

# Post Democratic Urban Regeneration in South Africa. The Case of eThekwin Municipality Inner City

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the degree of Masters in Town and Regional Planning (MTRP) in the School of Built Environment  
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## **DECLARATION**

I declare, that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. None of the work presented has been previously submitted for any degree or examination at any other University.

**Maresce Stephanus**

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Signature

**Dr Rosemary Awuorh-Hayangah (Supervisor)**

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Signature

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation aimed at establishing the extent to which eThekweni Municipality aligned its Inner City projects to principles for urban regeneration and spatial planning objectives as outlined in the City's Integrated Development Plan. The study makes reference to two distinctive inner city precincts; examining what led to current state of each precinct, through political, economic, environmental and social transformation. The Central Business District is looked at as a prime example of a degenerated space within the city and the Kings Park Sporting Precinct is looked at as an example of a successful regeneration endeavour within Durban.

Information was obtained through primary and secondary sources. The bulk of the information gathered was through key informant interviews, shop keeper interviews, site visits, official reports and from eThekweni Municipality Shape File Data on the Geographical Information System. Through the analysis of data collected, the study found that eThekweni Municipality's efforts to regenerate the Durban CBD have not been successful to date. The CBD is still in a severe state of urban decay with sustainable development only occurring in areas that are controlled by the elite. The study also found that the Kings Park Sporting Precinct has undergone extensive regeneration and proves to be a great asset to Durban for present and future generations. Its success however, also carries social challenges with the common perception that the precinct is an exclusive space.

Almost 20 years post democracy, the eThekweni Municipality, is still struggling to maintain the integrity of its Inner City. Parts of the Inner City have improved but there and other parts that are still subject to extreme urban decay. The study makes recommendations for the economic, environmental and social improvement of the Durban CBD and for the social enhancement of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct.

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**Note:** All photographs were captured by the author, unless acknowledged otherwise in the text.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ABM	Area Based Management
ANC	African National Congress
BID	Business Improvement District
CBD	Central Business District
CID	City Improvement District
CoJ	City of Johannesburg

CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
ICC	International Convention Centre
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
INK	Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu
iTrump	Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LAP	Local Area Plan
LED	Local Economic Development
LTDF	Long Term Development Framework
MILE	The Municipal Institute of Learning
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
NIA	National Indoor Arena
NP	National Party
PID	Public Improvement District
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACN	South African Cities Network
SID	Special Improvement District
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SPU	Strategic Projects Unit
URP	Urban Renewal Programme

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

---

## 1.1 Background

Every city is affected by processes of transformation. The growth of business centres, shopping malls and exclusive suburban neighbourhoods is a worldwide phenomenon. The development of such establishments has increased considerably over the past 20 years, and is most commonly in response to urban decline in inner cities (Lowe, 2000). Urban decline or degeneration is characterised by physical decay, high crime rates, poverty and racial discrimination (Potter, 1992). Migration to the outer parts of cities has often resulted in the abandonment of buildings and uncoordinated government responses. eThekweni Municipality has been affected by all of the abovementioned global issues of transformation but most significantly by Apartheid planning.

In 1994, eThekweni experienced an influx of rural migrants to the city centre. This had substantial implications for the city's development capacity. The pressure on facilities and infrastructure was the primary channel for urban decay (Engelbrecht, C. 2004). A great deal of citizen dissatisfaction emerged as the conditions within the inner city deteriorated, but to the rural immigrants, the city was perceived as a productive space with a host of opportunities (Preston-Whyte, 1996). Preston-Whyte argues that the image of the city promoted the migration of rural people to eThekweni in large numbers, making the metropolitan region one of the fastest growing in Southern Africa.

