Service

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study examines the governance and management of the CIDs by the property management companies in Johannesburg, with a specific emphasis on how they manage and govern the public space surrounding the residential developments.

There is a view that the CIDs, through their urban management systems, influence the manner in which public space is utilised by other city inhabitants in their areas of operation. It is therefore imperative to understand the processes that make and shape public space, looking at how these spaces are governed, how decisions on public space are made, who make the decisions and how access to public space is managed and how the local authorities manage their mandate of the provision of social and developmental goods and services in the CIDs.

The study further examines what drives property management companies to establish these city improvement districts in the inner city of Johannesburg and in whose interest it is to manage the space in these areas. The study also looks at whether people in the governing structures are aware of the consequences of their decisions or urban management systems that they put in place in these neighbourhoods.

In order to understand these issues, this study zooms into Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, operating in Hillbrow. The Housing Development Agency (2012, p. 3) defines the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID as a “neighbourhood development programme that was started in a rundown part of Hillbrow in 2004”. It was the first residential CID formed in a degraded low income inner city neighbourhood (Savage & Dodd Architects, 2012).

It is acknowledged that there are a number of stakeholders in the area of focus, including residents themselves. However, for the purpose of this research, which is to analyse the role of the management agency in the city improvement district, they are not included. The focus is mainly on the management and governing structures of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

For the purpose of the research, residents refers to people residing in the buildings that are managed by the property management companies that are members of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID and community refers to the community at large, including the residents of the buildings managed by Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID members.

1.1. Setting the scene

1.1.1 Historical Background of Hillbrow

The area of focus for this study is Hillbrow. Hillbrow falls under Region F of the City of Johannesburg and as the then Mayor, Cllr Amos Masondo, puts it, “Region F ranges from the Johannesburg central business district and the degraded suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea and Bertrams to the affluent middle and upper-income suburbs of Glenvista, Mulbarton and Bassonia along its southern boundary” (Dlamini, 2007, p. 1). It is a “region of contrasts” (Dlamini, 2007, p. 1).

In the past, Hillbrow used to be a buzzing white middle-class neighbourhood. Hillbrow used to be an entry point for a number of immigrants from Europe, who wanted to make a living, mainly from France, Austria, Germany, Greece, Italy and Portugal (Winkler, 2013). They established their businesses alongside the white South Africans who were residents in the area. Nowadays, this is still a trend, however, now the African immigrants from “countries further north, mainly Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo” come to Johannesburg, looking for opportunities (Bremner, 2000, p. 186). They have been, however, subjected to a lot of victimisation and name-calling by South Africans, as they are blamed for most of the social ills in the inner city, such as drug dealing, illegal trading and running brothels, amongst others. Like many ports of entry neighbourhoods, Hillbrow is however, characterised by crime and grime that requires “stricter enforcement” of by-laws (Winkler, 2013, p. 317).

In the 1980s, the spread of violence in the townships and the scrapping of influx control, triggered the flocking of black South Africans to Hillbrow, the area that was previously reserved for white South Africans by the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Winkler, 2013; Bremner, 2000). Hillbrow presented an opportunity to access the inner city facilities, quality life and growth opportunities (Winkler, 2013).

After the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, the inner city demographics changed, as the white middle class opted to move to leafy suburbs, making way for immigrants from across the African continent and black South Africans, who then started to dominate the inner city neighbourhoods (Mason, 2011). The flight of prominent businesses and white residents to Rosebank and Sandton, caused the decay of the inner city (Dlamini, 2007) and presented an

opportunity for some unscrupulous property owners to increase rents and reduce maintenance of the buildings in order to maximise their profits (Bremner, 2000). The area became a 'no-go' area for many, but for some, a hope and an opportunity for redevelopment.

1.1.2 Urban regeneration and neighbourhood development in Johannesburg

(a) Context

In South Africa, cities are still a reflection of the apartheid spatial segregation policies that were enacted by the apartheid regime (Landman, 2006). This is despite all the attempts by the democratic government (elected in 1994) to reverse the imbalances of the past (Landman, 2006). The history of racial segregation between 1948 and 1994 resulted in the challenges of managing the public space in the cities (Landman, 2006). This has resulted in unending inequality as South African government struggles to effect spatial, political and social changes (Landman, 2006, p. 136).

In response to the challenges, urban governance evolved in line with the political changes (Pieterse, 2019). As part of the new dispensation, metropolitan governments like Johannesburg and others were introduced to address the issue of the fragmented and racially divided local government (Pieterse, 2019). The metropolitan governments were established to promote a "unified tax base" and had a responsibility to address the spatial disparities that are a legacy of segregation (Pieterse, 2019, p. 22).

Johannesburg is commonly known as the economic hub and the largest metropolitan area of South Africa, in the smallest province (geographically), Gauteng. Johannesburg contributes 42.1 percent of the province's economy (Meyer & Auriacombe, 2019). Like most African cities, its origin traces back to the period of colonial rule, which was characterised by the colonial urban policy that propelled the segregation of people (Zewde, 2005, p. 120). Despite the efforts of government, businesses and communities - crime and grime is still high in most parts of the city. The inner city of Johannesburg, post-1994, has been characterised by the dilapidated buildings, hijacked buildings and poor service delivery. Some of the city residents end up settling for accommodation in the hijacked or under-serviced buildings, in order to pay cheaper rent. Those who have some source of income consider rental accommodation in social housing and affordable housing developments.

The challenges in the inner city necessitated the property management companies to come up with a property-led development programme (Bremner, 2000), crafted to address the issue of crime and grime in the area, including the dilapidated and underserviced infrastructure. They saw the challenge as an opportunity to redevelop the area and put structures and systems in place to manage the public space that needed intervention. Over the years, the area was overlooked by the local policy makers, as they were concerned that there was no neighbourhood pride amongst the residents and that that was obstructing the city efforts of inner city regeneration (Winkler, 2013). In response to the outcry, the inner city regeneration programme was introduced and by 2010, it had contributed to the “rebirth and resettlement” of more than 2500 residential units (Makhulong, 2010, p. 74). The then Mayor of Johannesburg, Cllr Amos Masondo, emphasised that the revitalisation of the city was a catalyst for economic growth and job creation, as well as for creating a decent living (Dlamini, 2007).

Hillbrow is one of the neighbourhoods in the city of Johannesburg under Region F. During the dawn of democracy, Hillbrow suffered capital and white flight however, it did not result in depopulation, the area is perpetually crowded with immigrants and migrants (Winkler, 2013). Shah et al. (2015) add that the city therefore, needs to create opportunities to improve the living conditions of the city inhabitants, including the immigrants. As the World Bank (2019) puts it, urbanisation creates opportunities for the disadvantaged groups, whereas at the same time, it creates challenges for the cities, as they strive to meet the demands of the increasing population.

As an intervention, in 2004, the property management companies initiated a neighbourhood improvement programme in Hillbrow, called Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID (Didier et al., 2013). As Makhulong (2010) puts it, it became necessary for property management companies to start working on the neighbourhood as it was counterproductive to have good buildings as islands in an area infested by crime and grime. This initiative followed the establishment of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), which aimed at kindling the regeneration of the distressed neighbourhoods in the inner city of Johannesburg (Winkler, 2013). The City of Johannesburg had already approved the legislation (in 1999) that legalised the formation of the CIDs as private sector initiatives, aimed at supplementing the urban management services that are provided by the local authority (Bremner, 2000). According to the CID Forum (2019),

there are currently eighteen (18) CIDs operating in the inner city of Johannesburg and affiliated to the CID Forum.

This study focused mainly on the inner city of Johannesburg, covering Hillbrow, where social housing and affordable housing institutions lead the neighbourhood development programmes with a view to protecting their investment and reducing crime and grime in order to attract prospective tenants to their buildings. This is in addition to their main mandate, which is to provide rental housing to those who choose to live in their buildings. Hoyt (2005, p. 25) concurs that like in Hillbrow, the CIDs are established by property and business owners for the purpose of "protecting or increasing the returns on their investments". These additional initiatives that the social housing and affordable housing institutions facilitate in the inner city of Johannesburg are in response to the urban regeneration programme that is championed by the City of Johannesburg. The policy makers want to position Johannesburg as a World Class African City through the regeneration project (Winkler, 2013).

This study is not intended to understand the residents/community perceptions on the neighbourhood - they are however, important in the critique of how the CIDs are managed. This study therefore, looks at the property management companies since they manage the social interaction in the public space and are the founders and funders of these neighbourhood development initiatives. It is however, worth noting that there are a number of actors in the housing landscape that are crucial for the sustainability of these initiatives, namely, the property management companies (social housing and affordable housing institutions), business owners, residents, churches, schools, non-governmental organisations, the City of Johannesburg, city agencies and government institutions (provincial and national).

This study focuses mainly on the governance of CIDs from the property management companies' viewpoint, focusing on how they shape the neighbourhood landscape in the areas where they govern or manage public space. This study therefore uses urban governance as the analytical lens. This entails that the arguments and analysis of the research is underpinned by the theory on urban governance.

(b) Problem Statement

The CIDs mandated by the City in the inner-city of Johannesburg put systems of governing public space into place that narrowly serve the interests of property management companies and the formal business community as members of the CID, disregarding other users of the public space like the community in general, including the marginalised communities, which contradicts their original mandate.

Although much research has been conducted on neighbourhood development programmes and their impact, there is still a need to expand the existing research on inner city neighbourhoods, by looking at the issue of governance of public space by the CIDs. This study focused on the inner city of Johannesburg, covering Hillbrow, where property management companies lead the neighbourhood development programmes and as a result, put governance structures and systems in place to manage public space.

Harvey (2003) argues that homeowners' associations *(for the purpose of this report homeowners associations are equated to the CIDs)* tend to disproportionally protect property values, thus creating autocratic neighbourhoods that only cater for the interests of property management companies and the formal business community as members of the CID at the expense of the disadvantaged communities. Peyroux (2006, p. 9) stresses that CIDs have been "primarily analysed as a new mechanism for service delivery thus missing the implications such as the leadership many of these private organisations exercise in shaping public policy and their emerging role in the management and governing of the city." This research provides an understanding of how CIDs implement governance controls in their neighbourhoods and of whether they consider the impact of these controls or systems on other players or users of the public space in their management approach.

(c) Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research is to critically analyse how public space is governed by the CIDs in the inner city of Johannesburg.

(d) Research Questions

Main research question:

How do CIDs govern the public space in the inner city of Johannesburg?

Sub-questions:

i) To what extent do CIDs influence how public space is utilised in their areas of operation?

ii) To what extent do CIDs consider the effect of their urban governance approaches to other users of public space?

1.2 Limitations

The limitation of this study is that it focused only on the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID in Hillbrow, mainly because of their prominence in a perceived socially/community focused CID model that is led by the property management companies. The choice made was to focus on the governance and management structure and exclude the other players like the community and others, in order to understand how they govern and the choices that they make in their urban management approach. It is therefore important to learn how they govern and manage the public space in their CID.

1.3 Outline of Chapters

This study contains six chapters. Below is the brief outline of what each chapter entails.

Chapter one introduces the research. It states the purpose of the research, problem statement and highlights the study questions. This section sets the scene for this study, by giving us the background to urban regeneration in Johannesburg and some historical insight into Hillbrow, which is the area of focus. The chapter also highlights the limitation of this study.

Chapter two highlights arguments from a number of authors around the issues of urban governance and management of CIDs. It also highlights the study's themes that came from the reviewed literature. These themes were further reviewed to develop a conceptual framework that assisted in developing the research questions. The conceptual framework was used to

guide the researcher and provide a theoretical base for the findings that are discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter three looks at the methods that were utilised in the study, looking at the sampling, how data was collected, processed and interpreted. The chapter further highlights the challenges experienced during the data collection process.

Chapter four presents the findings of the study on the governance and management of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. The findings from the document analysis are based on the previous research and publications and are presented first, then the findings from the focus group session that was conducted for triangulation.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the study, linking findings from both the document analysis and the focus group. The findings are further related to the conceptual framework to see if there is any connection, using the findings' themes.

