

Inner-City Neighbourhoods – the Design and Management for Future Liveable Cities:-

A Case Study of Albert Park - eThekwini



Source: https://durbanaction.files.wordpress.com/2008/07/albert-park-1.jpg

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ABSTRACT

Albert Park is an inner-city neighbourhood located within the Central Business District (CBD) of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in Durban. It is an area of great significance within Durban's urban fabric because it contains in a small space many of the development challenges faced by large urban centres in Africa and worldwide. As a neighbourhood in decline Albert Park presents a unique opportunity for research based case study and the development of new planning tools and approaches. Albert Park provides an opportunity to consider urban change in the central city core and its impact on surrounding neighbourhoods. This can be examined from a number of perspectives. Firstly, Albert Park can be examined within the context of statutory change where the repealing of different Apartheid laws and the impact this had on the city's spatial structure and demographic transition of the CBD is demonstrated in the urban fabric. Secondly, the location of Albert Park in close proximity to the harbour and the multiple activities along it, have both determined the roles played by this neighbourhood over time, and have also impacted negatively upon it. Once a sought after residential location, Albert Park has under the pressure of increasing land use change and the spread of the city core declined and is considered in need of planning strategies to address its urban and functional decay. Thirdly, there is a hidden potential that this inner-city neighbourhood has, to be one of the Durban's most vibrant, attractive and most sought after places to live work and play. All of these aspects are considered in the dissertation.

Sadly today, while Albert Park may be home to approximately nineteen thousand people (Census, 2011), it has gained a negative reputation. This has been critically analysed in the research together with the perspective that as a first choice of residence Albert Park may not been an optimal location. So why do people choose to reside in this neighbourhood? Is this decision only the result of very difficult and pressing circumstances? Or are there opportunities along with the challenges, what make this neighbourhood preferable? Today Albert Park is often associated with high levels of criminal activity, drugs, prostitution and more recently the stage for xenophobic conflict. The multiple dilapidated buildings, increasing informality and poor maintenance of the public realm causes it to be relegated to a status of decay which gives it negative identity with the general public. Albert Park is viewed as being a negative place to be — an area where one 'enters at your own risk' within the city of eThekwini. This is confirmed through some of the research findings that showed how a number of residents of the area do not feel safe and as a result are not actively involved in local recreational community activities within Albert Park.

By unpacking the concept of the neighbourhood in the context of inner-cities, the research considers the neighbourhood as a system in itself as well as part of a greater system. Various theories that conceptualise neighbourhoods as well as inform their design and management are also reviewed as part of the conceptual and

theoretical framework. With this understanding, the research also critically evaluates the causes of inner urban decay and considers alternative strategies for how to address this process and encourage regeneration strategies. Jacobs (1961; 122) was quoted to have said that, "A successful city neighbourhood is a place that keeps sufficiently abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them." When considering Albert Park in its state, it is evident that it is a place within the city that has failed to stay abreast of its problems and is arguably being destroyed by them. However, in today's modern fast paced urbanising and globally connected cities, the cause of the challenges and problems that neighbourhoods experience are growing and are more diverse than ever. This research has attempted to unpack and understand some of the challenges that metropolitan and larger cities face which contributes to the decline of their inner neighbourhoods.

The methodology employed in the research process is essentially qualitative in nature although the findings have been augmented by a small quantitative survey with residents in the Albert Park neighbourhood to ascertain their perspectives on their neighbourhood. The dissertation presents a different analysis of the case study area by using applied theoretical perspectives and concepts and then building a set of principles and criteria that can guide and inform design and management processes aimed at the regeneration of Albert Park. It is argued by the research that Albert Park presents a microcosm of the key planning and development challenges found in inner city neighbourhoods in South Africa and other international cities. It analyses these similarities and presents a set of recommendations which can be applied to other inner-city neighbourhoods in South Africa, primarily highlighting the need for more focused pro-active local area planning and the seamless incorporation of urban design principles, supported by good neighbourhood management strategies as a means of addressing reconstruction and the creation of vibrant and liveable inner-city neighbourhoods.

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION – PLAGIARISM

I, Tafadzwa Theophelous Jaya, declare that:

- 1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
- 2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- 3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- 4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.
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- 5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References section.

This dissertation titled "Inner-City Neighbourhoods – the Design and Management for Future Liveable Cities: A Case Study of Albert Park - eThekwini", is my own work. The work has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

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Signature:		Signature:	

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
LIST of Maps	xii
LIST of Plates	xiv
LIST of Figures	xv
LIST of Tables	xvi
LIST of Graphs	xvii
List of Acronyms	xviii
Chapter One: Introduction and Background	19
1.0 Brief Motivation and Background	19
1.1 Problem Statement	22
1.2 The Case Study Focus	22
1.3 The Main Research Objective	24
1.3.1 The Sub-Objectives	24
1.4 The Main Research Question	25
1.4.1 The Sub-Questions	25
1.5 The Hypothesis	25
1.6 The Structure of the Dissertation	25
1.7 Concluding Comments	27
Chapter Two: The Conceptual and Theoretical Framework	28
2.0 Introduction	28
2.1 The Neighbourhood defined	28
2.1.1 The Neighbourhood as a System in Itself	30
2.1.2 The Identity of the Neighbourhood	31
2.1.3 The Neighbourhood as a Component of the City	32

2.2	Defining Neighbourhood Design and Theories that Underpin it	33
2.2	2.1 The Neighbourhood Concept	34
2.2	2.2 New Urbanism	37
2.2	2.3 Sustainable Urbanism	39
2.3	Neighbourhood Management	46
2.4	Inner-city Neighbourhoods	48
2.6	Conclusion	53
Chapte	er Three: The Literature Review	54
3.0	Introduction	54
3.1	Neighbourhood Change	54
3.3	1.1 The Ecological Theory	54
3.3	1.2 The Sub-Cultural Theory	57
3.3	1.3 The Political Economy	58
3.2	Urban Decay	58
3.3	Urban Regeneration	60
3.4	The Twin Impacts of Globalisation and Urbanisation	61
3.5	inner-city Neighbourhoods in modern cities	66
3.6	Conclusion	67
Chapte	er Four: Precedence Studies	68
4.0	Introduction	68
4.1	Precedents from Developed Countries	69
4.3	1.1 Neighbourhoods in Detroit	69
4.1	1.2 Causes of Decay in Detroit	71
4.3	1.3 The Response to the Decay of Detroit City	72
4.2.	Neighbourhoods in Australia	76
4.2	2.1 The Causes of Decay in Brisbane	78
4.2	2.2 The Renewal of Brisbane	80

4.3 Precedents and Experiences from Developing Countries	82
4.3.1 The Case Study of China's Beijing Inner City	82
4.4 The Case of Sao Paulo, Brazil	88
4.4.1 The Causes of Decay in Sao Paulo	90
4.4.2. Renewal Plans for Sao Paulo	90
4.5 Experiences from African Cities	93
4.4.1 The Case Study of Hillbrow/ Berea in Johannesburg, South Africa	93
4.5 Conclusion	97
Chapter Five: Research Methodology	98
5.1 Introduction	98
5.2 Research Methods	98
5.2.1 The Case Study Focus	98
5.2.2 Qualitative Research Methods	99
5.2.3 Quantitative Research Methods	101
5.3 Data Sources	102
5.3.1 Primary Data Sources	102
5.3.2 Secondary Data Sources	102
5.4 Data Analysis	102
5.4.1 Primary Data	103
5.4.2 Secondary Data	103
5.5 The Limitations to the Study	103
5.6 Evaluating the Research Methodology & development of criteria	104
5.7 Concluding Comments	106
Chapter Six: Albert Park - Past, Present and Future	107
6.0 Introduction	107
6.1 Approach	107
6.2 A Historical Overview	107

6.	2.1	The Apartheid City	108
6.	2.2	A Segregated Neighbourhood Contested	112
6.3	Alb	ert Park within Contemporary eThekwini	115
6.4	Pla	nning and Design Framework	115
6.5	De	veloping the Design and Management Criteria from the Framework	115
6.6	A C	RITERION Based Analysis	122
6.7	Coı	nnected and Permeable Places	123
6.8	Pro	oductive Places	130
6.	8.1	Employment Conditions	130
6.	8.2	Household Income Levels	132
6.	8.3	Most Active Employment Sectors	134
6.	8.4	External and Internal Economic Opportunities	135
6.	8.5	The Potential/Ability to Earn an Income	137
6.9	Spa	ntially Efficient Places	139
6.	9.1	Population Density and Distribution	139
6.	9.2	Diversity of Uses	142
6.	9.3	Underutilised and Poor Performing Spaces	144
6.10	(Complete and Inclusive Places	146
6.	10.1	The Diversity of Population	146
6.	10.2	The Residents' Sense of Belonging	150
6.	10.4	The Housing Environment	152
6.	10.5	Access to Civic and Retail Facilities	153
6.11	E	Cologically resilient places	156
6.	11.1	Productive Green Spaces	159
6.	11.2	High Performance Buildings	159
6.12	I	egible and Attractive Places	160
6.	12.1	A Lynchian Analysis	160

6.12	2.2 Property Values	163
6.13	Technologically Advanced and Sustainable Serviced Places	164
6.13	3.1 Available Services	164
6.14	Well Managed Places	169
6.14	4.1 Administrative Structure	169
6.14	4.2 ITrump Districts	171
6.14	4.3 Maintenance Systems	171
6.14	4.4 Better Buildings Programme	172
6.15	Concluding Comments	176
Chapter	Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations	177
7.0	Introductory Comments	177
7.1	Revisiting the Research Aims and Objectives	177
7.2	Revisiting the Research Hypothesis	178
7.5	Recommendations for Albert Park	179
7.6	Contribution to Research	181
7.5	Concluding Comments	181
Referenc	ces	183
Books	3	183
Journa	al Articles/Electronic Papers	185
Intern	net	191

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1:	The Location of Albert Park in eThekwini	23
Map 2:	The Location of Albert Park within the Central Business District	49
Мар 3:	Detroit in Michigan in the United States of America (USA)	69
Map 4:	Location of Brisbane	77
Мар 5:	The Location of Beijing	83
Map 6:	The Location of Nonluogu Alley in Beijing	87
Мар 7:	The Location of Sao Paulo	89
Мар 9:	Hillbrow in the Context of Johannesburg Inner City	94
Map 10:	eThekwini Municipality illustrating Apartheid Zonings	111
Map 11:	Albert Park Locality Plan	122
Map 12:	Internal Movement/Access within Albert Park	124
Map 13:	Broader Physical Connectivity	126
Map 14:	Access to Internet in Albert Park	127
Map 15:	Access to Telecommunication Infrastructure (Mobile Phones)	129
Map 16:	Concentrations of Unemployed Residents in Albert Park	132
Map 17:	Levels of Household Income	134
Map 18:	Employment Sectors	135
Map 19:	Zoning Map for Albert Park	136
Map 20:	Ability to Earn - Albert Park	138
Map 21:	Net Residential Densities	140
Map 22:	Population Concentrations in Albert Park	141
Map 23:	Diversity of Land Uses and Zoning in Albert Park	143
Map 24:	Spatial Performance in Albert Park	145
Map 25:	Population Map for Albert Park	147
Map 26:	Tenure Status in Albert Park	153
Map 27:	Access to Civic Facilities	155

map 28:	Ecologically Resilient Places in Albert Park	.15/
Map 29:	Lynchian Analysis Albert Park	. 162
Map 30:	Property Values in Albert Park	. 163
Map 31:	Electrical Services in Albert Park	. 165
Map 32:	Maps of Sewer Service in Albert Park	. 166
Мар 33:	Storm Water Services in Albert Park	.167
Map 34:	Water Services Provisions in Albert Park	. 168
Map 35:	Administrative Boundaries of Albert Park	.170
Map 36:	ITRUMP Districts	.171

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1:	An Image of a Neighbourhood Edge and Centre, Plan and 3D Imagery	40
Plate 2:	Decayed Building in Johannesburg	59
Plate 3:	An Abandoned Street running through the Packard Complex in Detroit, Michi	gan, in USA
		70
Plate 4:	Vibrant Detroit	71
Plate 5:	Detroit 12th Street Riot	72
Plate 6:	An Abandoned House, Repurposed by the Homeless in Detroit's Eastside	73
Plate 7:	Two Faces of the City -the Renaissance Building Complexes with an Inner City	House in
Decline		74
Plate 8:	Brisbane in 1800's	78
Plate 9:	1893 Brisbane Flood	79
Plate 10 a	and Plate 11: The Sugar Refinery and Cutters Landing before and after Renew	al when it
had been	transformed into Residential Apartments	81
Plate 12 a	and Plate 13: The Catalina Wharves and the Redevelopment into Luxury Resid	dential
Apartmei	nts and Houses	81
Plate 14:	Street Pattern Inner-City Beijing and Traditional Beijing Siheyuan	84
Plate 15:	Crowded Conditions in Siheyuan	85
Plate 16 a	and Plate 17: The Depiction of a Congested Street Down-Town Sao Paulo trans	sformed to a
Pedestria	n Friendly Street after Revitalisation	92
Plate 18 a	and Plate 19: Albert Park - Historical Photographs	125
Plate 20 a	and Plate 21: Albert Park	158
Plate 22 a	and Plate 23: Recreational Areas in Albert Park	158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Clarence Perry Neighbourhood Concept	37
Figure 2:	New-Urbanism Design Elements	38
Figure 3:	Densification - Some Examples from Practice	42
Figure 4:	An Example of Higher Densities along Main Movement Routes	43
Figure 5:	Neighbourhood Management	48
Figure 6:	Vergunst's Diagram of Liveability	51
Figure 7:	Burgess Concentric Zone	55
Figure 8:	Neighbourhood Life Cycle Stages	56
Figure 9:	Urban Age Project Urbanisation Trends	64
Figure 10:	Urbanisation trends in South Africa's Metropolitan Areas	65
Figure 11:	The Concept for Detroit's Urban Form	75
Figure 12:	A Theoretical Framework of the Cultural Approach to Regeneration	88
Figure 13:	The Apartheid City Structure	109

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Hillbrow/ Berea Intervention Framework Programs	96
Table 2:	Summary of Theories, Principles and Criteria	105
Table 3:	Principles for the Analysis, Design and Management of Albert Park	119
Table 4: C	riteria for Connected & Permeable Places	123
Table 5: C	riteria for Productive Places	130
Table 6: C	riteria for Spatially Efficient Places	139
Table 7: C	riteria for Complete and Inclusive Places	146
Table 9: C	riteria for Ecologically Resilient Places	156
Table 10:	Criteria for Legible and Attractive Places	160
Table 11:	Criteria for Technologically Advanced and Sustainable Places	164
Table 12:	Criteria for Well Managed Places	169
Table 13:	SWOT/Matrix for Albert Park	173

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 1:	Urban vs Rural Population Trends illustrating Past Figures and Future Projections	63
Graph 2:	Estimated Population Growth Rates in South African Cities	117
Graph 3:	Employment Conditions in Albert Park	131
Graph 4:	Household Incomes	133
Graph 5:	Racial Diversity in the Albert Park Neighbourhood	148
Graph 6:	Language Diversity in the Albert Park Neighbourhood	149
Graph 7:	Diversity Based on Age Groups	150

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABM: Area Based Management

BRT: Bus Rapid Transit

CBD: Central Business District

DMOSS: Durban Open Space System

DoHS: Department of Human Settlements

IUDS: Iyer Urban Design Studio

LAP: Local Area Plan

NMT: Non-Motorised Transport

PPP: Public-Private Partnership

UK: United Kingdom

KZN: KwaZulu-Natal

URB: Urban Renewal Brisbane

USA: United States of America

WC: Ward Councillor

1.0 Brief Motivation and Background

Saraco (2015, para 2) stated that a city is a "living" system in a dynamical equilibrium". Other academics and practitioners have similarly described cities as being and, alive, regarded them as living entities and have a constant state of flux. Urban area are subject to social, economic and physical changes and influences. Recent theories which address the characteristics of resilient and sustainable city form have included two additional influence namely environmental and governmental impacts. These concepts have been used to demonstrate how regeneration and decline in urban centres can be analysed. If these assertions about urban space are correct, then it is possible to view inner city neighbourhoods in a similar light. Like cities, neighbourhoods go through different stages of change or transformation and decline that may be classified as stages of birth, growth and death. In the aftermath of death comes a reconstruction and redevelopment programme which reflects the area's changed role in the city.

The neighbourhood life cycle theory outlined by economists Hoover and Vernon in 1959 highlights the view that neighbourhoods go through five stages — development, transition, downgrading, renewal and thinning out - that ultimately lead to their decay or decline (Metzger, 2000). Thus urban decline may simply be seen as being the dying or down grading stage of an urban area. In the case of this research, the focus is specifically on the and decline and death of parts of an inner-city neighbourhood namely Albert Park in eThekwini. Urban decay or urban decline is a result of a city or neighbourhood failing to adapt to changing trends or conditions in the city, be they physical, social or environmental. Eventually, the area becomes dilapidated, which in turn results in the lack of interest of investors in the area and the reinforcement of poverty which are a few of the characteristics indicative of an area in a state of urban decay.

International trends and examples from well-known cities in Britain, the United States and France reflect cases in which the life cycle theory and other theories of neighbourhood change may be applied. Similar examples from Latin America and Southern Africa can be drawn in post-war or post-colonial periods e.g. Sao Paulo in Brazil and Johannesburg in South Africa. Urban decay is a phenomenon that affects a number of cities and neighbourhoods across the globe. These challenges may include population increase, changes in the population demographics, new developments and spatial trends that take place on the periphery or on the outskirts of a city, and political influence on planning agendas.

For instance, in the British context, cases of urban decay that have been observed, generally involve reports of increased unemployment and job loss as well as the physical decline of buildings and other infrastructure (Lang, 2005). Hence Lang describes urban decline as involving a "continuous reduction of employment as well as enduring loss of population" (2005: 3). Furthermore, Lang (2005) also acknowledges a link between both processes of falling employment and decreasing population levels pointing out that they may be complemented by other social and physical problems. Such social and physical problems may materialise in the form of depreciating living conditions. At times these are observed through poor housing and lack of basic services for the residents of these neighbourhoods. This, in turn, leads to decreasing investments in the neighbourhood as some residents begin to abandon their properties. In accounting for vacant abandoned properties found in declining urban areas, Ledger explains this phenomenon as "people just give up on them" (Ledger in Martin and Stamik 2010: 1). Unable to sell their assets, residents abandon their land and houses and relocate to other areas of the city or other cities where there are better opportunities.

Riccardo and Matteis (2011) give an account of some neighbourhoods in Europe that were built between the 1940's and 1970's during the post-Second World War reconstruction in a bid to try and meet the rising demands for housing. As they point out, the technical and quality faults of the properties that were built, along with the poor planning that guided the building of these neighbourhoods, are some of the main causes of the cases of decay that were experienced in later years. In a bid to try and address such problems, numerous regeneration initiatives have been implemented in Europe to counter these trends. Revisiting the cases of decline in postwar neighbourhoods was seen as a challenge because of the diverse issues that needed to be addressed. As a result, new regeneration approaches were adopted which addressed issues of urban decay through a more holistic approach that considers the physical, economic, and environmental elements rather than just focusing on an individual symptom in isolation (Riccardo and Matteis, 2011).

Similar to this is a case observed in the neighbourhood of Stockyard in Cleveland United States of America (USA). A neighbourhood initially built close to an industrial area where a large percentage of the residents worked, Stockyard went through a process of decline and also reflected some of the symptoms that have thus far been identified as some of the characteristics of urban decay. According to Martin and Stamik (2010), Stockyard's spatial demise was the result of a spill-on effect of the industrial decline and a foreclosure of some of the strong industrial companies that the neighbourhood's very existence was premised on. The foreclosure of these industrial companies' then led to a decrease in employment as well as in the demand and quality of housing in the neighbourhood. Property prices in the neighbourhood dropped as the neighbourhood became more unliveable and less attractive due to increased cases of crime, illegal dumping, neighbourhood neglect and other problems that continued to damage the image of the neighbourhood. However compared to the earlier cited

European case, the residents of Stockyard took the initiative of revitalising their neighbourhood by taking hold of abandoned homes and vacant plots that had become a haven for illegal activity and turned them into community gardens. This act of ownership by the community of Stockyard can be seen as being one of the many initiatives that have been used to address the problem of urban decay in inner city neighbourhoods.

Considering the case of developing countries, Nobre (1994) argues that changes in the economy of the first world capitalist countries such as the USA, Japan and the United Kingdom (UK) tend to affect the structure of cities across the world. Sao Paulo is one of the largest cities not only in Brazil but in the world, whose structure and neighbourhoods have evolved due to external influences. Initially, a small city that merely functioned as a local trading post and military base under the colonisation of the Portuguese, Sao Paulo is today plagued by a high urban population, unemployment and numerous cases of urban decay in its inner-city neighbourhoods.

The 19th century brought about an accelerated process of urbanisation to the city of Sao Paulo as investors flocked to the city because of what has been termed the coffee boom (Nobre, 1994). This was a time after the industrial revolution when a number of companies from capitalist countries were seeking to establish their manufacturing hubs in foreign countries due to the cheaper labour costs. The city of Sao Paulo experienced a great increase in development as more neighbourhoods were built to accommodate the large influx of migrants in pursuit of employment in the industries. The economic boom however was short lived due to the stock exchange crash in 1929, "putting an end to the influence of coffee barons" (Nobre, 1994: 16). According to Nobre (1994), this period was the time when the city experienced its first phase of rapid urbanisation.

The years that followed saw a further increase in the urbanisation of Sao Paulo due to the continued internationalisation of the economy. The increasing industrialisation of the city of Sao Paulo and other cities in Brazil led to rapid urbanisation as more immigrants were drawn to the city by prospects of employment. Nevertheless, this rapid rate of urbanisation has seen the city experiencing changes at a higher rate than it has been able to cope with or adapt to. The government has been unable to provide services such as housing, public transport and open spaces to the population (Nobre, 1994). This failure was evident with many cases of decaying neighbourhoods as the change in the demographic composition of the inner-city neighbourhoods has led to the wealthier populations moving out of Sao Paulo Central Business District (CBD) to the outskirts of the city. The inner-city neighbourhoods have become predominantly inhabited by the poor and largely overcrowded. As in the case of Stockyard and the United Kingdom, the cases of decay in Sao Paulo were also accompanied by reports of increased criminal activity as well as the poor living conditions for people who resided in those areas.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

There are many examples of urban decline in the cities of South Africa which is the location of this research. Amongst these is the notable example of Hillbrow which encapsulates the socio-economic, and racial transformation of city space as the result of political change. Hillbrow is utilised here to provide a context for the case study area of Albert Park which is addressed in 1.2 below.

In the context of South Africa, a typical case of urban decay is that of the inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow in Johannesburg. Originally a Whites only area during the period of Apartheid rule, Hillbrow has over the years become famous for its high levels of criminal activity. Its identity has evolved from one of being a desirable neighbourhood to one whose identity is that of one of the most dangerous neighbourhoods in the country. This reputation of lack of safety is linked to the rape and murder statistics of Hillbrow which compete with those of countries at war (Witness, 2012). Hillbrow is said to have experienced and is still experiencing a severe case of urban decay. This has manifested itself in a different way compared to the earlier mentioned European and Cleveland examples. Whilst Hillbrow may have experienced a decrease in investment, the neighbourhood went on to experience an increase in population density. This can be attributed to the ever-increasing number of foreign immigrants in search of greener pastures or escaping from war situations and to South Africans migrating from their rural homes to the city of Johannesburg. Increasingly there is evidence of a newer class of refugees seeking refuge in the inner city, namely those seeking respite from the impacts of climate change. This immigration of diverse cultures and the pressure to find a place in the city has led to Hillbrow becoming a haven for brutal violent crimes, drug abuse, child prostitution, increasing poverty, over-crowding and dilapidating buildings.

1.2 THE CASE STUDY FOCUS

An almost identical case of urban decay in South Africa is that of Albert Park in Durban (eThekwini). Like Hillbrow, Albert Park was once known for its prestige and cleanliness during the apartheid era having also been classified as a Whites only neighbourhood under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Erwin, 2011). The neighbourhood has evolved dramatically over the years having been converted from being that of a desirable, city based, White neighbourhood in the 1970s to later becoming one of the first racially integrated city areas during the 1980s. It later emerged as an attractive location for Black, Indian and Coloured professionals because of its reasonable rentals and ideal location (Durban, 2008). Along with this change in population came the early signs of urban decay in the area. These signs were characterised by a decrease in private investment as some white families fled to the suburbs citing concerns for their safety in a neighbourhood slowly becoming racially integrated (Durban, 2008). The process became even worse in later years as some of the professionals of the various races also began to flee to the suburbs believing that the area was becoming less ideal and safe for raising their

families with the increasing number of foreign and local migrants (Ibid). The increased presence of foreign nationals is believed to have added to the increased levels of crime in the area which in turn has accounted for the decreased investment and poor maintenance of properties and public facilities. The current poor aesthetic appeal of the area can be said to also contribute to the negative perspective that Albert Park presents. It may be said that it repels rather than attracts people to the neighbourhood as it once did in the past. Albert Park has now become an area well known for a large amount of informal activities, high rates of crime and over-crowding as more international and local migrants flood the city. Map 1 below illustrates the location of Albert Park in eThekwini.

Location in 7 hotologia
Manicipalty)

CBD

MAYDON WHARE

HARBOUR

POINT

Map 1: The Location of Albert Park in eThekwini

Source: Author (2015)

It is however important to point out that while the problems stated above are currently facing the area, there have been some intervention measures put in place by the municipality to address this process of urban decay. One such initiative is the Inner City eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (iTrump). As part of eThekwini Municipality's Area Based Management system, iTrump was established as a response to a

need the city was faced with of making the regeneration of the inner city a priority (eThekwini Municipality, 2011). The programme is driven by six intended outcomes namely, increasing economic activity, reducing poverty and social isolation, making the inner city more viable, effective and sustainable urban management, improving safety and security as well as developing institutional capacity (eThekwini Municipality, 2011). The programme has seen some of the buildings within Albert Park undergoing refurbishments and being used for social housing. However having said that and still considering the current traces of decay within Albert Park, one would question the effectiveness of iTrump. The general trends and themes outlined above form the background for this research which focuses on the Albert Park neighbourhood in eThekwini. They will be interrogated and critically examined as part of this dissertation.

1.3 THE MAIN RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

Albert Park has got great potential to be a vibrant, successfully performing and liveable neighbourhood playing a key role in the city. Considering some of the common urban challenges that cities are faced with, the diverse causes of urban decay and ways in which it manifests itself, the main objective of this research is to establish an ideal neighbourhood design and management criteria to inform the regeneration of Albert Park into a future vibrant and liveable inner-city neighbourhood.

1.3.1 The Sub-Objectives

There are a number of sub-objectives that flow from the main objective stated above namely:-

- 1. To conceptualise the term 'neighbourhood' and understand its context within the city from multiple perspectives;
- 2. To interrogate some of the theories of neighbourhood design and management so as to establish their relevance to the character of present day modern neighbourhoods;
- 3. To assess the relationship between neighbourhood change and neighbourhood design and management within the present day context of diverse urban challenges which cities are faced with globally;
- 4. To trace the history of Albert Park in the greater context of the Durban metropolitan so as to establish its original intended function and character as a neighbourhood within the metropolitan;
- 5. To identify Albert Park's present role and character within the greater city; and
- 6. To propose a contextual inner-city neighbourhood design and management criteria for the regeneration of Albert Park, Durban.

1.4 THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

This research address the key question of:-

"What are the ideal contextual neighbourhood design and management principles or criteria that can guide and inform the design and management for the regeneration of Albert Park?"

1.4.1 THE SUB-QUESTIONS

From the main question, the following sub-questions can be derived:-

- 1. What is the conceptualisation of the term neighbourhood?
- 2. What is the role of a neighbourhood within the greater context of the city?
- 3. What are some of the theories that have informed neighbourhood design and management in the past and how relevant are these in informing the design and management of neighbourhoods today considering present day and future challenges that cities face?
- 4. What is the link or relationship between neighbourhood change and neighbourhood design and management especially within the present day context of diverse urban challenges facing cities?
- 5. What are some of the neighbourhood change experiences from different global cities and how have these been linked to inner-city neighbourhood design and management?
- 6. What is the historical role and character of Albert Park within the greater context of Durban and how has this evolved?
- 7. What is the key design and management principles or criteria that may be used to under-pin the regeneration of Albert Park into a liveable and vibrant inner-city neighbourhood?

1.5 THE HYPOTHESIS

Neighbourhood design and management that is pro-active and futuristic in its approach plays a key role in providing the principles and criteria to address cases of inner city neighbourhood decay in urban environments such as is found in Albert Park.

1.6 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This research has been conducted over a period of two years and has included an evaluative analysis of both contemporary theory and practice. The dissertation has seven interrelated chapters which explore the topic and provide the structure for the conclusions and recommendations outlined in the final section. A synopsis of each chapter is outlined below.

Chapter 1: The Research Problem

The first chapter of this research provides an introduction and background to the research, outlines the main problem which the research aims to investigate. It goes on to provide the hypothesis, research objectives and questions.

Chapter 2: The Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Building on from Chapter One, the second chapter gives the conceptual and theoretical framework. The main aim of this chapter is to clearly establish a guiding framework for the research. As such it conceptualises neighbourhoods and neighbourhood design and management as the main concepts of the research. It will also review the various theories of neighbourhood design and management.

Chapter 3: The Literature Review

This chapter of the research aims to set the scene for the chapters that follow by looking at some of the writings on neighbourhood change, its causes and its outcomes such as urban decay and regeneration. The chapter looks at the present and projected challenges facing cities and neighbourhoods and how these influence neighbourhood change so as to give the research some grounding and relevance to current affairs. The idea here is to show that when considering the present state of challenges and the expected future of inner-city neighbourhoods, the way design and management is used as a tool to intervene, is critical to the success or failure of inner-city neighbourhoods in the future.

Chapter 4: The Precedence Studies

In the fourth chapter entitled 'Precedence Studies', the experiences of different cities and inner-city neighbourhoods across the world is assessed to establish the link between design and management and to learn from the successes and failures of those who may have experienced or are currently experiencing the same or similar scenarios to that of Albert Park.

Chapter 5: The Methodology

Chapter Five outlines the various methods and techniques which have been used to undertake this research as well the justification of the methods adopted.

Chapter 6: Albert Park Past, Present and Future

This presents the findings from the investigation into Albert Park. The aim is to be able to assess the role that design and management has played in the transformation of Albert Park from past to present as well as the possible role it can play in the near future.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

The final chapter provides a conclusion to the research and links all the data presented to the initial objective of the research, as well as providing a possible contextual inner-city neighbourhood design and management criteria or guidelines for the regeneration of Albert Park.

1.7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The research structure presented provides a clear direction that allows for each of the key issues relating the research objectives and questions to be adequately unpacked in a clear and logical manner, highlighting the reality of the multiple challenges and issues that affect the design and management of inner-city neighbourhoods. The intention is that the findings of this research will serve as a tool that can influence the manner in which current and future inner-city neighbourhoods are planned, designed and managed. It is therefore important to clarify that this research is not aimed at producing a specific final design for Albert Park, but rather well-informed principles and criteria to guide and inform any future design and managerial interventions within the Albert Park, while uncovering the range of issues related to neighbourhood change and decay. The development of key principles developed to guide and inform design and management of modern inner-city neighbourhoods will also be instrumental as a tool for analysis of the current performance of the neighbourhood, thus providing an informed basis upon which interventions are proposed.

2.0 Introduction

While the title of this research may encompass a number of themes, it is important to clarify that the main concept under study is that of the neighbourhood, with greater emphasis and focus on inner-city neighbourhoods. In light of this, the main objective of the conceptual and theoretical framework of this research is to conceptualise the term or concept 'neighbourhood' and to understand it within the greater context of the city. Apart from the neighbourhood, this chapter will also conceptualise some of the main sub-themes of this research as part of establishing a conceptual basis on which this research may be founded. This will involve clarifying what exactly is meant by neighbourhood design and neighbourhood management, as well as the idea of liveable cities. The chapter will go on to look at some of the main theories that have informed the design and management of neighbourhoods in order to establish a theoretical framework on which the research may also be based.

2.1 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD DEFINED

The conceptualisation of the term neighbourhood is important to grasp in the early stages of this research as it is its main theme. It must also be clear from the onset that the neighbourhood is discussed in this chapter from two perspectives. The first looks at the neighbourhood as a concept while the second looks at the neighbourhood as a unit from a more theoretically informed design perspective. The neighbourhood as a concept is very subjective considering the various perspectives that have attempted to define it. Nevertheless it is still possible to establish a generalised definition that outlines the universal perception of the neighbourhood.

A neighbourhood in its simplest form is generally viewed as an area of the city in which people reside. Here the primary function of a neighbourhood is that of a residential purpose. Meenaksh (2011) speaks of Lewis Mumford as having presented the neighbourhood as a fact of nature that come into existence when a group of people share a space. She states "Since the early ages of humanity, for practical, economical, sociological and psychological reasons, people have tended to live close together in sections of an area and form communities. Those sections or neighbourhoods have some physical or social characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the settlement. The clustering of these neighbourhoods has formed towns, villages, and cities" (Meenaksh, 2011;81).

According to Cooke (1989: 3) a neighbourhood refers to "places where people live out their daily working and domestic lives". This definition by Cooke brings in an element that considers more than just the residential

aspect. It begins to consider the daily activities of people outside the four walls in which they reside but still within the proximity of the neighbourhood. However, Rivlin (1987) points out that shelter and the provision of basic commodities to the local population is a limited perspective of a neighbourhood's function, emphasising that the provision of basic daily commodities such as milk, bread and eggs within a neighbourhood in turn allows for social and socio-economic interaction among the residents. This social activity forms an important part in uniting people within the area. Thus neighbourhoods can also be seen as spaces in which relationships among people are built.

However, whilst this may be the case with the contemporary neighbourhoods, it can be argued that the aforementioned definitions by Cooke and Rivlin are limited in their analysis as they do not incorporate the issue of the size of the neighbourhood, its boundary or its relation to the city and surrounding areas. They do not consider the neighbourhood within the greater context of the city or as being part of a wider system.

In this regard Schwirian (1983: 84) defines a neighbourhood as a "population residing in an identifiable section of a city whose members are organized into a general interaction network of formal ties and express their common identification with the area in public symbols". Although he is not specific in detail, Schwirian does discuss the issue of the neighbourhood in relation to the rest of the city. In highlighting the networks formed among those residing within the different neighbourhoods and their common identification with the area, Schwirian offers an alternative perspective to the concept of a neighbourhood. Lupton and Power (2004) also touch on this issue by defining neighbourhoods as physical spaces that are bounded in some way, at the same time also having common physical characteristics such as housing, transport, and the environment. Neighbourhoods are therefore defined by a boundary that is either set by the city planners or generally accepted by those residing within the neighbourhood and sometimes even both. At times these boundaries may coincide and other times they may come into conflict. Nevertheless, the commonly accepted boundary is that which is generally recognised and accepted by the public within and around the neighbourhood.