The illusion of the city being a place of bountiful opportunity was contrasted by the reality of widespread poverty, increasing crime, growing congestion, on-going conversion of natural ecosystems and heightened levels of environmental pollution which ultimately led to the counter image of Durban as a "problem city". Due to the rapid population growth in most developing countries, it has been impossible for governments to either control its growth or provide the services, jobs and housing to accommodate immigrants (Potter, 1992). A growing body of research has shown that the eThekweni Municipality is currently still facing immense challenges in the built environment. Urban degeneration has affected the environmental,

economic and social spheres of the inner city. In an Inner City Survey Report prepared for eThekweni Municipality in 2007, it was suggested that the City has battled with “logistics and a myriad of other issues too long to list” (Macintosh Xaba Associates, 2007). As decay continues, the poor are forced to continue living in an environment that attracts crime, disorder and social turmoil. The wealthy citizens of Durban have created havens on the outskirts of the city. As degeneration continues to occur, more and more challenges are arising.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Observations of some parts of the inner city validate that its general unattractive appearance would rationalize the movement of people to the outskirts of the city. Various attempts by the municipality have been made to address the urgent need to prioritize regeneration within the inner city. As a resident of Durban, it would be plausible to assume that the efforts made by the city authorities to revitalize various areas have not been successful to the fullest extent; as sprawl continues to occur at the urban edge and the majority the city’s residents are unresponsive towards utilizing and investing in the inner city. “The implementation of urban development strategies in post-apartheid South Africa have not lived up to intentions of urban development policy objectives, mainly because of the way decisions are made in practice” Smit (2005: 1). This dissertation questions whether the urban regeneration efforts by eThekweni Municipality have effectively addressed the key principles of urban regeneration<sup>1</sup> and whether spatial planning objectives within the city’s Integrated Development Plan<sup>2</sup> have been achieved.

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<sup>1</sup> **Urban Regeneration Principles** defined by Ng (2005: 1) *Quality of life perceptions and directions for Urban Regeneration*.

- i. An effective tool to promote sustainability
- ii. Enhancement macro level quality of life
- iii. Building community character by advancing equity
- iv. Improving the aesthetical environment
- v. Enlivening the economy

<sup>2</sup> **Spatial Planning Objectives** defined by eThekweni Municipality’s Integrated Development Plan (2010 – 2011):

- i. Maximizes economic generation potential
- ii. Creates opportunities for the poor
- iii. Promotes accessibility
- iv. Ensures that people are well located with respect to employment and services
- v. Minimizes the cost of infrastructure expansion by optimal use of current capacities in the core area of the Municipality
- vi. Protects and enhances the natural resource base, including the retention of viable agriculture

The study examines two distinctive inner city areas with a view to establishing whether the approach to urban regeneration in eThekweni has achieved the desired objectives. It also identifies challenges and limitations that the city faces in the redevelopment process.

### **1.3 Research Objective**

The objective of this study is to determine the extent to which the urban regeneration initiatives within the inner city correspond with principles for urban regeneration and align with the spatial planning objectives within the city's IDP (2010-2011).

#### **1.3.1 Subsidiary Objectives**

- i. To measure the successes and limitations of the inner city projects against principles of urban regeneration.
- ii. To determine whether the regeneration projects align with the spatial planning objectives within eThekweni Municipality's IDP (2010-2011).
- iii. To identify challenges and limitations that the city faces in the redevelopment process.

### **1.4 Research Question**

To what extent has the application of urban regeneration in the inner city correspond principles for urban regeneration and aligned with the Spatial Planning Objectives of eThekweni Municipality's IDP.

#### **1.4.1 Subsidiary Questions**

- i. What are the primary elements of the inner city projects that promote and limit successful urban regeneration?
- ii. What are the factors that have promoted and limited the alignment of projects with the IDP's Spatial Planning Objectives (2010-2011)?
- iii. What are the challenges and limitations that the city faces in the redevelopment process?

## **1.5 Research Methodology**

What is research? Goddard and Melville (2001) define research as not just a process of gathering information. Rather, “it is about answering unanswered questions or creating that which does not currently exist” (Goddard et al. 2001: 1). Each research study has its own specific purpose. After having identified a specific research problem, one must select a ‘methodology’ for collecting information to solve that problem. A research methodology is a defined system for solving a problem; it includes the specific tasks, phases, tools and techniques for the collection of data (Kothari, 2002).