Chapter six looks at the entire study, making conclusions and recommendations based on literature and the study findings. The chapter also highlights opportunities for future research to get in-depth knowledge on the areas that can enhance and create inclusive neighbourhood development programmes.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to describe and expand current research and thinking on governance of the CIDs from the property management companies' point of view since they are commonly the founders and funders of the CIDs in their areas of operation - especially in the area of focus of this research. This will help in understanding the social controls that are put in place to manage the public space. This literature explores how the CIDs manage and govern public space and whose mandate they carry. In order to understand the subject, the literature review first looks at unpacking the Business Improvement District (BID) and CID concept, looking at the definition, background, processes involved in the establishment of the CID, their importance and critiques. This is followed by unpacking urban governance as the analytical lens of the CIDs governance.

For the purpose of this research, the BID and CID concepts are used interchangeably since there is a close relationship in their mandate which is to create clean and safe neighbourhoods. As Hoyt (2005) argues, use of either terminology mostly depends on the area or location (Hoyt, 2005). Hoyt (2005, p. 24) further highlights that the naming of these formations differs from one country to another:

> Variations within the USA include, "special improvement districts" (SIDs), 'public improvement districts" (PIDs) and "municipal improvement districts" MIDs. In Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, they are known as "business improvement areas", "main streets with separate rates" and city improvement districts", respectively (Hoyt, 2005, p. 24).

It is worth noting that in South Africa, there are formal (legislated) and voluntary CIDs. The formal CID is distinct in that it prevents the "free ride problem" that affects the voluntary CIDs (Briffault, 1999, p. 369). All properties within the legislated CID boundary pay a compulsory levy that is taxed by the municipality and transferred to the CID to fund its operations (Briffault, 1999; Michel & Stein, 2015). In a voluntary CID, property and businesses owners are persuaded to join the CID, selling the benefits to them and if they choose not to join, there are

no consequences as they still receive the same benefits, this results in the free ride problem (Michel & Stein, 2015).

2.2 What are the BIDs/CIDs? Definitions, background and processes

Grail et al. (2019, p. 75) define BIDs as the entities established and funded mainly by property owners and/or business owners with a view to improving the competitiveness of the area where they operate through "urban management" initiatives. Briffault (1999, p. 439) adds that they are "public bodies, providing traditional municipal services". The state gives them some powers to provide certain municipal services in the public spaces that are geographically defined (Hoyt, 2005).

Grail et al. (2019, p. 77) advise that the BID model of urban management originates in "North America and Canada". A number of urban areas in North America had experienced a decline in the provision of urban management services as a result of economic distress (Lewis, 2010). In response to the decay of the key nodes in the cities, the local municipalities, property and business owners turned to alternative means of bringing life and order in the derelict central business districts – the BIDs are therefore applauded as solutions to problems related to urban planning (Lewis, 2010). Ellen et al. (2007, p. 3) attest that the BID establishment is commonly driven by "some kind of market (or government) failure in the provision of public services".

Looking back at the history of BIDs, Briffault (1999); Hoyt (2005) and Ellen et al. (2007) shed some light in that many BIDs were formed in the late 1980s to 1990s, following the first BID that was established in Bloor West Village, Toronto in the 1970s. The model has since been replicated in a number of countries over the years and amongst those countries is "New Zealand, South Africa, The Netherlands, Germany and UK" Grail et al. (2019, p. 77).

The processes involved in the formation of the formal BID/CID is the approval of the property and business owners that will be financing its operations (Lewis, 2010) and they are likely to form "when and where the impacts are expected to be large" (Ellen et al., 2007, p. 6). Grail et al. (2019, p. 75) concurs that at the foundation of the BID formation is the "consent" by the stakeholders, including the local municipality. Mitchell (2001); Hochleutner (2003) and Ellen et al. (2007) add that the formation of the BID requires that the property and business owners in a geographically defined neighbourhood consent by means of a majority vote to pay an

additional levy to finance the additional services that include, amongst others, cleaning, security and maintenance of the public spaces, that will be provided by the BID. The property and business owners therefore take a lead in determining the CID boundaries, the services that will be provided to supplement municipal services and how the CID will be funded (Briffault, 1999; Hochleutner, 2003).

2.3 The importance of the BIDs/CIDs and their critiques

The BIDs/CIDs play a meaningful role in the upkeep of the underserviced area, reversing the effects of poor municipal governance service delivery (Lewis, 2010). The BIDs/CIDs, as the new form of urban governance, have changed the norm of governing the public space as they have taken the responsibility of providing the supplementary essential public services (Hoyt, 2005; Lewis, 2010). They have been praised as an efficient combination of the "private sector energy" and the needs of the public (Lewis, 2010, p. 181). The positive outcomes of the BID programmes, amongst others, are "the rehabilitation of public spaces, the enhanced cleaning and patrolling of streets and sidewalks, and the removal of the homeless by persuasion or coercion" with a view of improving the livelihoods of the community living in the area and visitors (Briffault, 1999, p. 404). Briffault (1999); Hoyt (2005) and Lewis (2010) stress that the entire public benefit from the public services that the BIDs provide such as cleaning, streets security and repairs and maintenance of public amenities, work with the law enforcement agencies in preventing crime and illegal street vendors. Some BIDs go as far as providing shelter for the homeless, job referrals and training and assistance with social services referrals for the benefit of their immediate community (Briffault, 1999; Lewis, 2010). Briffault (1999, p. 394) groups these services as "physical improvements, traditional municipal services, social services, and business oriented programs". Hochleutner (2003) stresses that the BID model is liked by many because it works – they have improved the living conditions and business in their neighbourhoods. The BIDs safeguard the public space within their boundaries other than endangering it (Michel & Stein, 2015).

Despite all the good things that the BIDs/CIDs do, they still receive criticism for being controversial urban governance formations (Briffault, 1999). One of the critiques stems from the way they treat the homeless and street vendors in their neighbourhoods and that they produce "wealth based inequalities" in the manner in which they provide public services

(Briffault, 1999, p. 371). Some critics however, have claimed that the assistance of the homeless can be interpreted as the removal of the homeless (Briffault, 1999).

Grail et al. (2019, p. 76) is also of the view that the increased involvement of the private sector in the provision of additional or supplementary cleaning and security services is viewed as the driver for the “privatisation of public space”. Lewis (2010) adds that this new norm threatens the ability of local government to take ownership of the problems in the inner-city and their ability to distribute resources equitably – to those areas with CIDs and those without.

Another area of discontent, is their lack of “public accountability” and the manner in which they handle the issues of the marginalised like the homeless and the contention of “government-like powers” bestowed to them (Lewis, 2010, p. 182). Briffault (1999, p. 366) is also in agreement with the sentiment, in that they have peculiar “neighbourhood-level decision making” that only empowers property and business owners that are members of the CID yet they have no policy making authority over citizens. They do not have the authority to “govern” over citizens (Briffault, 1999, p. 439).

Despite the criticism, the BIDs are considered by the proponents as the crucial ingredient for urban space management (Grail et al., 2019). The proponents and antagonists however are in agreement that the CID programmes contribute positively towards improving cleanliness and safety in the neighbourhood (Briffault, 1999). Ellen et al. (2007, p. 3) add that BIDs bring life to the neighbourhood through “directly providing supplemental services” that are valuable within the neighbourhood. They contribute to the positive change in the areas they operate in and lead to increased property value (Grail et al., 2019; Ellen et al., 2007). They are also crucial in the local government, in that they assist with funding the provision of municipal services in their neighbourhoods (Briffault, 1999).

BIDs have been highlighted as the cost effective vehicle for delivering the “public safety and street maintenance services” (Briffault, 1999, p. 370). Briffault (1999, p. 370) further adds that BIDs play a crucial role in restoring “urban morale and making older downtowns more attractive places to shop, visit, do business, and seek entertainment”.

2.4 Urban governance and management of public space by City Improvement Districts

The overarching literature that is reviewed for the purpose of this research is on urban governance and the management of public space.

2.4.1 Understanding City Improvement Districts in South Africa and their role in the governance and management of public space

As highlighted in the previous section, private-led urban regeneration initiatives have been championed in a number of cities across the globe due to lack of public funds, and as a means of promoting public private partnerships (Peyroux, 2006). The CIDs are established as an urban development strategy, to revitalise commercial activities in the distressed neighbourhoods, either in high or low income neighbourhoods or to manage regenerated urban nodes (Peyroux, 2006; Miraftab, 2007; Winkler, 2009). Peyroux (2006) adds that the spread of the CIDs in the inner city of Johannesburg is attributed to the consistent lobbying by property owners and businesses that were affiliated to CJP, even before the 1994 democratic elections.

In South Africa, CIDs are constituted as Section 21 companies (Peyroux, 2006). The governing structure of the CIDs comprises Boards of Directors, who are elected from the contributing members to exercise an oversight role and are, in some instances, responsible for the daily operations, on top of the Urban Managers or Neighbourhood Co-ordinators (Housing Development Agency, 2012). In some CIDs, membership comprises “property owners, business owners, and representatives of residents (if relevant) and a representative of the local authority” (Peyroux, 2006, p. 10). The monthly levies paid by members to the CID are based on the number of units/flats in their building(s) (Housing Development Agency, 2012). Winkler (2009) argues that CIDs’ governing structures, in addition to growth, safety and security, take on the responsibility to redefine the CIDs’ role to include community development objectives. This is the case with Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

The CIDs mainly provide supplementary cleaning and security services, maintenance of public space, marketing and reporting of defects e.g. street lights, and by-law infringements – on top of the services offered by the local municipality in their area of operation (Housing Development Agency, 2012; Peyroux, 2006; Miraftab, 2007). Some CIDs provide community development services for the benefit of residents from their members’ buildings (Housing

Development Agency, 2012; Peyroux, 2006). Security and cleaning services top the list of the CID priorities, as these services contribute to changing the negative perception about the space and can result in increased business. Some CIDs, like Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID in Hillbrow, go as far as installing CCTV cameras that are monitored 24 hours a day, for seven days a week. If there is an incident, the patrollers are dispatched to that area to attend to the issue. Peyroux (2006) is however, concerned that the growing number of private actors, taking control of public space with the surveillance cameras and utilising state resources like the police, is another area of concern.

The rise of the CIDs has been associated with the "neo-liberal forms of governance" that are necessitated by the increasing competition amongst cities in the global economy (Peyroux, 2006, p. 9). Through CIDs, controls of urban streets and public infrastructure are given to commercial and profit making organisations (Peyroux, 2006). They assume the responsibility of enforcing the by-laws in their area of operation, working closely with the local authorities, regulating the "uses and users of public space" (Miraftab, 2007, p. 603). Peyroux (2006) argues that the alliance of the local authority, property owners and business, is propelled by common interests in terms of maintenance, improvement and control of urban space. In Johannesburg, Didier et al. (2013, p. 123) confirm that the CIDs were introduced in response to the "perceived failure of public authorities to deliver appropriate standards of service, safety services in particular". The CIDs contribute by strengthening the economic value of the city through the property market - thus generating more tax for the local authority. This convergence of interest goes further to removing street vendors in areas where the CIDs operate, in order to allow their businesses to flourish (Peyroux, 2006). This move is however, counter to the efforts of inclusivity and ensuring equal rights of all users of public space. It only allows formal businesses who have self-centred interests of protecting their investments to use the local authority agencies while excluding other public space users. Miraftab (2007, p. 603) attests that CIDs promote "the uneven social and spatial development characteristic" of neoliberal spatiality.

2.4.2 Urban governance and City Improvement Districts

Meyer and Auriacombe (2019, p. 2) are of the view that the urban governance concept cannot be defined easily because of “its different dimensions, contexts and applications”. It is a multifaceted urban development concept. Despite the views about its complexity, Kumar and Singh (2019, p. 201) however, define it as “the new form of cooperation among public authorities, private enterprises and other such institutions and acting agencies”- a new approach to urban development. It is a methodology utilised by the public and private institutions to better manage the city affairs, with a view of improving the living conditions of the city inhabitants, especially the “marginalised and disadvantaged communities” (Meyer & Auriacombe, 2019, p. 1). In interpreting the role of the BIDs in urban governance, Briffault (1999, p. 377) summarises it as that “BIDs are like local government generally – only more so”. Hoyt (2005) adds that BIDs are an important option to traditional urban governance. They have been mandated by the local authority through legislation to provide supplementary urban management services, yet they are private entities (Bremner, 2000). Through this legislation, the local authority provided an opportunity for the private sector to put urban space management systems in their CID and carry out local government services.