Considering the definitions discussed thus far it may be established that neighbourhoods have defined boundaries. They are multi-purpose spaces as they may serve as both commercial and residential spaces. Neighbourhoods also accommodate other activities that include education or recreation and any activity that is necessary for supporting or enhancing the quality of life and day to day living of the neighbourhoods' inhabitants. Lastly neighbourhoods are areas in which social interaction of resident's takes place, leading to the establishments of social networks that form a great component the neighbourhood.

Whilst there may be different perspectives on what constitutes a neighbourhood, this research is premised on the understanding that neighbourhoods are physical areas of a city that are environmentally and socio – economically sustainable and complimentary to the lives of the inhabitants and overall functioning of the city. Their main function is that of serving a residential purpose as well as being spaces in which a population may work, interact and live out their daily lives in the most comfortable and convenient way possible. They are characterised as having shared access to the basic services and facilities which are provided within the defined boundaries of the neighbourhood.

The following sections look at three perspectives of neighbourhoods. These include the neighbourhood as a system with different interlinked elements within itself, the identity of the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood in relation to the whole city.

2.1.1 The Neighbourhood as a System in Itself

While it is accepted that a neighbourhood is, according to Kallus and Law-Yone (2000; 817) "always part of a larger whole", it is also acknowledged that it is a system in itself. This is evident from some of the definitions provided in the earlier part of this chapter and supported by the writings of Schwirian (1983) who argues that neighbourhoods are made up of different components. He describes these parts as the people, the place, an interaction system, and shared identification along with public symbols. The presence of these different components and their successful functioning as an integrated system is what constitutes a neighbourhood. Considering the earlier mentioned definition of a neighbourhood by Schwirian, one realises that a neighbourhood cannot be the presence of people alone neither can it be the physical elements of a neighbourhood alone. Rather there must be interaction of people and the various components within the neighbourhood for it to function as an urban entity.

The presence of people within a place however does not necessarily mean that an interaction system is formed. There are various physical apparatuses that must be in place to create a platform for people to interact. This is normally in the form of various public facilities and infrastructure within the neighbourhood jointly benefiting both those residing within the neighbourhood and those located outside its boundaries but may travel in or through the area. Such public facilities may include, shopping facilities from which people can purchase their basic day to day consumables, public parks and open spaces that accommodate residents' recreational activities. Other shared services and facilities may include schools of different levels, community halls, small restaurants or coffee shops, roads and pedestrian walkways. These all enable residents of the neighbourhood to meet face to face as they go about their daily activities. A frequency in these face to face encounters or meetings is what leads to networks being formed from the interaction among people.

These networks in turn lead to the emergence of shared interests or common identification amongst residents that give birth to public symbols that reflect shared norms, values or interests. The symbols may be in the form of 'No Dumping' signs on open spaces, natural habitat signs on open spaces that residents of the neighbourhood may have jointly decided to protect, or the common 'Neighbourhood Watch' signs as residents begin to take ownership of more than their individual properties but the neighbourhood at large. In this regard, it is possible to view the broadened 'ownership of space' as an indication that the neighbourhood is a system in itself. The successful functioning of the neighbourhood is hinged on how well the different components within it work together.

2.1.2 The Identity of the Neighbourhood

The identity of the neighbourhood is discussed in terms of the actual character or feel of the specific area as well as the impact this has on those residing within its boundaries. This, in turn, influences how residents are perceived by those residing outside the neighbourhoods' boundaries. The perception may at times be one of derision or stigmatisation where an area is described in terms of socio- economic status or general identity. For example, Umhlanga Ridge in KwaZulu-Natal is associated with wealth and a general high standard and quality of living. As a result, a general perception is that it is a desirable environment where those individuals or families with wealth reside, whereas KwaMashu, a township also in KwaZulu-Natal, is generally associated with crime and low quality of services and facilities. Therefore, those residing in the area are generally perceived as coming from poor backgrounds and KwaMashu Township is considered by those outside of it, as a dangerous place to visit. The identity of a neighbourhood is influenced by different factors such as social, physical and as some would argue to larger extent economic factors. This section will firstly look at the social factors that affect or influence a neighbourhoods' identity.

The social identity of individual residents in the neighbourhood has a direct impact on the social identity of the neighbourhood as a whole. It can either be an attraction to or an element that repels possible future residents from the neighbourhood. In considering the definitions of neighbourhoods discussed in earlier sections, a recurring theme is that of people and the issue of there being a shared identity or some form of network or ties amongst them. It is common to find that when social groups are naturally formed, they build on a mutual interest or some mutual attribute which all the different parties may share or have an interest in. Some examples could be a group of women who may have gone to the same school, people who may share the same business interests or simply people of the same economic status. Schwirian (1983) supports this argument noting that the emergence of a social system amongst a group of people is normally guided by shared rules or norms within the group. The calibre of members affiliated to the group is according to the identity structure that is regulated according to a process or processes of assimilation, accommodation and evaluation (Timotijevic and

Breakwell, 2000: 356). Within cities there are certain neighbourhoods that are classified by a specific group identity e.g. white neighbourhoods, black neighbourhoods, rich neighbourhoods, or poor neighbourhoods.

The physical identity or physical make-up of the neighbourhood is also linked to the social aspect. This has an impact not only on the image of the neighbourhood from an outsider's point of view but also on the residents and their identification to the neighbourhood or their general sense of self-worth. The physical environment of the neighbourhood encompasses a wide range of aspects that include the natural flora and fauna, municipal parks, community halls or play areas, to even more technical issues such as the architecture and urban design, refuse management and aging buildings, zoning regulations in regard to the type of businesses allowed to run in a neighbourhood. All these issues have an effect on the physical environment and in turn the development and identity of the neighbourhood and its residents (Jacobs, 1961).

Rivlin (1987: 9) has argued that the "physical settings contributes to development in direct and pervasive ways". Development within the neighbourhood can be the physical development of the neighbourhood in regard to the facilities available as well as the development of the people in terms of their self-worth, their literacy and wellbeing, their identification to the neighbourhood and relationships within an area. The issue that Rivlin (1987) is highlighting is that, the physical environment of a neighbourhood has an impact on the residents in term of their self-worth and where they view their position in society as being. These are issues that are linked to the physical make-up of a neighbourhood. One example of this is in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) documentary where Louis Theroux interviews a hard-core criminal who appears to be proud of who he is as a criminal and blames it on the environment he grew up in (BBC, 2008). This example affirms the point brought forward by Unger and Wandersman (1985) who acknowledge the role in which the physical setup of a neighbourhood may have on the social and emotional development of a child.

2.1.3 The Neighbourhood as a Component of the City

The complex phenomenon which the city is, has been described in different ways within academic circles. Considering the wide range of activities that take place in the different sections of a city, it can be described as a composite unit made up of numerous components or systems. Kallus and Law-Yone (2000: 817) support this viewpoint when they refer to the neighbourhood as being "part of a larger whole" as well as being a system within itself.

The origins of a city can be traced back to a strategic decision by its initial settlers to inhabit a particular area in order to exploit specific benefits from the lands resources or strategic location. Most cities are known for their different attributes, for example mine towns, tourist cities like Cape Town, and port cities like Durban and Singapore. The identity of the city is linked to its historical origins and economic functions. A city may have a specific function linked to its identity. However, within this general role, there are different components that are designed to support its overall functioning. The neighbourhood is one such component as suggested by Kallus and Law-Yone (2000).

The concept of the neighbourhood is both a planning tool within the city as well as a functional planning framework. As a planning tool, neighbourhoods can be seen as one of the ways in which space within a city is organised. With regard to a neighbourhood as a functional planning framework, Kallus and Law-Yone (2000) believe that neighbourhoods play this role by advancing management and organisational programmes. These may be mainly in the form of public service provision programmes that improve schools, health and commerce within the specific area. A practical example of this would be the formation of a community group made up of members of the neighbourhood that is actively involved with the decision-making process of any possible new developments that may occur within the neighbourhood.

2.2 DEFINING NEIGHBOURHOOD DESIGN AND THEORIES THAT UNDERPINIT

The meaning of neighbourhood design and management is drawn from the separate meanings of the terms design and management and as such this research will discuss the terms separately and with the aim of showing their different objectives as well as their interrelationship. Design is defined as "a plan or drawing produced to show the look and function or workings of a building, garment, or other object before it is made (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013; def 1)". However, Hardt (2006;8) defines design as being "purpose, planning, or intention that exists or is thought to exist behind an action, fact, or material object". This latter definition can better be adopted for neighbourhood design because it involves more than the drawing of plans. It involves a process of planning for the implementation of specific measures in a particular area with the intention of achieving an agreed vision or objective. Barnett (2003: 95) states that "neighbourhoods are not created by planners or builders, but by networks of people who know each other, share their social life and help each other in emergencies, and get together to manage community projects". This aligns with some of the earlier themes discussed in the conceptualisation of the term neighbourhood.

In an attempt to explain the way in which neighbourhoods are created, Barnett (2003) specified that the design of the physical conditions within a community, creates a platform for the necessary interaction that leads to networks amongst residents being formed and leading to the creation of a neighbourhood (ibid). Hence it can

be said the establishment of a neighbourhood involves both the physical or technical aspect, which is design, as well as a more social and administrative aspect, which is the management component to be discussed further in this chapter.

This research acknowledges that for a neighbourhood to be a neighbourhood, both aspects need to exist. A neighbourhood is not a neighbourhood without people that reside in it and in the same breath, a neighbourhood's success or failure is determined by the various proposals made through design and the measures in place to ensure implementation and management of these to accommodate and support the lives of those residing within the neighbourhood. One can say neighbourhood design is about firstly understanding the way people interact and live within a neighbourhood setting, and understanding their needs, and then finding ways of creating an environment that best allows people to better live out their lives. However, this perspective on neighbourhood design is based on the neighbourhood as a unit in itself. The neighbourhood as earlier mentioned is also a unit and a component of the city and as such this perspective is also considered in the design of the neighbourhood. When considering this, neighbourhood design is about meeting the needs of the residents whilst at the same time ensuring that the neighbourhood as unit within the city is still able to fulfil its role within the greater urban system (Jacobs, 1961).

Theories and concepts have been established over the years and have evolved in a bid to better inform the design of neighbourhoods. A common thread through these theories and concepts is that they were all developed with a dual understanding of the neighbourhood and the forces influencing its design. As earlier mentioned, the neighbourhood being a unit has internal design influences in the form of the various needs of the residents it is meant to accommodate. Simultaneously, the neighbourhood in it's role as a component of urban fabric is faced with external forces that influence its design as it has a specific role to play in the larger city system. Considering this, it is important to re-iterate what was highlighted in the introduction to the research, that cities are dynamic and so are neighbourhoods. They are dynamic because the ways in which people live and their needs and priorities are constantly changing and therefore the forces that bring about the various theories that inform the design of neighbourhoods have also evolved with time, in response to the needs and ways in which people live at a particular time. The following are some of the theories and concepts that have informed the design of neighbourhoods.

2.2.1 The Neighbourhood Concept

The neighbourhood concept by Clarence Perry is a design concept that was published in New York Regional Survey (Vol. 7: 1929). It was a response to the degenerated social and environmental conditions that came about as a result of the industrial revolution (Meenakshi, 2011). Perry was an American planner whose

background in sociology is evident in his conceptualisation of the neighbourhood unit. When observing the principles, Perry proposed in the design of the neighbourhood unit, one would tend to agree that his vision was that of a neighbourhood being a self-sufficient unit where residents had access to their everyday living needs, coupled with a high level of social interaction that takes place as people go about their daily lives on foot within the neighbourhood. Perry's neighbourhood unit was designed based on the following principles: -

2.2.1.1 Size

The neighbourhood was meant to accommodate a population of up to 5 000 to 6 000 people as this would be the ideal population that could be accommodated by an elementary school (Meenakshi, 2011). The underlying idea behind a limited population was that, as residents continued to encounter the same people every day, they would be able to develop strong relationships amongst each other that would lead to a joint appreciation of and identification with the neighbourhood.

2.2.1.2 Boundaries

Due to the increase in motor vehicles, Perry believed that there was a need to protect the residential neighbourhood from the ill-effects of motor vehicle usage. In order to do this he proposed that the neighbourhood unit would be bordered by major arterial roads and that there would be no traffic passing through the neighbourhood (Walters, 2007).

2.2.1.3 Internal Street System

Acknowledging the fact that vehicular traffic within the neighbourhood could not be totally avoided, Perry proposed an internal street system that would be characterised by the use of cul-de-sacs, curved lay-outs and light duty road surfacing (Meenakshi, 2011). This would both limit through traffic in the neighbourhood as well as restrict fast moving travel within the neighbourhood. These components would promote a safe and quiet neighbourhood atmosphere.

2.2.1.4 The Central Location of Institution Sites

The idea of controlling internal traffic and discouraging fast moving or through traffic supported Perry's idea of centrally locating institutional services in the neighbourhood. Perry believed that schools and any other institutional services needed to be centrally located in the neighbourhood in order to ensure accessibility by all residents without the use of the motor vehicle (Walters, 2007). The radius of the neighbourhood was to be 400

meters in order to ensure that no child would have to walk more than that distance to get to school and that a walk across the neighbourhood would take 10 minutes (Barnett, 2003).

2.2.1.5 Open Spaces

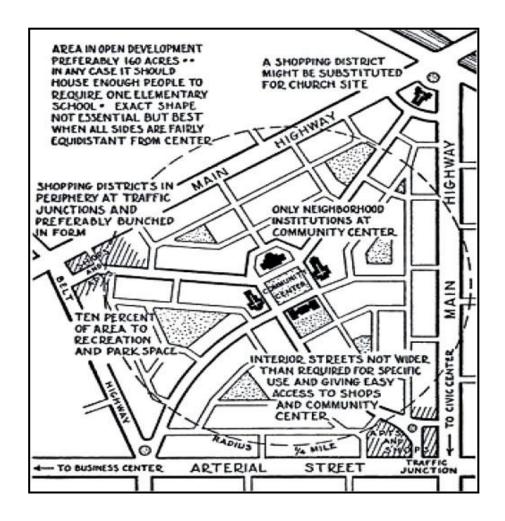
The neighbourhood unit also catered for the recreational activities of the community by making provision for a network of open spaces to be established in the form of parks and playgrounds (Walters, 2007).

2.2.1.6 *Local Shops*

To cater for the day to day shopping needs of the neighbourhoods' residents, Perry then proposed the location of one or more local shops on the edges of the neighbourhood along the main streets (Walters, 2007). This would once again ensure that residents would be able to access these facilities on foot.

From these individual principles it is possible to understand both the physical and social implications that each of these had on the neighbourhood unit as well as the overall inter-dependency of them in order realise the envisioned neighbourhood environment. Figure 6 illustrates a conceptual depiction of the neighbourhood unit by Clarence Perry based on the above stated principles. Based on his attempts to try and limit through traffic and restrict fast moving traffic, one is able to see Perry's' understanding of the external forces that affect the way in which neighbourhoods are designed. The concept came about as a result of the industrial revolution and due to the increase in car ownership in the post 1920s, so safety on the streets was an important element to consider when designing the neighbourhood unit. Along with this were the other elements that more directed at meeting the internal needs of the community.

Figure 1: Clarence Perry Neighbourhood Concept



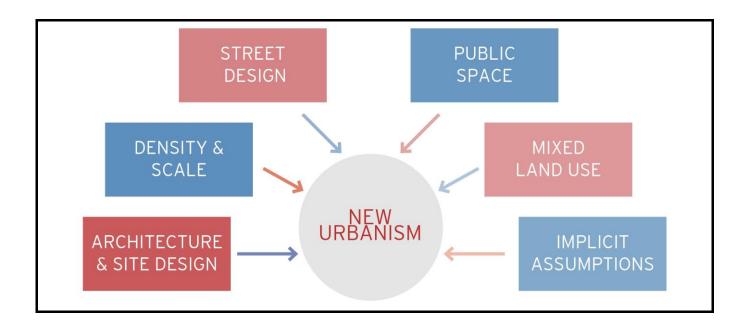
Source: Olson (2011)

2.2.2 New Urbanism

Like the neighbourhood concept by Perry, New Urbanism is a movement whose roots can be traced back to sociology, which has informed neighbourhood design. It is essentially an urban design movement that is driven by a vision to create a sense of community in the built environment. As a modern movement, new urbanism was born out of the idea that traditional neighbourhood developments fell short not aesthetically or environmentally, but through an "insidious social effect" (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1991 in Tallen, 1999: 1361). New urbanists thus believe that it is possible through careful planning and design to create an environment in which inhabitants carry a strong sense of community. As with Perry's neighbourhood concept there are key design elements that are carefully considered under new urbanism.

One of the ways in which new urbanists aim to improve a sense of community in neighbourhoods is by stimulating more social interaction among residents. One of the elements that informs new urbanism design is architecture and site design. The belief is that new forms of design can be implemented in a way that encourages residents to leave their homes in order to spend more time in the public realm on the streets, parks or other public spaces. This however requires "shrinkage of private space, houses are typically positioned close to the street, lots and setbacks are small, and houses have porches facing the street" (Tallen, 1999: 1363). Density and scale is the second element which is focused on the notion that a sense of community is hinged on having well defined neighbourhoods of higher densities within smaller areas in order to increase interaction amongst residents.

Figure 2: New-Urbanism Design Elements



Source: Author (informed by Tallen, 1999)

New urbanism brings about a more social rather that functional view of streets. It presents them as more than transit routes but rather as public open spaces on which pedestrians must feel safe to walk. The safer the public feels when using the streets, the more opportunities for social encounters to take place. In a similar approach to Perry's neighbourhood concept, public spaces like parks and civic centre's play a key role in fostering the recreational lives of residents. As such they need to be a pleasure to inhabit so that the attracted residents use them (Walters, 2007). With regard to mixed land uses, one can trace this issue to the works of Jacobs (1961) who highlights the relationship between mixed land uses and social interaction which open the door for the

increased integration and interaction of diverse income groups as more people begin to live and work within the neighbourhood.

2.2.3 Sustainable Urbanism

Buckminster Fuller in Farr (2008: 31) is quoted to have said, "You never change things by fighting the existing reality. To change something, build a new model that makes the existing model obsolete". Sustainable Urbanism can be viewed as a concept that provides a new model and approach to designing human settlements that is relevant to the times in which we live. Informed by numerous studies on the living patterns of people in urban environments in America, the present spatial patterns of cities and the challenges these bring about, it highlights the importance of design in shaping sustainable human settlements that enable people to live long, healthy and pleasant lives in urban settings. A simple definition for Sustainable Urbanism according to Farr (2008; 42) is that "Sustainable Urbanism is walkable and transit served urbanism integrated with high performance buildings and high performance infrastructure". It acknowledges that sustainability cannot be achieved through the traditional silo processes and approaches of the past focused on environmental conservation, social sustainability or sustainable building without much consideration of the integrated development impact on human settlements and human living. One such example would be the idea of highly sustainable houses fitted with numerous energy saving technologies but built within a suburban area promoting sprawl, with the inhabitants owning three cars which they use daily to go to work or even the grocery store. The settlement is still considered unsustainable because while the actual house may be very energy efficient, the greater settlement pattern is unsustainable.

Sustainable Urbanism thus proposes a more unified approach to the design of human settlements that Farr (2008; 41) believes "if successful will not only vastly reduce environmental harm but also offer stunning enhancements to the quality of life". It grows out of three movements of the 20th century namely, Smart Growth, New Urbanism and Green Building, so that its core values are compactness (higher density) and biophilia (human affiliation with nature). By using the knowledge of human and natural systems, it integrates walkable and transit served urbanism with high performance buildings and high performance infrastructure (Farr, 2008). When looking at the neighbourhood level, Sustainable Urbanism emphasises that the personal appeal and societal benefits of neighbourhood living such as, "meeting daily needs on foot - are greatest in neighbourhoods that integrate five attributes: definition, compactness, completeness, connectedness and biophilia" (Farr, 2008: 42). It is based on this that the following attributes are viewed as being key for sustainable neighbourhood design through Sustainable Urbanism.

2.2.3.1 Defined Edge and Centre

The idea of a neighbourhood having a defined edge and centre is not a new idea as it can be traced to the earlier discussed neighbourhood concept by Clarence Perry. It is thus significant in that it emphasises and supports the generally accepted character of the neighbourhood as a walkable place of face to face interactions among residents. The idea of a defined edge and size of the neighbourhood, brings about the possibility of finite but strong social networks as there is a greater chance noticing and being noticed by the same people each day. While Perry's neighbourhood concept defines the neighbourhood size based on population size, Dover in Farr (2008) proposes a minimum neighbourhoods threshold size of 40 acres and a maximum of 200 acres with the neighbourhood centre taking up 6% - 10% of the total neighbourhood area. An example of .

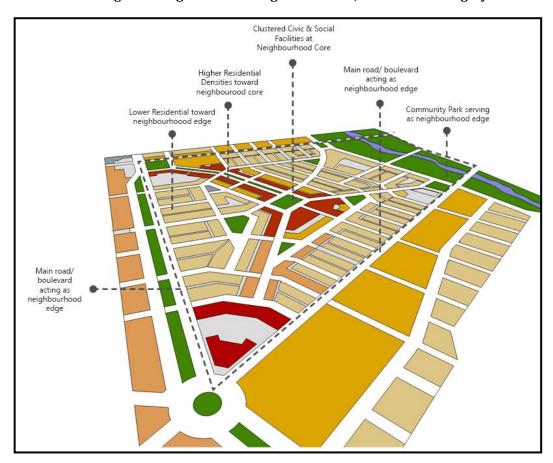


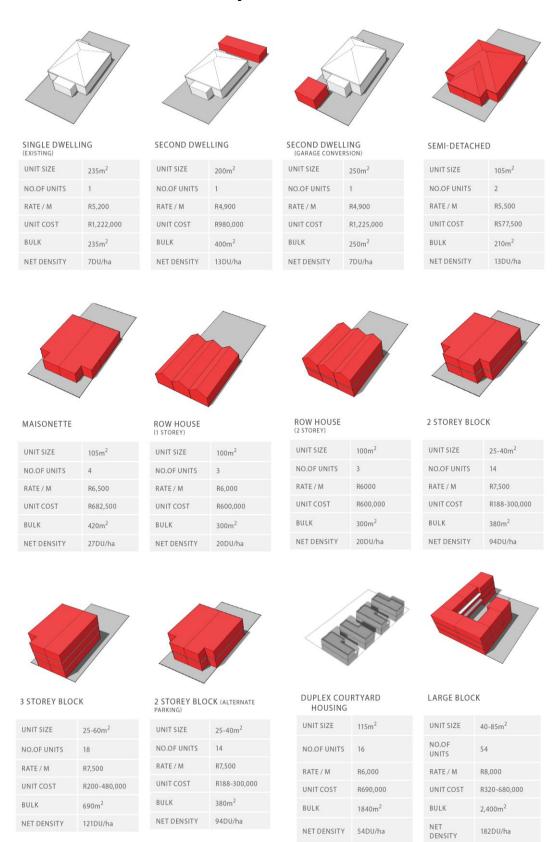
Plate 1: An Image of a Neighbourhood Edge and Centre, Plan and 3D Imagery

Source: Author informed by http://evstudio.com/the-neighborhood-unit-how-does-perrys-concept-apply-to-modern-day-planning/

2.2.3.2 Compactness

Compactness in its simplicity looks at the issue of density within a specific area. Sustainable neighbourhoods are those that promote high densities because of the multiple benefits this brings to the neighbourhood. Farr (2008) points out that Sustainable Urbanism is only possible at densities that are 4 times more than the average new U.S. density of 2 dwelling units per acre which translates to approximately 5 dwelling units per hectare. Higher densities that promote Sustainable Urbanism are achieved by offering divers housing types within the neighbourhood. This can be controlled through the application of different development controls such as Floor Area Ratio's (F.A.R) on different sites. The idea would be to have the highest densities closer to the neighbourhood centre and along the main transit routes. Compactness also enables the neighbourhood to be more walkable. Apart from the social and health benefits this brings to the residents, it also presents the opportunity for mixed use development and promotes the viability of local neighbourhood business. The images below reflect examples achieving higher densities on the same plot by adjusting the development controls, as well as the idea of higher densities along a main transit route.

Figure 3: Densification - Some Examples from Practice



Source: Iyer Urban Design (2014)

Medium density
mixed-use development on regional link
Louis Road

BRT station

Medium density
residential infill

residential infill

Higher density mixed-use
development along transport spine

Louis Botha Ave

Higher density mixed-use
development along transport spine

Figure 4: An Example of Higher Densities along Main Movement Routes

Source: Iyer (2014)

2.2.3.4 Completeness

The notion of completeness refers to the neighbourhoods' ability to support and accommodate the diverse needs of all residents over a lifetime and giving choice to the residents. Choice may be in the diverse land uses and activities, building and housing types as well as services and facilities all accessible on foot within the neighbourhood. In terms of housing, neighbourhoods displaying completeness would be those that offer housing types for all groups over a lifetime. Examples of this are a young couple recently married and needing an apartment to rent as they start off, a larger family moving from an apartment into a detached home or even an elderly couple whose children have all moved out and are looking to downsize to a smaller semi-detached home.

Completeness in a neighbourhood would also be observed through the variety of services and facilities such as schools, a park, community hall, transit stations, offices, corner stores and other commercial facilities.

Figures 8 and 9 both show examples of choice in terms of the unit types as well as land use activities to ensure the completeness of the neighbourhood.

2.2.3.5 Connectedness

The issue of choice is very important in Sustainable Urbanism. Having mentioned the importance of choice in achieving completeness in a neighbourhood, the issue of choice is also important when achieving connectedness. Neighbourhoods need to allow people to both internally connect in the neighbourhood and to adjacent neighbourhoods or regional destinations through multiple modes of movement. In order to achieve internal connectedness, Farr (2008) highlights the importance having pedestrian walkways on both sides of streets and ensuring that streets in the neighbourhood are no more than two travel lanes accommodating traffic speeds of not more than 25–30 miles per hour. This allows the streets within the neighbourhood to be safer and people to access different parts of the neighbourhood on foot. Cycle tracks also need to be accommodated so that children and other residents have the option of either riding or walking to school or work. Public transportation is also important, especially in ensuring that people are connected to the adjacent neighbourhoods or other regional destinations through means other than the motor vehicle. Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems are an example of a modern means of achieving this, while complete streets can also be seen as an example of street design that accommodates multiple movement typologies.

2.2.3.6 Sustainable Corridors

Sustainable corridors are an essential aspect of 'Sustainable Urbanism' because of its aim of achieving transit served urbanism by linking neighbourhoods together with districts and other regional destinations (Farr,2008). his is largely hinged on establishing transit corridors that are supported by the appropriate adjacent land uses and densities to make public transport along the corridor viable. This aspect is important in order to reduce the dependency on private motor vehicles.

2.2.3.7 Biophilia

Biophilia is considered to refer to the extent to which human beings are wired to need a connection with nature and other forms of life (http://biophiliccities.org/). Nature provides multiple free benefits to human kind, the most basic of these being oxygen we use to breath, sunlight, water and the plants that give us food. Sustainable Urbanism acknowledges this important role that nature plays in the lives of human beings and thus also aims to promote the connection between humans and nature through design. While nature provides functional benefits to human kind, it also provides certain passive benefits. A basic intervention

such as ensuring that streets and pedestrian walkways are landscaped can lead to the streets being more attractive for people to walk on and to increase the value of adjacent properties by 3–6 percent (Farr, 2008). Dense vegetation near residential areas provides a viable habitat for birds and provides benefits for both aural and visual senses. Farr (2008) highlights the aspect of resource flows that support human life and provides that in order for human interdependence with natural systems to be strengthened, there is a need for human settlements to be designed in a way that allows resource flows to be visible and experiential. An example of this would be a waste water system that extracts nutrients to grow food in one's neighbourhood creating an incentive not to dump toxic chemicals down the drain (Farr, 2008).

2.2.3.8 High Performance Infrastructure

Infrastructure in this context refers to roads, storm water systems, sewer, buildings, public transportation systems, ventilation techniques and other infrastructure services. The notion of High Performance Infrastructure as part of Sustainable Urbanism, aims to promote the provision of the various infrastructure services necessary to support human life in the most environmentally friendly and financially sustainable manner as possible. It combines principles from multiple strains of reform, such as the financial implications of providing infrastructure to new developments in a sprawling city versus the cost of providing the same infrastructure for a more compact city (Farr, 2008). As such sustainable urbanism promotes the development of new and more sustainable and efficient techniques and technological advances in the provision of various parts of infrastructure.

2.2.3.9 Integrated Design

With its roots in the green building movement, integrated design looks at optimising the performance of a building as an entire system at little or no added cost by shifting the direction of investment in a project (Farr, 2008). The approach is highly dependent on interdisciplinary teamwork and budget discipline as it would involve reassigning the budgets to cover an alternate area that may be viewed as having the potential to contribute more to the efficiency of the system as a whole. Under Sustainable Urbanism, the same principle is applied at a neighbourhood level. The neighbourhood is seen as system and as such, in designing it, Farr (2008) believes that there is a need for interdisciplinary teamwork in achieving the greater vision of creating sustainable urban environments. In essence one could see this element as being the one that brings together all the issues described thus far.

2.3 NEIGHBOURHOOD MANAGEMENT

As stated earlier, when speaking of neighbourhood design and management, the two aspects (neighbourhood design and neighbourhood management) may be defined separately but are nevertheless interrelated and this link is important to highlight. Once a neighbourhood is designed, there is still a need for co-ordination and control when the proposed design elements are being implemented. After implementation, a maintenance aspect comes into play as there are various aspects of the neighbourhood that require constant monitoring, maintenance and possible further upgrades in time. Power (2004;1) speaks of management as involving the "organisation, supervision and delivery of goods and services, the maintenance and enforcement of reasonable standards of repair, maintenance, supervision and provision of acceptable environmental conditions within lines of control and accountability".

The goods and services when looking at neighbourhood management would refer to a variety of public services and facilities and the infrastructure required for neighbourhoods and proposed through design. This includes schools, shops, parks and playgrounds, roads and other public services and facilities. Neighbourhood management is linked to design in that it is firstly about ensuring the delivery of the various proposals made in the design of the neighbourhood. Secondly it is about managing and maintaining the public services, facilities and infrastructure and in essence a particular quality of environment within the neighbourhood. Thirdly it is also about ensuring that the needs of the neighbourhood community are constantly monitored so as to ensure that, as the needs of the community change, relevant measures are put in place to ensure that the neighbourhood also adapts to the needs of the community, thereby constantly remaining relevant. When implemented well, neighbourhood management ensures the active participation and involvement of all residents.

Power (2004:3) defines neighbourhood management as "the local organisation and co-ordination of core civic and community services within a small, recognisable, built up area of under 5 000 homes" and goes on to emphasise the important role played by neighbourhood management in sustaining urban conditions.

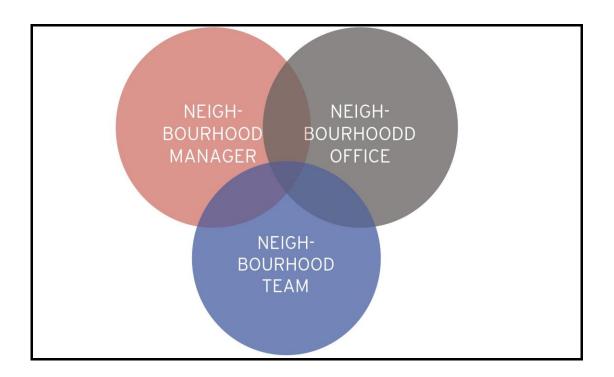
While many a time cities may have different branches or offices responsible for different parts of the city, more often than not, the area covered by such an office is too large to ensure effective and efficient management of the area. In some instances, few actually have the specific and clear mandate of dealing with the organisation and management of the core issues at a neighbourhood level such as the capital services, conditions and standards in the neighbourhood (Power, 2004). Efficient neighbourhood management that actually brings about change or makes a difference in a local area has a clear mandate that makes it interactive and participatory in its dealings. Such an approach will allow a local residents association has to address issues with officials or other agencies, and be able to articulate a collective or shared ideas or approaches which are not easily dismissed.

Power (2004: 3) identifies the core services that neighbourhood management provides to the neighbourhood as being the following: -

- Security: Control of nuisance and general supervision;
- Environmental maintenance and repair of damage to public areas;
- Street cleaning: refuse collection and rubbish renewal;
- Community liaison;
- Contact, consultation and support;
- Co-ordination of specific services coming into the neighbourhood (co-ordinating inputs to maximise benefits and minimise waste) this includes housing, health facilities, education, policing, leisure facilities and possibly regeneration initiatives;
- Links with local business;
- Links with wider and central services that are required for the successful functioning of a neighbourhood, such as adult education, job centre, library;
- The development of local initiatives, special projects and new ideas; and
- Co-ordination with and support of local voluntary groups.

In order for neighbourhood management to work a neighbourhood needs to have an organisational structure with a team specifically mandated to play an active, hands-on role in dealing with the day to day core issues of the neighbourhood. The structure would be headed up by a neighbourhood manager who would be supported by a team of staff and key community representatives. It would also be important for the structure to have a neighbourhood office where the community is able to report their needs or concerns. One way to look at neighbourhood management would be that it forms provides a better link between the neighbourhood and local government.

Figure 5: Neighbourhood Management



Source: Author (informed by Power, 2004;18)

2.4 INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

According to Bourne (1978; 5) the term 'inner-city' is one that is relative, as it needs to be defined from a "specific point of reference and set within a particular context social and political context". According to Demographia (2013), the inner-city is the area of a metropolis that is often referred to as the urban core and which is generally seen as the most prominent or vibrant section of a city. One could also refer to the inner-city area as being the central business district (CBD) or heart of the urban system. Acioly (1999; 6) refers to the inner-city as being the most essential component of a city and considers it as the centre of activity - "the engine or heart of the urban entity". An alternate perspective is one that views the inner-city as being the "older portion of an urban area immediately surrounding the CBD". This perspective however is hinged on the age of the area while the preceding definitions were largely based on a spatial understanding of the structure of the city. However, for the purpose of this research, the inner-city area will be viewed from a spatial structuring perspective as the area within a city's CBD.