The researcher may adopt a quantitative or qualitative approach to collecting data. In this research process, a qualitative approach was adopted in assembling both primary and secondary data. Qualitative research is concerned with facilitating the study of issues in depth and in detail, as opposed to Quantitative research which is based on the measurement of quantity or amount (Patton, 2002). The qualitative approach to collecting data is primarily through in-depth interviews, personal observations and written documents.

## **1.6 Research Process**

### **1.6.1 Selection of Areas Studied**

The city of Durban is ranked the third largest metropolitan city in South Africa (South African Cities Network – SACN, 2011). The inner city is often referred to as the most dynamic and diverse part of the Durban; presenting enormous challenges and opportunities for economic, environmental and social sustainability in the city (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). When compared to other leading metropolitan cities in South Africa (such as the City of Cape Town and the City of Johannesburg), a number of reports and articles have indicated that Durban is still grappling considerably with maintaining the integrity of its inner city. Both Cape Town and Johannesburg have succeeded in transforming parts of their inner cities through urban regeneration (Lemanski, 2007). The researcher ultimately saw this as an opportunity to investigate the successes and limitations of inner city urban regeneration in Durban.

The Durban inner city was defined using the boundaries identified by the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Management Programme (iTrump). Map 1 indicates the locality of the Inner City within eThekweni Municipality. iTrump inner city zones comprise of nine districts, each with their own characteristics and function. The districts include Umgeni Estuary, Umgeni Corridor, Warwick Junction, Greater Kings Park Precinct, Albert Park, the CBD, the Beachfront and the Point (See Map 2). For an in depth analysis and to ensure both the positive and negative aspects of the inner city were captured; two precincts that differed substantially in their scope, role and visual appearance were targeted by the researcher.

The researcher made contact with numerous academics and city officials to get a sense of the regeneration or renewal projects being run in the city. Much consideration was given to how current and relevant the projects were. After receiving information from various subjects; the researcher determined that the Kings Park Sporting Precinct was the most current example of a successful endeavour towards inner city regeneration. The selection of the Kings Park Precinct was also largely validated by its extensive regeneration and visible success. When determining which Inner City precinct had been a major challenge for the city in terms of regeneration, the Central Business District (See Map 3) presented a multitude of ongoing challenges.