Kumar and Singh (2019, p. 202) advise that with the introduction of urban governance, the urban planning landscape has transformed tremendously, shifting the focus from just design, to a more inclusive approach that encompasses the “society, economy, culture and environmental issues” and the role they play in planning and managing the city affairs. Urban governance regards the participation of key players in the processes that shape the city and as a result, there is interdependence amongst the stakeholders to deliver on urban management in order to boost socio-economic and political development in the city (Kumar & Singh, 2019; Hendriks, 2013; Meyer & Auriacombe, 2019). Thus the contractual arrangement is decidedly oriented to business and development.

Various actors, therefore, have different mandates and responsibilities in urban governance, for example, government has a responsibility to “create business friendly policies, to share power, delegation of authority” and ensure that there are clear and amicable processes in place to deal with urban management issues (Kumar & Singh, 2019, p. 204). Hendriks (2013, p. 3) stresses that in this type of arrangement, government does not lead from the front, but allows the neighbourhood formations or residents associations to “govern and manage certain

neighbourhoods" on their own. This includes the day-to-day surveillance of the neighbourhood, cleaning and any other urban management issues, with minimal intervention from the government agencies, like the police. They are therefore self-organised institutions, putting much emphasis on the "real decision makers" which are commonly "social and economic elites" (Hendriks, 2013, p. 3).

Winkler (2013) highlights that the regeneration efforts in the neighbourhood require tight management tactics, strict controls and partnerships with the local actors in order to be effective. This is the backdrop by which the CIDs utilise the partnerships with the local authorities to enforce strict controls in managing the public space in their neighbourhoods.

It is however, argued that the regeneration programmes and neighbourhood initiatives have resulted in pockets of well-managed buildings and beautified neighbourhoods with security and cleaning services, pushing the criminal elements to other parts of the city (Winkler, 2013). As a result, pockets of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are created, characterised by residents who are struggling to find affordable housing (Perolini, 2015). Winkler (2009, p. 369) argues that the gentrification of neighbourhoods creates an opportunity for exclusive use of public space by the elites and "progressively more affluent users". This results in discontent amongst the critical stakeholders in the community that feel left out. The urban poor are both "neglected and criminalized" in the process (Erwin, 2010, p. 153) – whilst they "cry out and demand for involvement, rights and participation" in order to realise their growth and potential in the city (Brenner et al., 2012, p. 38). They end up in marginalised neighbourhoods around the city, suffering from stigmatisation and social exclusion (Perolini, 2015). This results in suffering and loss for the disadvantaged communities, the destruction of treasured urban fabric, relationships and social integration networks (Harvey, 2003). The regeneration efforts, whether implemented by the private or public sector therefore remain futile - as the impact is always skewed (Winkler, 2013). The literature on gentrification of neighbourhoods is therefore relevant and important in broadening the understanding of how CIDs are governing and the consequences of those approaches to the community - to eliminate the risks of exclusion of the marginalised.

The CID management bodies however, claim that the excluded inhabitants are a source of crime and grime in the area and urban decay – forgetting about the effects of their destructive capitalists accumulation aspirations (Erwin, 2010). This commotion results in the forced removal of the poor, in the quest for the world class city. Winkler (2013) warns that adopting

the assumption that inner city residents are chaotic diminishes the efforts for inclusion and an opportunity for working with the marginalised communities. Efforts should therefore be made to ensure that the diverse communities feel accommodated in the neighbourhood and in the use of public space. As articulated by Harvey (2003, p. 939), there should be emphasis on the collective power to effect change, to influence the process and decisions of how the cities or neighbourhoods are “made and remade”.

Harvey (2003) stresses that the rights to accessing the city resources and public space are with the political and private economic elites – excluding the ordinary citizens. Driven by capitalists’ aspirations, those with political power use the expropriation powers to effect forcible removals, disguised as civic improvements and upgrades – using socio-spatial zoning as an instrument for exclusion (Harvey, 2003; Florin, 2005; Perolini, 2015). They shape the city as they wish, to accommodate their capital interests. They change the cities and neighbourhoods to places of new order, control of social life and regulations (Uitermark et al., 2012). The city ends up being a place of gated communities, public areas that are privatised and kept under surveillance to manage access to the excluded communities (Harvey, 2003). It is therefore crucial to democratise the city neighbourhoods, giving an opportunity for the urban inhabitants to take an active role in the governance decisions that affects their lives (Harvey, 2003).

The current governance model that is exercised in the management of the CIDs perpetuates high levels of “inequality, distributive justice and cosmopolitanism” (Pieterse, 2005, p. 138). The ideals of belonging, collective ownership and urban identity of the ordinary citizens are threatened (Harvey, 2003). This is in spite of the efforts made by the progressive social movements that seek to overcome the issue of isolation, to create inclusive cities and neighbourhoods (Harvey, 2003; Pieterse, 2005). Florin (2005) attests that the peculiarities between the managed neighbourhoods become explicit, even through the landscapes, the quality of buildings and the manner in which public areas are managed.

2.4.3 Key issues and debates on urban governance through City Improvement Districts

There are three concepts that are highlighted in this section, acknowledging that there is no distinct field of urban governance. These are the public private partnerships in the management of the city, urban exclusion and shareholder democracy.

The advocates of the CIDs models of urban governance view them as an opportunity for the private sector involvement in enhancing and preserving public space, with limited involvement of the local authorities - public private partnership (Peyroux, 2006; Winkler, 2009). This investment-based approach to residential properties management is however, driven by profit-making and the preservation of capital investment (Perolini, 2015; Winkler, 2009).

The antagonists of the CIDs, like Peyroux (2006) and Miraftab (2007, p. 603), however, argue that CIDs are a new form of urban apartheid that shifts urban exclusion from “race to class”. It is however, true that the crime prevention efforts initiated by the CIDs, such as the surveillance of public space and enforcement of more control, result in a safe environment – they are however, seen as a potential source of exclusion and discrimination of the marginal social groupings, such as the homeless, street vendors, sex workers and others who use public space for their survival (Peyroux, 2006). These marginalised social groups depend mainly on the informal sector of the economy to make a living and the surveillance and controls put in place bar them from exercising the right of free trade (Winkler, 2009).

It is argued that CIDs through their governance systems only defend the interests of property management companies and the formal business community. There is a lack of public interest – the CIDs only serve the interests of their founders and funders and their quest for commodified public space (Peyroux, 2006; Didier et al., 2013).

It is therefore imperative to know the extent that the new forms of urban governance are “less democratic and more elite driven” (Peyroux, 2006, p. 12). The critics of the CIDs model argue that their ability to define and control public space is driven by profit-making decisions only and as result, amplify urban spatial and social imbalances and result in the displacement of the working class (Miraftab, 2007; Peyroux, 2006; Winkler, 2009).

Peyroux (2006, p. 12) argues that “shareholders democracy” that is utilised by the CIDs is not ideal for inclusive community development, as the interests of property management companies, businesses, tenants and urban residents in general, are not similar. The urban residents in the poor neighbourhoods of the city are excluded from the processes of making decisions, yet they are affected by those decisions made (Winkler, 2009). It is inevitable that there will always be a conflict of ideas and needs, as the property companies and businesses

that have voting powers in the CIDs might not be from the community, they are just investors (Peyroux, 2006). On the other hand, Swilling and Hajer (2017, p. 7) lobby for the socially inclusive urban governance that will cater for the needs of all stakeholders. Briffault (1999, p. 374) argues that the posture of the CIDs, which is their public and private attributes and their role in urban management is a cause for concern and raises “legal and policy” concerns about their existence.

2.4.4 Themes in Urban Governance

The concepts of urban governance discussed in this section are derived from the literature on CIDs. These serve as the themes that are utilised to analyse governance in the CIDs.

(a) Participation and stakeholder involvement in decision making

Public participation is defined by Glicken (1999) as the “inclusion of interested parties in the making of public decisions” and results in decision makers making informed decisions based on the information that they would not have had without stakeholders input. The right of participation is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and should be upheld all the time. As a result, there is an increasing need for getting public input in the decisions that affect them - decisions by both the public and private sector (Glicken, 1999; Glicken, 2000). Public participation is crucial in the planning stages in order to minimise resistance at the implementation stage and ensuring that the input from the public forms part of the project design implemented (Glicken, 2000). Public participation however, is not a replacement of the “experts knowledge” but an opportunity to use it differently and at the same time, it should acknowledge the different roles played by the decision makers and information providers (Glicken, 2000, p. 306). Glicken (2000, p. 306) adds that public participation should be about “right participation” other than “participation right” – meaning that it should not be about applying the right processes and methods, but about ensuring that the right stakeholders are part of the process. Purcell (2002) argues that the governing structures should promote the involvement of urban inhabitants in all the decisions that impact the making of urban space in their neighbourhoods – either at a government level, private sector or via a multilateral institution.

Glicken (2000, p. 306) shares three public participation models, namely “paternalistic, consensus building and conflict or confrontational models”. In the classic paternalistic model, the government extend the invitation to people deemed relevant to the project, based on the skills and knowledge required, whereas in the “consensus building model”, all affected parties or groups participate through their representatives (Glicken, 2000, p. 306). The conflict or confrontational model is more about the litigation and is the extreme of the public participation models (Glicken, 2000).

The classic participation model (paternalistic model) was only concerned about the involvement of the experts and those responsible for public decisions, which was mainly government (Glicken, 2000). The process was aimed at getting expert knowledge and government approval. The demand for more public involvement resulted in the introduction or acknowledgment of the other two models of public participation to improve decision making. This has resulted in the shift towards the consensual model where all the affected parties participate in the decision making (Glicken, 2000). Glicken (2000) emphasises that it is important to get knowledge from the key stakeholders in the community as they bring experiential knowledge. She defines experiential knowledge as the knowledge brought into the discussion by individuals who may be residents or users, based on their personal experience and or common sense (Glicken, 2000).The involvement of the individuals is mostly through groups of individuals or collection of groups who share common interests (Glicken, 1999; Glicken, 2000).

The third type of knowledge that needs to be considered for public participation is social or political knowledge (Glicken, 2000). It is also referred to as value based knowledge (Glicken, 1999; Glicken, 2000). This type of knowledge derives from social interests and puts social value and the do-good phenomenon at the centre stage (Glicken, 1999; Glicken, 2000). The inclusion of this model in the public participation process requires informed stakeholder identification and participation (Glicken, 2000). Glicken (2000) further emphasises that the public participation process needs to be treated seriously as the stakeholders are likely to not fully participate or reject the outcome of the public participation process if they are not taken into consideration or they feel that the consultation process in not genuine, decisions have been made already – they are just there to validate the process. Glicken (1999) adds that participants must feel valued and that their input makes a difference or is valuable in the decision making process. Excluding the key stakeholders (or groups) from the process when

the project is crafted may lead to resentment and resistance of the outcome (Glicken, 2000). Purcell (2002) however argues that excluding the city inhabitants from the decisions that shape the city disempowers them. Glicken (1999) emphasises that key stakeholders must be incorporated in the process from the inception. Iracheta (2014) is however of the view that the reason the marginalised communities are ousted or excluded from the processes that create urban space, is that the space has been commodified through the urban governance processes. Government places great emphasis on the economic competitiveness of the cities, in line with neoliberal restructuring and global competitiveness – and as a result, neglects the interests of the marginalised urban inhabitants (Purcell, 2002).

As in the CIDs case, Purcell (2002) argues that the governing decisions are made by the actors who are not even accountable to the residents of the city. They take decisions that are merely driven by capital accumulation (Purcell, 2002). In so doing, they exclude the inhabitants of the city in making decisions that shape their city and their daily lives. Harvey (2003) adds that the homeowners' associations (urban management model similar to CIDs) tend to become defenders of property values, thus becoming autocratic neighbourhoods, only carrying the capitalists' interests or the interests of those in power and neglecting the disadvantaged and marginalised communities. Government has a responsibility and authority to make and shape the city and manage the private sector involvement in urban governance matters in order to promote inclusive decision making through urban policy (Purcell, 2002).

Based on the discussion above, a comprehensive public participation process should consider the knowledge from the experts, experimental knowledge derived from individuals or users (based on their experience) and social or political knowledge (value-based) based on their social interests. Proper public participation processes create mutual understanding and compliance and provide valuable input necessary for making the decision whereas a flawed process has a potential to create conflict amongst stakeholders and resistance to the project (Glicken, 1999). Glicken (1999) stresses that it is important to note that despite following the processes outlined above, there might be stakeholders who will be disgruntled about the final outcome however, a transparent and properly managed process will give the decision makers enough ammunition to defend the decision taken, regardless of the critics.