The neighbourhood definitions discussed earlier paint a picture of neighbourhoods being self-sufficient components of a city that serves the day to day needs of residents. Inner-city neighbourhoods refer to areas

within the city's core where residents share a common identification of the neighbourhood boundary e.g. a shared cognitive idea of space. They are places where residents are able to conduct face to face interaction and freely perform their daily activities. In the case of this research, Durban is a metropolitan region with a defined Central Business District – a core around which are spread a number is inner city neighbourhoods. The case study area of Albert Park is located within the boundary of the CBD as reflected in the map below. For this reason it will be assessed as an inner-city neighbourhood in later chapters of this research.



Map 2: The Location of Albert Park within the Central Business District

Source: Jaya (2015)

It is however important to highlight that inner-city neighbourhoods are different from most neighbourhoods because of the way in which different people will react or relate to them. This is unlike the neighbourhoods discussed thus far in the research, whose design is mainly centred on the lives of those residing within the neighbourhood. Due to the fact that inner-city neighbourhoods are located within the CBD, they will naturally adopt some of the it's functions or uses that a neighbourhood outside may not contain. It can be said that inner-city neighbourhoods will tend to have a dual identity. From one perspective, they will be considered a neighbourhood by those residing within them. However, for those that may be accessing the inner-city neighbourhood for work or leisure purposes, the same space may be viewed as just like any other part of the central core. Given their location within the core inner-city neighbourhoods would be the most ideal places to

take advantage of the high skylines and increase residential densities through the development of high rise residential facilities. They could also, take advantage of the vibrancy and energy that is expected come from the CBD by providing reasonable space for recreational facilities and services. It is therefore important to consider these variations in the design of the inner-city neighbourhoods.

2.5 Liveable Cities

The concept of liveability is one that has resulted from a relationship between communities and the environment in which their life activities are lived out (Shafer et al, 2000). Various academics have grappled with defining what liveability means and have found it a challenging term to conceptualise as it may be applied in different ways depending on the context which it is being used and the background of those applying it. Leby and Hashim (2010) suggest that liveability is a concept that has been applied in various fields that include ecology, sociology, geography and urban planning at individual, neighbourhood and country scales. At a basic level, liveability can be said to look at people's attitudes or perception in regard to living in certain environments. Throsby (2005) in Leby and Hashim (2010: 71) says that "liveability encompasses the characteristics of urban environments that make them attractive to live in". Throsby (2005) points out that these characteristics which can be used to define liveability can include both tangible and intangible features in them. Tangible characteristics are actual physical features such as those covered under the umbrella term of public infrastructure. Intangible characteristics on the other hand are not physical features but may still be present in the form of the sense of place that is shared by the residents and their neighbourhood, its local identity, and social networks that are formed with in it (Leby and Hashim: 2010). A more detailed assessment of these characteristics will be provided in the following chapter when looking at the neighbourhood as a system in its self.

An evolved perspective of the concept of liveability is one that links with Jane Jacobs' perspective, of successful inner-city neighbourhoods¹, and is proposed by Balsa (2004). He defines liveability in regard to the ability of a centre to maintain as well as improve its viability and vitality. This perspective unlike the ones before, brings about the element of continuity, proposing that the liveability of an area is not a merely a final outcome that can be reached but more of a standard or state of being of a place, that requires maintenance through efficient management frameworks. As established in the preceding section, neighbourhoods like cities are constantly evolving and, as a result, what makes them liveable will also change with time. One can thus say that when an area needs or problems are not constantly monitored and addressed, its level of liveability decreases.

[&]quot;A successful city neighbourhood is a place that keeps sufficiently abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them" (Jacobs, 1961: 122).

Vergunst (2003) provides a framework for liveability arguing that the liveability of an area is determined by the interaction of five variables, namely: local inhabitants, community life, service level, local economy and physical location - as displayed in Figure 6 below.

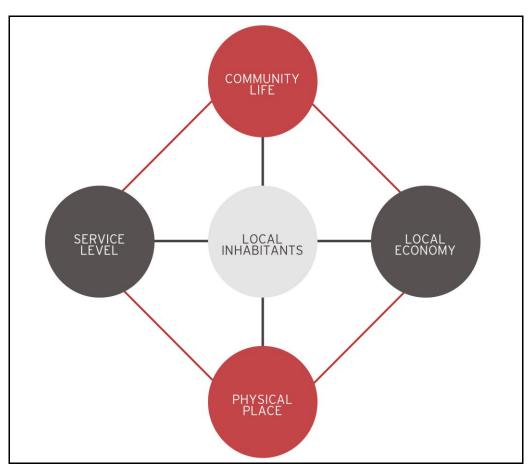


Figure 6: Vergunst's Diagram of Liveability

Source: Vergunst (2003;37)

The five variables stipulated by Vergunst (2003) may be viewed as the different categories of the overall elements that need to be addressed or considered to achieve liveable neighbourhoods or cities. It is important to note that all variables and the elements which they cover are interlinked and do not stand in isolation. In order to fully comprehend the elements that are covered by the framework, the five variables will be discussed separately below.

Local Inhabitants

Information about life style and demographic structure of the local population is an important aspect of liveability as it has implications for the planning of the area in regard to densities and transportation within as well as leading to and from the neighbourhood (Georgopulo, 2005). The life style of the residents already living within a neighbourhood may have an effect on how liveable it is perceived by outsiders. The demographic composition of the local inhabitants also has implications for the community life within the neighbourhood.

Community Life

Rivlin (1987) links the level of interaction in the neighbourhood with the type of community, proposing that the relationships or strength of community affiliations within the neighbourhood is determined by the quality of interaction amongst its residents. A strong point that has often been raised in the assessment of human settlements is that often-poorer neighbourhoods that are densely populated will generally possess stronger, close knit community bonds amongst the residents as they learn to help each other in times of need. However wealthier neighbourhoods are said to have shallower relationships as there is less interaction on the streets and residents are often more self-dependent.

Service Levels

The service level generally refers to the availability of public services such housing, educational facilities, access to community centres or pension pay out points for the elderly (Leby and Hashim, 2010). Although in the case of African cities, it could be argued that this is often determined by the financial standing of the neighbourhood in question. Wealthier neighbourhoods generally appear to have better services than poorer neighbourhoods. This will however be assessed at greater length in the following chapters. Nevertheless, the assertion still remains that the quality of the services available in a neighbourhood has an effect on how liveable the area is perceived to be.

Physical Place

According to Leby and Hashim (2010: 72), this variable refers to the "landscape and buildings in the area". Georgopulos (2005) supports this viewpoint by identifying the need for mixed use developments and street savvy design as some of the elements necessary to consider when creating liveable communities. The landscape of the area is affected by the existing natural elements of the area whose uniqueness combined with aesthetically appealing and functional design of buildings, streets, parks and other man-made elements within the neighbourhood, may contribute to a sense of place within the area.

Local Economy

The final consideration is that of the local economy which refers to an areas' ability to generate income and employment (Leby and Hashim. 2010). While the element of promoting mixed used developments by Georgopulos (2005) can be seen as a physical aspect in that it allows residents access to shopping facilities within close proximity to their place of residence, it can also be seen as having a local economic advantage. Mixed use developments allow for a wider variety of economic services to be available in a neighbourhood and as a result this leads to an increase in economic activity and employment opportunities within that space.

It is also important to clarify that for the purposes of this research, liveable inner-city neighbourhoods will be regarded as being neighbourhoods within a city's core that have not been overwhelmed by its defects or problems. Rather it should continue to be attractive as a living space catering well for the conditions of those currently residing within them as well as those who frequently visit them.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a clear definition for neighbourhoods, identifying them as being systems within themselves while also part of a greater system. As a result of this, it is important that designers always consider how the neighbourhood interacts or relates to surrounding areas as well as how people are able to conveniently live out their lives within the boundaries of the neighbourhood. With this comes the need for designers to understand the daily behaviour and needs of human beings. The theories of neighbourhood design discussed, confirmed this by providing an overview of the context in which they were developed and how each theory highlighted the need to accommodate, economic, social and ecological services and facilities. What changes over time is the range of services to be provided and relationship between these. It is evident that past theories cannot be said to be irrelevant or not applicable in the modern context, but rather there are various principle from each of the theories assessed, that can be consolidated into a key set of criteria to guide and inform the design and management of inner-city neighbourhoods of today and the future.

3.0 Introduction

The first chapter highlighted the generally accepted notion that cities are dynamic and constantly evolving and that neighbourhoods may also be viewed as being dynamic. One may view cities as a system composed of different components and when different forces or pressures are exerted on the city, these in turn have an impact on the components of the city such as inner-city neighbourhoods. Various city researchers have acknowledged that neighbourhoods undergo change, however the causes of this change are widely debated. With the aim of both reviewing the literature on neighbourhood change and setting the scene for the rest of the research, this chapter looks at various theories of neighbourhood change.

The chapter goes on to look at two commonly discussed outcomes or stages of neighbourhood change namely decay and regeneration in terms of the factors that lead to these particular stages. In order to ensure that the research is relevant to present day city dynamics, the chapter will then briefly look at urbanisation as a major force that has and still is influencing change in cities globally. As mentioned earlier, as various forces are exerted on a city, it is expected that this will also trickle down and effect change in various components within the city such as neighbourhoods. This brings about the question of the role of neighbourhood design and management in responding to present inner-city neighbourhood challenges and in ensuring their future liveability in a rapidly urbanising world.

3.1 NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

While the concept that neighbourhoods like cities undergo processes of change is one that is of mutual understanding within both planning and urban form circles, the theories that inform this change have been debated for many years. Three schools of thought that have sought to unpack this issue include the Ecological Theory, the Sub-Cultural Theory as well as the Political Economic Perspective. These theories will be discussed in detail below.

3.1.1 The Ecological Theory

The first of these is the ecological perspective that is largely attributed to ecologists from Chicago's school of sociology who believed that neighbourhood change was an inevitable natural process that was largely driven by structural economic and social forces (Pitkin, 2001). In essence, ecologists viewed neighbourhood residents as not having much of a choice or say in regard to matters concerning their areas but rather they were at the mercy

of greater ecological forces. There are different models that were developed under this school in a bid to explain the natural process of neighbourhood change. The most common of these was the concentric zone model that was largely built on the concept of invasion and succession taken from plant ecology and animal ecology (Schwirian, 1983).

Applied to the urban form debate, the invasion and succession concept saw neighbourhood change as being an inevitable outcome of a competition for space. Burgess's concentric zone model portrayed the city as being made up of six concentric rings, with the innermost ring being the Central Business District (CBD), surrounded by the industrial sector, slum housing, working-class housing, higher-status dwellings and finally commuter housing (Pitkin, 2001). The model proposed that as the city experienced natural growth, each ring from the inside going out would place pressure on the ring outside of it to expand. In summary, the model suggested that neighbourhood decline was a result of the lower income groups slowly infiltrated more upmarket areas forcing the wealthier population to move even further from the CBD (Pitkin, 2001). Figure 7 below illustrates the Burgess model of city growth and expansion.

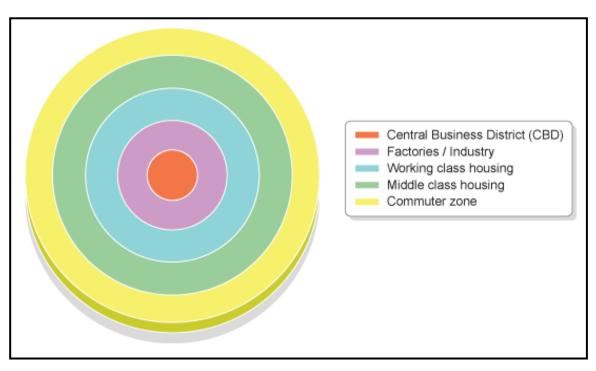


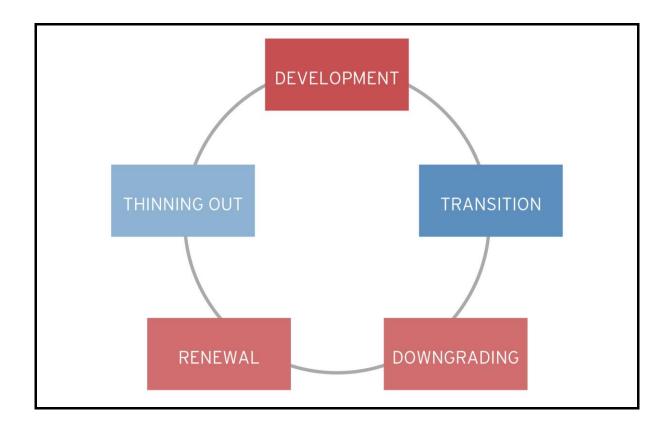
Figure 7: Burgess Concentric Zone

Source: http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/urban_environments/urban_models_medcs_rev1.shtml)

Hoyt (1933) develops a similar model but explaining neighbourhood change as a phenomenon largely inspired by economic theory. Building on Burgess's theory, Hoyt's (ibid) argued that neighbourhood decline was indeed a natural process which was a result of property owners withdrawing their investments in aging properties and redirecting them to newer properties on the urban periphery. Using a similar concentric structure to Burgess, Hoyts attributes the outward expansion to a pull effect as compared to the push effect like Burgess (Pitkin, 2001). The need to consider other forces that influence neighbourhood change in Hoyts' model such as the existence of mortgage credit and immigration, was identified by other ecological thinkers (Pitkin, 2001). This argument can be seen as having been what led to the emergence of the neighbourhood life cycle theory which also belongs to the Ecological School of thought.

The neighbourhood life cycle model established by Hoover and Vernon in 1959 proposes that cities go through a life cycle and the same applies to neighbourhoods (Schwirian, 1983). This life cycle is made up of the five stages that neighbourhoods are believed to ultimately experience.

Figure 8: Neighbourhood Life Cycle Stages



Source: Author, (adapted from Schwirian, 1983; 92)

The first of the stages experienced by the neighbourhood is the development stage. The model provides that, as the neighbourhood passes from one stage to another, it experiences various changes that may include variation in the status of the neighbourhood's population composition, and racial and age composition. The intensity in which land and dwellings are being used, the population density, along with the quality and condition of housing within the neighbourhood, all have to be considered (Schwirian, 1983: 91).

While Hoover and Vernon propose five stages for the neighbourhood life cycle, they also point out that not all neighbourhoods experience all four stages proposed as part of the life-cycle theory. In some instances, a neighbourhood may fluctuate between two or three stages. There are multiple factors that can influence a neighbourhood's movement through different stages of the cycle. These may include, the rate of growth of population and housing within the neighbourhood, the level to which residents can mobilize resources to resist change, the extent to which redevelopment projects are pursued in the neighbourhood and the changing level of accessibility of the neighbourhood to employment opportunities within the city (Schwirian, 1983). While one of the positives of this theory is the fact that much investigation that has been put into assessing change does show that neighbourhoods do undergo go change, the limitation is that most empirical tests of the life cycle have been largely only focused on change in status, on residential population density, and on neighborhood population size (Schwirian, 1983).

3.1.2 The Sub-Cultural Theory

The Sub-Cultural school of thought is arguably the biggest critic of the ecological perspectives of neighbourhood change. Contrary to ecological thinking, sub-culturists argue that neighbourhood decline is not a natural and inevitable phenomenon where residents are at the mercy of greater structural forces. Rather it is one that "in fact can be fought off by the strength of social networks in the neighbourhood that encourages neighbourhood organizers to mobilize residents to assert their interests" (Fisher, 1994 in Pitkin, 2001: 7). The sub-cultural theorists criticise the ecological perspective based on three main elements. The first of these is that the ecological perspective fails to consider some non-economic factors that also contribute to why and how residents may choose to reside in certain areas of the city (Firey, 1945). The main argument here is that although there is an economic influence on where people live, there is also a social aspect where residents develop sentimental attachments to their neighbourhoods. This attachment can be attributed to possible established social networks, memories, satisfaction and commitment to the neighbourhood community. These also have an influence on where people live or whether or not change occurs in a neighbourhood.

The second point of criticism addressed is the way in which ecological perspectives believed rational, economic choices related to the metropolitan real estate market were the driving force behind neighbourhood change.

Sub-culturalists argue that neighbourhoods could remain stable and possibly improve as long as their social structure was strong (Pitkin, 2001). Ahlbrandt and Cunningham (1979:29) support this notion by stating that neighbourhoods are made up of people and that it is the willingness of residents to remain in their current location and to work to improve it, which will determine the stability of the area.

The final criticism made by the sub-culturalists is that of the way in which the ecological perspective viewed neighbourhoods as being homogenous. In contrast to this, sub-culturalism introduces the idea that urban neighbourhoods are in actual fact heterogeneous and as a result of their findings it is believed that other sub-cultures have shown signs of being able to defend their neighbourhoods from outside threats (Pitkin, 2001). In essence the theorists believe that as much there may be various structuring forces that influence neighbourhood change, it is not always a given that neighbourhoods will give in to the forces of change. In fact the threat of change may be a catalysing factor that brings a fractured neighbourhood together in a common bond to oppose it.

3.1.3 The Political Economy

The political economy perspective is more similar to the ecological perspective in that both agree that neighbourhood change is driven by forces outside the control of the residents. However, while the ecological approach sees change as being a natural, inevitable process, the political economy acknowledges that it is not a natural force but rather a result of social, political and economic decisions that are made by the elite groups in the city to direct and control the growth of the city and its economy. Schwirian (1983:95) supports this point by saying that the city's growth is guided by a coalition of land interests that operate through "inter-organizational linkages in such a way that there is an uneven distribution across the city in the benefits of development and revitalization." The fate of neighbourhoods is thus determined by the large institutions that operate within the city, such as banks and insurance companies, as well as the state or branches of the state through various taxes and interest rates.

3.2 URBAN DECAY

Having looked at various theories of neighbourhood change, what stands out, apart from the fact that neighbourhoods change, is that at some point that change may lead to a stage of decay. Urban decay is an important theme to discuss in this research as the case study area for this research is one that is facing the challenges of urban decay and one of the issues being investigated is the role of neighbourhood design and management in transforming decayed areas or avoiding cases of decay.

Being a phenomenon that all cities are susceptible to in varying degrees, urban decay is a state in which a section or different sections within the urban environment fall into disrepair or lose the vibrancy they may have once possessed. This phenomenon often manifests itself in various social, environmental, economic and physical ways. Some common physical tell-tale signs of urban decay, as reflected in the image below, are deteriorating or abandoned properties, increased dumping on abandoned sites, increased vandalism and loitering (Brandman, 2011).

Plate 2: Decayed Building in Johannesburg



Source: http://thenewage.co.za/47932-1008-53-Hijacking_the_inner_city

It is important to note that the physical, social and economic characteristics of urban decay are always interlinked both in terms of an area's state of decay as well as the events that may have led to it. This can be observed when considering the relationship between the physical characteristics that Brandman (2011) identified with some of the economic issues of urban decay. Andersen (2003) gives account of some of the urban neighbourhoods in America where he highlights that a common problem that led to decay in these neighbourhoods could be attributed to a loss of economic activities particularly where neighbourhoods were located in older industrial cities. This decline in economic activity could be observed through a decrease in investment in the affected areas as some property owners begin to sell their assets or simply neglect to maintain them. Other ways in which a decrease in economic activity is observed is through the increase in unemployment as more businesses begin to close or simply relocate to other more vibrant areas or economically competitive areas.

These failures in the economic systems of an area are what lead to the earlier mentioned physical characteristics of decay. The social characteristics of urban decay can also be observed in different ways, one example of which is change in the demographic composition of the area. When an area experiences decay those who are wealthy enough to move to a more vibrant or well-off area will tend to do so (Andersen, 2003). However, there are cases when the change in the class of people within an area is what ultimately triggers the whole urban decay phenomenon. As the research will later show, this has been the case in a number of South African inner-city areas, where once during the Apartheid era where commonly known as white areas and in essence areas for the well of population. However in time the infiltration of the middle income and non-white residents is considered to have been one of the key elements that triggered the so called 'downward spiral' of decay. Andersen (2003) gives evidence of the change in the class of people ultimately triggering the whole urban decay process in American experiences where trends changed and people began to develop a greater interest in suburban life. process. This shift in trends was accompanied by wealthier residents moving away from the once desirable inner-city neighbourhood lifestyle to the suburbs. This also led to an increased disinvestment in some inner-city neighbourhoods and in some cases the physical manifestation of decay.

Often it is accepted that the other social characteristic of decay is an increase in criminal activities in the area. In such instances the external perception of an area also changes as they become negatively perceived as 'tattooed dens of iniquity'. This description may allude to the defacement of building exteriors by graffiti which tends to be associated with the seedier parts of the city landscape. This is a common occurrence in inner-city areas across that world, where the increasing criminal activity in an area goes hand in hand with the decay label placed on that area. Examples of this would include the cases of decay and crime in Bronx of New York in the late 1900's, and at a more local scale the current cases of decay and crime in places like Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Point in Durban.

3.3 URBAN REGENERATION

Considering the lifecycle theory, once an area has downgraded or reached a stage of 'death' a specific intervention may be implemented leading to its revival. In the same way that there may be different forces that have led to an area decaying in the first place, there are also diverse interventions that may be implemented to combat decay in the area. Urban Renewal, Rehabilitation (or Revitalisation) and Regeneration projects are commonly used approaches which in error are frequently used interchangeably.

Coach (1990) speaks of Urban Renewal as a process that is generally focused on promoting physical change in an area. This focus on the physical tends to mean that the social, economic and even environmental needs or ills of decay are often ignored. He criticises Urban Revitalisation initiatives for their lack of providing clearly defined

purpose. While still heralding the need for action, they fail to clearly specify what method or approach is to be undertaken. Compared to these, Urban Regeneration would appear to be the favoured response or means of combating urban decay, as it provides a more integrated response to decay by considering social, physical, economic and environmental issues.

The preceding section reflected that, while urban decay may be triggered by a specific force or problem (economic or social), the effects of decay are often multifaceted and hence the need for a response that is not constrained to addressing either the physical, social, environmental or economic ills of decay alone. Urban Regeneration would appear the ideal approach as Mehta (2006; 1) simply defines it as "a process to improve economical, physical, social and environmental condition of an area" and goes on to highlight that Urban Regeneration is based mainly on the following themes:

- the relationship between the physical condition evident in urban areas and the nature of the social and political response;
- the need to attend to matters of housing and health in urban areas;
- the desirability of linking social improvement with economic progress;
- the containment of urban growth; and,
- the changing role and nature of urban policy.

Based on the above themes, Roberts and Sykes (2000: 10-17) define urban regeneration as being a "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change".

3.4 THE TWIN IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION AND URBANISATION

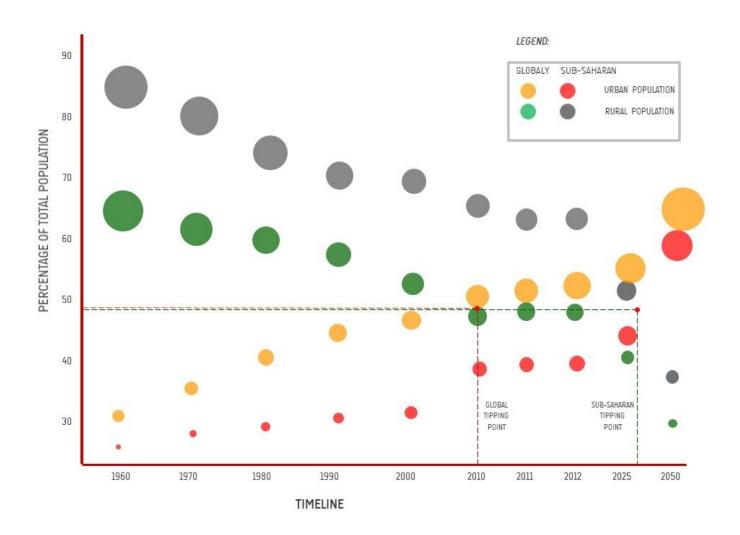
The section on urban decay provides that there are diverse forces that lead to decay but that the effects of these are always interrelated. Urban decay is a disease that attacks cities across the world, often stemming from one symptom that, when not treated early enough, evolves into multiple symptoms. In the American example earlier provided, a change in the economic system triggered multiple reactions that eventually led to different cities experiencing decay. However, this example was limited to a shift in one country leading to multiple consequences in the same country. In today's world of 'globalised cities' where countries and cities across the

world are more connected, the impact of one city's collapse can have multiple effects on other cities globally (Leautier, 2006).

Leautier (2006; 28) describes globalised cities as "locations within the world, defined with precise city boundaries, but plugged into global flows, such as foreign direct investment that comes along with the decisions companies make to locate in particular cities, as well as the flow of people who come to work for these companies or visit for business purposes and the flow of goods and services that are produced by these companies as they decide to locate in a particular city". The way in which cities across the globe are connected today is both a blessing and a curse for all cities but more specifically a curse for the cities in the less developed countries. The reason for this being that while multiple businesses have established themselves in less developed cities over the years and contributed to their economic growth, these cities have been left at the mercy of various global economic forces. A well-known example of this would be the Global Recession of 2008- 2009 whose effects were felt all across the world, with some cities being more affected than others. Although the root of the economic collapse was in America, people in various cities on all continents were also losing their jobs and businesses were closing down. Without getting into too much detail, one begins to understand that the severity of the economic link that comes with globalisation. However, an issue more relevant to this research is not globalisation but its twin brother urbanisation.

As global trade has continued to increase in leaps and bounds, bringing economic growth to less developed countries, the rate at which the urban population has been increasing has been very alarming. Urbanisation (which is the shift from a more rural to an urban population) presents a great challenge to cities across the world but more so in less developed cities as they are less equipped to adapt quickly enough to the challenges that come with it.

Graph 1: Urban vs Rural Population Trends illustrating Past Figures and Future Projections

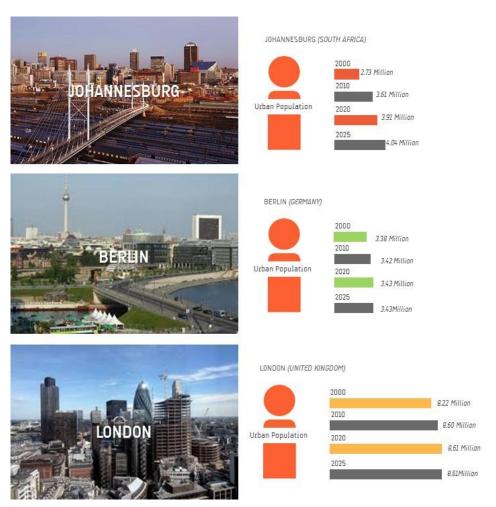


Source: Iyer (2014; 33) informed by World Bank Database

The graph above shows the rate of urbanisation both globally and within the Sub-Saharan region. As reflected on the graph, in the 1960s, there were more people living in the rural areas as compared to urban areas both globally and in the Sub-Saharan region. The year 2010 marked the global tipping point for the global population as for the first time, there were more people in the world living in urban settlements. It is projected that 2030 will mark the tipping point for Sub-Saharan Africa.

This increase in urban populations is also evident at a city specific level as reflected in the following graphics that show the rate of urbanisation in six cities across the world that were chosen for the ²Urban Age project.

Figure 9: Urban Age Project Urbanisation Trends



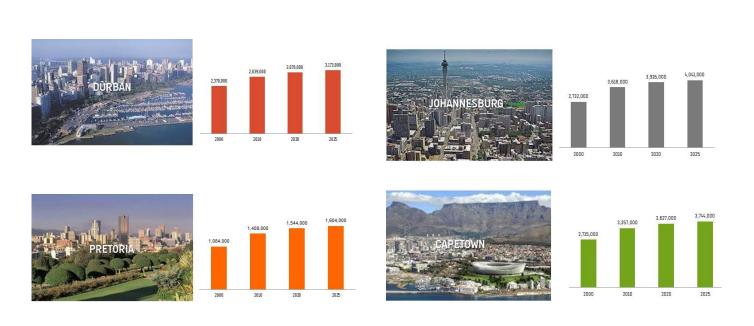
² The urban age project is a worldwide investigation into the future of cities by lse cities at the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft. (https://urbanage.lsecities.net/)



Source: Iyer (2014)

When looking at the case of South Africa, one is able to observe that the same trend is evident. The amount of people living in urban areas is fast increasing and is projected to continue increasing by 2025. The following graphics give more detail on urbanisation in some of the main cities in South Africa.

Figure 10: Urbanisation trends in South Africa's Metropolitan Areas



Source: Iyer Urban Design (2014)

3.5 INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS IN MODERN CITIES

With the increasing rates of urbanisation, there has also been increasing interest in the inner-city and inner-city neighbourhoods. This interest is largely fuelled by two main elements that pertain to the character of the inner-city and its neighbourhoods. Firstly, the across the world inner-city areas are often seen as the main employment centres of a city. Secondly because inner-city areas by mere fact of being located within a city's core, offer easy access to a wide variety of services and facilities. In addition to this from a residential point of view, inner-city neighbourhoods are the areas within the city where very high densities may be easily accommodated (mainly through high-rise developments).

In some instances, inner-city neighbourhoods tend to be congested and also having signs of decline and neglect as in the case of Albert Park and Hillbrow in South Africa. As such often the property values in these areas are may be found to be rather low. This then allows the inner-city to be an area of high infiltration as migrants whether rural or foreign nationals seek initial temporary residence upon their initial arrival to the city. However, there are instances in more affluent cities where the inner-city neighbourhoods are actually considered to be the prime real-estate areas within the city largely due to the access they offer to the wide range of services and facilities within the inner-city area within a walking or cycling distance. The following chapter looks at cases of some inner-city neighbourhood areas in more detail, with the aim of understanding how they have evolved over time and some of the forces that have influenced this change.

3.6 CONCLUSION

While chapter two defined the neighbourhood and inner-city neighbourhoods, highlighting some of the theories and issues that inform their design, chapter three has gone on to present the case of neighbourhood change. Confirming that neighbourhoods experience change over time, be it natural or triggered by the actions of man. The chapter also provided that cities across the world are experiencing rapid urbanisation and it is crucial for this to be understood and accepted by all involved in the planning design and management of cities.

It has been established thus far that the main cause of urbanisation can be traced back to the issue of globalisation as the increase in trade leads to an increase in economic activity in all urban settings. As a result, people all over the world have become and are becoming more attracted to urban living and this influences the way in which cities and inner-city neighbourhoods are planned, designed and managed. These increasing forces are guaranteed to cause some change in inner-cities across the world. The increasing urban populations automatically place a demand on the housing stock, transport systems, food supply and other social, economic and ecological services and facilities. This reality is one that designers need to consider when planning and designing cities for tomorrow, and provide innovative solutions that can be implemented today to solve tomorrows problems.

An overall summary of this chapter is that neighbourhoods change as a result of various forces external to them. Urban decay and urban regeneration are some of the resultants of this change but the two differ in that regeneration is more of a conscious response to decay, while decay is the result of the city's inability to adapt to changing circumstances timeously. Urbanisation is one force that has been and is presently pressing on cities globally. As reflected in the projections, it is a force that is expected to only continue pressing. It is important to understand and accept that the future of civilization is in urban environments. Thus, the design of inner-city neighbourhoods in future liveable cities must consider the role of inner-city neighbourhoods in helping the city to accommodate the anticipated growth associated impacts. The following chapter looks at cases of decay around the world and some of the approaches adopted in response to it.

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to investigate a variety of inner city neighbourhoods that are either currently or have experienced change from a vibrant state to decayed state and possibly renewal. The aim is to understand some of the main factors that caused the neighbourhoods to reach a point of decay as well as to learn from the various experiences and approaches that were adopted in the various renewal initiatives. It must be acknowledged that different cities face different dynamics and as a result one cannot adopt the exact same principles used in addressing decay in one city and apply them to another. However having said that, what can be adopted, is the approach used in establishing a solution.

In order to learn from the experiences of numerous neighbourhoods around the world, the assessment of each experience will be based on three main themes. The first of these will look at the conception of the neighbourhood and its context within the city at large. As pointed out in chapter two, neighbourhoods do not exist in isolation but rather they are part of a system and have a role to play in greater functioning of the city. The second theme will look at some of the events or any other causes that lead to the state of decay in the neighbourhood. This is important considering that while the characteristics of decay may be similar from place to place, the actual causes may differ. The third and final theme will look at the reactions to decay in the various inner-city neighbourhoods. After understanding the causes, it is important to look at the reaction taken by the authorities in addressing the various cases.

Neighbourhoods are created in strategic places for a specific purpose the same way as cities are strategically established in certain areas to serve a set purpose that eventually becomes part of their identity. The following case examples are used to quantify this as they clearly show the relation between the greater city and its innercity neighbourhoods or rather the role the neighbourhoods play in the greater context of the city.

The following precedent examples show the experiences of different cities and inner-city neighbourhoods across the world. It is important to look at examples from different parts of the world in order to get a broader insight on the diverse issues that may have led to decay and thus possibly deduce some common themes between the cases. The experiences observed in First world countries will differ from those in Second or Third world countries. As such the selection of the precedent examples was aimed at identifying cases from countries at different development levels.

4.1 PRECEDENTS FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The idea behind looking at precedent examples from developed countries was to try and establish whether or not the causes that lead to decay in developed countries will differ from those of lesser developed countries. The Detroit example is ideal because of how it is not only a city known for violence but also for once being an economic giant. While the Brisbane example on the other hand presents a city whose planning strategies are heralded in many planning circles today. Both cases are ideal for the purposes of this research. It is important to note however that in both, the events that triggered decay were not economical, but they nevertheless did have economic consequences for the city.

4.1.1 Neighbourhoods in Detroit

The city of Detroit is located within the state of Michigan in the United States of America (USA) (see Map 3 below). It is a city that can be described as having had a complex history that has contributed both positively and negatively to its present state. "The city's neighbourhoods spread outward from a downtown filled with Art Deco skyscrapers, filling in its 139 square mile land area, and spreading to an expanding suburban ring" (AIA, 2008). It is currently known for its high levels of crime and cases of urban decay in a number of inner-city neighbourhoods. Despite these negative aspects, it must be acknowledged that there is a positive side to the city's identity.