(b) Access to public space

In understanding public space, Carmona (2015, p. 394) believes that it is important to note that public space nowadays can longer be seen as "straightforwardly either open and public or closed and private", but there are a lot of complex and contradicting opinions of what it ought to be. It is understood that public space is shaped through collaboration of various actors that are, as described by Carmona (2015, p. 394), "public, pseudo-private and private" – each coming with their own complex interests on the same space.

Public spaces are potential areas for "community revitalisation and participatory local government" (Carmona, 2015, p. 373). Carmona (2015, p. 373) is of the view that the challenges around the privatisation of public space are as a result of the state distancing itself from the public space management, leaving an opportunity for the private sector to take centre stage, which leads to the privatisation of public space.

In response to crime, many cities, like Johannesburg and Pretoria, have resorted to enclosed neighbourhoods with controlled access - some with permission and some without any permission from the local municipality (Landman, 2006). Closed neighbourhoods contribute towards privatisation of public space, including access to facilities and opportunities presented by the space in question - since public access is restricted (Landman, 2006). In this form of managing public space, unwanted people are not allowed access in these neighbourhoods or have to produce some identity in order to gain access – this poses a question or concern on the use of public space (Landman, 2006). This contributes negatively towards the quality of life of those affected (Landman, 2006) and make public space "less public" (Carmona, 2015, p. 393).

This happens despite the fact that public space in the neighbourhood stays as the public asset even though it is not accessible (Landman, 2006). This however raises a question of ownership and control of that public space, whether it remains the local municipality or residents or the CID (Landman, 2006). There has been criticism around the manner public space is designed, developed and managed – citing that the approach has created "exclusionary space" (Carmona, 2015, p. 374).

Madanipour (2004) adds that public spaces are prone to competition of stakeholders as everyone wants to dominate and take control over space. This view is supported by Carmona (2015, p. 376) in that “public” in public space does not necessarily mean there is a united front – it is different people from different walks of life, with different socio-economic standing and cultural backgrounds and their views need to be taken into consideration. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the responsibilities and rights on the use of space are paramount rather than who manages the space (Carmona, 2015). It is about “how, not who” (Carmona, 2015, p. 400). Purcell (2002) emphasises that the primary consideration must be the use value of the urban space, when making the decisions that produce urban space.

The antagonists of CIDs models of urban governance stand against the use of the urban space as a commodity and private property and they call for the right of appropriation of public space (Purcell, 2002). The enclosures are viewed as privatising public space and transfer of ownership and use to the private entities (Landman, 2006). Walter (2016) further argues that in order to break the chain of exclusion and commodification of public space, there is a need to understand processes around the creation and reproduction of urban space so that necessary measures can be applied to curb the spiralling of the exclusionary approach to urban governance. Carmona (2015) however, clarifies that the urban design process evolves and over a period of time, the new processes will be developed, replacing the existing ones. It is equally important therefore to identify gaps in the current processes in order to influence the future ones.

Gebhardt (2014) suggests that comprehensive and inclusive neighbourhood development programmes will level the ground in the fight against segregation of the disadvantaged inhabitants – from the upgrade of public space to community development or social work services. There is therefore a great need to remove the barriers to inclusive neighbourhood development programmes in the cities, such as urban segregation (based on income and race), in order to realise the potential of cities as the instruments of economic and social development (Feitosa et al., 2011). Gebhardt (2014) further argues that neighbourhoods have the capability of strengthening the inhabitants’ quality of life, sense of belonging and social relations.

Whether intentional or unintended, Landman (2006, p. 141) argues that enclosures leads to a neighbourhood of “us” and “them” or “insiders” and “outsiders”. Carmona (2015) argues that

exclusionary space is rarely intentional - it comes about as a result of the varying needs of the fragmented society. The situation can however be exacerbated by improper public space management practices (Carmona, 2015).

(c) Common interest

Carmona (2015) describes common interest as the mutual or collective action of the private sector, public sector and community in the management and governance of the CID. CIDs often want to advance a vision that is not similar to what other community members may seek (Briffault, 1999). As articulated by Carmona (2015, p. 395), public space users, irrespective of who they are, seek “clean, vibrant environments”, where they can feel safe and secure. If this indeed is the expectation of all the users of public space – there should be a consensus on who has to clean the public space and make it safe. Carmona (2015) further adds that in London, the state wanted well-managed public spaces but there was no will to commit resources to manage such spaces. This clearly leaves a gap and the BIDs/CIDs see this as an opportunity and they fill the gap.

The community should be involved in making and shaping their neighbourhood and thus create a “sense of ownership in the community” and enhance aspirations for common action (Madanipour, 2004, p. 282). The CIDs and local authorities, unfortunately, often see the informal socio-economic activities of other urban residents as undesirable in the neighbourhoods that they manage and a barrier towards achieving clean neighbourhoods (Winkler, 2009). As a consequence, the local authorities shift the local policies focus towards driving the marginalised away from these managed areas through the “displacement mechanisms”, to “peripheral locations where they are less of an eyesore and a threat to the City’s renewal process” (Winkler, 2009, p. 364). Neighbourhood governance ought to improve collaboration with stakeholders from the private sector, public sector and community (Madanipour, 2004).

There is a dire need for an “equitable, just and resident inclusive” strategy towards urban governance and the regeneration efforts of the city (Winkler, 2009, p. 365). Peyroux (2006) is also of the view that there is a need to redefine the decision-making processes of the local authorities and CIDs to ensure that there is common

interest in the municipal programmes to ensure that the public interest is taken into consideration in urban space management issues.

2.5 Conclusion to literature review

The literature reviewed showed that the decline in the services provided by municipalities is the result of the formation of the private entities like CIDs/BIDs that undertake the responsibility of ensuring that public space is safe and clean (Briffault, 1999). The CIDs have been applauded for the positive contribution towards creating safe and clean neighbourhood within their boundaries.

On the other hand, the literature highlighted a challenge of the lack of inclusivity in the governance of the CIDs and ensuring that there is a common action in addressing the issues within the CID. It stressed the need for the governing structures of the CIDs to ensure full representation and that the decisions taken should consider the interests of other actors in the CID. The public participation models were highlighted as a guide to a comprehensive participation process and the types of knowledge derived from each stakeholder. It is therefore imperative for the property management companies to work closely with all the identified stakeholders, to ensure that everyone benefits from the initiatives and that public space is not commodified. Multi-stakeholder coalitions are key in developing and sustaining an inclusive neighbourhood.

The local authority has a responsibility to the city inhabitants to promote inclusion, equal rights and powers in the CIDs areas of operation and the City in general (Perolini, 2015) and to refocus the thinking towards all the decisions made around the production of urban space (Purcell, 2002). The local authority has a responsibility to enforce its constitutional mandate of urban governance and equitable provision of local government services to the city residents.

Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city is "a call for a radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations, both in the city and beyond" (Purcell, 2002, p. 101). It is about shifting the power from the state and the capital towards the city inhabitants – it is a right to urban life. As articulated by Harvey (2003, p. 939), the emphasis of urban governance should be enhancing collective power to effect change, to influence the process and decisions of how the cities are "made and remade".

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework utilised in the research has three main components: participation in decision making, access to public space and common interest.

Thematic Construct	Author	Purpose	Summary of units of measure within constructs	Question Description
Participation and stakeholder involvement in decision making	Hendriks (2013, p. 7) Winkler (2009) Uitermark et al. (2012) Brenner et al., (2012, p. 39).	To critically assess whether there is equal participation of all urban inhabitants in making decisions.	The literature highlighted that the urban residents in the poor neighbourhoods of the city are excluded from the processes of making decisions, yet they are affected by those decisions made. It further highlighted a need for participation of all stakeholders in making decisions in a democratic manner.	Do you have platforms where the voice of the residents and other stakeholders is promoted in the decision making? If yes, how does it work? From your perspective, to what extent are residents included in your CID?
Access to public space	Purcell (2002) Harvey (2003)	To critically examine the extent to which urban governing structures (CIDs)	The literature highlighted that governing systems put in place by homeowners' associations or CIDs tend to become defenders of property values, thus becoming	Which urban space management systems do you have in place in your neighbourhood?

	Perolini (2015) Uitermark et al. (2012)	use the urban space as a commodity and private property – limiting access of other the city inhabitants.	autocratic neighbourhoods, only carrying the capitalists' interests or of those in power. The city ends up being a place of gated communities, public areas that are privatised and kept under surveillance to manage access of the excluded communities. The right of residents to have access to urban space is, as a result, compromised.	In your view, to what extent do your initiatives promote the sense of belonging, social relations and access of public space of all the inhabitants in your neighbourhood? How do you deal with access to public space by the marginalised groups, e.g. street traders, the homeless, sex workers, etc.? Based on your answer above, in your view, how does the existing systems affect their access to the public space?

Common interest	Purcell (2002) Peyroux (2006, p. 12) Winkler (2009)	To critically examine the extent to which urban inhabitants have the ability to represent their needs, interests, and ideas in the neighbourhood governing structures.	The literature highlighted that it is imperative to know the level at which the new forms of urban governance are “less democratic and more elite driven” (Peyroux, 2006, p. 12). It further highlighted that there is a lack of common interest in the governance and management of the CIDs. The CIDs and local authorities, unfortunately, see the informal socio-economic activities of the marginalised urban residents as undesirable and a barrier towards achieving clean neighbourhoods and the vision of a world class African city.	Do you think there is common interest in the initiatives that are implemented by your CID? If yes or no, why do you say so?

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the research methodology that was utilised in this study. This includes the design, sampling and data collection, data analysis, validity and ethical considerations. The research is a qualitative study using document analysis and focus group interviews to collect data. The purposeful non-probability sampling method was utilised to identify research participants. Data analysis followed the process of data collection, transcribing, coding and analysis of data. Also included in this chapter are the validity and ethical considerations.

3.2 Aim of the Research

This qualitative research was aimed at critically analysing inclusivity issues in how public space is governed by the CIDs in the inner-city of Johannesburg.

3.3 Research Design

The research design was a qualitative study of governance and management of the CIDs in the inner-city of Johannesburg. A document analysis approach was employed to analyse relevant documents that are available in the public domain, media reports, interviews and archival material and reports on previous studies, in order to establish the argument. The specific reports and documents that were utilised for the analysis are the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID publication (insert from Inner-city Gazette); *Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID projects and upgrades of existing buildings* published by Savage and Dodd Architects; *Regenerating a neighbourhood: lessons learnt from Ekhaya case study* published by the Housing Development Agency and *Ekhaya presentation* published by the CID Forum. These documents were found on the CID Forum website under the Gauteng tab, Region F, Ekhaya Neighbourhood.

In addition, the researcher used the previous research on the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID that was conducted by Gauteng City Region Observatory, authored by Mkhize and Mosselson (2019), entitled *Conceiving, producing and managing neighbourhoods* to get contextual

background on Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. Meyer and Auriacombe (2019, p. 3) add that document analysis is “unobtrusive and therefore it eliminates the potential bias from interaction and promotes contextual and conceptual investigation”. Using this approach helped the researcher to ensure that the research and analysis are objective since the researcher had exposure to some neighbourhood development initiatives and that might have created some subjectivity. The researcher is a member of the Board of Directors in one of the CIDs in Hillbrow, deployed by his employer, Johannesburg Housing Company, which is one of the founders of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

The researcher further conducted a focus group discussion, where the semi-structured questions were used to collect primary data that was used for triangulation. Chilisa and Kawulich (2012) affirm that the semi-structured interview allows for flexibility in probing, changing the sequence and adding questions to accommodate the participants and the issues that may arise. The semi-structured interviews had open-ended questions in order to guide the discussion and to ensure consistency in questions that were asked, also allowing participants to voice their opinions openly and provided some flexibility for the researcher to probe further, where necessary, to get detailed perspectives from participants. This view is confirmed by Perolini (2015, p. 69) in that personal and focus group interviews are acceptable as a form of conducting research in the social sciences.

The researcher used the interpretivist paradigm as the ontological assumption. This means that the research is based on the researcher’s interpretation of meanings. This was informed by the belief of Chilisa and Kawulich (2012) that the reality is a social construct and it is dependent on the mind of each and every individual – it is therefore a personal or social construct. As articulated by Denicolo and Becker (2012), the interpretive research has a central assumption that suggests that research participants will hold different views on the research subject that will be identified in interacting with them.