Sault Ste. Marie

Escanaba

Lake
Michigan

Mic

Map 3: Detroit in Michigan in the United States of America (USA)

Source: http://www.destination360.com/north-america/us/michigan/map

Plate 3: An Abandoned Street running through the Packard Complex in Detroit, Michigan, in USA



Source: http://zfein.com/photography/detroit/packard/index.html

Farley et al (2004) describes Detroit as having once been a symbol of engineering innovation, business acumen and the economic growth that greatly raised the standard of living of all its citizens in the 20th century. The establishment of Ford and other motor vehicle manufacturers brought Detroit to the fore front in the global economy. As an industrial hub in Michigan and the United States at large, the city comprised of a number of manufacturing plants that were mostly for the production of motor-vehicles and parts associated therewith. These plants were largely dependent on unskilled labour and as such the inner-city neighbourhoods that were located close to the plants were predominantly for the working-class population. The upper-class population also known to be made up of white collar workers, lived in the suburbs outside the inner-city. In its early years, Detroit was established as a motor industry hub that was very vibrant. In addition to the automotive industry there were a number of industrial plants, commercial and world famous entertainment areas located in the inner-city area. Detroit's inner-city neighbourhoods played a supportive role to the motor vehicle manufacturing sector by ensuring that the workforce resided in close proximity to the plants.

Plate 4: Vibrant Detroit



Source: https://placesjournal.org/article/the-forgetting-machine-notes-toward-a-history-of-detroit/

4.1.2 Causes of Decay in Detroit

When one looks at the early city of Detroit in comparison to the identity that seems to have been placed upon it today, the question of how this happened is one that is bound to emerge. Detroit's downfall encompassed a number of variables. However, what triggered it was one event that had a ripple effect on the rest of the city for the years that followed. On Sunday 20th June 1943, two groups of young people, one black the other white ran into each other and what was later described as the 'bloodiest' riot of World War II broke out (Farley et al, 2004). This was the first of a series of race riots in Detroit that soon led to the looting of shops as police lost control of the situation and racial tensions escalated. This loss of control made the problem one of national concern for the American nation.

The Detroit riots are seen today as the main event that triggered the inner-city neighbourhood decline of the city. According to Young and Wheller (1994, 179), Mayor Young speaking of the riots effect on Detroit, said that, "The riot put Detroit on the fast track to economic desolation, mugging the city and making off with incalculable value in jobs, earnings taxes, corporate taxes, retail dollars, sales taxes, mortgages, interest, property taxes,

development dollars, and plain damn money. The money was carried out in the pockets of the businesses and white people who fled as fast as they could."

This was after a wave of the business owners and wealthier earners in Detroit's inner-city neighbourhoods, who were predominantly white, began to move to the suburbs on the outskirts of the CBD in fear of the violence and increased lootings. The increase in white flight meant that there was a decrease in investment in the inner-city neighbourhoods and as a result many firms closed down or moved to different states. The immediate impact was an increase in unemployment and the associated decay within Detroit's inner-city area.

Plate 5: Detroit 12th Street Riot



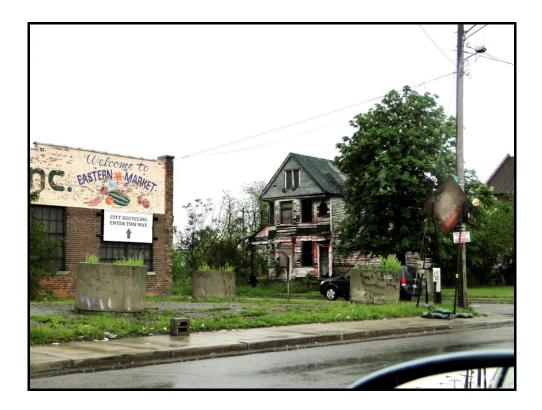
Source: http://time.com/3638378/detroit-burning-photos-from-the-12th-street-riot-1967/

4.1.3 The Response to the Decay of Detroit City

After the riots, it was clear to city planning officials that something needed to be done urgently to remove the negative stereotype that had fallen on Detroit as a city, as well to try by all means to revive the collapsing economy by making the city more attractive to investors. With this in mind, various initiatives were undertaken. One of these initiatives was the construction of the Renaissance Centre Complex. This was a series of office buildings constructed on the Detroit riverfront surrounding one main building that would stand as the city's tallest structure and serve as a hotel. This iconic building was intended to be a symbol of Detroit's revitalisation,

its imagination and potential (Farley et al, 2004). It was believed that the new building would attract back the business owners from older downtown areas and others that had left the inner-city. Sadly, this was not the case. Detroit's population continued to decrease despite General Motors later purchasing the building. Other initiatives that the city tried to adopt included building a new stadium for a local baseball club, and reviving Fox Theatre in a bid to keep the inner-city as vibrant as it had been before.

Plate 6: An Abandoned House, Repurposed by the Homeless in Detroit's Eastside



Source: http://zfein.com/photography/detroit/packard/index.html

A more recent initiative for addressing the problems being faced in Detroit commenced early in 2008 with the establishment of the Sustainable Development Assessment Team (SDAT) (AIA, 2008). The SDAT was established with the aim of assisting the town and citizens in responding to the key issues that were facing the various innercity communities as a result of its decaying state (ibid). The team was made up of a range of built environmental, sociology and economics professionals who were tasked with addressing issues in regard to the city's infrastructure, economy, natural environment and social issues that included food security. The SDAT resorted to establishing a new framework that would guide Detroit in its path toward renewal. The framework

aimed to ensure the realisation of a city that would be socially, economically and environmentally sustainable (AIA, 2008).

Plate 7: Two Faces of the City -the Renaissance Building Complexes with an Inner City House in Decline

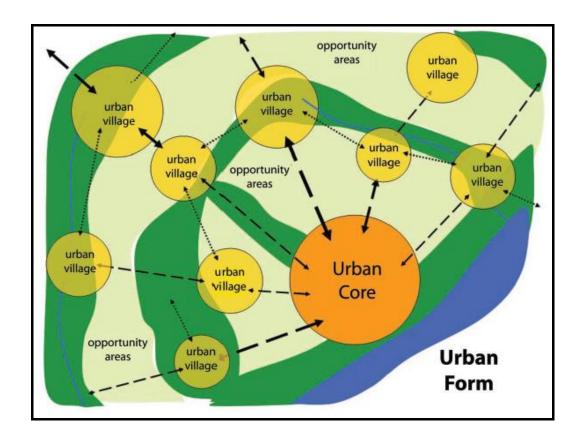


Source: http://jto.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/wn20130813a8a.jpg

This vision for a new Detroit would be realised by focusing on the following five elements:-

- The development of a sustainable urban form;
- Creating a collaborative model for community building;
- Building a new asset-based economy;
- Building the city's human and intellectual capital; and
- Forging stronger regional connections (AIA, 2008).

Figure 11: The Concept for Detroit's Urban Form



 $Source: \ http://www.newgeography.com/content/001171-detroit-urban-laboratory-and-new-american-frontier$

Figure 11 reflects the concept that would be adopted for Detroit's urban form. The concept was inspired by the fact that due to the increased decline, the city population had gone down and as a result it had become characterised by a number of isolated clusters of houses or buildings surrounded by vacant land (AIA, 2008). Detroit was not faced with the problem most cities have in the 21st Century of not having enough land to accommodate the urban population but rather it was a case of trying to reconfigure its urban space in a more efficient and sustainable form. Hence the urban form concept aimed to "create smaller, better functioning, more sustainable and interconnected liveable communities" (ibid; 22). The urban core reflected in figure 6 would thus be a densely populated compact and walkable mixed use and mixed income area with inner-city neighbourhoods that provided different types of housing in the inner-city (ibid).

The urban villages displayed outside the urban core would be areas of lower density than the urban core but still designed to be walkable and generally self-sufficient enough for residents to possibly live, work and play within the neighbourhood (AIA, 2008). It is also important to note the way in which the urban villages would be connected to the urban core to allow for the easy travelling of people who may work in the urban core but desire to live in the urban villages.

The case of Brisbane presented an example of an inner-city area that was once vibrant and driven by a strong manufacturing industry. It reflects how decay can be triggered by social unrest and changing times as investors perception on Detroit where changed due to the riots and at the same time general perceptions where changing as people found suburban life more appealing. From an intervention point of view, it is clear that addressing individual symptoms of decay does not bring about an adequate response. Rather a more holistic approach that considers multiple elements affecting an area is required.

4.2. NEIGHBOURHOODS IN AUSTRALIA

A similar experience is observed when looking at inner-city neighbourhoods in Brisbane, Australia. These neighbourhoods like those of any other city do not exist in isolation and were not randomly developed. One is able to understand the establishment of the neighbourhoods after understanding the city. Thompson (2002) provides a brief recollection of the history of Brisbane highlighting that it was initially established by a group of European settlers seeking a new place to accommodate convicts from the bigger cities such as Sydney in the early 1800's. The Brisbane River and the climate of the area was and still is one of city's major assets as it is what gave Brisbane its great agricultural potential. With the Europeans soon understanding this, the Brisbane area slowly began to turn into a farming region.

Map 4: Location of Brisbane



Source: http://www.worldatlas.com/img/areamap/aunewz.gif

Initially the convicts were used for labour to farm corn that would supply Sydney (Thompson, 2002). Farming activity began to increase in Brisbane and with time the population of convicts was reduced and free settlement became allowed. Thompson (2002) points out that the earliest free settlers were a few shopkeepers that would bring some of their stock from Sydney to serve the emerging farming community of Brisbane. The increasing population thus stimulated more development in the form of wharves along Brisbane River, to accommodate the steamships that allowed for trade between Brisbane and the rest of Australia (ibid). Development in Brisbane thus began to lead to the sprawl of the city and the establishment of a variety of commercial activities that supported the increasing population. In summary one could say that Brisbane emerged as the countryside or farm city of Australia and its neighbourhoods emerged as a result of the agglomeration of other aligned businesses and an increased population.

4.2.1 The Causes of Decay in Brisbane

When looking at the case of Brisbane, a different situation from Detroit is observed in regard to what led to a city with such potential experiencing decay. Brisbane suffered from two main tragic events that sent it on the downward spiral of decay. The first of these was unique in that it was a natural event beyond human control. Thompson (2002) gives an account of the catastrophic floods and drought fluctuations experienced in the 1800s destroying a large amount of housing along the river (see Plate 9). The period of 1800 – 1900 can be seen as having been Brisbane's worst century due to the extreme climate conditions it faced.

Plate 8: Brisbane in 1800's



Source: https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/06/0f/e8/060fe849514095b36b2a5ad4681750a4.jpg

While recovering from the first floods, the city later went through an intense drought between 1828 and 1829 (ibid). However, in the years that followed, it once again experienced a series of great floods, one of which destroyed every single bridge that crossed the river as well as property along the banks of the river.

Plate 9: 1893 Brisbane Flood



Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a7/1893_Brisbane_flood_Queen_St.jpg

These natural disasters are what led to the second cause of decay which is the issue of competition with other cities in Australia. While Brisbane may have been an upcoming city with great potential and a growing population, the floods it experienced sent the city backwards in terms of development. In comparison to other cities in Australia such as Sydney and Melbourne, Brisbane fell behind. The city began to experience a decrease in its population as a number of young people began to leave the city in search of better employment opportunities in Melbourne, Sydney and even overseas in Europe (Brisbane City Council, 2012). As in the case of Detroit, the reduced population meant a drop in the investment in property, leading to Brisbane's inner-city coming to a point where it was struggling with economic stagnation, urban decay and crime (URB, 2012).

4.2.2 The Renewal of Brisbane

Given the state that Brisbane had found itself in, in 1991 a program that has come to be described as one that

has breathed and continues to breathe life into the derelict, forgotten parts of Brisbane was launched (Brisbane

City, 2013). Urban Renewal Brisbane (URB) was established with the mandate of revitalising the numerous

derelict industrial areas that had emerged in Brisbane's inner-city area (URB, 2012). Some twenty years later,

Brisbane had been transformed and it has continued to change into one of the most liveable cities in the world.

The transformation of Brisbane was initially focused on areas within a 5 kilometre radius of Brisbane city's centre

along the river. URB aimed to create an urban environment that embodied sustainable and liveable urban

design from the overarching urban structure down to neighbourhood level and local place-making. This was

achieved through the following principles:-

Focusing new development at accessible locations near transit stations and major centres;

Managing the transition of declining industrial land to high density and mixed-use urban communities;

Establishing new centres to service rapidly growing inner city neighbourhoods;

Preparing built form guidelines to ensure new development integrates with the established characters;

Master Planning development sites that serve as catalysts for regeneration in local areas;

Delivering a range of new public spaces such as plazas, laneways and street upgrades as well as funding

critical infrastructure to support new inner city communities; and

Planning for sustainable new transport connections through the inner city

Source: URB (2012).

The URB program has seen the City of Brisbane winning various awards due to the way it was able to transform

Brisbane in the 20 years since the program started. This transformation has taken place in various ways through

different projects that have managed to change the urban environment to suite the current needs. The projects

have included the conversion of wool stores into modern apartments, the conversion of a derelict powerhouse

into a world-class performing arts centre and the upgrading of open spaces to meet the needs of today's

generation (URB, 2012). The images below reflect some of the changes that have taken place in Brisbane's

inner-city neighbourhoods as a result of the URB.

Plate 10 and Plate 11: The Sugar Refinery and Cutters Landing before and after Renewal when it had been transformed into Residential Apartments



Source: URB (2012; 32).

Plate 12 and Plate 13: The Catalina Wharves and the Redevelopment into Luxury Residential Apartments and Houses





Source: URB (2012; 45)

The Brisbane case provides an example of how in some instances, decay can be triggered by a natural disaster as in the case of the Brisbane floods. However, some of the key points that can be noted from the way in which the city of Brisbane responded to decay is the manner in which their reaction involved a variety of stakeholders through public partnerships as well as the way in which the initiative aimed at ensuring adaptive design, acknowledging the idea of cities being dynamic and constantly evolving with the needs of the population also changing. Along with this was the protection of the city's heritage and character through the protection of various old buildings so as to preserve them and give the transformed city a unique identity of its own. As part of the CBD, Albert Park is and an area that carries rich heritage value and currently serves a diverse range of people. As such it is important that any interventions ensure that the history of the area is not eroded and that extensive stakeholder engagement processes are carried out.

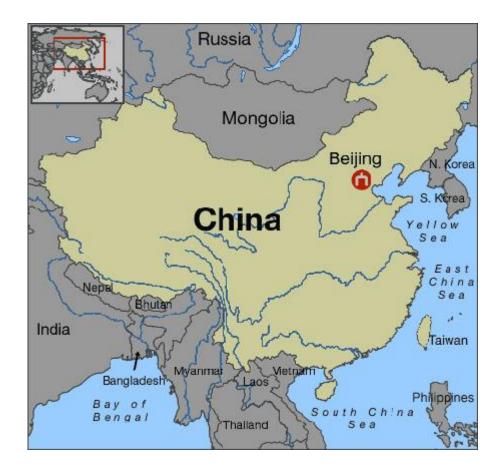
4.3 PRECEDENTS AND EXPERIENCES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The two cases given below of cities in developing countries, presents a different experience to that of developed countries. Unlike in developed countries, what triggers decay is a combination of forces outside the affected city or country as well as poor political decisions that eventually trigger multiple reactions or symptoms of decay.

4.3.1 The Case Study of China's Beijing Inner City

In the Chinese case, a neighbourhood is a term used to classify an administrative category at the village level of China's administrative division (China Local Government Systems, 2010). Although they may not have a key role to play in political decision making, neighbourhoods or communities in the Chinese context are administered by a neighbourhood or community leader along with a committee (Zhaoyun, 2005). Zhiqian (2002) explains this by relating it to the urban structure of Beijing, noting the way in which it is designed with monumental centres of power largely influenced by China's historic feudal system. In this system, land was owned by a rich minority who would then distribute smaller portions of land to the poorer population for agreed services. A basic example would be that of a king who would assign his generals to settle on specific portions of land administering a smaller population. In return the general would dedicate his allegiance and that of his battalion to fighting for the cause of the king.

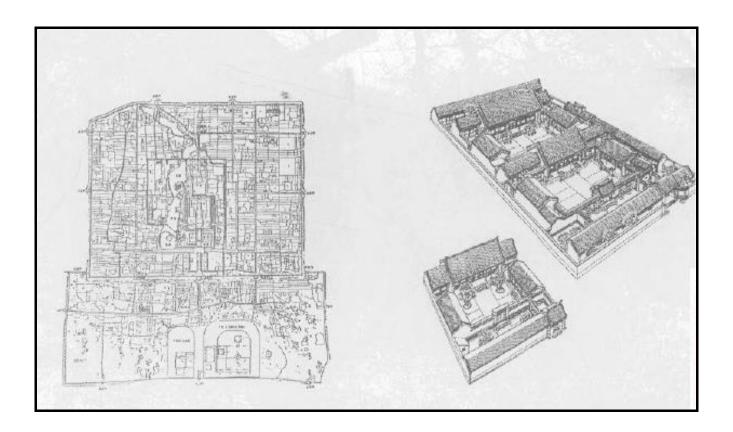
Map 5: The Location of Beijing



Source: http://www.worldbridge.org/repository/tourn/Beijing.08/Graphics/Beijing-Map-China.jpg

Plate 14 below shows the pattern of Beijing's inner-city layout as well as the traditional Siheyuan. The city layout is generally characterised by a grid street layout that divides the city into blocks which are in turn divided by thinner lanes called hutong (ibid,2002). These are used by bicycles, pedestrians and are not suitable for cars, which reduces the vehicular traffic in the residential areas. The hutong are what links the numerous residential blocks (referred to as Siheyuan) to each other and to various shopping facilities. The Siheyuan is the equivalent of a neighbourhood as it is a courtyard that would accommodate a number of households. As a result the traditional neighbourhoods carried a strong sense of belonging and ownership as residents had stronger social bonds amongst each other due to their close interaction on a daily basis.

Plate 14: Street Pattern Inner-City Beijing and Traditional Beijing Siheyuan

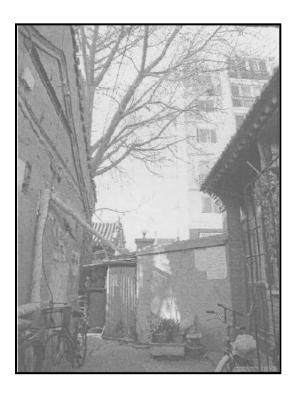


Source: Zhiqian (2002;17)

4.3.1.1 The Causes of Decay in Beijing

Whilst the picture of Beijing's traditional neighbourhoods appears pretty at first, one cannot say the same for the reality that later arose. What led to the decline of Beijing's inner-city neighbourhoods was not a single event but rather a series of events, one of these being the Communist Revolution. Zhang (2002) highlights that after the Communist Revolution, there was an increase in the urban population as rural residents began to move to the city in search of better work in the industries. This was a result of increased investment by the state into industrial projects, after a political decision had been made to prioritise investment in projects that would increase production in China (Ibid).

Plate 15: Crowded Conditions in Siheyuan



Source: Zhang (2002)

However, this decision meant that other pressing issues such as investment in housing infrastructure to accommodate the increasing population were disregarded. The ripple effect of this was overcrowding and increased poverty in the existing inner-city residential areas. Along with this was the issue of a lack of maintenance that resulted from a lack of public funds which was understandable considering the state's standpoint to focus investment on production (ibid). Another event that played a big role in the decay of Beijing's inner-city neighbourhoods was the depression between 1959 and 1962.

The depression crippled China's production investments leading to the state being stretched and less able to cater for the needs of urban populations. As a result, some people including trained professionals such as planners were forced to move to the country as their expertise was deemed to not be of help. This emigration from the city led to the abandonment of a number of buildings and eventually to increased urban decay in the inner-city.

4.3.1.2 Urban Renewal strategies in Beijing

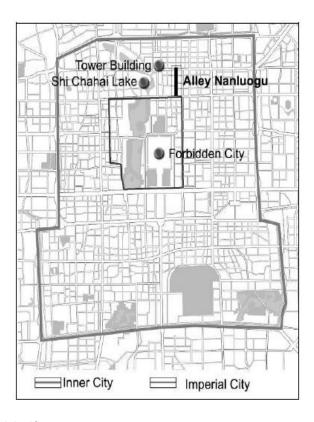
The increase in the number of cases of decay in Beijing's inner-city neighbourhoods laid the platform for the state to intervene through various urban renewal initiatives in key inner-city neighbourhoods. These renewal initiatives can be traced back to as early as the 1950s when various projects were initiated to widen roads, and promote commercial, industrial and residential land uses in a bid to build a "new socialist capital" (ibid: 21). One program that stands as a landmark initiative as it led to a great deal of change in Beijing's urban structure, is the Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program (ODHRP). The ODHRP was initiated by the Beijing Planning and Research institute after being commissioned by the Beijing municipal government to draw up a master plan for four of the city's central districts (Zhiqian, 2002).

On top of its main goal of "improving the living conditions of residents living in dangerous and dilapidated residential areas", the program also aimed to achieve the following objectives: -

- 1) "[To] [d]evelop new districts so as to disperse the population density in the central area;
- 2) To search for new approaches in housing reform;
- 3) To establish a self-sustained real estate industry;
- 4) To improve the appearances of the old city, transform the city into a modern metropolis while keeping the traditional characteristics.
- 5) To improve urban infrastructure in the old city; and
- 6) To revise land use in the old city" (Zhiqian, 2002:22).

It is important to note that the program was not restricted to the inner-city neighbourhoods but covered the city as a whole. After an analysis of the state of neighbourhoods in the city had been conducted, twenty seven inner-city areas were identified as being in need of renewal. Nonluogo Alley in Beijing is an example of an inner-city area that underwent renewal. The renewal program was informed by the theoretical framework that aimed at combining the interaction of three sectors namely, the cultural carriers, physical environment and the cultural networks as reflected in Figure 12: Theoretical Framework of the Cultural Approach to Regeneration Planning.

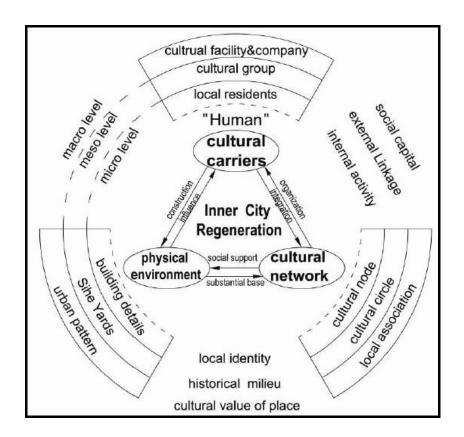
Map 6: The Location of Nonluogu Alley in Beijing



Source: Chun and Bin (2008; 2)

The framework presented humans as being the cultural carriers within the various areas. Bearing in mind that the areas being regenerated were not vacant, it was considered important to acknowledge that there was a cultural aspect that could not be overlooked in dealing with the areas. The cultural carriers were deemed to have an effect on the physical environment in regard to building details, urban pattern or structure of the area and the uses to be developed in the area (Chun and Bin, 2008). The physical environment was also seen in turn as having the potential of strengthening or even potentially weakening cultural networks.

Figure 12: A Theoretical Framework of the Cultural Approach to Regeneration



Source: Chun and Bin, (2008; 4)

The Beijing case can be seen as highlighting the importance of integrated city planning. Due to officials focussing more on the economy, the social aspect of increased population and the implications of this on the city where overlooked and this triggered a rise in informal residential solutions which in turn resulted in cases of decay. However, when considering the intervention approach adopted, one can see the importance and benefit of public opinion as a requirement for understanding the history of the area and its people and existing practices or bonds amongst the people, and how this ensures that the initiatives adopted create a platform for existing cultural networks to be strengthened. This and the development of a variety of commercial and recreational activities along Nonluogo Alley helped develop a greater sense of belonging and of ownership of the area.

4.4 THE CASE OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

The city of Sao Paulo in Brazil offers a similar case to that of Detroit in terms of its history and some of the causes of decay in its inner-city neighbourhoods. Initially established as a Jesuit mission village in 1554, Sao Paulo has

evolved dramatically over the years in its journey to becoming the city it is today (UN-Habitat, 2010). The extreme inequalities amongst its residents have often seen it being described as a city of extremes. Nevertheless, when looking at its history and the way in which it has evolved, one is able to observe a path that a number of other cities have trod. Its earliest economic benefits were obtained from the gold boom of a neighbouring state known as Minas Gerais. However, in the 1700s, the introduction of coffee was what soon brought about increased attention to Sao Paulo and Brazil at large, as it became a major part of both the national and local economies (UN-Habitat, 2010). While the coffee boom in Sao Paulo may have brought about economic benefits to both the city and the country, it also led to a large influx of poor European immigrants in the 1800s who came to work in the coffee plantations.

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Map 7: The Location of Sao Paulo

Source: http://www.intechopen.com/source/html/38770/media/image1.jpeg

The year 1888 saw the abolishment of the slave trade and as a result there was an increase in the supply of labour for the plantations. However, Sao Paulo's dominance in the coffee industry was short lived as international coffee prices decreased. In response to this, the city began to diversify to sugar and the manufacturing of other products for the domestic market (UN-Habitat, 2010). The 20th century brought about another shift in Sao Paulo's economy as the country's then President Getulio Vargas promoted industrialisation as being key for the development of the country at large. This opened the way for the establishment of a

number of manufacturing industries, the most dominant of these being the automobile industry (Ibid, 2010). Sao Paulo soon became a manufacturing centre in Brazil and as result of this status it also became a magnet pulling international and local migrant workers. Faced with these circumstances, it was not long before Sao Paulo's inner-city became highly populated by a large number of poor people who worked in the factories. It is with the consideration of this history of the city that one is able to understand that the emergence of Sao Paulo's inner-city residential neighbourhoods was a natural development that emerged as a result of the industrial activities in the city.

4.4.1 The Causes of Decay in Sao Paulo

While the city may have been experiencing economic growth from the expanding manufacturing industry, very little investment was being placed into the development or upgrading of inner-city neighbourhoods where the majority of the labour force resided. Home ownership was not an option for the low and middle class and as a result some middle-income workers resorted to renting while some low-income workers resorted to the invasion of vacant plots of land within the inner-city were they established informal housing, today often referred to as favelas (UN-Habitat, 2010). As in the case of Detroit, the inner-city soon became less attractive to the wealthier income groups and as a result the elite and urban planners soon turned a blind eye to the problems being experienced in the inner-city.

UN-Habitat (2010:14) states that "fearing disease and contamination and following the natural growth of the city, the wealthy started to move out of the city centre and into newly developed neighbourhoods, subject to planning, urbanized services and the de facto exclusion of the poor". This flight of the wealthy fuelled by the increase in population and congestion in Sao Paulo's inner-city, also led to the migration of a number of industrial activities from the inner-city areas to the areas on the fringe of the city (Cabral, 2013). This in turn led to a reduction in investment within the CBD as old industrial sites and buildings were left vacant, resulting in the decay of Sao Paulo's inner-city and inner-city neighbourhoods. One is able to observe a recurring pattern where an increase in population density, especially low income population, leads to a reduction in the investment of property, business and other infrastructure and services within inner-city neighbourhoods, ultimately leading to the decay of an area.

4.4.2. Renewal Plans for Sao Paulo

There have been various initiatives in the past thirty years to try and revive Sao Paulo's inner-city neighbourhoods. One of these was the 'Sao Paulo Tower', a project that was proposed by one of the entrepreneurs in the city (Cabral, 2013). The project was meant to be for the construction of a building that

would be the tallest building in the world in the hope that this status would somehow trigger the revival of Sao Paulo's inner-city. Nevertheless the project was not able to take off due to various political and stakeholder disagreements.

Early this year a new project was launched and has been said to be the largest Urban Redevelopment Project in Brazil. The Casa Paulista Project is a Public Private Partnership (PPP) initiative between the State and Federal governments, the city council, and various private sector organisations (Cabral, 2013). Although the project appears to be more biased toward housing, the informing vision is for it to lead to the revitalisation of Sao Paulo's down-town inner-city area through investment in housing, urban public infrastructure and economic activities that will allow for increased employment. Alckmin and Domingos (2013;8) support this statement by acknowledging that "the initiative will help to rehabilitate degraded areas, create jobs and income to the extent that enterprises will have spaces for trade and services, and improve the urban transport system". Hence with this in mind one is able to say that Casa Paulista is a regeneration initiative that seeks to address a wide spectrum of issues that affect the city, of which housing appears to be the major one.

The main feature of the project is the projected development yield of 20 221 housing units for low income earners with the intention of locating them closer to employment opportunities. Previdelli (2013) outlines how the design of the project has been influenced by a number of developed cities around the world that include New York with its sidewalks, shops, services and buildings right on the sidewalk, as well as Barcelona and Copenhagen. According to Alckmin and Domingos (2013;10) "the project envisages buildings close to pedestrian access offering retail on the ground floor, as well as housing and office space in the buildings, wide pedestrian pathways and green areas". This is the influence of New Urbanism principles of mixed use and increased face to face interaction due to pedestrian friendly street design through street reclamation. Plates 17 and 18 below reflect some before and after artistic impression examples of the intended revitalisation in this regard.

Plate 16 and Plate 17: The Depiction of a Congested Street Down-Town Sao Paulo transformed to a Pedestrian Friendly Street after Revitalisation





Source: URBEM (2013)

Similar to the case Beijing example, the Sao Paulo case also reflects what happens when there is a bias towards one aspect of city planning (in the case economy) and little if at all any consideration given to the social, ecological and infrastructural impact of increasing economic activity. In regard to interventions, the Sao Paulo example like the in the case of Brisbane shows that isolated individual responses to decay that attempt to independently address the symptoms of decay often fail. City and neighbourhood planning and design needs to always be approached in an integrated fashion.

4.5 EXPERIENCES FROM AFRICAN CITIES

Similar to the experiences of Sao Paulo and Beijing, the cases of decay in the following two African cities were triggered by the political decision that either weakened the economy or disrupted development in one way or another.

4.4.1 The Case Study of Hillbrow/ Berea in Johannesburg, South Africa

Although Hillbrow is located in a South Africa which is regarded as being more developed and having better resources than those of neighbouring countries, it is significant that issues of inner city neighbourhood decline are found here as well. Located in the mining city and economic powerhouse of Gauteng, contemporary Hillbrow is described as a "dense, poverty-stricken, crime infested, inner city residential area". The area is an inner-city neighbourhood in the city of Johannesburg that has experienced some extreme changes during its life span (Sachs, 2010; 20). Originally a suburb that largely comprised of detached housing units prior to the Second World War, Hillbrow evolved to become an up-market high density white area in line with the Group Areas Act (City of Johannesburg, 2006). The neighbourhood was a very vibrant inner-city neighbourhood at the time and tended to attract a number of residents due to its proximity to the city centre. Today it continues to be a very highly populated neighbourhood but a poverty stricken area in Johannesburg. Nevertheless there are a number of changes that have taken place over the years.

Map 8: Hillbrow in the Context of Johannesburg Inner City

Source: https://johannesburg1912.files.wordpress.com/2016/01/hospital-hill-and-hillbrow-1897.jpg

4.4.1.1 The Causes of Decay in Hillbrow/ Berea

Although having been a white dominated neighbourhood well located in proximity to the city centre, it was not long after the repealing of the Group areas act, before Hillbrow began to also attract Coloured and Indian residents. However, because of the shortage of housing and lax rental laws, landlords began to charge high rentals in a bid to exclude the unwanted Coloureds and Indians who were legally prevented by the Group Areas Act from living in Hillbrow (Johannesburg, 2006). Although restricted by the law, a number of Coloured and Indian residents had managed to get White individuals to sign leases on their behalf thus enabling them to reside within the neighbourhood (ibid).

The 1980s saw the countries pass laws being abolished and the area being reclassified as a grey area and thus triggering a demographic shift in its population. More Coloureds and Indians began to move into the neighbourhood and this led to a number of white residents leaving for neighbourhoods further from the innercity. As Hillbrow/ Berea became racially cosmopolitan, it also began to develop a negative identity that led to

financial institutions becoming reluctant to finance properties in the area. On top of this, properties devalued while rentals went up, as landlords tried to make up for their depreciating property values (Johannesburg, 2006). It was inevitable that as the situation escalated, it eventually led to rental boycotts as it is understandable that tenants would not want to pay for a product that is depreciating in value. As in the earlier mentioned case of Detroit, once again there was a decrease in investment in the area and this led to an increase in the level of decay of the area. Today the demographic composition of Hillbrow/ Berea has shifted once again with the introduction of foreigners from various surrounding countries and even cities in search for better opportunities in Johannesburg. Sachs (2010; 20) describes Hillbrow as "an image of tall apartment blocks of broken glass, caged in decay and fear. Overrun with Nigerian drug lords, slumlords, prostitutes and human traffickers. Crossed off the map as a no-go, violent, crime ridden and swarming hellhole." This is the image that the once vibrant inner-city neighbourhood has attained on its journey to its present decayed state.

4.4.1.2 Responses to Decay in Hillbrow/Berea

Various initiatives have been made in response to the urban decay situation in Hillbrow/Berea. A number of these have been through institutions such as the Property Owners and Managers Association POMA and the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) who have purchased, renovated, rented and are successfully managing buildings in the area (Johannesburg, 2006). From the public sector side, the city has also made attempts to regenerate Hillbrow/Berea through the Better Buildings Program (BBP) that has seen the replacement of some slummed buildings with upgraded sanitary residential facilities (ibid).

Currently the Hillbrow/Berea Intervention Framework (HIF) is being implemented as part of the Inner City Regeneration Initiative being applied by The City of Johannesburg. The HIF has been designed to ensure that it aligns with and supports various strategic policies that include the Urban Renewal Strategy Johannesburg 2030 and the Integrated Transport Plan 2003-2008 to mention a few. A vision has been prepared for Hillbrow/Berea which focuses on the following areas of intervention:-

- 1. "Ensuring significant co-ordinated public investment which improves the quality and functioning of the public environment and the social and municipal infrastructure;
- 2. Co-ordinated and integrated urban management which cleans and maintains the public environment, reduces crime and by-law infringement and delivers municipal services;
- 3. Promotion and support of private investment in buildings (residential, commercial and retail) and in business activities;

- 4. Co-ordinated social service delivery by the public sector and support to non-governmental and community/ faith based organisations as social service providers; and
- 5. The promotion of social cohesion support programmes."(Johannesburg, 2006)

It is based on these identified intervention areas that the programs listed and explained in Table 1 were proposed for the Hillbrow/ Berea area.

Table 1: Hillbrow/ Berea Intervention Framework Programs

Programme	Objective	Overview	Projects
Programme 1: Ensuring adequate and well functioning municipal infrastructure	To ensure that over time the municipal infrastructure servicing Hillbrow/Berea has adequate capacity and is of sufficient quality to service the changing needs of its population and activities.	Programme focuses on upgrading the infrastructural capacity of Hillbrow/Berea, including water, sewerage, electricity and roads, so that it meets the specified minimum standards of the COJ	 Audit of infrastructure Prioritised short term infrastructure upgrading Long term planned infrastructure renewal project Ongoing maintenance project
Programme 2: Access to urban opportunities, facilities and services	To provide access to residents, workers and visitors through improved connections which integrate Hillbrow/Berea into the surrounding areas, improve integration into the public transport system and the provision of social facilities.	Programme focuses on integrating Hillbrow/Berea with its surrounding areas both economically, physically and socially. In addition the programme aims to ensure that residents can access a full range of social facilities and services within the Hillbrow/Precinct and to cultivate social cohesion at a Precinct wide level.	 Develop a clear road hierarchy Develop taxi and bus ranks and access to Gautrain Develop a pedestrian movement network Quantify, mobilise and coordinate public investment into the full range of social facilities and services Support Hillbrow/Berea-wide events which encourage neighbourhoods and interest groups to participate in the area
Programme 3: Enhance social absorption capacity	To enhance the ability of the Hillbrow/Berea Precinct to absorb new entrants to the City and accommodate and support marginalised citizens who take refuge in the Precinct.	This programme focuses on planning and caring for the urban poor, the homeless, street children, new entrants and other marginalized groups. Social facilities will be identified and supported and new facilities developed in order to enhance Hillbrow/Berea's absorptive capacity.	 Public sector social service mobilisation and coordination Non-governmental and Community/Faith based Social Service delivery Multi-purpose Centre for Government Services Transitional Housing
Programme 4: Ensuring mixed use high density residential neighbourhoods	To create viable and sustainable mixed use high density residential neighbourhoods that provide accommodation for individuals and households that meet minimum health and safety standards.	The focus of this programme is to upgrade the public environment, improve the urban management of residential neighbourhoods, stimulate and support private investment and encourage good mgt of buildings.	 Develop an overall urban development plan for the Hillbrow/Berea Precinct Develop Neighbourhood Precinct Plans Upgrade the public environment Upgrade and rehabilitate the residential stock Undertake residential urban management Promote social cohesion within neighbourhoods
Programme 5 : Local and regional business and entertainment * center/strip	To facilitate a viable and sustainable local and regional business and entertainment centre/strip.	Through the implementation of a CID and public environment upgrading, this programme seeks to attract and support investment into the business strips.	- Informal Trade facilities - Introduce a CID - Business investment support

Source: Johannesburg (2006)

The Hillbrow case is one that is common to most South African cities in terms of the causes of decay. However a key observation and lesson is that of the integrated and co-ordinated approach that has been adopted and is being implemented as a means of addressing the areas current state. Key to point out is also the emphasis on urban management that has been adopted in addressing decay in Hillbrow.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Considering all of the precedent case studies analysed and discussed in this chapter, there are three recurring observations that can be made. Firstly, in each case it is possible to deduce that an inner-city neighbourhood is always created with a purpose which it seems to successfully live up to in the early stages of its life span. Secondly the transition from a vibrant successful neighbourhood to a decaying one is always a downward transition process that is triggered by some event, natural or man-made. Nevertheless it can be argued that change is inevitable considering the points made in the first and second chapters of this research that cities are not static and neighbourhoods are a component of the city. Thus the decaying of an area reflects its inability to adapt to the changing trends of the city. This assertion would then tie into the third key observation from the various cases and that is, in every successful inner-city renewal initiative, the approach adopted was always attached to the greater vision of the city. In other words the vision behind the renewal of the inner-city neighbourhood would be like the city vision but adapted to a neighbourhood level.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The research methodology chapter aims to outline the various techniques and tools that the researcher has used along with the justification for the use of these tools and techniques in conducting this research. This research is on inner-city neighbourhood design and management and its effect on the neighbourhood's past, present and future state. As a result it is important to assess the way in which a neighbourhood has been designed, how it is managed, how it has evolved if at all, and how the various parties experiencing or using it every day identify with the neighbourhood.

5.2 RESEARCH METHODS

The following research methods have been utilised in this dissertation: -

- 1. Case study focus;
- 2. Qualitative interviews;
- 3. Quantitative data collection and analysis from these case study areas; and
- 4. The critical analysis and evaluation of secondary resources.

Each one these methods is outlined in more detail below.

5.2.1 The Case Study Focus

The main methodology that was used for the research undertaken in this dissertation was that of a case study analysis. The case study method provides a platform for in-depth contextual analysis and understanding of complex issues concerned with a research project (Zainal. 2007). This methodology is ideal for this particular research considering some of the diverse issues that need to be uncovered in order to fully meet the objectives set. As such, the neighbourhood of Albert Park in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality has been selected as the focus area for the dissertation because of its current status of transition, decay and reconstruction initiatives, which provide a microcosm of similar trends experienced in the life of the city.

Albert Park is an inner-city neighbourhood in eThekwini (Durban) that has experienced a considerable amount of change from its establishment in the 1950s during the Apartheid era, through a period of racial and socio-economic transformation and into its current state of decay. The problems being experienced in Albert Park

today are of serious concern to the city at large. The use of this particular neighbourhood as a case study for a town planning research project provides a unique opportunity for potential solutions to the existing problems in Albert Park to be highlighted. These solutions are proposed as part of the research outcomes. The research will also be conducted using the quantitative and qualitative research methods.

5.2.2 Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research is largely interpretative in its analysis of data and is also largely purposive in the collection of data (Flick, 2009). Considering the limited time-frame available for this research, a large amount of the data gathered for analysis needed to be acquired using qualitative data collection methods. These took the form of open ended interviews with municipal officials, councillors, planning and development experts that have worked in the case study area, and with other stakeholders. They were identified using the principle that they have expert knowledge in one or more areas associated with the research's scope. The value of their input in this research cannot be overlooked. These key informants include the following: -

Past Albert Park Researcher – Dr. K Erwin

Dr Kira Erwin is primarily a sociologist who is involved in a lot of urban sociology. She is more recently involved in the Urban Future centre (UFC) which is an interdisciplinary laboratory that is based in the Faculty of engineering and built environment at the Durban University of Technology. The UFC not only builds theory, but also tests out ideas and interventions as it seeks to find new solutions to problems, and to do so in collaboration with those most affected by the complexities that characterise urban spaces (DUT, 2017). She holds a PHD Sociology and social studies. As part of her studies she wrote a thesis entitled Place, Race and Belonging: A case study in Albert Park, Durban.

Although from a different perspective, Dr Erwin's PHD research was on Albert Park. Because of having spent a great length of time researching the area, it was ideal to receive her perspective on the area and to benefit from some of her experiences during her research and for direction with regard to other key parties that have given good input to this research.

Academics – Mr Clive Greenstone & Professor Michael Kahn

An academic point of view is key to understanding the various issues relating to urban environments that are being investigated in this research. Based on this two key informants, both with academic lecturing experience in Town and Regional Planning were approached. Mr Clive greenstone holds a Master of Town and Regional Planning specialising in Urban Ecology and often lectures the Urban Reconstruction module at the University of

KwaZulu – Natal. Professor Kahn is an architectural and town planning professional with extensive experience in both public and private sector and also in the academic circles of the field.

A Representative of iTRUMP Initiative

The Inner eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Program (iTRUMP) is part of the municipality's Area Based Management (ABM) initiative. Under iTRUMP numerous capital and management projects have been initiated. The case study neighbourhood Albert Park falls within the iTRUMP area. Input from an iTRUMP representative was considered vital especially with respect to charting the rise and fall of Albert Park – its history and the future plans for it. Integral to this analysis is the role that it plays in the city.

Ward Councillors

From a governance point of view, the councillor of a particular ward is responsible for being link between local government and the people residing in the area he/she represents. They are responsible for the identification of planning and development issues articulated by residents and ensuring that they are brought to the attention of the relevant municipal officials and departments for appropriate action. The councillor would ideally also be aware of the various projects that are currently running or possibly proposed within the area. Considering the limited time frame for this research and the above-mentioned advantages of obtaining an official perspective, it was imperative that the researcher obtained the input of the relevant Ward Councillor (WC) for the Albert Park area.

A Representative from IYER Urban Design Studio

The design component of this research is another element that had to be investigated extensively, especially as proposals are made in the conclusion of this research. Iyer Urban Design Studio (IUDS) is a private consultancy and planning and urban design firm that comprises of very experienced professionals in the fields of town planning, urban design and architecture. The firm has also been involved in a number of urban design and renewal projects within KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). With this wealth of knowledge behind them the researcher considered them a valuable voice to contribute to the research in the area of the role of design in renewal initiatives and ensuring that the space does not lose its vibrancy.

An Environmentalist – Ms Jessica Brislin

With over 8 years of experience, includes a wide range of developments and multi-sectoral projects in Sub-Saharan Africa, involving strategic planning, GIS mapping, fatal flaws assessments, compliance auditing, EIAs, the drafting of best practice guidelines, climate change response strategies and the incorporation of sustainability

principles into all project related reporting. Business development activities cut across all of these activities from project inception to conclusion Ms Jessica Brislin is the ideal individual to consult in regard to ecological challenges and solutions for cities. More recently she was involved in integrated environmental management, planning and project management at IYER, and is currently the Development Manager for Mott MacDonald's Climate Resilience Initiative in Cambridge, United Kingdom.

Institutional Representatives

There are various sector departments with different responsibilities within the municipality. When conducting research on an area such as Albert Park, it is important to be able to hear the different voices of those that have a role to play in the management of the area. These included representatives from provincial and local government offices e.g. the Department of Human Settlements (DoHS), the Department of Transport, the South African Police Service (SAPS), The Department of Parks, and The Department of Education.

Representatives of Tenant Committees for Selected Buildings and Shop Owners in the Albert Park Area

Considering the fact that the research has been focused on inner-city neighbourhoods, it is crucial for the voice of those inhabiting and experiencing the neighbourhood to be heard. The reason for having acquired the diverse perspectives of different stakeholders in respect of Albert Park was to be able to establish a broad understanding of the area. The perspective of outside agencies such as planning professionals or those in authority and those of the residents that have actual first-hand experience of what transpires on the ground on a day to day basis, may be different and sometime contradictory. In order to obtain a clear understanding of the situation in Albert Park and to be able to make any meaningful proposals, it was important to understand the perspective of those who experienced the neighbourhood on a day to day basis.

Purposive sampling was used so as to enable the researcher to identify specific individuals and institutions to approach for the purpose of obtaining relevant information largely drawn on the experiences of these parties.

5.2.3 Quantitative Research Methods

The quantitative element was ideal to incorporate into the research due to its focus on collecting and analysing statistical data (Flick, 2009). It was very useful when trying to establish the current population composition of Albert Park and the way in which it may or may not have changed over the years. In addition to this, a small survey was conducted based on a sample size of ten local residents, as a way of establishing a better

understanding of the residents' sentiments on the area they live in. Contact was made with a local resident who then identified members of the communities who were willing to participate in the survey. Upon receiving the survey results, analysis of the responses was conducted based on each theme.

5.3 DATA SOURCES

The research was conducted using a combination of primary and secondary data sources due to the benefits that each had to offer.

5.3.1 Primary Data Sources

Primary data sources were an advantage to the research because of the way in which they allow for more accurate and research specific data to be collected by the researcher. The primary data sources that were used for this research were mainly in the form of personal interviews with key informants specifically identified by the researcher by means of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling involves the researcher in identifying informants that may be considered key in providing specific information that the researcher may require (Weisberg, Krosnick and Bowen, 1996). This allowed the researcher to benefit from the advantages of open ended interviews such as a higher response rate, detailed explanations and answers to questions, along with the flexibility of the interviewer to respond in an impromptu manner to the interviewees' responses. Data was also obtained from the researcher's own personal observations when visiting the case study area of Albert Park.

5.3.2 Secondary Data Sources

The research also used some secondary data sources in order to obtain older information including any statistical and geographic information system datasets that may have been required and obtained for the purposes of the research. This information was largely used in generating a range of maps that provided additional information relating to the case study area. The main reason behind using secondary data sources is that they are easier to access and affordable, especially considering the limited time frame and funding available for this research. Another advantage of secondary sources of data is the way in which they assist in informing the researcher of international examples of the topics being researched, as was highlighted in the precedent study.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Due to the different methods adopted to conduct this research, the researcher utilised a combination of data analysis techniques. Weisberg, Krosnick and Bowen (1996) highlight that survey data can either be descriptive or explanatory and as such the presentation of the analysis of such data has differed.

5.4.1 Primary Data

As provided in the methodology, the primary data was gathered through individual interviews with selected stakeholder. The data acquired from the interviews, being qualitative, was analysed thematically with the aim of highlighting the different stakeholder's perspectives of the themes being researched. Other data is presented in the form of maps or plans as well as charts prepared by the researcher in order to better communicate his findings.

5.4.2 Secondary Data

With regard to secondary data sources, a thematic analysis was used to evaluate the qualitative data obtained from the secondary sources so as to provide clarity in the presentation of the findings. On the other hand, the quantitative data obtained from secondary sources was used as obtained, considering that it was largely census data which may often be presented and analysed in the form of charts and tables.

5.5 THE LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

Various limitations to this research were observed by the researcher. The first of which was the timeframe and financing. During the course of the research, information obtained from different sources revealed the challenge and risk it would be to do any in-depth first hand assessment of the area through one-on-one interviews with residents and key representatives. Multiple institutional representatives were very busy and as a result not easily available for open-ended interview. This could have been due to the fact that the field work component coincided with the local government elections. It is commonly known that this period tends to be a very busy and intense period in most South African cities. As such more focus was put in securing an interview with one of the city planners and the ITRUMP as they were identified as informants who would be able to give an overall perspective of the Albert Park in itself and in the context of the city.

An additional limitation was that the raw 2016 census data was not easily available to the public at the time of the research. As a result, the analysis presented in the following chapter was largely based on census 2011 data.

Despite these constraints, it is believed that the research provides a useful case study analysis of Albert Park and its role in eThekwini Metropolitan City.

5.6 EVALUATING THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERIA

The methodology has used multiple approaches to unpack and critically evaluate the issues related to inner city neighbourhoods in decline. Predominantly a qualitative approach was used in the research process but was augmented by a small quantitative survey to interrogate the perspectives of local residents. The research attempted to encapsulate the many voices, official, public and private and their viewpoints, assumptions and observations about inner city neighbourhoods in general and Albert Park specifically. Through the use of the Design Management approach, a set of principles and criteria have been developed and utilised in the case study research to show the efficacy of this method for evaluation and planning. An overview of the research methodology been placed in a tabular format and presented table 2.

As reflected in table 2, the research has considered a range of key informant that provide the basis for the development of a set criteria to be used to evaluate the current performance of the inner-city neighbourhood of Albert Park. The informants firstly include issues associated with urbanisation, globalisation and climate change. These are considered as key forces that modern cities are currently facing and as such it is important that the criteria proposed for the design and management of inner-city neighbourhood is aimed at combatting the challenges that these forces bring upon cities. In addition to the research also considered a variety of existing city and neighbourhood planning and design theories with the aim of pulling out key principles that may be applicable and relevant to addressing the challenge modern cities are faced with. Along with this, the feedback from interviews with key built environment professionals was also obtained and combined with the lessons learnt from the history of the area, the set of design and management principles presented in table 2 was generated. These principles where then broken down to criteria that can be used as the basis of evaluating an inner-city neighbourhood based on its performance in line with the criteria.

 Table 2:
 Summary of Theories, Principles and Criteria

THEORIES & KEY INFORMANTS	DESIGN & MANAGEMENT PRINCIPLES	KEY CRITERIA
 Urbanisation; Climate Change; Globalisation; Existing Planning and Design Theories; 	Connectivity and Permeability	Internal movement / access Broad Physical connectivity Access to Internet Access to Cell phones Telecommunication Infrastructure
 Interviews with Planning Professionals; Residents Perspective; Historical Lessons Learnt; and, Anticipated Futures. 	Economically Productive Places	External economic opportunities Employed and unemployed population Household income levels Most active sectors (formal and informal) Ability to earn Internal economic opportunities
	Spatially Efficient Places	Population Density and Distribution Diversity of uses Underutilised / Poor Performing spaces
	Complete and Inclusive Places	Diversity of Population Residents Sense of Belonging Housing Environment Access to Civic and Retail facilities Social integration and openness
	Ecologically Resilient Places	Ecological Green Spaces Recreational Green Spaces Productive Green Spaces (e.g. Places for community gardens and urban agriculture. High Performance Buildings (e.g. Green design principles in the architectural design of buildings.) Application of water sensitive urban deign principles
	Legible and Attractive Places	Use of Lynchian Analysis Use of Urban Design Principles Property Values Streetscape Enhancements Street Typologies Use of Form-based Code Principles Preservation of iconic Buildings Architectural Accentuation Public Art
	Technologically Advanced and Sustainably Serviced Places	Available Services Green Building Design Alternative Energy Sources Future Capital Infrastructure Improvement Hybrid building design (e.g. linked municip and alternative service provision.)
	Well Managed and Main- tained places	Management and Administration Structure Maintenance System Informal Activity
·		•

Source: Author (2016)

5.7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Despite the challenges and limitations experienced as part of this research process, there were some opportunities that presented themselves during the course of the field-work assessment process. In particular, the researcher was fortunate to meet a resident of Albert Park who was willing to assist in conducting a minisurvey based on a small sample of residents of the area. This provided a user perspective to this research, which better informed the research process. Despite the other limitations addressed in the preceding section, there was still a reasonable amount of information that proved to be adequate enough to address the objectives of this research. The methodology presented also proved to be of key benefit in developing criteria for evaluating the performance of Albert Park to establish an informed base upon which intervention proposals may be made. This will be further articulated in the following chapter.

6.0 Introduction

Chapter Four of this research dissertation critically evaluated the experiences of different inner-city neighbourhoods across the world, in order to assess some of the common factors that may have stimulated negative change leading to decay. Similarly, the interventions or strategies that resulted in positive change leading to some form of regeneration, were examined. In-line with the objectives of this research, this chapter focuses on the case study area of Albert Park which is located in the eThekwini Metropolitan City in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Three perspectives will be presented in this chapter: Albert Park – past, present, and future. In this overview, the historical role played by this neighbourhood in the city is analysed. The current state of Albert Park will be reviewed to establish to what degree the area has positively changed or declined. This analysis will take into account official planning directives aimed at revitalising the area in terms of the ITRUMP Strategic Projects initiative. Finally, some suggestions will be made for the future growth and development of Albert Park so that it fulfils its role within a vibrant city space.

6.1 APPROACH

Similar to the approach adopted for the precedent research, this chapter will begin by looking at the historical background to Albert Park in a bid to understand it in the context of the city and also in terms of its initial character as a neighbourhood in itself. Prior to conducting an analysis of Albert Parks' current state, a set of criteria for evaluating well designed and managed inner-city neighbourhoods will be defined. It will serve as the benchmark against which the design and performance of present and future inner-city neighbourhoods can be evaluated. The development of the criteria is based on ideas and concepts taken from the planning theories presented earlier (Chapter Two) and some findings gleaned from different interviews with key professionals in the field. The criteria is used as a tool for analysis and also to identity where there are planning and design shortfalls which need to be addressed in Albert Park. In order to create a planning context, it is necessary to visit the historical function of Albert Park and its changing role in the inner city of eThekwini.

6.2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A recurring topic in the majority of interviews conducted as part of this research was that of the difference in Albert Park during Apartheid and Post-Apartheid eras, and the impact that democracy has had on the role and function of this area of the city. This alone emphasises the vulnerability of neighbourhoods to both internal and external forces. Political change can have both positive and negative impacts on a neighbourhood depending on its location and function in the wider city space. Radical administrative and legal changes on their own do not

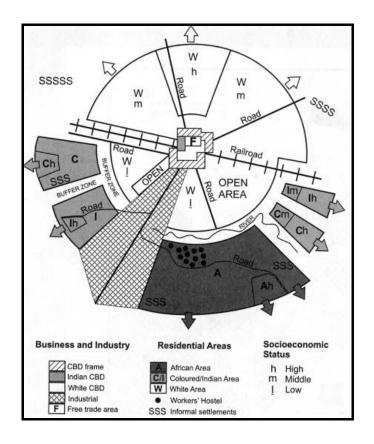
bring about change. In a context where they are linked to socio-economic downward trends and locational impacts, the decline can be noticeable. The degree to which a neighbourhood is resilient to the impact of external changes, is tested in this context. Where there are internal changes at play at the same time that external contextual influences are brought to bear, e.g. a neighbourhood in land use transition, it is more susceptible to decline. The precedent section of the research supports this as it provided multiple examples of decay in neighbourhoods being triggered by forces external to the actual neighbourhood affected. It is fitting, therefore, to consider the anatomy of the 'Apartheid-City' in order to understand the context of what was taking place in the broader city and country at the time, so as to establish the impact this may have had on the Albert Park area.

6.2.1 The Apartheid City

Originally an Afrikaans word meaning "apartness", Apartheid "describes an ideology of racial segregation that served as the basis for white domination of the South African state from 1948 to 1994" (WordPress, 2016). According to Hindson (1996: 77), "Urban Apartheid was based on the exclusion of Indians and Africans from the centre of economic and political power in the cities, the minimization of social and infrastructural expenditure on the new townships, low wages, and the creation of a differentiated workforce with some urban Africans having minimal access to urban residential rights whilst the majority were prohibited from permanently settling in the urban areas".

From a spatial perspective, one of the main impacts this national policy had on cities within the country, was the development of a racially segregated urban structure as illustrated in Figure 13 below. Urban policies during the Apartheid era were some of the tools used by the government to control where different population groups resided and how and if they accessed certain services. They were supported by a legal framework that enforced separation and land access through statutes such as the Land Acts (No 27 of 1913 and No, 18 of 1936), the Group Areas Act (No.41 of 1950), the Native Urban Areas Act (No. 21 of 923), and the Black Administration Act (No. 38 of 1927). The policy and legal framework formed the basis of controlling the movement of the respective population groups across the country. Apartheid determined where people could live and work – separating their economic and social opportunities in space. Access to the city and its economic and civic opportunities were denied to citizens on the basis on race. Some writers would argue that the strategy was a means of protecting 'White capital interests' within the Central Business District (CBD). This resulted in the development of a racially segregated settlement pattern across the urban landscape – a spatial legacy that still poses a challenge to city planning to this day.

Figure 13: The Apartheid City Structure



Source: UWEC (2015)

Based on the realisation that urban policies were a tool used to enforce segregation and which caused the emergence of the Apartheid city structure, Maylam (1995: 22) questions, "First, who shaped urban policy? The central state, the local state, ratepayers or capital? Second, what imperatives determined urban policy? Political domination, social control or capital accumulation? Third, what has been the significance and impact of urban policy? To what extent have its overall objectives been realised?"

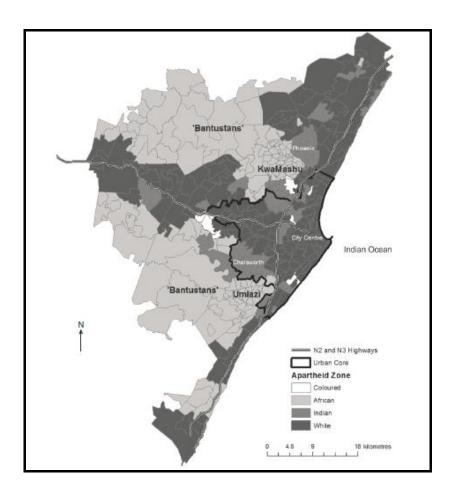
In regard to who was responsible for shaping urban policy, it can be argued that both capital and the local state played and still play a key role in shaping urban policy. Some would argue that while the local government (municipality) in Durban during Apartheid, played a key role in influencing urban policy, its standpoint was largely driven by a market-based and capitalist agenda aimed at benefitting a select few. Maylam (1996:26) seems rather to support this notion stating that "much of the history of Durban in the twentieth century has been

about the contesting of space. The local state³ consistently tried to control space in the service of the city's predominantly white middle class. Residential space has been manipulated through various mechanisms with a view to banishing the black underclasses to the city's periphery and so insulating and immunising whites from the supposed dangers that accompanied the black urban presence".

The most commonly referenced example of these mechanisms is the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950). Quoting multiple authors, O'Malley (2005) describes the Act as having been one that led to urban areas being divided into racially segregated zones in which members of one racial group would be required to live and work. With this, the acquisition or occupation of property by a member of one race in an area designated to another race was illegal. The impact of this urban policy is reflected in the map that follows, reflecting a racially segregated settlement pattern. Map 10 (on the following page) reflects the location of Black and other non-White population groups, outside the urban core within the designated Bantustan settlements in eThekwini Municipality during Apartheid. Having said it is important to note that the map only reflects the spatial implications of urban policy, the settlement pattern has, however, multiple implications for the lives of individuals and households and for the municipality. Some of these include limited access to the Central Business District and the diverse opportunities this presents, and the cost of infrastructure provision to settlements on the periphery.

In this instance the local state refers to the municipality or local government.

Map 9: eThekwini Municipality illustrating Apartheid Zonings



Source: Schensul and Heller (2010; 7)

In regard to the imperatives that determined urban policy, it is very difficult to establish a single imperative when looking at the case of Durban during Apartheid. This was mainly because multiple sources offered varying perspectives. Maylam (1995: 24) speaks of the 'Sanitation Syndrome' as having influenced segregation within the city. "First emphasised by Swanson⁴, it explains urban segregation in terms of moral panic and racial hysteria, as whites increasingly came to associate the black urban presence with squalor, disease and crime."

M. W. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', Journal of African History, 18 (1977); and M. W. Swanson, '"The Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', African Studies, 35 (1976)

An alternate but common perspective is that pro-segregation urban policies of Apartheid were largely a result of a quest for political domination, internal security and social control. This perspective was largely supported by professional planners that were interviewed as part of this research. In a separate conversation, one local planner gives an example of the uMlazi and KwaMashu townships in Durban, saying that both townships were planned with limited entry and exit points to ensure that, in the event of any political influence or social uprising, the government of the day would be in a position to block points of entry and exit to the township. Spatial planning in these townships was utilised to contain and restrict all unrest and protests from spreading to other areas outside their borders. Effectively they could be sealed off.

Linked to this notion of control is the assertion that segregation was driven by a desire for capital accumulation. As mentioned earlier separate development policies intended to both explicitly and implicitly protect White capital interests. This was often done in very subtle ways even before the formal adoption and implementation of Apartheid in 1949. The implementation of laws like the 1897 Licensing Act by Local City Councils in Natal to withhold trading licenses from Indian people due to their competition with for white businesses (Maylam, 1995) and the non-admittance of African bidders to land auctions after 1905 illustrate the economic bias inherent in the policy of separate development. Later statutes promulgated to enforce the Apartheid policy built on these historical beginnings.

One is able to see multiple issues at play within the city during and prior to the 1900s. The first of these was that there was a natural process of urbanisation taking place. People of different races wanted to either live or work or establish businesses within the CBD having realised the opportunities it had. This access to the city centre was restricted and protected for a select few through various segregatory policies.

6.2.2 A Segregated Neighbourhood Contested

The underlying driving forces behind the development of the numerous urban policies that birthed the racially segregated Apartheid city, had an impact inner-city neighbourhoods such as Albert-Park. All planning and design professionals interviewed during the course of this research, speak of Albert Park as having been an area for the 'White' population group only. Erwin (2011; 82) supports this assertion by referring to the Albert Park as having been a "Prestigious white City Location". Within the context of the Durban city, the Albert Park area was

Prior to this date, all races were entitled to bid for land at public auctions. The practice was stopped after Whites complained that the successful Amakhwola farmers from the Mission Reserves represented direct competition to their economic gains.

acknowledged as the largest residential area within the CBD (Erwin, 2011). However, although highly populated, the area was only of benefit to a single group of residents in line with the earlier mentioned segregationist policies.

This began to change in the 1980s with white residential exclusivity being contravened as large numbers of Blacks began to move into designated White Group Areas, thus leading to the formation of so called 'Grey Areas' in most major urban centres in South Africa (Elder, 1990). The Albert Park area was no exception in this regard. During the 1980s an influx of Non-White residents commenced in various parts of the city including Albert Park. This change in the population demographics was however not only as a result of the failing Apartheid policies but also, as Maharaj and Mpungose (1994: 30) provide, as a result of three other factors which contributed to the development of 'Grey Areas' in Durban and other South African cities. These were the following:-

- 1. "the process of suburbanisation, whites were moving from the inner cities to the suburbs, even before the influx of blacks into the area. There was a declining interest in inner city flatland as well as a movement to areas that had once been rural.
- 2. There was a surplus of accommodation for whites, and landlords were forced to accept black tenants, who were experiencing a tremendous shortage of housing. Hence, landlords and black tenants were responding to market forces.
- 3. The Group Areas Act created an artificial shortage of land and housing for blacks. With improvements in socio-economic status, blacks were seeking a better quality of life, away from dormitory, strife-torn townships" (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994: 30).

Erwin (2011) confirms this by highlighting that the transformation in Albert Park's demographic make-up was largely a result of a lack of housing in the Non-White areas, and a surplus of empty flats in the Albert-Park area. This was also coupled with an increasing demand for housing by an emerging class of Black, Indian and Coloured professionals who saw the reasonable rentals of the area, along with its proximity to the CBD as being of great convenience (Erwin, 2011). Faced with a dilemma, of either leaving their flats vacant and thus not acquiring any revenue or allowing a Non-White person to rent the flat, some landlords were open to having their properties rented out to other races as long as it brought in the desired revenue. As would be expected, the influx of Black people in Albert Park and other "Whites only" areas, was not well received. Disapproval of an emerging integrated community was expressed by the Department of Community Development and Planning at the time, through increased pressure on land-lords who were found to be leasing out their properties to Non-White

tenants. If such actions were discovered, flat owners faced prosecution under the Group Areas Act and also risked losing their properties (Erwin, 2011).

As a result, Black tenants living in the emerging 'Grey Areas' such as Albert Park, were subjected to constant threats of eviction. In response to this, the Durban Central Residents' Association was formed in 1984 to oppose the eviction of such tenants. It played a key role in mobilising, organising and protecting the rights of Black tenants in Albert Park and other parts of the city (Freud and Padayachee, 2002). In 1986, the Council resolved to request the government to scrap the operation of the Group Areas Act in the Durban city. Failing this, the Council requested that it be granted the authority and flexibility to implement the act in the city (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994). Liberal councillors referred to the possible implications if the Council dragged its feet over the matter, warning that the Council could "get rid of Group Areas voluntarily, and make a small contribution to relations, or wait for violence, consumer boycotts, and commerce in chaos to force us" (Natal Mercury 20.05.86 in Freud and Padayachee, 2002). Despite the multiple debates and increased unlawful evictions of Black tenants, the Albert Park area still evolved into "one of the first integrated city spaces, at times represented as a city equivalent of the 'Rainbow Nation' (Erwin, 2011). Nevertheless, this evolution came at a price that is still evident in today's Albert Park.

The increasing infill of black tenants in the Albert Park is believed to be linked to the increase in poorly maintained buildings, increased criminal activity and the general decay in the area. Erwin highlights this by noting that although this may no longer be discussed in "blatantly racial terms, the degeneration of the area into a seedy inner-city neighbourhood with open drunkenness and prostitution are attributed to the change in population" (Erwin, 2011: 85). More recently, the perspective of who is to blame for urban decay has shifted away from the state and towards the influx of foreign nationals. This latter group of new urban dwellers is held accountable for the loss of previous viable inner-city neighbourghoods including Albert Park. In a similar way in which the area experienced an influx of an 'external' group that was the Non-Whites in the 1980s, Albert Park has experienced an influx of foreign nationals. In an interview with a past researcher and Urban Reconstruction lecturer, what was clear was that while the presence of foreign nationals may not be the direct cause of the area's current state, it provides an opportunity for having an alternative 'other' to blame for the perceived decline of the area. This may once again be linked to the initial transition Albert Park went through from being a White are to a mixed-race area. Today Albert Park with its diverse races and nationalities, is arguably a microcosm of the urban challenges faced in metropolitan cities in South Africa. This, according to a well experienced planning professional interviewed as part of this research, is arguably the character of most innercity neighbourhoods around the world. The analysis section that follows goes into a more detailed analysis of the current state of the Albert Park area.

6.3 ALBERT PARK WITHIN CONTEMPORARY ETHEKWINI

After assessing a brief history of Albert Park, and developing a basic understanding of the multiple factors that contributed to the change the area has faced and still faces today, this section presents a detailed planning and design analysis of the entire neighbourhood area. Currently Albert Park is an area that is regarded as being in a decline. Its location in proximity to the CBD is still regarded as an advantage. However, this location has made the neighbourhood vulnerable to exploitative landlords who prey on vulnerable refugees and foreign nationals seeking accommodation as they find their 'place in the city'. Currently the majority of the residents within Albert Park, are rental tenants, however when one drives through the area, it is evident that there is little done by the landlords in the way of maintenance of properties for the tenants sake. The foreigners who rent in the area, are generally forced to stay there due to their limited financial means and the accessibility to employment opportunities in the city.

6.4 PLANNING AND DESIGN FRAMEWORK

In line with the objectives of the research, a design and management framework has been developed to serve as context within which to develop a set of criteria for the analysis and regeneration of the Albert Park is based. It is important to note that the criteria to be presented have been largely influenced by the theoretical underpinnings of Sustainable Urbanism and some of the recent good practice examples undertaken by the lyer Urban Design studio from this approach and principles. It is meant to assist built environment practitioners in making key well informed design and management proposals for decaying inner-city neighbourhoods. Collectively the framework, principles and criteria can be described as analytical tools. They will be presented prior to the actual analysis of Albert Park, in order to provide a greater understanding of the research process undertaken by the author.

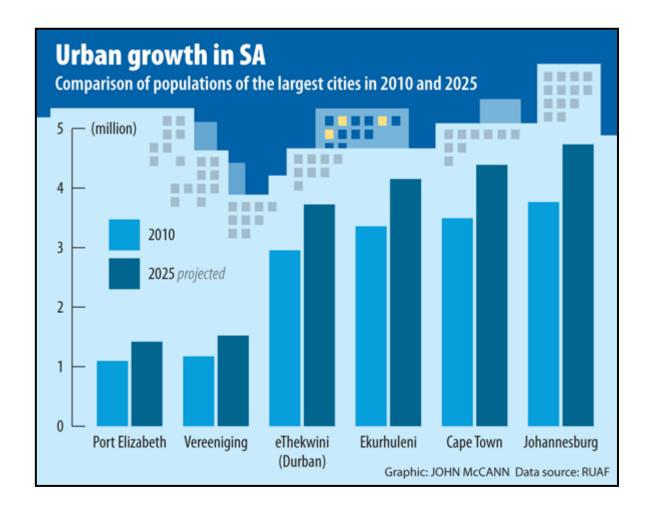
6.5 DEVELOPING THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT CRITERIA FROM THE FRAMEWORK

One of the key themes that has been recurring through out this research has been the notion that cities are dynamic and susceptible to various external forces. As these external forces are exerted on the city, the impact is transmitted to and felt in the various components of the city like inner-city neighbourhoods. The literature review of this research looked at some of the main forces cities are currently faced with today and will possibly need to still address in the future. When considering establishing criteria to inform the design and regeneration of inner-city neighbourhoods for future liveable cities, it is inevitable to consider what the implications of key issues such as climate change, urbanisation and globalisation have on a city and its inner-city neighbourhoods are.