3.4 Data

3.4.1 Sampling and data collection

The researcher used a purposeful non-probability sampling method due to the fact that there were identifiable participants who are involved in the governance and management of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. Laher and Botha (2012) articulate that in this type of sampling, the researcher depends on his or her experience and capability to find research participants who are willing and able to provide the required information. The researcher used his experience and existing network to identify the research participants. The researcher is employed by the property management company that is a member of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

The requirement for probability sampling is that everyone in the sample population must have an equal opportunity to be sampled; it was therefore not feasible for this type of research as the researcher wanted to get the input of specific people (Urban Manager/Co-ordinator, board members, building managers and representatives of the housing companies) who are involved in the governance and management of CIDs in Hillbrow. In the chosen sampling method (non-probability sampling), participants are chosen based on their availability, expertise and will to take part in the research (Laher & Botha 2012).

Laher and Botha (2012) define the sampling frame as a list of people or individuals who, when combined, make up the population of a research. In this research, the sample population comprised people who are responsible for the governance and management of the CIDs in Hillbrow, specifically Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Laher and Botha (2012) advise that due to the intensity and depth of qualitative research, the sample size tends to be small. Since the research conducted was qualitative and required in-depth interviews, the researcher conducted one focus group comprising four participants. This was in addition to the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID document analysis. One participant from the company that provide security services in the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID was invited and confirmed attendance, he however called a few minutes before the interview, advising the researcher that he might join the focus group later due to the operation that they were conducting in the area with SAPS and JMPD. He however, ended up not coming as the operation was delayed.

The research sample comprised the purposefully identified Co-ordinator of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, building managers/supervisors and a board member. The identified precinct was Hillbrow. The focus group interview participants were requested to read and sign an informed consent form and were assured confidentiality, before partaking in the research.

The focus group interview was recorded using a digital recorder and the length of the focus group interview was one hour and 14 minutes, as compared to the estimated time of 30 to 45 minutes. This was a result of the depth of the discussion and the level of knowledge that the participants wanted to share with the researcher on how Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID management structures operate. The focus group interview was conducted in a conversational style with open-ended questions. Data collected was safely stored in a computer that is password protected and notes were kept in a lockable cupboard to ensure confidentiality.

3.4.2 Interview Schedule

The design of the interview schedule that was used in the focus group was based on the three themes that were explored on urban governance literature. These themes are stakeholder involvement in decision making, access to public space, and common interest.

The focus group interview commenced with a broad question that was still relevant to the study but aimed at easing the tension in the venue and getting participants to open up and become engaged about their role in the CID. The interview questions centred on the themes, in order to get a detailed perspective of the participants as experts and key players in the management and governing structures of the CIDs. The last question of the interview required participants to give more input on CID management, with a view of covering other crucial areas that the researcher might have missed. The participants were Ekhaya Neighbourhood Co-ordinator, two building managers and Ekhaya Neighbourhood board member.

3.4.3 Data Analysis

As articulated by Bryant and Charmaz (2011), the processes that were involved in this study were collection, transcribing, coding, and analysis of data. After data collection, the researcher listened to the recorded interviews, wrote transcripts, coded data collected and analysed it using the themes that arose in the focus group interview. In addition to the focus group interview, the researcher used additional data from documents on the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID that are available in the public domain, namely, media reports, interviews and archival material, reports on previous studies that have been conducted on Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

The researcher used connections between the themes and categories to interpret the views from the focus group discussion and to search for the conception of meanings on what the CIDs intend to do and what they do on the ground and to prepare final presentation of the research results.

The researcher further used thematic analysis to analyse the themes that came from the conceptual framework and to analyse the research findings as the first pass analysis. During the conceptualisation of this research, it was anticipated that the themes would be centralised management, participation, equal rights, safety and cleanliness and collective power. The themes that came from the research findings are however, safe and clean neighbourhood, community participation, access to public space, common interest and decision making. These themes are discussed in detail under the discussion of findings section. They are discussed in conjunction with the themes from the conceptual framework which are participation in decision making, access to public space, and common interest.

3.5 Validity

In the interpretive study, reliability is not a key factor since the researcher and participants shape the factors emerging from the interviews but, as in the positivist method, accuracy is pursued through verification of findings or triangulation of methods from “one perspective (for example, from a technique such as interview) are compared with data from one or more other methods (say, from observation and questionnaire)” (Denicolo & Becker, 2012, p. 67).

In this type of research, a search for authenticity takes centre stage, the appreciation of correctness to the participants' context, place and time, replacing concern for validity (Denicolo & Becker, 2012). The researcher used the focus group interview to validate the data received from the document analysis.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The researcher sought ethical clearance to conduct the research from the Wits School of Governance's ethics committee before proceeding with the research. After receiving ethics clearance from the school, the researcher extended the invitation to participate in the research to people involved in the governance and management of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. The invitation to participate in the research was accompanied by a participation letter that stipulated the purpose of the research and that participants were under no obligation to participate and might opt out at any time. The researcher further requested and acquired the permission from the Johannesburg Housing Company (researcher's employer and one of the founding members of Ekhaya Neighbourhood) to interview some staff members who are involved in the CID management as part of the focus group.

The participants were further advised during the interview that their participation in the research was voluntary and they could choose to opt out at any time and that their identity would never be disclosed and information gathered would be treated with confidentiality - only research findings would be published. The researcher utilised codes like R1, R2, etc. to refer to the interviewees.

Participants were further advised to give consent to proceed with the research by signing the consent form (Appendix 2). This information was further recorded on the audio recorder. The invitation included the contact details of the person responsible for ethics at the University of Witwatersrand and the researcher's Supervisor, in case the participants needed more information or to report any irregularities concerning the research or breach of the ethics code.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The research was based on a qualitative methodology. To carry out this research, the researcher relied on the analysis of the material that has been published by Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID and on Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID by other institutions, namely, the Housing Development Agency (HDA), CID Forum, Savage and Dodd Architects, between 2004 and 2019 and previous research conducted on Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. The researcher ensured that the material that was analysed for this research is publicly available, not exclusive to members only. In addition to document analysis, the researcher conducted a focus group interview with people involved in the management and governing of Ekhaya, for triangulation. The documents that were reviewed for the purpose of this research are the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID publication (insert from Inner-city Gazette); *Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID projects and upgrades of existing buildings* published by Savage and Dodd Architects; *Regenerating a neighbourhood: lessons learnt from Ekhaya case study* published by the Housing Development Agency and *Ekhaya presentation* published by the CID Forum.

The findings are presented as per data sources. The first section looks at the findings from the document analysis and the second section looks at the findings from the focus group interview. These findings are further analysed in relation to the theory within the forthcoming chapter, chapter five, in line with the main purpose of this study which is to critically analyse inclusivity issues in how public space is governed by the CIDs in the inner-city of Johannesburg.

The findings of the research are based on the common themes that were identified in the document analysis and the focus group interview. The themes that are discussed in detail below are participation in decision making, access to public space, and common interest.

4.2 Presentation of document analysis findings

The findings in this section are based on the analysis of the documents that were published by and on the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, as highlighted above.

4.2.1 Findings on participation in decision making

The findings on participation and decision making were that the primary decision makers in the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID are the property management companies that have a vested interest of protecting their investment, the local government as a partner, other than as a leader of the CID activities. The two quotes below illustrate this view:

> eKhaya set out to organise property owners, their housing managers and caretakers and residents to co-operate between themselves to create and maintain a safe, clean, healthy and well managed environment, for the benefit of the people who live and/or work in the area, the property owners, and all in the city (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012, p. 2).

> [To] establish an investment node which attracts and protects the social investment of private and public investors (Innercity Gazette, 2016, p. 5)

Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID management control lies with the neighbourhood co-ordinator who then engages and maintains relationships with city agencies, local government, service providers (including the company that provides surveillance and security services) on urban management issues. The neighbourhood co-ordinator is supported by the building managers/supervisors and attends to urban management issues. These two quotes illustrate this view:

> She has worked since 2004, with support from property owners and their managements, residents and the City (Innercity Gazette, 2016, p. 1).

> She manages the non-profit association of property owners of residential buildings in Hillbrow […] Her meetings/walkabouts with housing supervisors and city officials identify challenges in the area which are taken to and followed up in Ekhaya's Board of Management and the Region F Visible Service Delivery meetings (Innercity Gazette, 2016, p. 2).

The Housing Development Agency (2012), however, mentions that CBOs and NGOs are encouraged to participate in the CID. There is, however, no mention of the residents, other

community members and informal traders in the Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID management processes or systems in place for them to participate in the management structures. The Housing Development Agency (2012) highlights this view below:

> From its inception CBOs and NGOs in the area were welcomed to participate in eKhaya's activities. Two were involved from the inception and a number of additional ones have now joined. Each has participated in one or more of the projects in the area, as key drivers, sponsors and co-organisers (Housing Development Agency, 2012, p. 8).

Savage and Dodd Architects (2012, p. 2) highlight that property management companies also represent the interests of their tenants by facilitating public space upgrades and urban governance in addition to protecting their investments and that that this has resulted in "people driven changes". The quote below illustrates this view:

> The first manifestations of the eKhaya project were not always focused on the physical environment, but slowly the process of building urban governance, has resulted in people driven changes to the environment, from the carving out of public space and play areas from the streets to the reclamation of urban open space (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012, p. 2).

Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID utilises a clustering format to facilitate the management of public space. In this format, property management companies are able to pool their resources in order to take over control of public space. Likewise, Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID boundaries are defined by the dominance of property management companies that are members.

> The neighbourhood has been extended and impact of the eKhaya programme have grown. It now covers 16 blocks, between Smit and Kapteijn Streets, Claim and Klein Streets, and incorporates additional clusters of adjacent residential buildings (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012, p. 3).

From Savage and Dodd Architects' (2012) perspective, the decision made by property management companies on whether the recycled building project is viable, is informed by what is possible in the area to make it socially sustainable. The possibility of a managed urban

space through the CID is one of the opportunities that presented itself to the property management companies. The quote below from Savage and Dodd Architects (2012) illustrates this:

> Each building that is recycled poses its own challenges. Most buildings were in a severe state of decay. In recycling a building, certain key questions were posed as to whether it was sustainable in its current configuration, how it would contribute to the housing stock of the company and what other functions could feasibly be included to make the project socially sustainable. Within a series of buildings, all located along Pietersen Street, a variety of challenges were addressed, from converting an existing residential hotel into rooms with shared facilities – a sought after typology to rehabilitating an iconic 1950's Modernist building. The key sustainable concepts were recycling and repurposing buildings (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012, p. 1).

4.2.2 Findings on access to public space

Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID (2019) highlights informal trading in public space and mechanics, as problems that need to be addressed through by-law enforcement. The formal position to exclude informal trading in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is one indicator of active exclusion. This comes from the desire of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID to have a safe, clean and regulated neighbourhood. The quote below highlights Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID concerns, as captured in the Ekhaya presentation:

> Non-enforcement of by-laws by City (fixing cars and taxis on pavements, in front of driveways and in streets, taxi holding, pavement trading) (Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, 2019, p. 4).

In addition, Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID has deployed security guards and CCTV cameras to monitor strategic points that are deemed as risky (Innercity Gazette, 2016). The quote below highlights this view:

> Indeed, the guards are a common sight around the neighbourhood, manning strategic points such as corners and passage-ways (Innercity Gazette, 2016, p. 4).

The Innercity Gazette (2016) highlights that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID perceive its developmental approach to be benefiting the community living in the area and using public space. The quote below from Innercity Gazette (2016) illustrates this:

> Things are going well in eKhaya Neighbourhood, the recognition by residents in Ekhaya member's buildings of the value to them of eKhaya Neighbourhood CID in supporting them to make stable lives for themselves and their families in Hillbrow (Innercity Gazette, 2016, p. 5).

4.2.3 Findings on common interest

The driving force behind Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, from its inception, has been making improvements that will help reverse the decline of the area and create a safe and hospitable neighbourhood. The Housing Development Agency (2012) highlighted that despite these being progressive social goals, they are arguably in favour of the commercial interests of property management companies to protect their investment and have a potential to push out low income earners who cannot afford increased rentals. The quote below illustrates this:

> Where regeneration happens in a rundown area property values start increasing and expectations on returns on these values push up the cost of residential opportunities in the area. Without specific subsidy mechanisms in place there is danger that over time such successful regeneration will force existing lower income households out of the area and make it unaffordable for new low-income households to move into the area (Housing Development Agency, 2012, p. 11).