Apart from some of the main forces that cities are faced with, in the present day and near future, one cannot neglect the past experiences that have created the city or influenced parts of it. The past is meant to serve as a record of the various mistakes, oversites and challenges that may have been experienced before by other professionals. In considering their successes and identifying their failures, contemporary practitioners can build on good practice and can ensure that they do not replicate the errors of the past. From a social point of view, past experiences also give urban planners and designers a better understanding of the people whom their plans and designs are meant to serve. One cannot also overlook the role that design and management theory plays. The conceptual and theoretical framework went into detail regarding various past and more contemporary theoretical informants of neighbourhood design and management. It is upon this basis and various inputs from the numerous professionals interviewed, that the following criteria are proposed as a set of tools for analysing the current performance of the Albert Park area. It will inform its design in pursuit of its regeneration.

Some of the fundamental issues emanating from the interviews held with key stakeholders and professionals for the research included the idea of inner-city neighbourhoods being places that are critical to the functioning of cities both today and in the future. The role of urban centres is critical due to the current mass immigration of people to cities worldwide. Current statistics indicate that populations in urban centres will increase from the present 15% of the world's population to 63% in 2050. African cities will urbanise faster than their counterparts in the developed world. Current estimates indicate that urban populations in Africa are growing at 3.5% per annum. Six of the ten fastest growing cities identified by World Bank analysts in 2013 are located in Sub-Sahara Africa. By 2050, it is estimated that 60% of Africa's population will live in cities or urban centres. As a result of the current rapid urbanisation trends, the inner-city areas in African cities are under pressure to absorb newcomers and refugees. This is no less the case in South Africa as the following graphs illustrates.

Graph 2: Estimated Population Growth Rates in South African Cities



Source: http://cdn.mg.co.za/crop/content/images/2014/04/10/graphic-urbanisation2.png/580x455

The character of inner-city neighbourhoods is one of an environment that caters for multiple land-use activities and accommodates diverse population groups at high densities. The way in which this is done is what will vary dependent on location, availability of buildings and services, levels of migration trends and the reliance of the area to accommodate change. The criteria developed for the Albert Park area present eight key pillars considered not only to be essential to ensuring the success and relevance of inner-city neighbourhoods for establishing a status quo report about them, but also as fundamental to the character of inner-city neighbourhoods in the future. The following table presents these 8 principles. It demonstrates how the pillars relate to the key challenges cities are faced with. It includes elements of theoretical design together with specific issues contextual to the Albert Park area. Each of the pillars will be addressed separately and the criteria related to each pillar explained. Together they will be used to analyse the current state of affairs in Albert Park.

Table 2 presents a matrix of the Principle for the Design and Management of Futures Liveable Inner City Neighbourhoods. Key informants or forces that have led to the development of this criteria include:-

- Urbanisation;
- Climate Change;
- Globalisation;
- Existing Planning and Design Theories;
- Interviews with Planning Professionals;
- Residents Perspective;
- Historical Lessons Learnt; and
- Anticipated Futures.

Table 2 that follows, breaks down each key informant and its relationship to one of the eight identified principles. Each of these can then inform a set of criteria to see whether the principle is applicable or not. An example of this would be the issue of urbanisation discussed in the earlier chapters of the research. The evidence presented showed that urbanisation has impact on modern cities in that the increased concentration of people in the city, means there is an increase in the demand on transportation systems. As a result one criterion for the design and management of future liveable inner-city neighbourhoods would be that they need to be places that are connected and permeable. This criteria can however be further broken down.

Each of the eight principles has been applied in the analysis of Albert Park. Linked to each is a set of criteria which is listed in a small table at the start of the discussion about the relevant principle as the following discussion will show.

 Table 3:
 Principles for the Analysis, Design and Management of Albert Park

PRINCIPLES FOR THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF FUTURE LIVEABLE INNERCITY NEIGHBOURHOODS										
KEY	Principles									
INFORMANTS	CONNECTED AND PERMEABLE PLACES	PRODUCTIVE PLACES	SPATIALLY EFFICIENT PLACES	COMPLETE AND INCLUSIVE PLACES	ECOLOGICALLY RESILIENT PLACES	LEGIBLE AND ATTRACTIVE PLACES	TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED AND WELL SERVICED PLACES	MANAGED AND MAINTAINED PLACES		
URBANISATION	Increased demand on transport systems.	Increased demand for jobs. Increased demand for food.	Increased Densities. Compaction of land-uses. Key minor centre/ nodal points.	Multi-user places. Protection of the poor against displacement by the wealthy. Safer integration of foreign nationals. Improved civic and social facilities.	Innovative methods of energy provision.	Improved signage and public realm treatment.		-		
CLIMATE CHANGE	Need for increase in NMT and improved public transport systems.	Innovative sources of food.	-		Protection and restoration of ecological infrastructure.	Green efficient architecture and design. Indigenous and edible plants and trees in parks and streets.	Technology and Green Buildings mitigate some climate change impacts.	Green rooftops. Urban Agriculture.		
GLOBALISATION	Access to regional connecting points. Access to web systems and markets.	Need for more local businesses. Improved access online education opportunities.	-	Platforms for cultural exchange. Improved place- making.	-	-		-		

PRINCIPLES FOR THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF FUTURE LIVEABLE INNERCITY NEIGHBOURHOODS								
KEY	Principles							
INFORMANTS	CONNECTED AND PERMEABLE PLACES	PRODUCTIVE PLACES	SPATIALLY EFFICIENT PLACES	COMPLETE AND INCLUSIVE PLACES	ECOLOGICALLY RESILIENT PLACES	LEGIBLE AND ATTRACTIVE PLACES	TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED AND WELL SERVICED PLACES	MANAGED AND MAINTAINED PLACES
EXISTING PLANNING AND DESIGN THEORIES	Complete streets design. Walkable communities. Internal and external accessibility.	Formalisation of the informal sector. Vibrant Public Realm. 24 hour entertainment and activities.	Increased densities in cities. Promote mixed-use development (live-work and play environments).	Adequate provision public space and civic/ social facilities. Improved sense of community.	Water sensitive urbanism. Environmentally friendly forms of energy. Promote recycling initiatives. New food sources (Urban Agriculture initiatives).	Quality public spaces. Scale of buildings. Architectural language. Buildings that define and complement the public realm.	Free Wi-Fi zones. CCTV surveillance of public spaces.	Innovative waste disposal methods. Online management and maintenance systems.
INTERVIEWS WITH PLANNING PROFESSIONALS	Reliable and safe public transportation system. Safe and walkable streets. Foster cycling culture in the CBD. Develop pedestrian only streets.	Public private partnerships, Incentives to private developers. Increased opportunities for informal businesses. Urban agriculture. Education opportunities and facilities.	Increased housing provision. Regeneration of key areas.	Area specific housing solutions. Improved integration of community.	Innovative and bold projects promoting ecological resilience. Green building standards. Community gardens.	Basic street-scape interventions to ensure aesthetic appeal of area. Shaded walkways for commuter comfort. Clear signage, Landmark features and places.		Dedicated management structures.

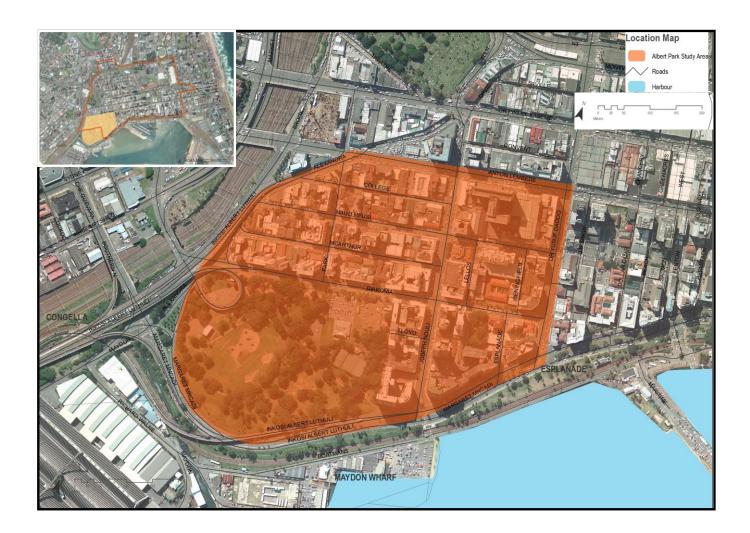
PRINCIPLES FOR THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF FUTURE LIVEABLE INNERCITY NEIGHBOURHOODS								
KEY	Principles							
INFORMANTS	CONNECTED AND PERMEABLE PLACES	PRODUCTIVE PLACES	SPATIALLY EFFICIENT PLACES	COMPLETE AND INCLUSIVE PLACES	ECOLOGICALLY RESILIENT PLACES	LEGIBLE AND ATTRACTIVE PLACES	TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED AND WELL SERVICED PLACES	MANAGED AND MAINTAINED PLACES
RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVE	Safer local streets.	Improved local employment opportunities.	Adequate recreational space.	Secure tenure. Better managed buildings. Improved service provision for all.	-	Improved safety, attractive and well maintained places. Attractive public realm.	Improved quality of services provision.	Well maintained public realm.
HISTORICAL LESSONS LEARNT	Improved accessibility of broader city areas.	Develop incentives for investors.	-	Ensure racially integrated places.	-	Unique offering for city the form of shops, feature place etc.	Technological methods of monitoring crime and ensuring safety.	-
ANTICIPATED FUTURES	Increased access to internet and other modern means of communication. Online access to public transport information. Free Wi-Fi at public transport stops.	Food production concerns. Home businesses. Community gardens and markets.	-	Multiple residential options (holiday, rental, purchase). Preservation of heritage and culture. Safe facilities for improved interaction.	Green and efficient buildings. Roof-top gardens.	-	Development of virtual libraries. Innovation hubs.	Smart City principles for maintaining public infrastructure and services. Increased community participation in maintenance activities.

Source: Author (2016)

6.6 A CRITERION BASED ANALYSIS

This section begins to analyse the Albert Park area based on the criteria presented in the preceding section, so as to establish the level to which the study area is performing as a liveable inner-city neighbourhood. As reflected in the map 11, the site is located on the southern corner of Durban's CBD. It is framed by Inkhosi Albert Luthuli Road on both the southern and western edges, along with Dr Yusuf Dadoo Road on the east and Anton Lembede Road to the north. The site area measures approximately 33.2 hectares in extent. Key areas surrounding it include Maydon Wharf to the south, the Esplanade to the south east and Congella to west. The subsections go into more detailed analysis of the area in line with the eight pillars of inner-city neighbourhoods.

Map 10: Albert Park Locality Plan



Source: Author (2016)

6.7 CONNECTED AND PERMEABLE PLACES

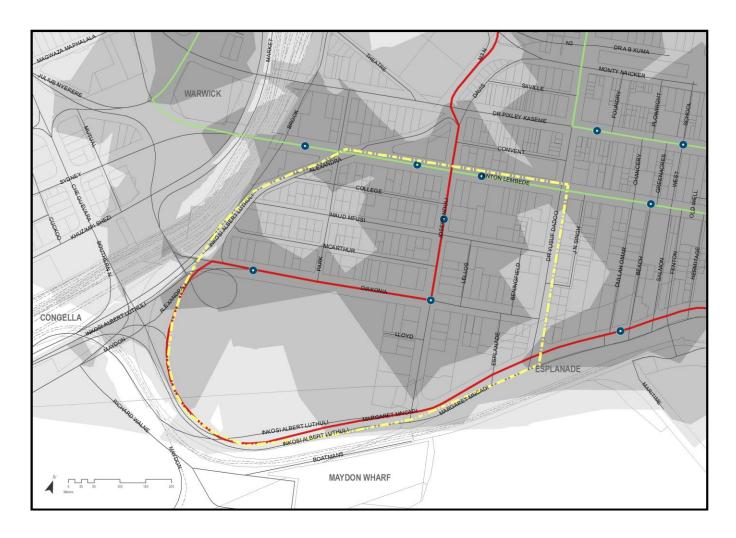
In line with various theories of design, current practice of making urban settlements more sustainable along with the blurring of geographic boarders through globalization, the need for settlements to be both connected and permeable cannot be overstated.

Table 4: Criteria for Connected & Permeable Places

PRINCIPLE 1: CONNECTIVITY AND PERMEABILITY	Key Criteria
Connectivity refers to both the physical connectivity of	 Internal Movement / Access
places through roads, rail, sea as well as non-physical connectivity through ICT and other means of telecommunication infrastructure.	 Broad Physical Connectivity Access to Internet Access to Cell Phones
Permeability refers to the level to which the neighbourhood permits or restricts internal ease of movement for pedestrians, cyclists and motor-vehicle uses.	■ Telecommunication Infrastructure

Movement and access is an essential element to the functioning of urban environments. Often focus is given to the existing road network alone. However, when considering some of the key challenges facing cities today and themes emanating from the various design theories discussed as part of this research, one cannot merely look at existence of hard infrastructure. The following map 12 indicates that the Albert Park area currently has a formal road network that runs in grid pattern thus making the neighbourhood more permeable both for vehicles and pedestrians. From a design perspective, a grid layout road system gives greater levels of connectivity and allows for higher levels of pedestrian access and of cognitive recognition than loop road systems do. However the existing road network does also make adequate provision for pedestrian movement. There is limited traffic calming interventions and no provision for dedicated cycle lanes.

Map 11: Internal Movement/Access within Albert Park



Source: Author (2016)

The images in Plates 18 and 19 reflect the current condition of some of the streets within Albert Park. As evident from the imagery, there is limited maintenance of streets within the neighbourhood. Another key element that is essential to the functioning of an inner-city neighbourhood is that of access to public transport. In line with this, the movement and access plan⁶ highlighted the cities CBD bus service (People Mover) routes and bus stops. In line with the principles of walkability, an analysis was conducted on how accessible each of the People Mover bus stops were for Albert Park residents. As a result, a series of pedestrian watersheds of 200m, 400m and 600m (translating to a 2.5 minute, 5 minute and 7.5 minute walk respectively) from each bus-stop has been prepared. As reflected in Map 14, all residents are able to access the existing bus-system within a 200m (2.5minute) – 600m (7.5 minute) walking distance. As such it may be said that Albert Park is currently an

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The Movement Plan is based on tracing the patterns of vehicular and pedestrian movement within the study area of Albert Park.

internally permeable and accessible neighbourhood. However, intervention in the maintenance and demarcation of dedicated lanes and increase traffic calming measures would be ideal in improving its current state and for future residents who will want to make use of the improved public transport system being installed by the city.

Plate 18 and Plate 19: Albert Park - Historical Photographs



Source: KZN: A Photographic and Historical Record, (2016)



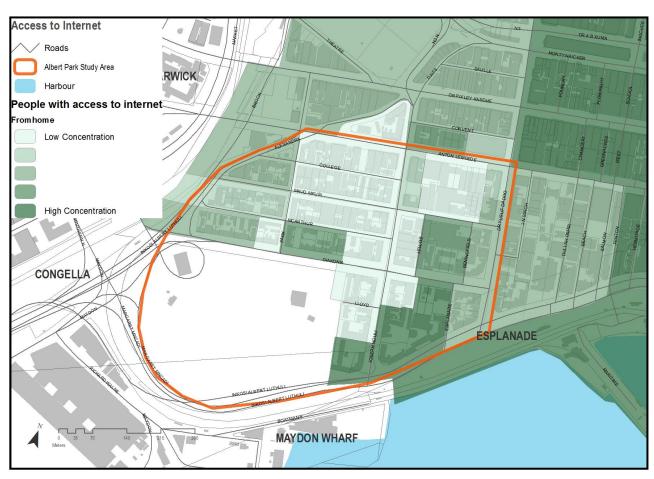
Source: KZN: A Photographic and Historical Record, (2016)

Map 12: Broader Physical Connectivity

Source: Author (2016 informed by eThekwini, 2011

In order to assess Albert Park's level of physical connectivity at a broader scale, the map above was prepared to show key locations within the city in relation to the Albert Park area. The People Mover's City Line route along with the Circuit Line routes were both plotted, together with the various bus stations along these routes. As in the preceding map 13, a pedestrian watershed of 200m, 400m, and 600m intervals was prepared around each bus station. As illustrated in Map 13, the majority of the key centres within the CBD are within a maximum 7.5 minute (600m) walk from one or more stations. This therefore reflects that a resident within the Albert Park area is able to access the entire city centre using public transport and without having to walk excessive distance to access public transport. It is key to note is that the Workshop, Warwick Junction and the soon upcoming intermodal facility as part of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) are points where there is and will be a significant amount of travel exchange as people are able to access transportation going to and from locations outside of the CBD. This suggests that by virtue of Albert Park residents having access to a bus service within the neighbourhood, linking them to bigger transportation hubs, the neighbourhood can be considered to be physically connected as a system in itself as well as being connected to the greater city system. It has both intra-and extra-connectivity.

When considering both present and future inner-city neighbourhoods, access to the internet becomes an important aspect to consider. Access to the internet is important in the planning, design and management of neighbourhoods. This is particularly important as eThekwini is moving towards the creation of Smart or Intelligent City hubs and increasing local and city wide connectivity to increase economic competitiveness. The introduction of retrofitted optic fibre into the Central Business District is illustrative of this initiative. The internet plays multiple roles in people's lives including recreation and business development through social media, information sharing and overall access to worldwide opportunities and platforms. A key component in this access is the degree of telecommunication infrastructure (TI) that is available for residents to tap into e.g. mobile phone towers, satellite coverage and optic fibre linkages. Map 14 below reflects areas where there is either low or high concentrations of people with access to the internet from their homes. It is evident that the area does have a reasonable amount of internet.

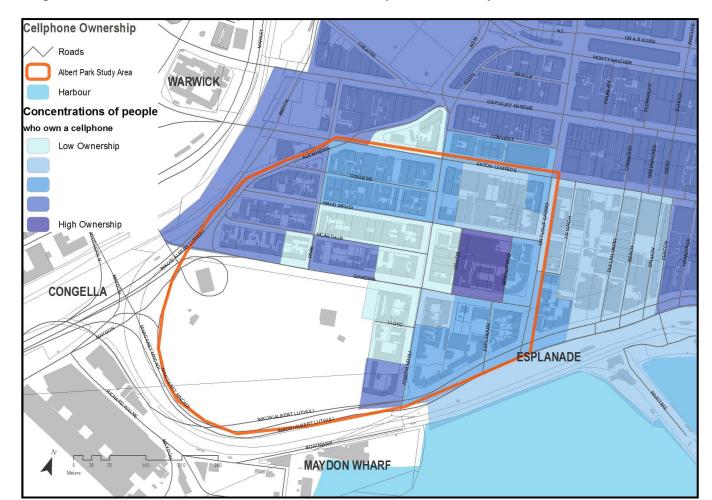


Map 13: Access to Internet in Albert Park

Source: Author (2016, informed by the National Census, 2011)

However, map 14 above only refers to people with access in their homes without necessarily giving clarity as to how the internet in the home is accessed. An assumption is that people with a cell phone are most likely to have

access to the internet via their mobile devices. This is an incorrect assumption since the availability of the mobile internet is directly linked to issues of affordability. There are residents in Albert Park who would not be able to afford neither to purchase a mobile device with supporting internet connectivity nor the cost of the data. Map 15 highlights the areas within Albert Park that have the lowest and highest concentration of people with cell phones. The combination of the findings of these two maps reflects that residents within the Albert Park area are already internet users. It would be ideal to have the provision of ICT infrastructure improved and possibly to have free access to the internet in Albert Park. It must however be noted that both maps reflect a low concentration of people with access to internet at home as well as people with cell phones in the central part of the study which is bounded by Joseph Nduli, McArthur, Park and Anton Lembede streets. The blocks around the Diakonia and Joseph Nduli streets also show a low access to internet at home as well as cell phone ownership. The blocks around Diakonia and Joseph Nduli Streets also show a low access to internet at home as well as to cell phone ownership. This can be seen as a reflection of the economic profile of that specific area within the neighbourhood, in that the population in that vicinity cannot afford to have access to internet at home as this is still considered a luxury by some.



Map 14: Access to Telecommunication Infrastructure (Mobile Phones)

Source: Author, (2016, informed by the National Census, 2011)

In terms of the 1st criteria for the design and management of inner-city neighbourhoods, which addresses connectivity and permeability, the research has shown that Albert Park is very permeable due to its internal block road network structure, and well connected to the broader region. However, in regard to the more modern forms of connectivity, the area shows that connectivity with the internet is very limited, especially on a home basis.

6.8 PRODUCTIVE PLACES

Can the Albert Park neighbourhood be considered a productive place to live, to work or for other opportunities? This question is addressed in the following discussion.

Table 5: Criteria for Productive Places

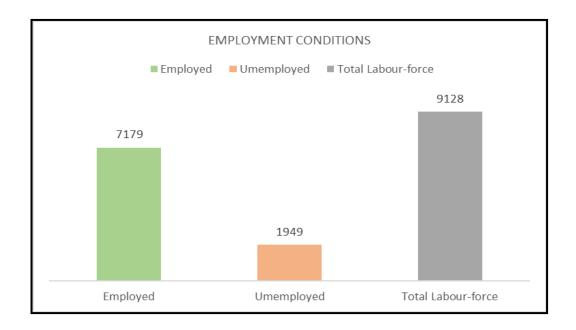
PRINCIPLE 2: ECONOMICALLY PRODUCTIVE PLACES	KEY CRITERIA
Iyer (2014; 69) speaks of economic productivity as involving	 External economic opportunities
"the development of new business and providing for jobs to	 Employed and unemployed population
create an employed and thriving population". An increasing	 Household income levels
urban population places an increased demand for	 Most active sectors (formal and informal)
employment opportunities as well as food and other urban	 Ability to earn
offerings.	 Internal economic opportunities
These factors play a pivotal role in the design of future liveable inner-city neighbourhoods. People desire to live in places where they can easily access a source of livelihood. Inner-city neighbourhoods when designed well are able to offer residents the often discussed utopian live, work and play environment. As reflected in the various precedent examples assessed as part of this research, the failure or decay of inner-city neighbourhoods is often related to a decrease in economic investment and productivity of the	
area or immediate surroundings.	

Source: Author (2016)

6.8.1 Employment Conditions

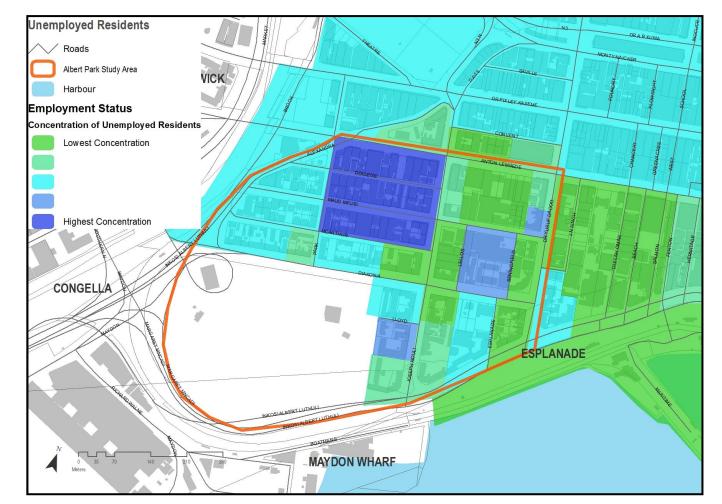
Employment reflects various aspects of a settlement that are key in determining the level to which the area is economically active. In order to understand the employment conditions within Albert Park, data from the 2011 census was extracted. As reflected in Graph 2 below, the majority of the neighbourhood's labour-force is employed. However, 1,949 people within the labour force where found to be unemployed. The graph provides on the right an overview of overall employment statistics within the neighbourhood.

Graph 3: Employment Conditions in Albert Park



Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

Map 16 shows the patterns of unemployment in Albert Park. The highest and lowest concentration of unemployed people within the area have been tracked. As reflected in the map, the lowest concentration of unemployed people is east of Joseph Nduli Street, whilst the highest concentration of the unemployed people is to the west of the same street. This can be attributed to the fact that based merely on a visual assessment of the physical state of the neighbourhood, this specific area bares the greatest signs of decay and informality.



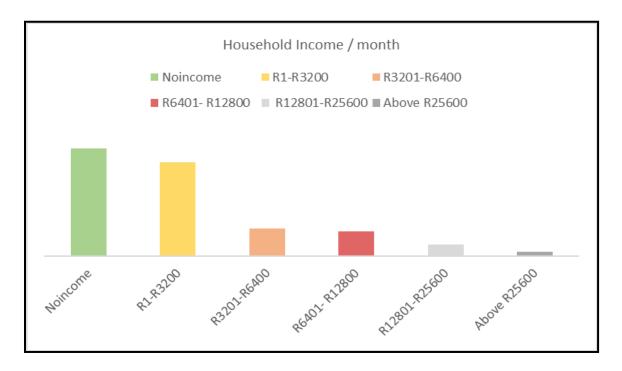
Map 15: Concentrations of Unemployed Residents in Albert Park

Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

6.8.2 Household Income Levels

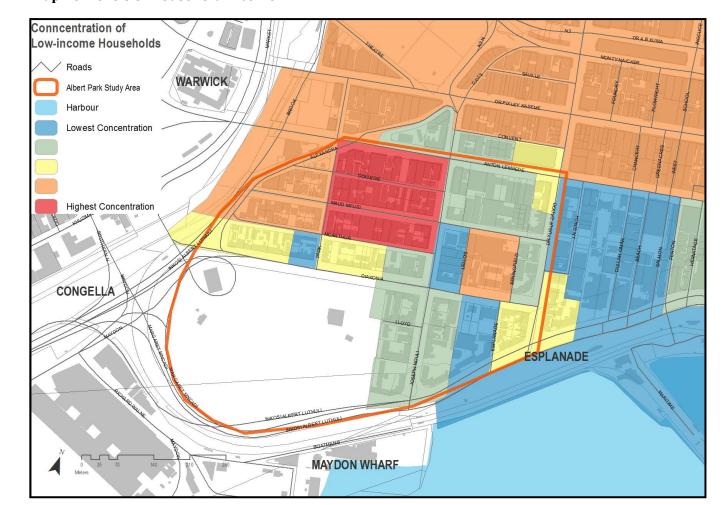
The household income levels within a neighbourhood reflect the level wealth or lack thereof within the neighbourhood. As such it helps reflect how economically active the population is. Graph 4 presents a breakdown of the income per house-hold on a monthly basis. As reflected in the results, the majority of households within the neighbourhood either have no income or earn between R1 – R3200 per month. The international benchmark for the poverty datum line is set at those households who live on less than \$1.90 per day (The World Bank, 2016). This translates to R27.81 per day and in essence, R834.30 per month. Based on these figures, it can been seen that by comparison the Albert Park neighbourhood is predominantly poor in nature

Graph 4: Household Incomes



Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census, 2011)

Map 17 shows that the concentration of the poorest population within the neighbourhood. It must be noted that for this exercise only households found to have no monthly income and those earning between R1-R3, 200 where mapped out. As reflected below, the highest concentration of low income households within Albert Park resides west of Joseph Nduli Street. There is a correlation between the location of poor households and those with the least access to formal employment opportunities addressed in the previous section of the dissertation. In part this can be explained in terms of the number of first time urban dwellers, refugees and foreign nationals who have chosen the Albert Park area for their home. Unable to afford or obtain the requisite documentation to register for formal jobs, this section of the local population find employment in part time work, small scale self-employment and the informal sector. The result of a local socio economic analysis suggest that the perception that Albert Park is a launching point for new residents to eThekwini and would have additional strategies to address the needs of this sector of the population and to prevent the areas or parts of it becoming slums.



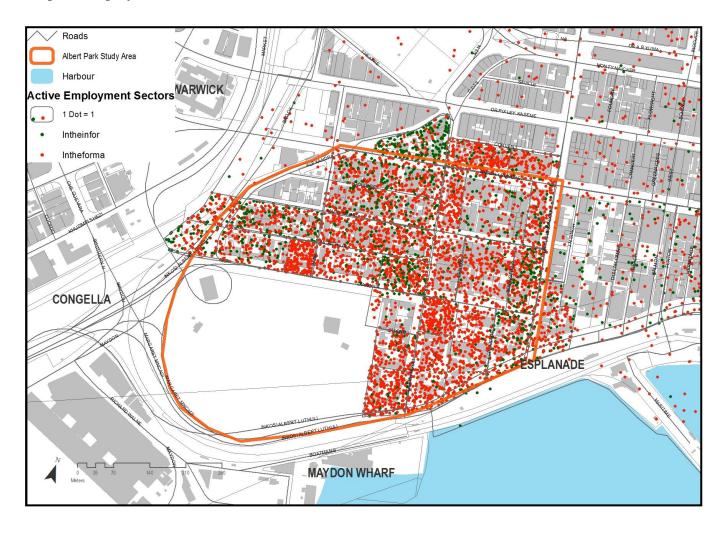
Map 16: Levels of Household Income

Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

6.8.3 Most Active Employment Sectors

Having established both the employment and income conditions, it is also important to understand where the residents of Albert Park are employed and the different sectors operating within the neighbourhood. As such the following map reflects on a dot density basis with 1 dot representing 1 person, people employed in both the formal and informal sectors. As reflected in map 18, the majority of employed residents within Albert Park are employed within the formal sector. Key to note the way in which there is cluster of people who are formally employed east of the intersection of Park and Diakonia Street, possibly reflecting an apartment block that is more well maintained than those surrounding it and as a result able to attract wealthier tenants.

Map 17: Employment Sectors



Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

6.8.4 External and Internal Economic Opportunities

Although not an accurate reflection, existing land-use zoning of parcels within the study can give a very broad indication of some of the economic activity and opportunities that are offered within the study area. Due to the limited resources, available to the research and time limits in completing the research, it was not feasible to undertake a detailed on site land-use survey. In the absence of this land use survey which would give an accurate picture of all businesses and institutions currently operating within and around the neighbourhood, the researcher has relied on data made available from official municipal records. It is acknowledged that this data has limitations but it is felt that it provides an overview of economic trends in Albert Park. Map 19 reflects the zoning for Albert Park and its surroundings.

Land-uses Albert Park Study Area WARWICK Existing Street General Business General Industrial General Residential 5 Government and Municipa Harbour NSC. Indeterminate, NSC Noxious Industrial, NSC Special Zone, NSC Transport Zone, NSC CONGELLA **ESPLANADE** MAYDON WHARF

Map 18: Zoning Map for Albert Park

Source: Author, 2016 (informed by eThekwini, 2011)

Diakonia Street are zoned as use for General Business. According to eThekwini Municipality (2016; 59), the General Business Zone is intended "to provide, preserve, use land or buildings for intense commercial and or business activities and Spatial Development and sustainable function of the Central Business District" (eThekwini Central Consolidated Scheme, 2016: 56). The zone allows the following land uses.

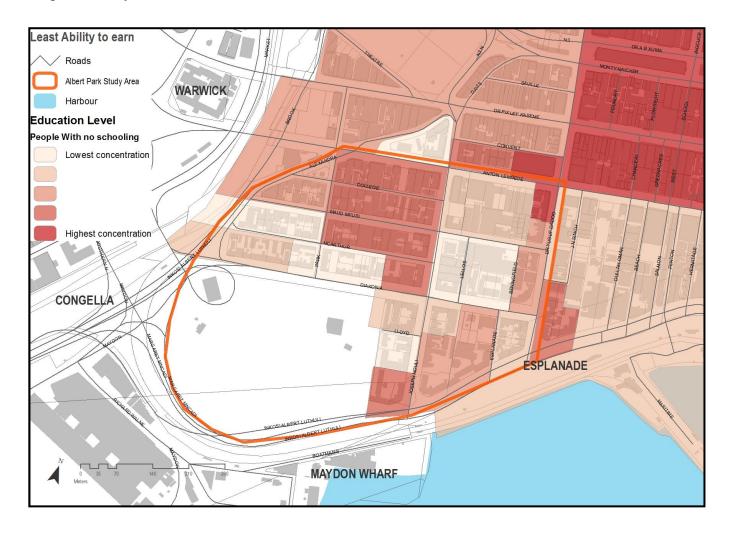
The General Residential 5 zone which has been applied to most developed parcels South of Diakonia Street is intended to "provide, preserve, or use land or buildings for high density residential accommodation together with retail, personal services, entertainment, offices, public facilities and related commercial uses at high intensities that comprise a city centre eThekwini Municipality" (2016;66). These zoning controls reflect the permitted activity within the Albert Park area and have vast potential for increased business development and thus

increased employment and economic productivity. The neighbouring industrial activity south of the study area also reflects additional employment opportunities for present and future residents. However it must be noted that in some situations there are people that reside outside of Albert Park but still work in and around the area. It may be debated that most people do not desire to live within Albert Park as a result of the negative reputation it has gained over the years. The section to follow will look at this in more detail.

6.8.5 The Potential/Ability to Earn an Income

In a fast-developing world, the role that education plays in securing employment and in essence an income cannot be overstated. This is more evident and applicable in urban areas especially urban Metropolitan areas such as Durban. As such the following map 20 reflects the concentration of people with the ability/ potential to earn. This was achieved by mapping people with no education with the Albert Park area. As reflected in the map 20, the highest concentration of people without an education is between Joseph Nduli, MacArthur and Park Street, thus signifying that people within this area would be considered as having the least ability/ potential to earn through formal employment in the modern and future city. Key to note is that there are a number of parcels Diakonia and MacArthur that are reflected a minimal concentration of people with no schooling. This may be attributed to the presence of some University residence facilities as well as recent *'Social Housing'* initiatives in the area. The provision of such residential facilities would generally attract a more educated population into the area.

Map 19: Ability to Earn - Albert Park



Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census, 2011)

Considering the data presented, a discernible trend emerges namely - a portion of the neighbourhood east of Joseph Nduli tends to reflect an opposite character to that of the area to the west. The area has reflected the highest concentration of unemployed people, least educated people and as well as a high concentration of people without access to the internet at home. As mentioned earlier the area also has the most dilapidated/decayed buildings within Albert Park. As such it can be said that this area shows the greatest signs of decay and is most needing of intervention.