The common interest factor is only limited to property management companies, who have a common interest in protecting their investment and they have been successful in doing so through Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012). The quote below from Savage and Dodd Architects (2012) illustrates this view:

> An extensive mapping process was undertaken locating all the buildings – 'good' and 'bad' and public amenities in the vicinity. This formed the basis for discussions

> concerning common interests with neighbourhood property owners (Savage and Dodd Architects, 2012, p. 2).

One property owner was quoted by the Housing Development Agency (2012), claiming that the neighbourhood organiser has made him rich by facilitating the establishment of the CID. The critiques are that the programme is actually about enriching the property owners and limits opportunities for participation of other players in the community. The quote below from the Housing Development Agency (2012) illustrates this:

> At this stage one new eKhaya member property owner told the eKhaya organiser 'You have made me rich'. He was referring to the success of the programme in regenerating the area to such an extent that existing investments were not only protected and increased in value but that the area had become desirable for paying tenants (Housing Development Agency, 2012, p. 8).

4.3 Presentation of focus group findings

In this section, the focus group findings are presented in line with the research questions. They are presented thematically using the research themes which are participation in decision making, access to public space, and common interest.

The findings that are discussed in this section are based on the information that the researcher received from the focus group interview. The information received was coded (using descriptive codes) into themes. These themes are utilised to analyse the responses of the research participants. In addition to recorded information that was transcribed into transcripts, the researcher took notes on observations, based on body language, and tensions or agreements between the participants when responding to questions. The findings presented in this chapter are discussed in the next chapter, relating them to the conceptual framework.

Introducing the research participants

The research participants were the Ekhaya Neighbourhood Co-ordinator (Co-ordinator), housing managers/supervisors and Ekhaya Neighbourhood board member. The Co-ordinator is responsible for co-ordinating stakeholder meetings, property owners and board meetings, housing managers meetings, social events meetings and other network meeting with the SAPS, security, cleaners and all matters that are related to the CID. The housing managers/supervisors manage the buildings of the property management companies that are members of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. They are a line of contact between the CID and tenants. They ensure that their tenants' needs of security and living in a clean and safe environment are taken care of. They report any service issues to the Co-ordinator. The board member(s) are responsible for providing strategic direction in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. They are also tasked with the function of getting more property owners to participate and are accountable to the other property owners since they contribute levies to sustain the CID activities. They have a responsibility to ensure that all property owners are represented in the daily activities of the association, although most of the activities are being done by the Co-ordinator. They further oversee what the Co-ordinator does. The representative from the security company could not attend due to an operation with SAPS and JMPD that was conducted on that day in the area.

As an introduction to the focus group interview session, the researcher requested participants to share their understanding of the purpose of establishing their CID. The respondents highlighted that property owners had a vision of creating a safe and clean environment where their tenants could feel safe, in order for their businesses to flourish. The respondents highlighted that property owners had to find a solution for making their businesses work as there was an opportunity for good business in Hillbrow. The response from one of the participants is quoted below:

> It is a strategy to make their businesses work. So they had to come together [...] the first landlords who identified the good opportunity of doing business in Hillbrow. They came together to form this neighbourhood (R1 interview 2020).

They all had personal interests of making their businesses work through attracting and retaining tenants. Hillbrow was a 'no-go' area and underserviced by the City of Johannesburg; they then realised that they had to find a solution. It started with two property owners and they then recruited others to form the neighbourhood association. They wanted to know each other and work towards a common interest of creating a safe and clean neighbourhood around their buildings. The quote below illustrates this view:

> So, when Johannesburg Housing Company and Trafalgar realised that this was a good space to use, they had to start forming what they called Ekhaya Neighbourhood, meaning that they wanted to know each other, know everyone who is operating around their buildings […] to push their interest (R1 interview 2020).

4.3.1 Findings on participation in decision making

There was no outright answer from participants on participation in decision making, the real decision makers in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID and their role. Some of the respondents mentioned that the community is indirectly the decision makers. This was based on the fact that if they decide that they are not going to take part or take accommodation in the buildings, the CID activities will not be a success. They further stated that because property owners do

not stay in these buildings, so the tenants are the decision makers. These two quotes from the participants illustrate this view:

> I think, it is the community because *thina* [we] can seat here and decide that this is what we want to do, we want, uhmm, a clean and safe environment in our community but if they decide that we are not going to take part, we are not interested, so, I think they are the decision makers in that (R4 interview 2020).

> I would support your statement and say it is the community – the people that live in it [CID], because they are the ones that know the challenges, they are there day in day out. So, they are the ones that must decide what they want. And they've got influence to change the conditions in order to be accommodated (R2 interview 2020).

On the other hand, some respondents felt that, it is the people on top that are the real decision makers and that the community is looking upon business people in the CID. The community always follow, they look up for the property management companies to start something and then the community come and fit in themselves. The property owners, through the board of directors, are the ones that drive the vision and fund it in order for it to be realised. It was highlighted that the fact that property management companies make monthly contributions towards the success of the neighbourhood – they are the real decision makers. Some of the comments made by the participants in this regard are quoted below:

> The community is looking upon business people in that area. They always follow, they look up for you to start something and then they come and fit in themselves (R1 interview 2020).

> The property owners driving [e] that [the] vision […] and decision making (R1 interview 2020).

> I think it will be the directors […] one we wouldn't sustain the neighbourhood without funds. So the fact that they are contributing towards the success of the neighbourhood, monthly they contribute towards the activities (R4 interview 2020).

On the question of whether residents and other stakeholders have platforms where their voice is promoted in the decision making, the respondents spoke about some platform that is outside the control of the CID. They spoke about the police forum meetings where residents can raise their voice about what is happening on the street, especially criminal activities and hotspots. The housing managers/supervisors and the security company learn about other issues of concern in the Hillbrow area through this forum and develop mechanisms to respond or prevent occurrence in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. One participant is quoted saying:

> We go to the police forum meetings, it is where the people can raise their voice about what is happening on the street, like who mug the people and where (R3 interview 2020).

The participants also mentioned the housing managers/supervisors meetings as another platform where the voice of the residents is amplified. They highlighted that the housing managers/supervisors are the mouthpiece of their tenants and are the ones that are working on the ground with the tenants and community on a daily basis. So, they are able to report those issues through the housing managers/supervisors meetings and issues get attended to. The response from one participant is quoted below:

> Another platform that we used that helped was the housing managers meeting […] because the housing supervisors are the mouth of their tenants. So, they are able to report those issues through that forum and issues get attended to because they will be in that list (R4 interview 2020).

4.3.2 Findings on access to public space

In terms of access to public space and urban space management systems that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID has, the respondents highlighted that the CID has installed 13 CCTV cameras that are monitored 24/7. The CCTV control room personnel monitor movement in the streets and they deploy the security guards quickly if there is an incident. The CCTV cameras assist in identifying hotspots so that the street based security guards can be deployed there. The security guards and CCTV control room personnel also use the WhatsApp group to inform members of the criminal activities and vice versa. Two participants'

responses are quoted below, where they highlight the systems that are used by Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID to manage public space:

> We started […] by putting 2 cameras but now we have 13 [...] we've got a CCTV control room whereby all the cameras are managed in one place, looking at the hotspots 24/7 (R1 interview 2020).

> If you see something suspicious there is a WhatsApp group whereby you can take a picture or whatever, you report it and get assistance there and there you can get assistance (R2 interview 2020).

They further highlighted that the security guards man the area, watching the tenants' movement, workers and school children and they work hand-in-hand with the police. When the CID grows, they add more street based security guards to monitor movement, block by block. Every month, the security company gives the CID a report on the incidences and advise on areas that need attention, either by deploying security guards or installing CCTV cameras. The quotation below illustrates this view:

> The security guards […] are manning the tenants' movement, tenants, workers and school children [–] they are working hand in hand with the police. They have radios whereby if they pick up anything then they can call the police to come and help them (R1 interview 2020).

The success of this operation further relies on the partnership with the City of Johannesburg agencies, for example, if there are trees that are blocking the view of the CCTV cameras, a call is logged with City Parks and they come and cut those trees. The response from one participant is quoted below:

> I have seen in these WhatsApp groups, sometimes the CCTV cameras will be having challenges with getting footage because there is a tree that is blocking somewhere somehow. Without that partnership it wouldn't work. Because of the partnership we are able to log a call with whoever like city parks, to come and assist by cutting those trees. Within few days that will be sorted (R4 interview 2020).

In addition, in terms of ensuring cleanliness, Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID appointed cleaners to provide supplementary cleaning services in the area. The cleaners use the WhatsApp group to communicate with the housing managers/supervisors and the Co-ordinator, updating them on the areas that have been cleaned, taking before and after pictures. The housing managers/supervisors also can report areas that need cleaning through the same platform. All participants were in agreement with the response quoted below:

> If you check on our WhatsApp group, the cleaners update us on what they are doing, taking before and after pictures of the areas that they are cleaning (R2 interview 2020).

On the question of whether the urban management systems that are currently in place promote a sense of belonging and access to public space for all urban inhabitants, the respondents felt that the evidence of a sense of belonging is the length of stay and participation by people staying in the CID from the different buildings that are managed by the member property management companies. There are tenants that have lived in the member buildings longer than before. Some came with one child and they now have four. Even if they move out from one building, they will still move within the same neighbourhood. They will not move outside the neighbourhood because they have identified this Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID area as the best place to live in. All participants were in agreement, these two quotes illustrate their viewpoint:

> I think from the evidence of people staying around here from the different building organisations. They've got tenants that have lived in those buildings longer than before. You find that there is a couple that moved-in with one child staying in a particular building […] over years they are now 3 or 4. Which means that they have spent longer time in that building (R1 interview 2020).

> The profits are being observed and recorded through the longer staying tenants. Even if they move, they will move within the same geographical area, they won't move outside because they have identified this Ekhaya Neighbourhood as their best place to live. They can only change on probably from one member of Ekhaya to another member of Ekhaya, but they are still within the same area (R1 interview 2020).

In addition, the participants highlighted that members fully participate in five annual events that are hosted by the CID. In those events, they usually host about 200 plus children who will be attending a tournament, with about 20 to 30 teams. This means that parents also trust the space, since they can let their children go and participate in the CID activities. Parents also participate in the cleaning campaigns, like *Aresebetseng.* The initiative was championed by the City of Johannesburg, encouraging residents to clean their own space. Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID mobilises tenants from the member buildings to take part. The participants felt that if people are able to participate in such community events, it means they belong, they are part of that community because they also want to make a difference. These two quotes illustrate it:

> To show that people are part of this […] they are able to participate in community events, it means they belong, they are part of that community because they also want to make a difference. There are a number of projects, I think it started with *Aresebetseng*, if you see community people on a Saturday going out, cleaning the streets, ward councillors joining them, it means I belong, I want to see a better space (R4 interview 2020).

> You see that through the events that we do. In Ekhaya we have 5 events per year, 6 with the additional tea meetings for the pensioners. In those events, we usually host about 200 plus kids who will be attending a tournament, with about 20 to 30 teams. Which means the parents also have trusted the space, because you cannot just let your child to go and participate in a space where you don't trust (R1 interview 2020).

On the question of how they deal with the issue of access to public spaces by the marginalised groups, for example, street traders, the homeless, sex workers, etc., it transpired that they apply different levels of tolerance depending on the type of the marginalised grouping. For example, with street traders, the respondents emphasised education. They highlighted that the street traders are educated to look after the space that they are using and keep it clean. They however, mentioned that the people that put the tables on the street corners are breaking the by-laws and that the CID allows JMPD to enforce those by-laws. The other view was that there are conflicting feelings when they have to deal with the street traders, one being that the street trader in question is trying to make a living by selling on the street, on the other hand, they have to address the concerns of tenants who are complaining about

being inconvenienced by the very same street trader. The three quotes below illustrate these views:

> I think with *ama* (the) street traders, the emphasis is on education of where they are working and that goes back to the sense of belonging. When one is trading, we educate them that this your area. This is your factory, so in other words, you have ensure that around your area it is clean, you have to clean all the time. Come and clean and pack your things away. You just teach them to be their own protectors (R1 interview 2020).