6.9 SPATIALLY EFFICIENT PLACES

The notion of spatially efficient places, is based on the acknowledgement that land is scarce and that the limited available land needs to be efficiently used. The density and complexity within an area serve as some of the key indicators of the efficient use of space. Other aspects such as functional and vibrant public spaces as well as the presence of abandoned properties or spaces, can also serve as an indicator of a neighbourhood's level of spatial efficiency

Table 6: Criteria for Spatially Efficient Places

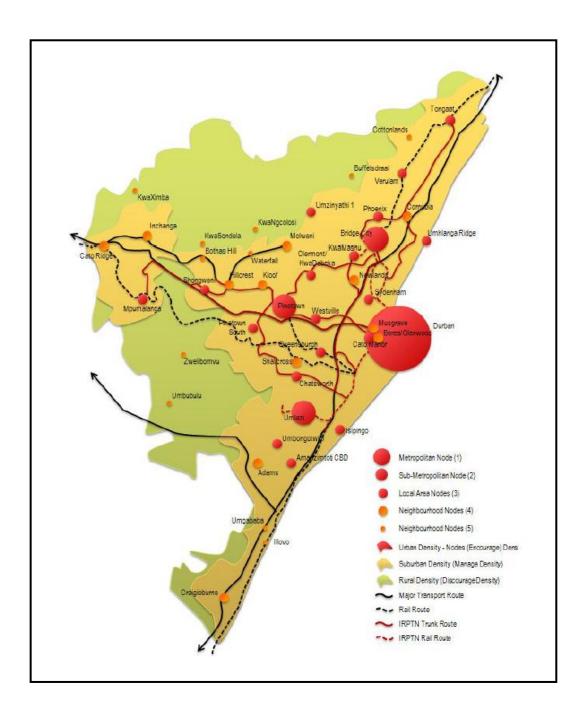
PRINCIPLE 3 : SPATIALLY EFFICIENT PLACES	Key Criteria
lyer (2014;101) provides that density and compactness lead to	 Population Density and Distribution
complexity, thus allowing for a greater mix of land-uses, shared	Diversity of uses
spaces and services as well as a reduced cost of infrastructure	 Underutilised / Poor Performing spaces
provision. The efficient use of space by ensuring adequate	
residential densities and mixture of uses, allows people greater	
choice, thus allowing opportunity for the realisation of live, work	
and play environments	

6.9.1 Population Density and Distribution

Jacobs (1961: 221) is quoted as saying, "What are the proper densities for city dwellings? The answer to this is something like the answer Lincoln gave to the question, "How long should a man's leg be?" Long enough to reach the ground, Lincoln said. Just so, proper city dwelling densities are a matter of performance. They cannot be based on abstractions about the quantities of land that ideally should be allotted for so-and-so many people (living in some docile, imaginary society). Densities are too low, or too high, when they frustrate city diversity instead of abetting it. We ought to look at densities in much the same way as we look at calories and vitamins. Right amounts are right amounts because of how they perform. And what is right differs in specific instances."

In 2013, eThekwini Municipality published, the City's Density Strategy as a guide and informant for the structuring of the metropolitan area from a metropolitan (strategic) as well as a regional point of view. The Strategy identified various nodes across the metropolitan region and thus made very broad proposals regarding ideal net densities in and around such areas. The study area in question (Albert Park) falls within the demarcated boundary of the wider Central Business District or Metropolitan Node, which is identified on Map 21. As such the net residential densities proposed for this node range between 80du/ha – 250du/ha (Royal Haskoning DHV, 2013).

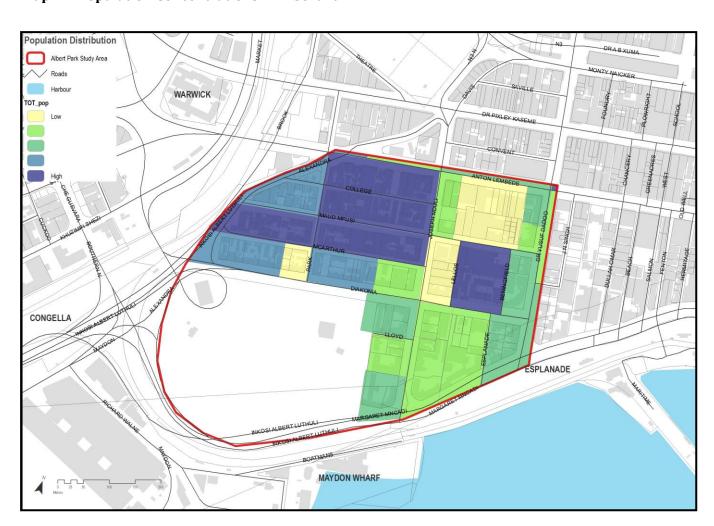
Map 20: Net Residential Densities



Source: Royal Haskoning DHV (2013: 21)

In order to establish the approximate net density within Albert Park, as a rule of thumb, 20% was subtracted from the total site area to determine the area of land dedicated to residential purposes. It was established that approximately 26.5 hectares of the site were dedicated to residential use. Based on there being approximately 4,790 households within Albert Park, the neighbourhood can be said to have currently an approximate net density of is 181du/ha. Therefore, in terms of density and based on the eThekwini City Densification Strategy, the Albert Park area is seen as performing efficiently.

Map 22 goes on to show the population concentration within the Albert Park Area. The darker the colour on the map, the greater the concentration of people residing the area.



Map 21: Population Concentrations in Albert Park

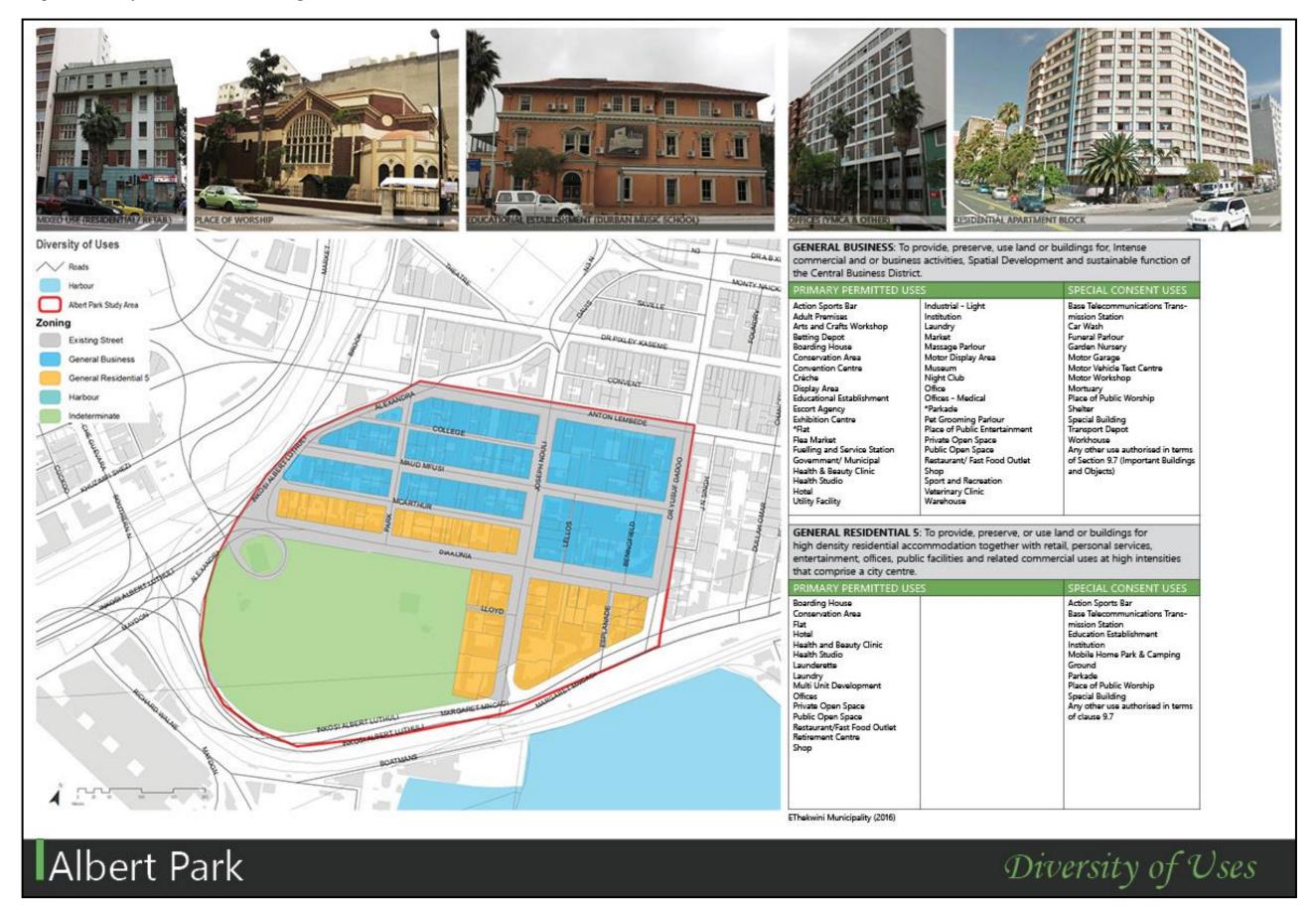
Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

Map 22 illustrates that the highest concentration of people within the Albert Park area is in the area west of Joseph Nduli Street and west of McArthur Highway. This may be attributed to various housing initiatives by the First Metro Social Housing Company that have seen the regeneration of various buildings within the area as reflected in the images below. It is important also to take note of the high population concentration located within the block east of Joseph Nduli Street. In this particular area, the high population level may be attributed to the existence of a recently refurbished residential block that currently also serves as a university residence.

6.9.2 Diversity of Uses

A key aspect of sustainable and liveable neighbourhoods is their ability to offer residents choice and access to a variety of uses within the neighbourhood. By providing retail, educational, residential, recreational along with office related uses, neighbourhood residents are able to live work and play within the neighbourhood, thus reducing the frequency with which they use the motor vehicle. While a detailed land-use audit that would record the current land-use activity within Albert Park on a site by site and building floor basis would be ideal in planning for the regeneration of the area, but this was found to not be feasible for the purposes of this study. The Primary Permitted and Special Consent uses as per the zoning applicable to the study area have been recorded and assessed as a reflection of the areas development potential. These findings accompanied by photographs of the area have been presented on the 'Diversity of Uses' spread (Map 23 below). Based on the above and on the material presented on the spread, it is evident that Albert Park currently accommodates diverse uses, but it has the potential to accommodate more office, commercial and education related uses to help stimulate more employment opportunities within the neighbourhood.

Map 22: Diversity of Land Uses and Zoning in Albert Park

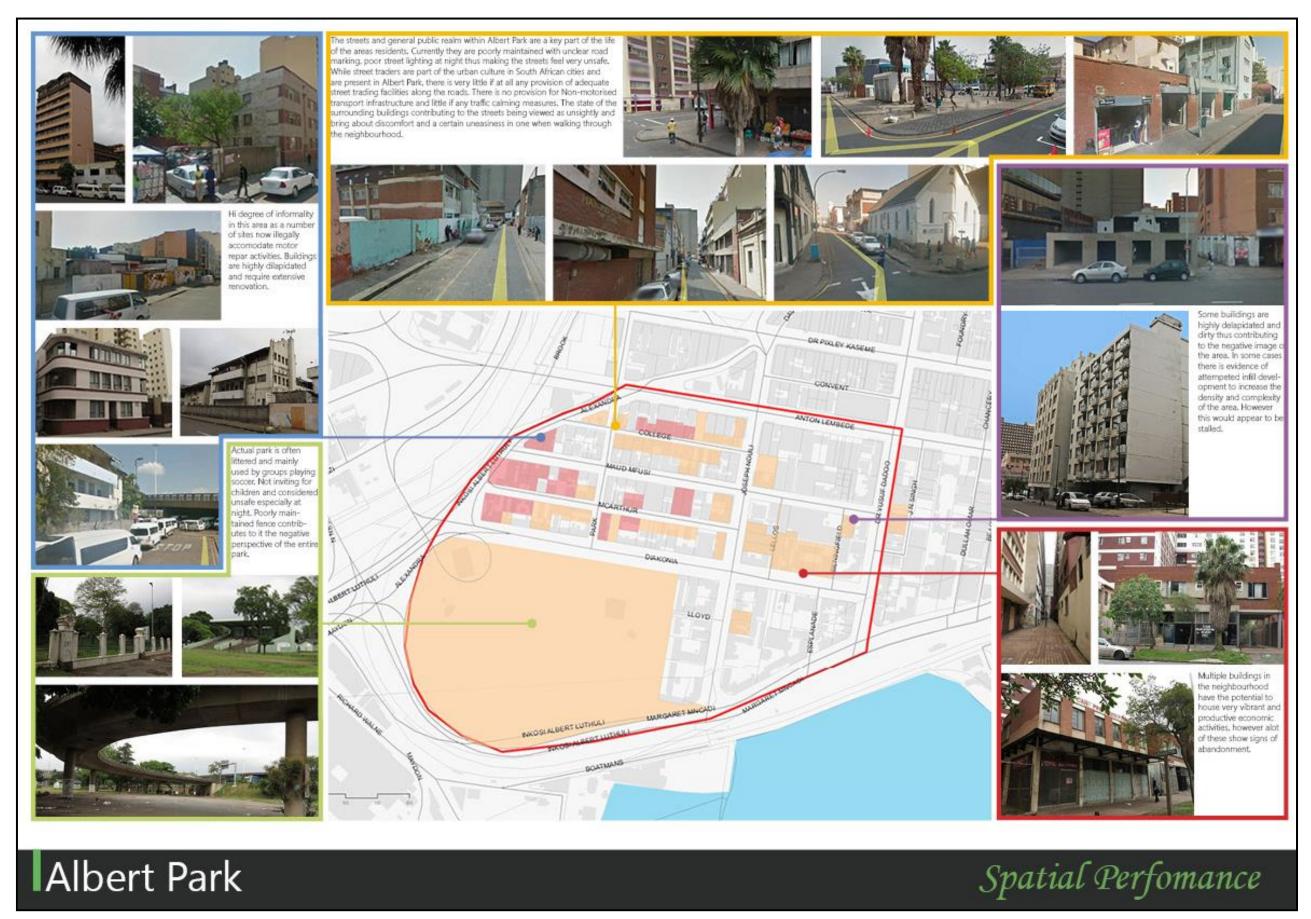


Source: Author (2016)

6.9.3 Underutilised and Poor Performing Spaces

Due to vacant land being a scarce resource, it is essential that all spaces within inner-city neighbourhoods are not only utilised but are performing well in a manner that brings added value rather than disrepute to the neighbourhood. As part of this analysis, an assessment within the neighbourhood was conducted to identify buildings and parcels that where underutilised or performing poorly. The attached 'spatial performance spread' provided (Map 24) reflects the findings of this analysis. As a benchmark, buildings with clear physical damage such as broken windows and doors were identified as requiring complete redevelopment. Buildings with minor physical challenges such as paint peeling and dirt, along with sites with minimal development footprints were identified as potential infill sites or buildings requiring minor interventions. However, an overall statement of the spatial performance of the neighbourhood would be that, although functioning, Albert Park is not functioning as efficiently and as optimally as an inner-city neighbourhood of this scale and context should be.

Map 23: Spatial Performance in Albert Park



Source: Author (2016)

6.10 COMPLETE AND INCLUSIVE PLACES

The inclusive aspect deals with the notion of people-centred places where residents are involved shaping the future of the places. It also involves creating places that are able to accommodate diversity in the population, be it race, nationality or even age. The creation of physical environments that enhance the quality of life of people, and which afford equal opportunities and enable integration, is essential to the realisation of future liveable inner-city neighbourhoods.

Table 7: Criteria for Complete and Inclusive Places

PRINCIPLE 4: COMPLETE AND INCLUSIVE PLACES	KEY CRITERIA		
Complete places are those that offer people choice and	Diversity of Population		
cater for a range of needs. Farr (2008: 45) speaks of	 Residents Sense of Belonging 		
neighbourhoods existing "to meet both one's daily needs	 Housing Environment 		
and one's needs over a lifetime". In order for these to be	 Access to Civic and Retail facilities 		
met, it is important that neighbourhoods offer "a wide	 Social Integration and Openness 		
variety of land-uses, building types, and dwelling types"			
(Farr, 2008; 45). This sets the platform for inclusive places			
and communities to develop.			

Source: Author (2016)

6.10.1 The Diversity of Population

When interviewing an academic in planning as part of this research, an issue that was raised was that of innercity neighbourhoods being places with constantly changing demographics. He used an example from one his research studies of the inner-city areas. It had revealed that from a household perspective, most people residing in flats in the inner-city area were there for a limited time-frame depending on who they were and at what stage of their life they were in (2016). He spoke of local South Africans tending to move into these areas soon after completing tertiary training and in the early stages of their career and often moving after 3–4 years having grown in earning power or married and having had their first child. An urban designer supported this perspective of inner-city neighbourhoods being places whose population is constantly changing, using the example of how, across the world, it is common for these to be places which foreign nationals general inhabit in the early days after immigrating and later moving out, once they have found their feet in the city (Urban Designer, 2016).

When one considers the history of Albert Park discussed earlier, the notion of it being a place constantly experiencing demographic change is apparent in how it initially was a white only neighbourhood that was eventually infiltrated by upcoming non-white professionals, and in turn infiltrated by more low income groups and foreign nationals in more recent years. In a bid to better understand the current demographic

Total Population

Nove Paul Study / new Total Lowest

Highest

Augustus Aug

Map 24: Population Map for Albert Park

Source: Author (2016, informed by the National Census 2011)

The approximate population of Albert Park based on the 2011 census data used for this research, is 19,300 people. As reflected in the Map 25, the highest concentration of people within the neighbourhood is west of Joseph Nduli Street and North of McArthur Street. Immediately south of Anton Lembede Street and south of Diakonia Street would appear the least populated areas. In order to get a better assessment of the population, the Graph 5 below reflects the diversity of the population based on race. As reflected in it the majority of the

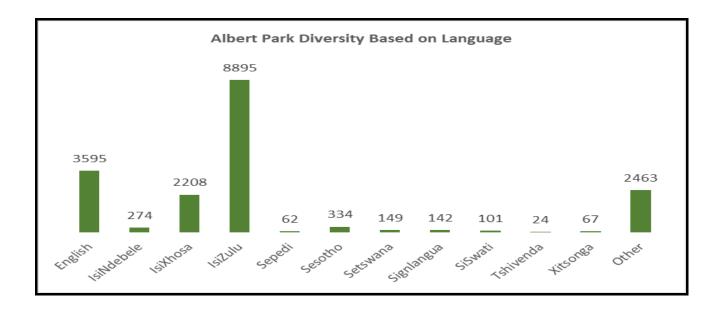
population within the Albert Park area is Black/ African. However, it can be said that Albert Park is already a racially inclusive area judging from the presence of other races.

Graph 5: Racial Diversity in the Albert Park Neighbourhood

Source: Author (2016 informed by the National Census 2011)

A different perspective would be to consider the area's diversity based on language which could possibly be the best available indicator of place of origin or nationality. As reflected in Graph 6, there are multiple languages represented within Albert Park.

Graph 6: Language Diversity in the Albert Park Neighbourhood

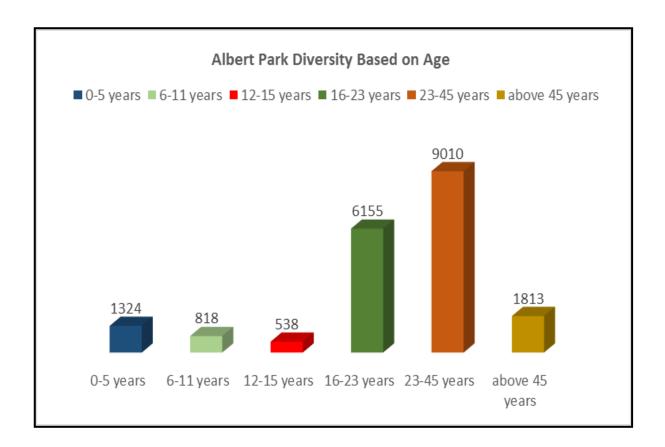


Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

It becomes evident that not all residents within the area are originally from Durban let alone from KwaZulu-Natal. Important to note is that there are other languages that are not local South African languages and these have been grouped under the title 'Other'. This represents the multiple foreign national populations currently residing within the Albert Park area. However, one cannot assume that such diversity is a reflection of the success of inclusivity in an area. The xenophobic attacks of 2015 are a cause for concern of the level to which foreign nationals have been accepted as part of the community. Erwin (2011) points out how, although not blatant, one can see some of the existing divisions between groups within Albert Park, where one group blames the other for the negative activity in the area. It must be noted that these divisions are not only locals blaming foreigners for the crime and other activities but also the older residents blaming the younger residents of the area. It is also important to assess the diversity of the population based on age.

Graph 7 reflects the neighbourhood population's diversity based on age. The majority of residents are between the ages of 23 - 45 years followed by those between the ages of 16 - 23. Based on this one can conclude that the population of Albert Park is predominantly young or at the cusp of being middle aged. This plays a key role in establishing what intervention measures would be best for the area. What is interesting is that the highest figures fall within that sector of the population that is economically active and productive. Tis group who constitute the sector that would seek additional entertainment, educational and social facilities in the neighbourhood they live in.

Graph 7: Diversity Based on Age Groups



Source: Author, 2016 (informed by the National Census 2011)

6.10.2 The Residents' Sense of Belonging

While inclusive and complete places are places that offer choice and serve a diverse population, they also need to be places that all residents feel a sense of belonging and satisfaction with the state of the neighbourhood. This may be influenced by the quality of spaces, and the availability of various recreation and community oriented activities within the neighbourhood. From the attitude of residents toward the area, it is evident that the level of interaction among residents and their participation in any neighbourhood activities is limited. This result suggested that there is little or no sense of belonging and therefore a partial explanation of why they are not involved in initiatives to preserve or improve Albert Park. There is a correlation between identification with urban space and the willingness of people to participate in activities related to it. In order to understand the residents' perspective on Albert Park and to assess the existing sense of belonging residents carry toward the area, a mini-survey was conducted with ten participants. Table 2 presents a summary of the overall responses given to some of the survey questions.

Table 8: A Summary of Responses from Interviewees

QUESTIONS	SUMMARY OF RESPONSES
Do you know of any community groups in Albert Park? (if yes please specify)	The majority of participants did not know of any local community groups
Are you currently a member of any community group(s) in Albert Park (if yes specify)	Most of the participants were not members to any group, with the exception of one participant who is a member of a local soccer team
Do you consider Albert Park a home which you do not want to leave?	The majority of the participants expressed clearly that they did not see Albert Park as their home and place they would not want to leave.
Are you happy with the current neighbourhood environment in Albert Park?	Most participants indicated that they were not happy with the current neighbourhood environment in Albert Park, while four indicated they were happy. However, two were not sure. One added that more could be done to improve the standard of living of people and elevate the area value.
Are you attracted to the visual appearance of Albert Park (i.e. buildings, streets, parks)?	Half of the participants indicated that they were attracted to the visual appearance of the Albert Park while the other 50% was not.
What aspects of Albert Park do you like most?	The majority of participants indicated that they liked the fact that Albert Park was close to the City Centre. Others also mentioned they liked the neighbourhood due to the low rental and access to public transport.
What aspects of Albert Park do you like least?	All applicants indicated that they disliked the issue of crime within Albert Park, with one adding that they did not like the sight of the run-down buildings.
Do you think that the Urban Development Initiatives in the Albert Park area could be beneficial?	Most participants believe that urban development initiatives in the area would be beneficial.
What you think the Albert Park area needs most?	The majority of participants indicated that the area really needed reduced criminal activity with others adding the need for better policing and better facilities.
Do you have adequate recreational facilities in Albert Park?	Most participants indicated that there were not enough recreational facilities within Albert Park.
Do you take part in any of the following recreational activities within Albert	The majority of participants do not take part in recreational activities in Albert Park.
Park?	Only three indicated that they did walk in the park while two said that they played soccer.
How often do you visit or interact with your neighbours?	Five participants indicated that they interacted on a daily basis with their neighbours, while four said weekly and three said occasionally.
Do you know a lot of people living in your building?	Half of the participants indicated that they knew a lot of people in their building while the other half indicated that they did not.
How often do you visit or interact with the people living in the neighbouring buildings?	Four participants indicated that they interact with people from neighbouring buildings on a daily basis while four others indicated that they had occasional interaction.

Source: Author (2016)

Based on the results from the minor survey conducted, there was reasonable interaction between residences but more frequent amongst those residing in the same building. However, the fact that most participants do not consider the neighbourhood home and a place they do not want to leave combined with their limited involvement in any community and recreational activities within the neighbourhood, begins to paint a picture of a neighbourhood environment where the sense of belonging among residents is very low.

The earlier chapters of this research presented one of the indicators of the liveability of a place being that those residing in it are happy and content, not desiring to leave for another place. Based on the above one can begin to view Albert Park as currently not liveable. One of the causes of this could be, as residents highlighted, high levels of crime in the area.

6.10.4 The Housing Environment

As earlier mentioned, a complete place provides people with a variety of choice on a daily basis as well as over a lifetime (Farr, 2008). Choice regarding housing in inner-city neighbourhoods is important mainly because of these are places that can play a very key role in responding to the challenges of sprawl and climate change, through densification. This combined with the issues highlighted by the professor (2016) regarding the constantly evolving resident population of inner-city neighbourhoods, poses a challenge to ensuring housing choice in terms of typology and tenure.

Due to the location of the neighbourhood in the greater city context, the majority of housing in the area is in the form of high-rise apartment blocks. Census 2011 data was analysed as part of this research in order to establish the existing tenure status of residents within the area. This analysis revealed that less than 300 residents resided in apartments they owned and had fully paid-off. As reflected on Map 26, the majority of residents in Albert Park are renting the apartments they live in. However while this may be the case, evidence from Erwin (2011) would indicate that as much as there may be formal rental agreements between residents and legitimate landlords, there are also some cases where tenants are being exploited by self-proclaimed supervisors as a result of buildings being neglected by the legitimate land-lords.

Tenure Status

Albert Park Study Area

Render

Tenure status

1 DW = 2

Rented

Cocupiedre

COLUMBRIAN

CONGELLA

ALBERTANIA

CONGELLA

ALBERTANIA

AL

Map 25: Tenure Status in Albert Park

Source: Author, (2016)

6.10.5 Access to Civic and Retail Facilities

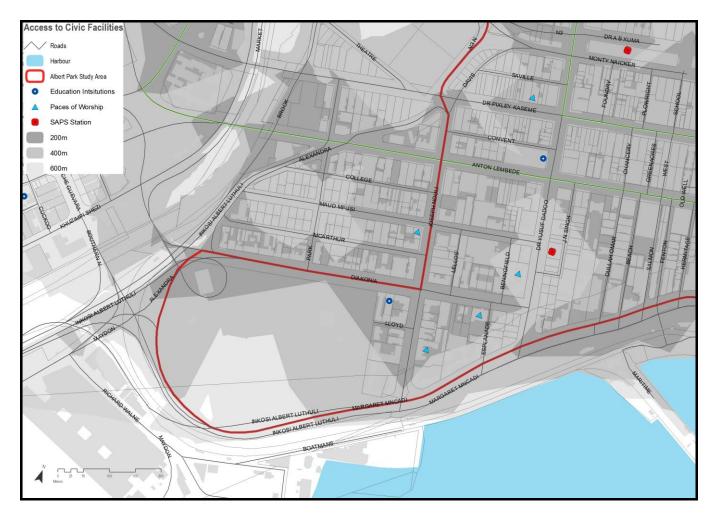
When interviewing a professor in planning as part of this research, an issue that was raised was that of inner-city neighbourhoods being places with constantly changing demographics. An academic who was interview doe this research (2016) used an example of one of the projects he has worked on to illustrate this perspective e.g. Johannesburg Inner City. He stated that the nature of inner city neighbourhoods and their social dynamics is reflected the fact that certain demographic groups only remain in these areas for a short periods of time e.g. young people and new urban immigrants. The first group – young people (25 -30 years) take advantage of the economic and social opportunities offered in neighbourhoods close to the CBD. Such areas offer access to public transport, lower rentals and a diversity of facilities and services that they seek. Similarly new urban migrant favour inner city neighbourhoods because specific geographic areas in the city are linked to social networks established by new migrants and foreigners. Areas such as Albert Park have a level of informality built into their social and economic characteristics. They provide a 'spring board' or 'first point of access' into a new urban centre and enable new migrants to find accommodation and economic opportunities not available in other parts

of the city. Urban migrants tends to leave these inner city areas after approximately five years. Such a period of time can be attributed to the need for migrants to formally register and gain ID status or additional qualifications which will allow them access to other areas in the metropole. The only demographic cohort that tended to remain in the inner city areas longer than five year were local residents and senior citizens. This can be attributed to a familiarity with the neighbourhood. Older residents stay because they are unable to relocate to other neighbourhoods due to financial constraints or because they simply do not want to move⁷.

A key characteristic of inner-city neighbourhoods, is the easy access to key services and facilities that residents are afforded. Map 27 provides an assessment of the accessibility of key facilities within Albert Park. A pedestrian shed of 200m, 400m, and 600m was plotted with the existing Police Station, Educational facilities and places of worship draped on top. As evident form the map, the all key existing services and facilities are easily accessible to residents on foot within less than a ten minute walking distance. At this point of the research it is difficult to draw a definite conclusion about the ratio of services to residents. Although some residents indicated that they wanted more services in Albert Park, others indicated that they took little interest in these issues. There is a need for a detailed land use survey to be undertaken which maps both formal and informal service provision and facilities, prior to additional civic services being provided. What may be more pertinent is the upgrading of the services that exist in the neighbourhood already.

This set of demographic dynamics is not specific to South African inner city areas. Similar examples can be found in European and American cities where inner areas of decline show short term residents and longer terms communities who remain or move for a variety of reasons.

Map 26: Access to Civic Facilities



Source: Author (2016)

6.11 ECOLOGICALLY RESILIENT PLACES

One of the issues raised as part of the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of this research was the notion of a human love of nature based on an intrinsic interdependence between humans and other living systems (Farr, 2008). When considering the multiple benefits that access to nature brings to a community from both a functional and aesthetic point of view, as highlighted in an interview for this research with an environmentalist, it becomes important to fully understand the existing scenario in Albert Park and establish innovative responses to improving its ecological resilience.

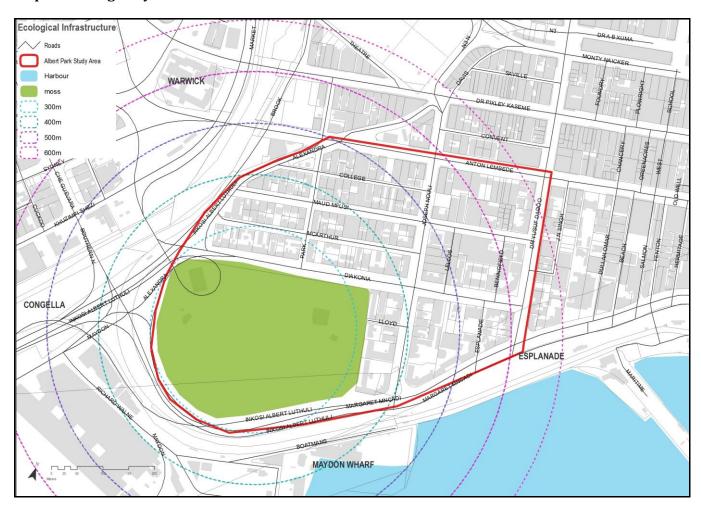
Table 9: Criteria for Ecologically Resilient Places

PRINCIPLE 5: ECOLOGICALLY RESILIENT PLACES **KEY CRITERIA** Largely as an urgent response to the impact of climate **Ecological Green Spaces** change that all cities globally are faced with, the Ecological **Recreational Green Spaces** Resilience pillar is a deliberate and almost forceful Productive Green Spaces e.g. places for Community Gardens and Urban Agriculture statement that highlights the need to move beyond the idea Edible tree planting of sustainability. Rather, this pillar acknowledges that the High Performance Buildings e.g. Green Design ecological infrastructure has already been compromised and Principles in the architectural design of buildings there it is not sufficient to merely sustain what is left. Application of water sensitive urban design As such this principle is aimed at ensuring that the ecological principles infrastructure within and outside the neighbourhood is not only protected but restored where necessary. It must be noted that the notion of ecologically resilient places refers to recreational and ecological green spaces, productive green spaces as well as all water waterbodies and the energy efficiency of buildings.

Source: Author (2016)

The following map (Map 28) reflects the existing ecological infrastructure system within Albert Park. This was obtained by plotting the current Durban Metropolitan Open Space System (DMOSS) over the case study area . DMOSS as it is commonly known, is a system of open spaces, some 74 000 hectares of land and water, that incorporates areas of high biodiversity value linked together in a viable network of open spaces within the

Municipal Region (eThekwini Municipality, 2011). As reflected in the map that follows, only the actual green park within Albert Park neighbourhood is recognised as being part of the DMOSS. The park currently serves both an ecological and recreational functionin the neighbourhood. In line with some of the design theories discussed in this research, access to recreational spaces is an important element for all neighbourhoods. In order to establish the level of accessibility of the park, a series of buffers ranging from 300m to 600m were plotted on the map. What this demonstrated was that s all residents within the Albert Park area are within walking distance of the park. However, while the park may be accessible, full use of the park is not necessarily guaranteed because of issues of safety for either adults or unaccompanied children Although the park is located opposite the Metropolitan Police Station this has not created the sense of security that would be expected when a law enforcement agency is located next to a recreational area.



Map 27: Ecologically Resilient Places in Albert Park

As reflected in the images that follow (Plates 20 to 23), the park currently has a soccer field that is frequently used especially over the weekend and at certain times during the week. Located in the park are also other sporting amenities that include a netball and basketball court. However, the frequent use of these may be debated. It has been reported that the park is often frequented by homeless people and non-residents who are often believed to be intoxicated on a drug commonly known as *Whoonga* (Street drug smoked with Marujuna). Needless to say, this reputation of the park has led to it being an uninviting place and a no-go place for children as most parents fear for their safety. Despite a number of initiatives by municipal officials to clean the park up, it remains a problematic space for local residents and external visitors alike.

Plate 20 and Plate 21: Albert Park





Source: KwaZulu-Natal (KZN): A Photographic and Historical Record, 2016

Plate 22 and Plate 23: Recreational Areas in Albert Park





Source: KwaZulu-Natal (KZN): A Photographic and Historical Record, 2016

6.11.1 Productive Green Spaces

In an interview for this research, an urban reconstruction lecturer spoke of cities having the answer for sustainability mainly because their location and high densities make it easier to cater for or implement climate change responsive measures (Lecturer, 2016). He went on to point out that one of the challenges today and for the future is that of feeding the population in the city and that this was linked to design. He refered to the example of how early medieval cities had a wall around them and outside these walls on the fringes of the city would be farmlands that supplied food (Lecturer, 2016). Today due to horizontal sprawl, these spaces for food production no longer exist and food production has been outsourced to rural areas and in some instances other countries. The outcome of this is that one country farms in another to feed its population.