> It's not easy, because if [R2] sees a corner, an empty corner, the next thing there is a table. The other is doing hair, sometimes it becomes difficult as the person is trying to earn a living but at the same time now tenants are being inconvenienced (R4 interview 2020).

> We do these operations in conjunction with JMPD, SAPS and what not (R4 interview 2020).

There was however, a different view when it comes to the homeless. It is said that there is an NGO in the area that provides them with shelter and clothing. Below is a quote from one participant which illustrates this view:

> I think the NGOs that we have in Ekhaya also play a vital role when it comes to the homeless. We have shelters with our NGO like MES. They now cater for these homeless who are in the streets, give them shelter, give them rehabilitation, access them food, clothing and all those things (R1 interview 2020).

On access to the park, the respondents highlighted that the park is used by the "positive groups" and there is a register in place that is monitored by the security guard at the park (R1 interview 2020). This view is quoted below and all participants were in agreement with the sentiment:

> Then for these other ones, with the usage of the park, we give other a chance. We've got a register whereby each positive group that goes in to use the park, you register

> your time […] we focus on using the register with our security at the gate (R1 interview 2020).

The participants further emphasised that some of the activities in the street, for example, motor mechanics end up attracting criminals and therefore they are not wanted in the CID. The quote below from one participant illustrates this view:

> Like in front of BonGaelic there are mechanics, even the police they come there but I don't know what they do. I mean […] tomorrow you find that people are still there. To me they are supposed to take the tools so that people cannot go back there because they attract the criminals. They will stop, if they can take the tools there […] you can't go to buy the tools every day (R3 interview 2020).

The view on the sex workers was however strong that you will never see them in the neighbourhood. The participants highlighted that you will hardly identify them even if they walk around on the streets unlike in other areas outside the CID like Nugget Street, because as the CID, they push everything to JMPD and the NGOs in the area that deals with sex workers. They advised that sex workers do not roam around the streets. The respondents felt that they have moved out whenever they were there because there has been no report of them being around in the neighbourhood. They only know of them being under the local NGO programme, not walking on the streets. These two quotes illustrate the view:

> In the issue of sex workers within the neighbourhood, we've got Wits RHI which has a programme for sex workers […] JMPD are the ones who have to make sure that they do not roam around the streets […] as the CID we just push everything to JMPD and our NGOs who are dealing with these projects (R1 interview 2020).

> I think they have moved out whenever they were there because we haven't seen any reporting of them being around the neighbourhood (R1 interview 2020).

4.3.3 Findings on common interest

The findings of whether there is common interest in the initiatives that are implemented by Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID highlight that the respondents felt that there is shared interest because both community and the property management companies want a safe and clean environment. The residents and community at large want to be safe and the property owners want their businesses to do better, in a safe and clean environment. The quote below from one participant illustrates this view:

> I think there is shared interest because both of us community and the community [–] we want to be safe and the property owners want to do their businesses better […] so, I think we understand each other and agree on safety and cleanliness (R1 interview 2020).

The observation from the focus group was that they are all convinced that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is different from other CIDs and their urban management systems have the interest of all the urban inhabitants and a human touch. This was based on their view that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is about building communities. R4 (interview 2020) summed up this view with the comment quoted below:

> I think Ekhaya is unique wherever you go. There is a lot of information but for me its uniqueness is how Ekhaya is managed. I think we have seen a number of CIDs trying to do something but I haven't seen any other CID that is managed like Ekhaya. I think Ekhaya for me has always tried to involve the people rather than the top down approach that we see in other areas. Its uniqueness is that it is all about these people that we are talking about, this community [–] how it is managed. It's not like you are going out there and doing this job that's it. It has a human touch (R4 interview 2020).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the findings of both the documents analysis and the focus group interviews. They were presented in different sections as per data source. On the issue of participation in decision making, it transpired that the decision makers are property management companies as the founders and funders of the CID, and local government as a partner in addressing urban management issues. It however transpired that the community indirectly affects the decision of the sustainability of the neighbourhood by choosing to stay in the neighbourhood and supporting the property owners through renting flats in their buildings. The platforms for raising issues (like the police forum) are outside the CID. The CID representatives however, present those issues to the CID structures to respond to them.

On the issue of access to public space, some users like informal traders and the homeless are perceived to be a problem that needs to be resolved through by-law enforcement as they make the public space dirty. There is however some level of tolerance of street traders, compared to the homeless as they are viewed as a potential harm in the neighbourhood. This can be viewed as the exclusion of other users of public space – in their effort to make a clean and safe neighbourhood. Urban management systems like CCTV cameras have been deployed within the CID borders to monitor movement and assist in dealing with criminal elements. The WhatsApp group was highlighted as an essential tool used by property owners, CID management and operations team to maintain a clean and safe neighbourhood. There is some sense of belonging in the neighbourhood amongst the residents.

Common interest or common action is only visible on the part of the property owners who agree to collectively establish and fund the sustainability of the CID and create a safe and clean environment. There was a view that there is a shared interest in terms of a clean and safe environment. This however, can be viewed as a common good other than common action.

These findings are discussed and analysed in the next chapter in relation to theory.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the findings of the two data sources (document analysis and focus group) and analyses the outcome. As a precursor to the discussion of findings, this chapter considers the conceptual background of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID using the previous research on Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID that was conducted by the Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO), authored by Mkhize and Mosselson (2019) entitled *Conceiving, producing and managing neighbourhoods*, to draw part of the researcher's argument. The GCRO is a partnership between the University of Johannesburg, the University of the Witwatersrand, the Gauteng Provincial Government and organised local government in Gauteng.

According to Mkhize and Mosselson (2019), Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is a typical case of contradictions and inconsistencies in the inner-city urban renewal programmes and a private solution to the management of public space and urban upgrading. The quote below illustrate this view:

> The ultimate ambition of the neighbourhood upgrading process was to protect the investments of contributing members [...]. They also help attract higher-earning people to the area, who can afford increased rents that pay regularly. The Ekhaya Neighbourhood Improvement Programme therefore exemplifies the contradictions and ambiguities that define the broader inner-city renewal process (Mkhize & Mosselson, 2019, p. 24).

Mkhize and Mosselson (2019) further highlight that property management companies also represent the interests of their tenants by facilitating the public space upgrades, in addition to their ambition of protecting their investments. There is however, apparently no consultation and/or accountability in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID - the few property management companies propose visions and pursue them as they deem fit (Mkhize & Mosselson, 2019). The quote below illustrates this:

> The scope of these visions, ambitions and suggestions is in sharp contrast to the Ekhaya Neighbourhood Improvement Programme's plans. There, the ambitions and desires of housing companies, acting on behalf of their tenants, but also in pursuit of their own interests, are the driving forces behind the upgrades. There is little accountability or consultation in the Ekhaya RCID; a few powerful voices propose and pursue visions as they see fit (Mkhize & Mosselson, 2019, p. 28).

Despite the knowledge of the exclusionary context in which Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID operates, according to Mkhize and Mosselson (2019), the neighbourhood co-ordinator and housing managers/supervisors, as the key players in the CID management structure, exclude informal actors, like the homeless people, as they are deemed a nuisance and harmful. The homeless people are perceived as criminals and a threat and therefore are removed to achieve the vision of a safe and clean environment. They are singled out as undesirable in the CID. The two quotes below illustrate this view:

> Although Ekhaya coordinators and housing managers are cognisant of Hillbrow's developmental context, they still tend to be exclusionary towards informal actors they consider to be harmful or a "nuisance". Despite the tolerance for informal traders and recognition of the multiple needs in the neighbourhood, homeless young men, in particular are single out as threats that must be removed to achieve the vision of the neighbourhood as a stable, habitable home (Mkhize & Mosselson, 2019, p. 59).

> Children living on the streets in Hillbrow are also generally singled out by residents and urban management personnel as undesirable (Mkhize & Mosselson, 2019, p. 59).

Document analysis and focus group results

Most findings from the document analysis of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID published material and focus group are congruent. They are therefore discussed concurrently. The discussion is based on the research questions that were formulated under section 1.1.2 of this research report. These are further related to the conceptual framework formulated under section 2.4 of this research report.

5.2 Relating findings to the conceptual framework

5.2.1 Relating participation and stakeholder involvement in decision making to the conceptual framework

The questions and statements that related to participation and involvement of stakeholders in making decisions included understanding who are the real decision makers in the CID and their role and whether there are platforms where the voice of the residents and other stakeholders is promoted in the decision making.

The findings from the document analysis and focus group were in agreement that the real decision makers in the CID (Ekhaya Neighbourhood) are property management companies. The focus group also added that there are also a few NGOs, schools and businesses that are contributing members, they are however, not active in the daily management or governance of the CID. There is an agreement that the primary role of the property management companies (or members) is to fund the CID activities through levies that are paid monthly and also serve on the board of management that oversees Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID operations and defines the objectives and plans to create a safe and clean neighbourhood.

In both media, there was an agreement that there are no platforms in place to engage and promote the voice of other stakeholders in the decision making of the CID. The decisions are solely made by the management structures, which is the board of directors and CID staff members. The community plays a passive role in the neighbourhood; they are always on the receiving end. The housing managers/supervisors are viewed by the CID as the mouthpiece of the residents. They are seen as the representatives of residents and as a result, the input that they give in the housing managers/supervisors meetings is viewed by the CID as the voice of the residents. The appropriateness of this approach is questionable and raises a question of how CIDs can ensure the representation of other users of the public space in the decision making – ensuring that they are not excluded. There is therefore a dire need for an “equitable, just and resident inclusive” strategy towards urban governance and regeneration efforts in the city (Winkler, 2009, p. 365).

There was however, an argument from the focus group that highlighted that the community or residents are the decision makers, in a sense that if they decide not to take part or take accommodation in area, the CID activities will not be a success. Since the interests of property management companies were driven by profit-making, the CID will not be a success if they fail to make money. There was therefore a strong view in the focus group that the people on the ground are the ones that should have the greater influence. There was however, no evidence of how this is practised on a daily basis and whether there is a channel for residents to amplify their voice in the CID. The researcher's interpretation of the comments was that the residents indirectly determine the success of the CID by choosing to reside in the buildings in the neighbourhood and pay rent to sustain the businesses of the property management companies.

This finding corresponds with the argument made by Purcell (2002) that the governing decisions in the CID are made by the actors who are not even accountable to the residents of the city.

5.2.2 Relating access to public space to conceptual framework

The questions and statements related to access to public space included understanding the urban space management systems that are in place in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID and the extent to which these initiatives promote the sense of belonging, social relations and access to public space to all the inhabitants. This also included an understanding of how Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID deals with the issue of access to public space by the marginalised groups, like street traders, the homeless, sex workers, etc. The last question under this section tried to understand how people in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID management structure think about how the systems that they put in place affect other users.

The findings from the document analysis and focus group are in agreement that the urban management systems in place are CCTV cameras that are installed in strategic positions to deal with criminal activities and monitor activities of undesired people in the area. The security guards are then deployed to the area where there is a transgression to resolve the situation. The focus group further added that WhatsApp groups are used by the cleaners and security

guards to update members on the operation on the ground. CID members also use the same platform to report issues that need attention.

It was further highlighted that there are other mechanisms in place to attract communities, like soccer tournaments for young and old, children's days and activities for the elderly. They are however, only accessible to residents of the member buildings. With these initiatives, Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is trying to get closer to the residents and promote social relations in the area. The focus group highlighted that the community participates in initiatives that are organised by the CID and the City of Johannesburg that are aimed at keeping the area safe. That showed some degree of belonging on the residents' part who are wanting to make a difference.

The document analysis and focus group findings are in agreement that street trading in non-demarcated areas is not allowed as it is deemed a transgression of by-laws. There is, however, a strong view and actions that are directed to the homeless as they are deemed a nuisance and that they bring problems into the area. The result is that only positive groups are allowed in Ekhaya Park and there is a security guard with a register to monitor the utilisation of the park. The view from the focus group was that the sex workers have been pushed out of the neighbourhood through the management systems. They are only spotted in areas that are not managed, outside the CID boundaries.

From the focus group findings, it did not appear that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID management and governance team is aware of the consequences of their systems to other users. They are only looking at their vision, which is creating a safe and clean neighbourhood as a positive outcome for everyone. Both from the document analysis and focus groups, the research participants felt that Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID is different from other CIDs, it is inclusive, the community make decisions about what needs to happen and they have platforms to raise their voice. There was however, no evidence to prove that this happens on the ground.

In both document analysis and focus group findings, the housing managers/supervisors are regarded as the mouthpiece of the residents. The focus group findings showed that the CID does not appear to consider the effect of their urban governance approaches to other users

of the public space; to them it looked like normal control that is harmless and should be acceptable to everyone.

5.2.3 Relating common interest to conceptual framework

The questions and statements related to common interest included an understanding of whether people in the governance and management structures think there is common interest in the initiatives that are implemented by Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID.

The findings from the document analysis and focus group differed on the lack of common interest in Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID. The focus group felt that there is a balance in the interests of property owners and those of the residents, in that residents want a safe environment and that property management companies want to make their businesses work. There was however, no evidence to prove that this view represents common interest on the ground.

The findings from the document analysis also showed that the reasoning behind establishing Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID was driven by commercial interests of property management companies to protect their investment and attract more tenants, including high earners. The Housing Development Agency (2012, p. 11) is explicit in defining the purpose of establishing Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, in that it was to create a “financial node that encourages and protects the investment for owners of residential buildings, businesses and social infrastructure”. This was the primary motivation for active involvement of property management companies. Social or spatial inclusion and the recognition that there are other pre-existing players or users of the public space that should be part of bettering and managing the public space were never mentioned. The two quotes below from the Housing Development Agency (2012) illustrate this view:

> The eKhaya project is primarily committed to the improvement in the quality of the environment in Hillbrow and through this the quality of life of those living and working there. Its primary objective is regeneration of ‘the business of the city’ by creating a financial node that encourages and protects investment for owners of residential

> buildings, businesses and social infrastructure (Housing Development Agency, 2012, p. 11).
>
> The importance of this is that the focus on increasing the conditions for investment and for returns is what motivates the involvement of both the for-profit and not-for-profit landlords (Housing Development Agency, 2012, p. 11).

The document analysis findings affirmed the theory by Peyroux (2006) that there is a lack of common interest in the governance and management of the CIDs. The CIDs do not care much about the public interest – they redesign urban forms through the systems that they put in place to manage public space (Peyroux, 2006).

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the findings from the document analysis and the focus group, relating them firstly, to the conceptual framework and secondly, to the theoretical framings of Harvey (2003) and Lefebvre, as articulated in Purcell (2002). Not all the findings from the document analysis and focus group concurred with the themes that were identified in the conceptual framework.

The findings of both document analysis and the focus group concurred that there are no platforms within the CID to promote the voice of other stakeholders like the community and to participate in the decision making processes of the use and management of public space. The decision making about the use and management of public space lies with the CID management and governing structures, which is the board of directors and CID staff members. Glicken (1999) and Glicken (2000) stress that there is a great need for getting public input in the decisions that affect them - decisions by both the public and private sector and this can be done through their representatives. The public bring experiential knowledge in the decision making process which is the knowledge brought into the discussion by individuals who may be residents or users based on their personal experience and/or common sense (Glicken, 2000). Winkler (2013) highlights that the neighbourhood regeneration efforts require partnerships with the local actors in order to be effective.

On the issue of access to public space, the findings of both document analysis and the focus group concurred that the governing systems put in place by the CID for the safety and security in the neighbourhood results in other users of the public space feeling uncomfortable and leaving the area. This is the case of the CCTV cameras installed in the CID and the sex workers who have moved out of the area. The findings confirmed that the public spaces like parks are somehow privatised and kept under surveillance to manage access of the undesired groups like the homeless. Carmona (2015, p. 393) warns that these initiatives make public space “less public”.

On the issue of common interest, the findings of both document analysis and the focus group differed. The documents analysis concurred with the theoretical framework, in that the new forms of urban governance are less democratic and elite driven and that there is lack of common interest (common action) in the governance and management of the CID. On the focus group findings, there was a view that there is common interest between property owners and residents/community. Carmona (2015) describes common interest as the mutual or collective action of the private sector, public sector and community in the management and governance of the CID. In the case of Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID, there was no evidence to prove common interest, as described above.

There is a great need for the CID to ensure the involvement of all stakeholders in the decision making about the use and management of the public space – stakeholders like the community, private and public sector. Glicken (1999) emphasises that these stakeholders must be incorporated in the process from the inception. In the current setting, as articulated by Purcell (2002), the decisions about the governance of the public space are made by the actors who are not even accountable to the residents of the city.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this research concurs with Grail et al. (2019) in that by design, the CIDs cater for the needs of the property and business owners that pay levies. There is therefore, a need to develop new strategies that will empower the city residents to participate in the urban management and decision making processes concerning public space and promote the right to the city for all (Purcell, 2002).

Despite all the criticism, it is worth noting the CIDs for the work they do in the regeneration of the inner-city and reversing the negative impact (like crime and grime) of the degenerated neighbourhoods. As in North America, as articulated by Lewis (2010) South Africa, specifically the inner-city of Johannesburg, has experienced a decline in the provision of urban management services over the years. Ellen et al. (2007, p. 3) stresses that the establishment of the CIDs is commonly driven by “some kind of market (or government) failure in the provision of public services”. CIDs are on the one hand a creative solution to dealing with a decline in urban governance, and on the other a mechanism of local urban governance decisions.

In the same vein, it was however noted that the local authorities through the legislation of the CIDs have outsourced their mandate of providing the basic services such as cleaning, security and by-law enforcement amongst others to the CIDs – which are private entities. This poses a challenge of the local authority accountability to the city residents. The question therefore remains of who should be held accountable for the urban management failure - is it the CID or the local authority. The local authority however, has a constitutional mandate to provide social and developmental goods to the community.

In pursuing the objective of a clean and safe neighbourhood it is equally important to ensure that all the stakeholders are included in the process and have a voice in the management of public space. Through public policy, government as a stakeholder, should develop a collective vision for the neighbourhoods and the city, to ensure that the CIDs promote “social inclusion; equal rights and powers in their areas of operation” (Perolini, 2015, p. 69). Without sharing common interest or common action and acknowledging the value of users of public space - neighbourhood development efforts will always attract criticism.

As articulated by Walter (2016), it was important to understand the processes that create and sustain exclusion of other users of public space in the inner-city CIDs in order to address these challenges. From the perspective of this report, which considered urban governance, we have seen that CIDs have the autonomy to define and prescribe the use of public space through the urban management systems without considering its effect on other users of the public space.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that CIDs should promote the involvement of the community structures (like ward councillors and ward committees) in the decision making process and management of public space. This can go as far as inviting community representatives to sit in their governance structures, such as the boards of directors meetings, in order to promote the voice of all the users of public space. Government also needs to play an active role in supporting and guiding the CIDs in terms of the appropriate stakeholder mapping processes and involvement in order to promote inclusion of all stakeholders.

There is further, a need for a dedicated urban governance structure or unit within the local authority that will support the CIDs, provide direction and some control in terms of accountability and reporting. Through this structure, government can integrate the CIDs into a wider urban governance network for support and strengthening urban management initiatives in the city. The question however remains whether the local authority will have adequate capacity, resources and political will to exercise their power in the CIDs without compromising their ability to deliver on their mandate which is creating safe and clean neighbourhoods. Further research in this area might help in mapping the process for strengthening inclusivity and for the local authority to regain its power to lead and deliver on its mandate of urban governance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview schedule

(a) Respondents:

Respondent	Role	Organisation Represented	Date Interviewed
R1	Ekhaya Neighbourhood Coordinator	Ekhaya Neighbourhood CID	2020
R2	Building Manager	Johannesburg Housing Company	2020
R3	Building Manager	Johannesburg Housing Company	2020
R4	Board Member	Ekhaya Board of Directors	2020

(b) Schedule of interview

Critical analysis of City Improvement District governance in inner-city Johannesburg

March 2020

Interview date: _____ (dd-mm-yyyy)

Venue: _____

Interviewer: _____

Start time: _____

End time: _____

Interview Design

1. Introduction

Note to interviewer:

- Please introduce yourself, the research project, its purpose and the interview process to be undertaken.
- Give the interviewee details of why you are here, which is to understand their views on the City Improvement District governance in inner-city Johannesburg.

Interviewer: Good day Sir/Madam. My name is Lungisani Ntuli. I am a student at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of my studies, I am conducting a research which focuses on City Improvement District governance in inner-city Johannesburg.

You have been identified as a participant in this research based on your involvement, knowledge and experience in the CIDs in your area. Before you consent to participate in this study, please be advised that this interview is voluntary and you are encouraged to respond in a manner that is most comfortable to you.

The questions that will be asked will be on your views about the governance and management of the CIDs in the inner-city of Johannesburg, should any question not be clear to you, please feel free to ask for clarity. You are under no obligation to answer all the questions, if at any

time you feel uncomfortable with the questions being asked, please feel free not to respond to that question or end the interview.

If after this interview you have any further clarifying questions, please do not hesitate to contact me on the details that will be provided to you. If at any point you have queries, concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedure of this research, feel free to contact the University of the Witwatersrand.

2. Interviewee informed consent

Explain the ground rules for the interview, the duration of the interview, issues of confidentiality and autonomy.

Interviewer: The interview will take about twenty (20) minutes to thirty (30) minutes to complete and will be audio recorded. The recorded information will be transcribed in preparation for the research report. All responses, including personal information you provide, will not be disclosed to any other entity – only collective results of all participants will be utilised for the sole purpose of this research. The audio recorder will assist me to record the interview as is and provide support during the analysis of the responses. Do you grant consent for this interview to be recorded?

(Confirm if the interviewee understands and is informed on the research study and sign the consent form: Annexure 2).

Interviewer: Thank you for considering participating in this research as your views will give me insight that will be useful for this research. *(Ask participant if he/she agrees for the interview to commence).*

3. Interview materials

3.1 Interview guide for referrals
3.2 Notepad for notes, clues and other notable interests
3.3 Coloured pens for taking notes
3.4 Voice recorder
3.5 Consent form to be signed by the interviewee

4. Interviewer guidelines

Note to interviewer:

- Short questions must be conversational, interviewer must not be perceived as being ticking a checklist but rather as being interested in the person being interviewed.
- When questions are being posed, caution must be taken not to lead participants.
- The probes should not be read with the primary question, allow interviewee an opportunity to respond on their own and then use the probes to gain more information on the subject.

Section 1: Demographics

By observation and short questions, please note the following demographic information:

- Sex
- Age
- Nationality

Section 2: Focus group interview questions

1. Tell me about your CID and your role in the CID?

2. What was the purpose of establishing your CID?

3. Who are the real decision makers in your neighbourhood?
Probe: *What is the role of the stakeholders that you have mentioned?*

4. Do you have platforms where the voice of the residents and other stakeholders is promoted in the decision making?
Probe: *If yes, how does it work?*

5. Which urban space management systems do you have in place in your neighbourhood?
Probe: *How is the success of these systems measured?*

6. In your view, to what extent does your initiatives promote the sense of belonging and access of public spaces of all the inhabitants in your neighbourhood?

7. How do you deal with access to public spaces by the marginalised groups' e.g. street traders, the homeless, sex workers, etc.?
Probe: *Based on your answer above, in your view, how do the existing systems affect their access to the public spaces?*

8. Do you think there is common interest in the initiatives that are implemented by your CID?
Probe: *If yes or no, why do you say so?*

Section 3: Closing

Interviewer: Given the responses that you have provided, is there anything more that you would like to add or a question that you would like to revisit or any suggestions you would like to make?

Interviewer: Thank you for your participation, this is the end of the interview.

Appendix 2: Consent form

Participant Informed Consent Form

Research: Critical analysis of City Improvement District governance in inner-city Johannesburg

Dear Prospective Participant,

By signing this consent form, you hereby confirm that:

- You have been informed of the purpose, process and risks of this research.
- You have been informed of your autonomy and confidentiality of the research.
- You are under no obligation to answer all the questions and may stop the interview at any time.
- You are aware that the recordings of this study and personal information, will not be disclosed to any other entity, except be utilised for the findings of this research.
- You agree to be audio-recorded during the interview.
- You are allowed to ask questions at any time during and after the interview.
- You are aware that you can obtain a copy of the informed consent agreement should you wish to.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer's name: _____

Interviewer's signature: _____ Date: _____