The lecturer proposes that the key is to see cities as an ecosystem with human beings included, and to establish ways of reducing waste and recycling it to work for the city. The environmentalist who was interviewed supports this by highlighting a need to consider international precedent where food production and recycling initiatives have been initiated in inner-city communities. These projects have proved very successful in providing an alternative source of livelihood for some households, while also increasing and rebuilding the natural ecology of the neighbourhood. In the case of Albert Park, on analysis there were no efforts observed for the reservation of space for rooftop gardens, community gardens or urban agriculture to support food production by and for the local community. However, there is currently a Local Area Plan (LAP) being prepared for the CBD and it is anticipated that some of the proposals in this plan will begin to suggest ecological strategies in line with the above discussion.

6.11.2 High Performance Buildings

When speaking of the ecological resilience of future inner-city neighbourhoods, one cannot ignore the role that green buildings play in making a neighbourhood as a whole, ecologically resilient. Coyle (2011: 77) provides that "the buildings within a resilient community individually must be sustainably designed and, ideally, work together to create a balance in resource consumption and generation". Coyle (2011) adds the need for each building to minimise its consumption of energy and water through bioclimatic design strategies. In the case of Albert Park and other areas in the CBD, the common excuse behind the lack of green techniques being applied to buildings is that it is difficult to retrofit older building with new technology and that in addition some building are older than sixty years and therefore have a natural heritage status. During the analysis of Albert Park the application of any green design standards was not visible or apparent.

6.12 LEGIBLE AND ATTRACTIVE PLACES

Table 10: Criteria for Legible and Attractive Places

PRINCIPLE 6: LEGIBLE AND ATTRACTIVE PLACES	KEY CRITERIA
The notion of legibility refers to the manner by which an	Use of Lynchian Analysis
environment allows an individual to easily orientate	 Use of Urban Design Principles
themselves and navigate through the various spaces of that	Property Values
environment. Rudi (2016) refers to it as being, "a term used	Streetscape Enhancement
to describe the ease with which people can understand the layout of a place." This understanding is obtained through	 Street Typology
an individual's visual interactions with a place as they enter	 Use of Form Based Code Principles
it, leading them to develop a perception of the place's ability	Preservation of Iconic Buildings
or inability to serve their needs.	 Architectural Accentuation
This inevitably is directly linked to the perception that	
people have regarding the level of attractiveness of an area.	■ Public Art
The earlier chapters of this research highlighted that one of	
the aspects reflecting an area's level of liveability, the	
manner by which local people are satisfied with the	
environment as well how those outside of the environment	
are attracted to it.	

Source: Author (2016)

6.12.1 A Lynchian Analysis

Developed by Kevin Lynch, a prominent Urban Design theorist of the late 1900's, the Lynch Analysis can be seen as a tool for analysing the legibility of an area based on 5 key elements (Rudi, 2016). In his book 'The image of the City,' Lynch argues that people structure their perception of cities into recurring elements such as paths (along which movement flows), edges (differentiate one part of the urban fabric from another), districts (diverse areas of like uses and activities within the urban fabric), nodes (key points of concentrated activity) and landmarks (key physical points of reference). As a result, the ability of designers to understand how people perceive these different elements and in so doing, design the public environment with in a way that makes them clearer, brings about legibility, imageability and psychologically satisfying urban environments (Lynch, 1960 in Gate and Stout, 1996).

The following poster spread (Map 29) presents a Lynchian Analysis conducted as part of this research on the Albert Park area. What stands out from this evaluation is that while Albert Park possesses the various elements of a Lynchian Analysis, some are not clearly celebrated nor adequately working together to celebrate the neighbourhood. At the core of the Lynchian analysis is a set of criteria e.g. paths, edges, landmarks, districts and nodes and how these interact to enhance the manner in which a person experiences or is able to familiarise themselves with an environment. When assessing Albert Park for these factors, what it was clear that while there is evidence of formal paths, there was minimal maintenance given to sidewalks and provision of clearly demarcated Non-Motorised Transport (NMT) infrastructure. There are various potential landmarks that are not clearly demarcated or celebrated. Within Albert Park there are indicators which demonstrate clear legibility of various district e.g. moving from a predominantly residential, business or industrial into another use. However, one clear challenge was the manner in which some roads in the area fragment the different district. A case in point is Joseph Nduli Road where there is a clear road reserve but there is absence of pedestrian based crossing or traffic calming measures which makes access by foot difficult. The scale of the road reserve is restricts the level of interaction of related activities from either sides of the road.

While one may navigate oneself through the neighbourhood, the visual appearance of the area does not enhance the experience of it for either residents or visitors. Aesthetic interventions have been addressed in the recommendations chapter of the dissertation (see Chapter Seven).

Map 28: Lynchian Analysis Albert Park



Source: Author (2016)

6.12.2 Property Values

In establishing the value of land parcels within the city, a common basic economic principle states that as the demand for a limited good increases, so does price. The pricing of land is linked to distance from the central core of the city and access to services. Hence land that is well located has a higher value than that located on the periphery of the city area. Based on this understanding, property values within the Albert Park area can be used as a way of assessing the level of attractiveness of an area. This is underpinned by the assumption that the more attractive the area is, the higher or the more uniform the property values in the area will be in response to the demand for it. The map below reflects an assessment of property values within the Albert Park area based on the Municipality's property market values dataset. The property values within Albert Park were found to range from less than R2 million to R 29 million (eThekwini, 2011). As reflected in the map 30 below, a large number of properties within the neighbourhood have a considerably low value. It is however important to note that most properties found to have low property values are mostly those which reflected signs of abandonment, neglect and poor maintenance. Properties that were found to have a higher property value, were those that have been upgraded in recent years. Based on these findings one could conclude that there is still very limited capital investment in property within Albert Park.



Map 29: Property Values in Albert Park

6.13 TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED AND SUSTAINABLE SERVICED PLACES

Table 11: Criteria for Technologically Advanced and Sustainable Places

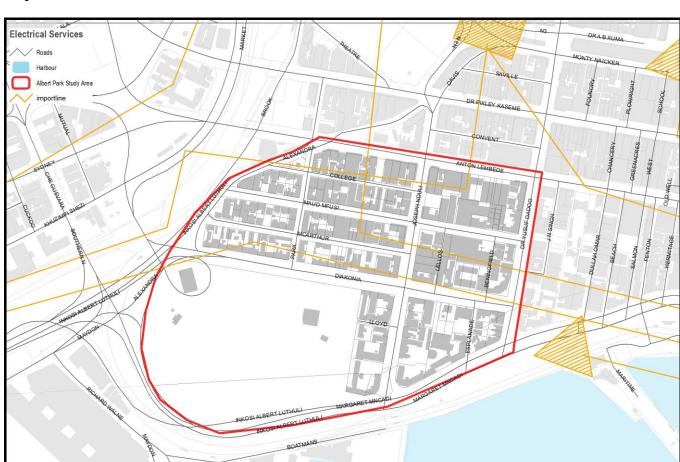
PRINCIPLE 7: TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED AND	Key Criteria		
SUSTAINABLE SERVICED PLACES			
Access to bulk services is essential in ensuring the liveability of neighbourhoods. However, with the multiple urban issues that cities today are faced with, the challenge is that of providing these services in a sustainable manner. The incorporation of various technological advances in the delivery of sustainable services is fast growing and becoming the industry norm. Examples of this are seen in the incorporation of solar panels in developments, water recycling systems and other recycling innovations.	 Available Services Green Building Design Alternative Energy Sources Future Capital Infrastructure Improvement Hybrid Building Design e.g. linked municipal and alternative service provision 		
, 0			

Source: Author, (2016)

6.13.1 Available Services

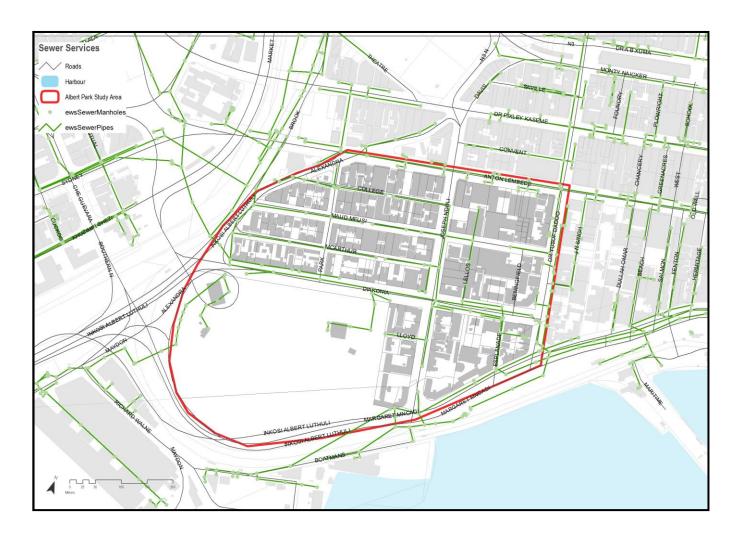
A broad assessment of the bulk services currently available within the Albert Park area was conducted. The series of maps (31- 34) that follows, reflect that the entire neighbourhood area is serviced with all bulk service infrastructure (water, storm-water, sewer and electricity). It is important to note these maps only show the existing bulk infrastructure. However past research has revealed that there are cases where some Albert Park residents do not have running water in their apartments. This largely attributed absent landlords who are not paying services or in cases of Sectional Title ownership has not managed their income in an optional manner and the municipality has cut off services due to arears⁸. It is also important to note that based on the broad assessment conducted on the neighbourhood, there were no signs of the incorporation of alternative technology to ensure access to sustainable services.

This observation was confirmed in an interview with a municipal official.

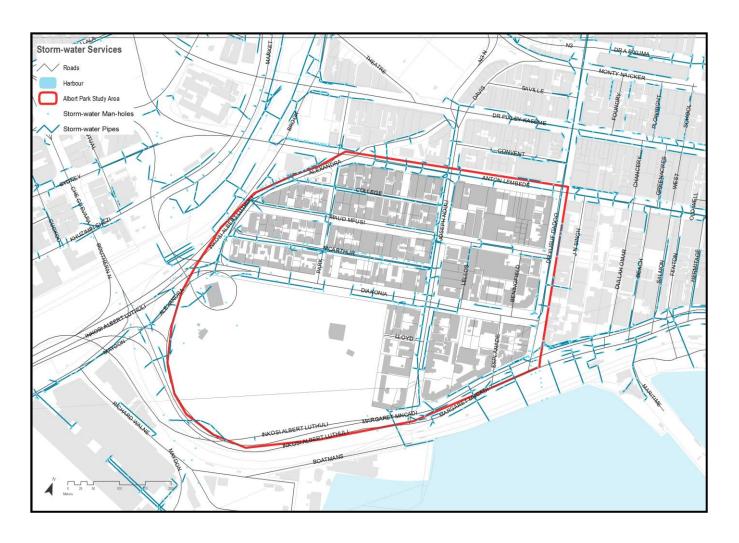


Map 30: Electrical Services in Albert Park

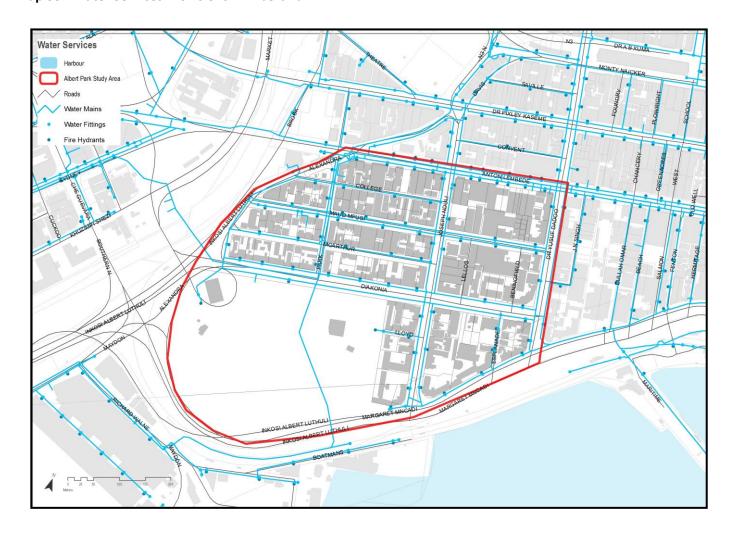
Map 31: Maps of Sewer Service in Albert Park



Map 32: Storm Water Services in Albert Park



Map 33: Water Services Provisions in Albert Park



6.14 WELL MANAGED PLACES

Table 12: Criteria for Well Managed Places

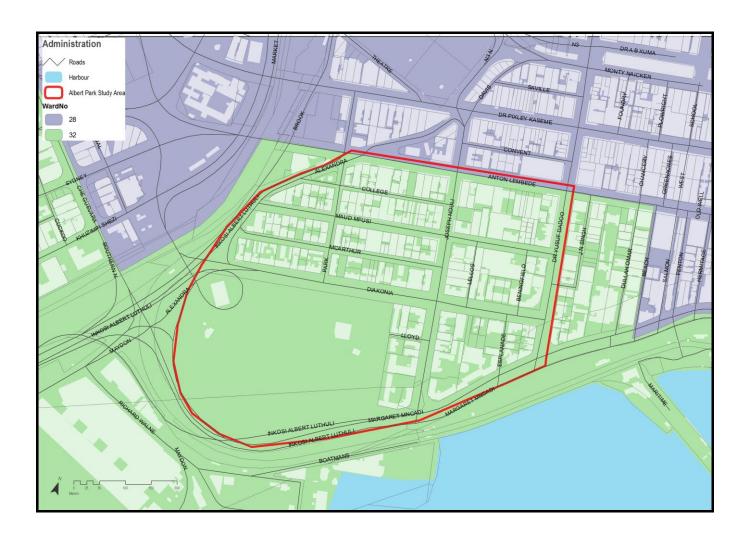
PRINCIPLE 8: WELL MANAGED PLACES	Key Criteria		
As stated in the earlier chapters of this research, the	 Management and Administration Structure 		
management aspect of neighbourhoods mainly relates to	 Maintenance System 		
the supervision and delivery of specific goods and services	 Informal Activity 		
that are considered essential for supporting the daily needs			
of the neighbourhood residents. Along with delivery is also			
the maintenance of the neighbourhood's goods and			
services.			

Source: Author (2016)

6.14.1 Administrative Structure

The most common means of neighbourhood management is through the development of structures or bodies responsible for representing residents. The map below shows an administration map of the Albert Park area. The map highlights the wards which the neighbourhood falls under. As reflected on this Map 35, Albert Park lies within ward 32 of eThekwini Municipality. In line with relevant legislation, the presence of the Ward Councillor in the neighbourhood is presumed to represent some element of management as the councillor is believed to be in contact with the community.

Map 34: Administrative Boundaries of Albert Park

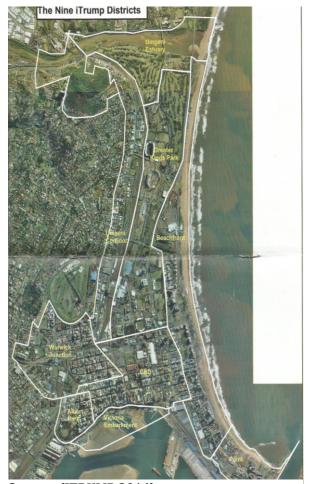


6.14.2 ITrump Districts

While it may be argued that the idea of a Ward Councillor, reflects more of an administration role than that which is being provided for the local community, in the case of Albert Park the ITRUMP can be seen more as playing the main if not sole neighbourhood management role in the area. ITRUMP stands for the Inner-eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme, and "is a group of specialists that find solutions to Durban's urban regeneration and management" (ITRUMP, 2016). The organisation operates within the Albert Park area, but its activities are not restricted to this area. The map 36 to the right, reflects the entire area, the management of which ITRUMP is responsible for.

The organisation was established as a response to the urgent need to prioritise the regeneration of the inner city and is driven by six rather ambitious key outcomes, namely: increasing economic activity; reducing poverty and social isolation; making the inner city more viable; effective and sustainable urban management; improving safety and security; and developing institutional capacity (Erwin, 2011).

Map 35: ITRUMP Districts



Source: (ITRUMP,2016)

6.14.3 Maintenance Systems

An interview was conducted with the head of ITRUMP in order to better understand the organisations mandate and management systems and procedures. During this interview, it was highlighted that city had an Urban Development Zone Office (UDZO) and that the inner-city area for which ITRUMP was responsible, was divided into 9 districts with each district having been assigned a Zone Support Officer (Moolla, 2016). Each Zone Support Officer was responsible for assessing their district on a daily basis and logging calls regarding maintenance issues requiring urgent attention, to the relevant line departments. Moolla (2016) highlighted that ITRUMP had a standing agreement with the various departments within the municipality relating to their response to any maintenance issues raised within the different zones. According to this official a presentation of the State of the

Public Realm within the inner-city was conducted every Monday and on a monthly basis a call logging report was assessed to see the rate at which the various line departments had responded to the calls logged by the different UDZOs (Moolla, 2016). In the event that a department had not responded or addressed the call logs, the onus was on the respective department to substantiate or explain the reason for this.

6.14.4 Better Buildings Programme

Apart from the above, the ITRUMP is also involved in a Better Building Programme, which aims to address 'problem' decaying blocks in the city and to restore them to more liveable and aesthetic contributions to the city vision (Erwin, 2011). Moolla (2016) highlighted the importance of this programme firstly as a means of ensuring that the city is re-generable. Secondly, as a way of improving safety in the city, highlighting that a lot of bad buildings within the city are havens for illegal activity. Thirdly, the Better Buildings Programme is also a means of securing and also growing the city's rates base, largely hinged on the hope that as the condition of the inner-city improves, it will become more attractive to business that have moved to the outskirts of the city over the past years.

Moolla (2016) highlighted that often the buildings that have been targeted in the implementation of this programme, are often in a bad condition as a result of decay, and have been hijacked and or illegally converted to serve residential purposes. However, he also pointed out that the process of reclaiming these buildings is a very complex and taxing process that begins with a joint profiling and inspection of the building to determine its current function and establish the legality of those occupying the building or their activities. This then leads to the owner of the building being identified, located and served with a notice requiring action in response to the finding of the assessment. Lastly, should the owner fail to respond or address the notice, the case is then escalated to the High Court where a decision regarding the future of the building is made (Moolla, 2016).

Table 13: SWOT/Matrix for Albert Park

Number	PILLAR	Strength	WEAKNESS	Opportunity	THREAT
1	Connected and Permeable Places	 Clear formal road hierarchy; Existing public transport system provides easy access to entire CBD; Entire neighbourhood is walkable; All bus stops accessible within 600m; and, Easy access to rail station at Warwick and transport hub provides regional connectivity. 	 No designated NMT infrastructure; Poor connectivity to recreational activity at Wilsons Wharf; Low home internet connectivity; and, Limited pedestrian safety measures applied to area. 	 High levels of cellular phone ownership; and, Large road reserves present opportunity for applying complete street principles. 	Poor lighting along most streets poses a safety concern.
2	Productive Places	 Most people in the neighbourhood are employed; Clear presence of both formal and informal sectors; and, Multiple local business, 	Majority of community have no income or earn less than R3 200/month.	 Support informal sector and entrepreneurship; Access to commercial activity of greater CBD; and, Surplus space for added business activity/ offices. 	 A growth of illegal businesses; High concentration people with no formal education limits ability to earn; and, No Urban agricultural initiatives as a food generation measure.

Number	PILLAR	Strength	WEAKNESS	Opportunity	THREAT
3	Spatially Efficient Places	 Sustainable residential densities in line with city densification strategy; and Wide variety of landuse activities bring character to the neighbourhood,. 	 Illegal and inappropriate landuses in some areas,; and , Numerous underutilised spaces,. 	 Opportunity for increased densities,; and, Redevelopment of underutilised properties/ spaces. 	 Many neglected buildings and spaces poses high security threat and are unsightly.
4	Completed and Inclusive Places	Diverse population in terms of race and nationality.	 Low sense of belonging among residents; Majority of residents unhappy with the state of the neighbourhood but have nowhere else to go; Limited housing options; and, Limited community facilities. 	 Predominantly middle aged population has greater earning potential; and, -Opportunity for the development smart libraries. 	 Increasing criminal activity casts a bad shadow on the neighbourhood; and, Uncontrolled regeneration activities can potentially lead to displacement of lower income people.
5	Ecologically Resilient Places	 Main park is easily accessible to the entire neighbourhood community. 	 Poor maintenance and improvement of the park limits its use; Insufficient landscaping of the public realm,; and, No sustainable/renewable energy interventions 	 Multiple opportunities for the development green-roof gardens and agricultural community gardens. 	 No green building regulations being implemented.

Number	PILLAR	Strength	WEAKNESS	Opportunity	THREAT
6	Legible and Attractive Places	 Multiple paths making neighbourhood permeable; and, Diverse districts with the neighbourhood area. 	 implemented, -Uncelebrated landmarks and nodes; Scale of main roads fragments settlement; Little attention given to the public realm and associated detail; Scale of buildings imposes on the public realm; and, - Dirt and litter in most areas within the 	 Multiple spaces that can be converted in public square/ meeting points; and , Opportunity to create gateway features at key entry point into the neighbourhood. 	 Crime reputation repels people from the neighbourhood; and, Decreasing property values show low demand for the area.
7	Technologically Advanced Places	 Bulk water, electricity, sewer and storm- water infrastructure is in place. 	 neighbourhood, Maintenance issues can be logged telephonically; and, No incorporation of technology into the provision of bulk services. 		
8	Well Managed Places	 Reasonably good urban management system in place on the Municipal side. 	 High community involvement in the management of the neighbourhood. 		

Source: Author (2016)

6.15 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Table 3 above provides an overall summary to the analysis of Albert Park, highlighting its strengths, weaknesses and opportunities. When considering the story of Albert Park presented thus far with reference to precedent cases assessed in the earlier parts of this research, one is able to clearly see the neighbourhood life-cycle theory at play. As this chapter highlighted, Albert Park was once an area viewed in positive light. While it may be said that conditions external to the area caused its transformation and demise, one can still argue that due to the natural pull-factor that the inner-city has, the repealing of the apartheid policies did not cause the area's transformation but rather only enabled this natural process to take place at a faster rate. Albert Park like most inner-city neighbourhoods has a long history of being a heavily contested space between diverse groups e.g. White versus wealthy Non-White, wealthy non-whites versus medium- and low-income Blacks, local medium- and low-income Blacks versus foreign nationals. It can be assumed that the next contest will between the current residents and developers looking to regenerate the area for maximum profits.

In terms of the criteria based assessment, what stands out is the high level of physical connectivity the area has, however when one considers the fast pace modern era of our time, much more can be done to improve the digital connectivity and smart transport qualities of the area. While there is a level of productivity in the area, it does not adequately serve the population as a large amount of people were found to be informally employed. In terms of spatial efficiency, a number of infill development opportunities were observed and although there are a number of mixed-use buildings, the poor maintenance and neglect of property in the area means that the majority of the neighbourhood is not being efficiently utilised. This is further exacerbated by the large amount of illegal activity taking place in the area.

In terms of Albert Park being complete and inclusive, although the is a wide variety of races, nationalities and languages within the area, the sense of community and belong among residents is considered to be low as most do not consider their stay in the area as being permanent but rather aspire for better opportunities. Radical measures need to be put in place to improve the neighbourhoods ecological properties and aesthetic appeal. The same would apply to the use of technology for diverse uses. However having said that, it is essential that any intervention measures proposed, be supported by a clear and strong management plan. Without this, there is no sustainable transformation that can be expected in the area.

7.0 Introductory Comments

As outlined in the starting chapter, the main objective of this research was to develop an "Ideal neighbourhood design and management criteria that can inform the regeneration of Albert Park, into a future vibrant and liveable inner-city neighbourhood." It important to highlight that the notion of 'Design and Management Criteria,' does not necessarily equal design intervention proposals, but rather a set of standards or normative principles upon which decisions regarding design and management interventions are made. It is upon this distinction in approaches that the analysis criteria in the preceding chapter was developed and recommendations for the Albert Park will be made.

This chapter intends to consolidate the findings of the entire research, link them to the overall initial research questions, the hypothesis and the objectives of the research. In so doing, the chapter assesses its success in reaching its objectives and presents some recommendations for future planning and development interventions in the Albert Park neighbourhood of eThekwini. These recommendations will be linked to but not restricted to the proposed design and management criteria.

7.1 REVISITING THE RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this research as articulated in the first chapter, acknowledged that Albert Park had, "great potential to be a vibrant, successfully performing and liveable neighbourhood playing a key role in the city" (Author, 2016). This perspective was largely influenced by a general observation of the juxtaposition that is Albert Park, where on the one hand there is a negative stigma that plagues the area thus almost deeming it a 'No Go' area and in some instances spoken of as a 'Dead Space' in the inner-city, and on the other hand the reality of high pedestrian traffic, street related activity and general vibrancy that one observes when walking or driving through the area. The key challenge is how to address this dichotomy of perception and reality in planning terms.

This being so, the research objective statement acknowledged that there are multiple forces that may have affected the optimum or ideal performance of an area like Albert Park and that it is important consider these prior to making any intervention proposals. It goes on to provide that "considering some of the common urban challenges that cities are faced with, the diverse causes of urban decay and ways in which it manifests itself, the main objective of this research is to establish an ideal neighbourhood design and management criteria to inform the regeneration of Albert Park into a future vibrant and liveable inner-city neighbourhood." (Author, 2016). As

such one may see the design and management criteria as being a 'plumb-line' that ensures any design and management proposals geared toward regeneration of the area, are collectively directed toward the same broader vision for the neighbourhood.

In order to fully address this objective adequately, multiple sub-objectives were outlined in the first chapter, each dealing with a specific facet of the overall objective. Each of these objectives has been unpacked in detail in the various chapters of this research and will be

7.2 REVISITING THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The introductory chapter of this research set the scene by highlighting the problem and challenges urban decay in inner city neighbourhoods presents. It explained that the focus of this work was to be the case study area of Albert Park. In a quest to find a solution to this problem, the research set off with the idealistic hypothesis that "Neighbourhood design and management that is pro-active or futuristic in its approach, plays a key role in both avoiding cases of neighbourhood decay in urban environments as well as effectively responding to existing cases of decay such as is found in Albert Park."

When considering some of the findings of this research, it can be suggested that the above stated hypothesis has in the context of this research been proven. How does this contribute to planning and development challenges? The work undertaken in this dissertation illustrated that new approaches to analysing and developing strategies for inner city decline can contribute to future reconstruction and renewal initiatives in South Africa's where this phenome is present. Earlier in the research, Jacobs (1961; 122) was quoted as saying that, "A successful city neighbourhood is a place that keeps sufficiently abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them." Proactive and futuristic approaches to design and management allow for questions of the future to be asked in the present. This enables those responsible for planning, designing and managing inner-city neighbourhoods to start seeking solutions to imminent future challenges before they arrive.

For example, projecting that the future population of an area will be predominantly middle-aged with low education levels, means that plans to ensure the provision of adult education facilities can be made early in the process of planning for an area. Projecting the shift in education methods from physical libraries to digital ones, means that measures to ensure that all residents and students have access to free Wi-Fi or public computer laboratories can be developed in the early stages of the planning and design process. This would then inform the method of implementation. Anticipating the future size of the population in an area and therefore an increased demand on housing and bulk infrastructure and services, means that plans to upgrade or find more

sustainable means for providing these services are put in place before there is a breakdown in the provision of the services.

As stated earlier in this research, inner-city neighbourhoods, like cities, are dynamic and constantly changing. As a result, it is imperative that the approaches that officials apply in the planning, design and management of these environments, constantly stay abreast of the changes that take place or are anticipated to take in the inner-city neighbourhoods.

In using an applied approach, the research demonstrates a departure from the traditional SWOT Analysis approach used for evaluative research. It has shown that there is valued added information that can be gleaned from utilising contemporary theories and applying them to practice. This approach is important for informing the process of planning and plan making. In using a design component the research has highlighted the importance of this aspect in the production of regenerative plans for inner city neighbourhoods. Overall it is anticipated that the methodology used for the research has contributed to the successful outcome of the work undertaken

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ALBERT PARK

As way forward, the following is proposed as a way of possibly beginning to address the issue of urban decay within Albert Park. These recommendations are based on the criteria presented as part of this research:-

- A special task team of professionals with representation from each of the municipality's departments needs to be tasked with leading the regeneration of Albert Park;
- The team would need to develop a detailed regeneration project plan that outlines clear objectives
 of the regeneration project and how intervention in the Albert Park area would benefit the city as a
 whole.;
- While this research may have conducted a brief analysis of Albert Park, the team would need to conduct an in-depth Status Quo and Strategic Assessment of the entire Albert Park area and its surroundings. This assessment would need to be in line with the proposed criteria and to incorporate a detailed historical assessment of the area;
- The assessment would also need to incorporate detailed studies that include but are not limited to, a detailed land-use survey, property evaluation, resident profiles, traffic counts, detailed criminal activity surveys and studies.;
- Throughout these processes, it is important that the Albert Park community and other relevant stake-holders are involved in the proceedings. These participatory events should be done through a series of workshops and other forums deemed to be fitting;

- Once the extensive research and assessment of the area is concluded, the task team is to generate a development perspective for the entire Albert Park that relates with the broader city objective while also serving the needs of the local community. This is to be done once again in collaboration and partnership [with the Albert Park community;
- The development perspective and the design and management principles and the criteria developed from them, should inform and guide the design of a neighbourhood plan that would be translated into either a single precinct plan or a series of precinct plans;
- As part of the entire process, the task team is also to identify key projects that can be implemented by the municipality, thus serving as catalysts for the regeneration of the neighbourhood. This shows the municipality's commitment to the area and would begin to attract private investment. Potential projects could include the following:
 - i. A green-roof development project, that would involve green roof initiatives being implemented on all public buildings;
 - ii. An Urban food projects that would be aimed at the reclamation of key under-utilised land parcels for the development of community vegetable gardens;
 - iii. The Green Park project that would be focussed on the revitalisation of Albert Park, providing multiple walkways, more trees, lighting, upgrading the existing sports facilities and the introduction of other facilities, provision of Braai and picnic facilities;
 - iv. The Safer Neighbourhood program. This project will be aimed at identifying key movement channels within the neighbourhood and implementing the relevant street-scape enhancement in line with complete street principles;
 - v. The Durban arts, culture and heritage precinct. This would be a project that is aimed and transforming the entire Diakonia street into Durbans main arts, culture and heritage Highstreet. This would be building on from the already existing arts and cultural facilities and service such as the Durban Music school, The Museum, and Diakonia centre. Provisions may be made for the street to be blocked out on certain days for it to become a pedestrian street accommodating multiple recreational activities such as music festivals, flea markets, open air play to mention a few.
 - vi. The Albert Park Management association, which could be a collaboration between the city and selected residents of Albert Park to facilitate and manage the development of the neighbourhood.
- However, it is also the responsibility of the municipality to put into place policies that will protect the current residents of Albert Park to protect them from unfair displacement by the wealthy as the area experiences regeneration.

7.6 CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH

In evaluating the research undertaken for this dissertation, a key question that has to be answered is how has this work contributed to the knowledge and practice of planning and development in general and specifically in addressing the challenges posed by inner city neighbourhoods like Albert Park to the city? As indicated in point 7.4 the value of this research lies in its application of theory and the development of principles and criteria in terms of which to evaluate inner city neighbourhoods. Having conducted the assessment presented in the preceding chapter and presented an overview of the findings of the assessment on Albert-Park, the temptation is to begin to design and map out a regeneration plan. However as earlier provided, the main objective of this was to establish a set of criteria that can inform the design and management of inner-city neighborhoods. This set of standards has been presented in the preceding chapter and in this chapter. As such this dissertation, can be said to have contributed to both research and practice in various ways. A few points will illustrate this assertion namely:-

- i. The dissertation provided an overview of key design and managements concepts and highlighted the manner in which these have evolved with the change in urban environments along with the need to ensure that the approaches being used for both analysis and design of neighborhoods is informed by current and possible future urban challenges and opportunities.
- ii. The research provided an overview of international experiences of urban decay and the related regeneration initiatives, thus not only showing that it is a challenge to all cities globally but also that with adequate strategic and focused research and planning, quality and integrated design, the ills of urban decay can be reversed with positive outcomes.
- iii. The historical perspective of Albert Park in the context of the city provided an overview of the areas experiences while also providing adequate detail to understand the characteristics of the area during Apartheid as well as Post-Apartheid.
- iv. While the criteria presented in this research cannot be seen as the ultimate solution, it does however serve as a tool that can be further detailed and discussed by the relevant municipal authorities and academics before possibly being applied to the Albert Park area or any other inner-city neighbourhood.

7.5 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This research has not presented a conclusive solution but rather an ideal that requires further refinement in order for it to be applied in a manner that sees it bringing about successful results. It is an ideal that is not restricted to Albert Park but one that could be applied in other inner city neighbourhoods in South African cities.

Such areas constitute a concentrated set of planning and development challenges in a small physical location. They represent the heartbeat of the urban system. They do not just serve a residential purpose, but they have

the potential to be the main places of interaction and exchange between young and old, local or foreign. They provide the opportunity to create liveable, vibrant and dynamic points of integration and arrival in the greater city context. Albert Park already has a lot of these qualities in place. However, its current physical state would appear to dampen its positive characteristics and this in turn affects its role in the greater city of eThekwini.

In closing it is worth noting that the new Deputy Mayor of eThekwini Fawzia Peer recently visited the Albert Park area with a set of city officials and managers on a fact-finding tour to investigate complaints from rate payers in regard to the deplorable state of the inner city areas. In 2015, Albert Park had been identified together with another eight inner city areas as needing attention in terms of redevelopment and urban regeneration. She noted during her visit that the area was in a state of decline and needed an urgent plan to regenerate it to its former status as a neighbourhood in the inner city where tourists and residents alike could walk, visit or live in safety and in a clean environment. It was observed that the implementation of new by-laws addressing Nuisance and Behaviour in Public Places and Problem Buildings were having some impact in addressing the problems of inner city areas but that a specific local plan was needed to address the 'melting pot of cultures that is Durban' (Mercury Report 9: November, 2016). It is anticipated that this research will contribute positively to this initiative and the planning and development challenges of Albert Park and other inner city neighbourhoods in eThekwini and in South Africa.

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