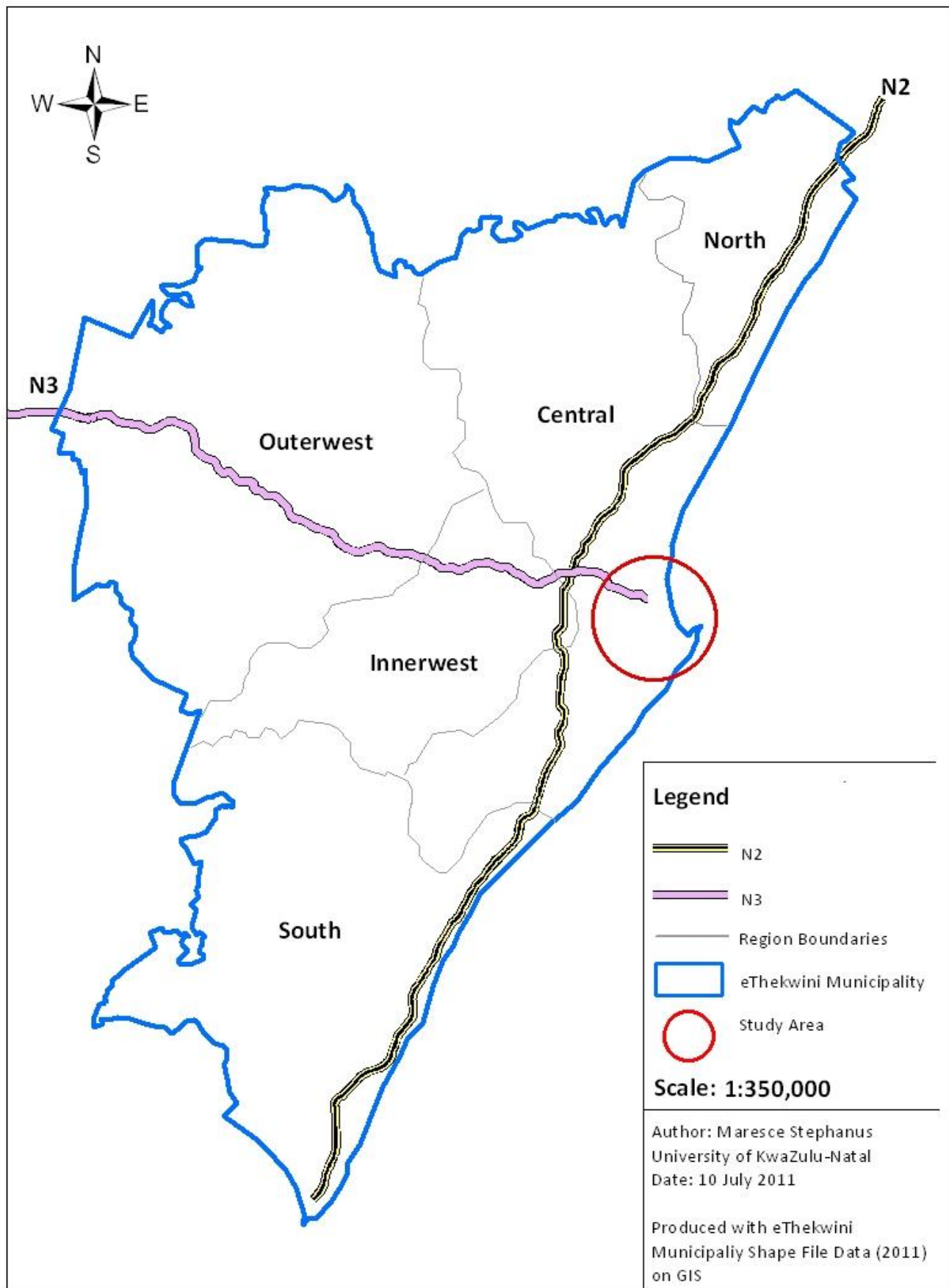
Given the vast size of each precinct, it was crucial to zone in on a manageable portion within each inner city precinct. One of the most recent and relevant proposals for urban regeneration in the Durban CBD was the High Court Precinct proposal. The Precinct had been identified by iTrump as a zone requiring urban regeneration. A reconnaissance survey revealed that the area had not undergone any drastic change since 2009; it was therefore the most appropriate case study to investigate. When considering which part at the Kings Park Precinct to zone in on, the researcher established that it was necessary to make reference to the entire precinct but conduct field work in an area where a concentration of activity existed. An initial site survey revealed that Isaiah Ntshangase Road presented the highest concentration of activity in the precinct and was no doubt the area in which the bulk of the data would be collected.

**Locality of the Durban CBD** - The Durban CBD is bordered by Greyville, Warwick, Durban's Harbour, South Beach and Old Fort (See Map 2). It is recognised as the core commercial and retail zone within eThekweni (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). The approximate size of the Durban CBD is 1.6km<sup>2</sup> which is 160 hectares of land (eThekweni Municipality Shape File Data, 2011). Despite the massive concentration of commercial and retail facilities at the periphery of the city, eThekweni Municipality has made a concerted effort to regenerate its CBD and attract investment back into the inner city. During the study, the researcher collected data from the High Court Precinct but also made reference to the CBD at large. The High Court Precinct is bordered Margaret Mncadi Avenue (Formerly Victoria Embankment), Joe Slovo Street (Formerly Field Street), Anton Lembede Street (Formerly Smith Street) and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo Street (Formerly Grey Street) (See Map 4).

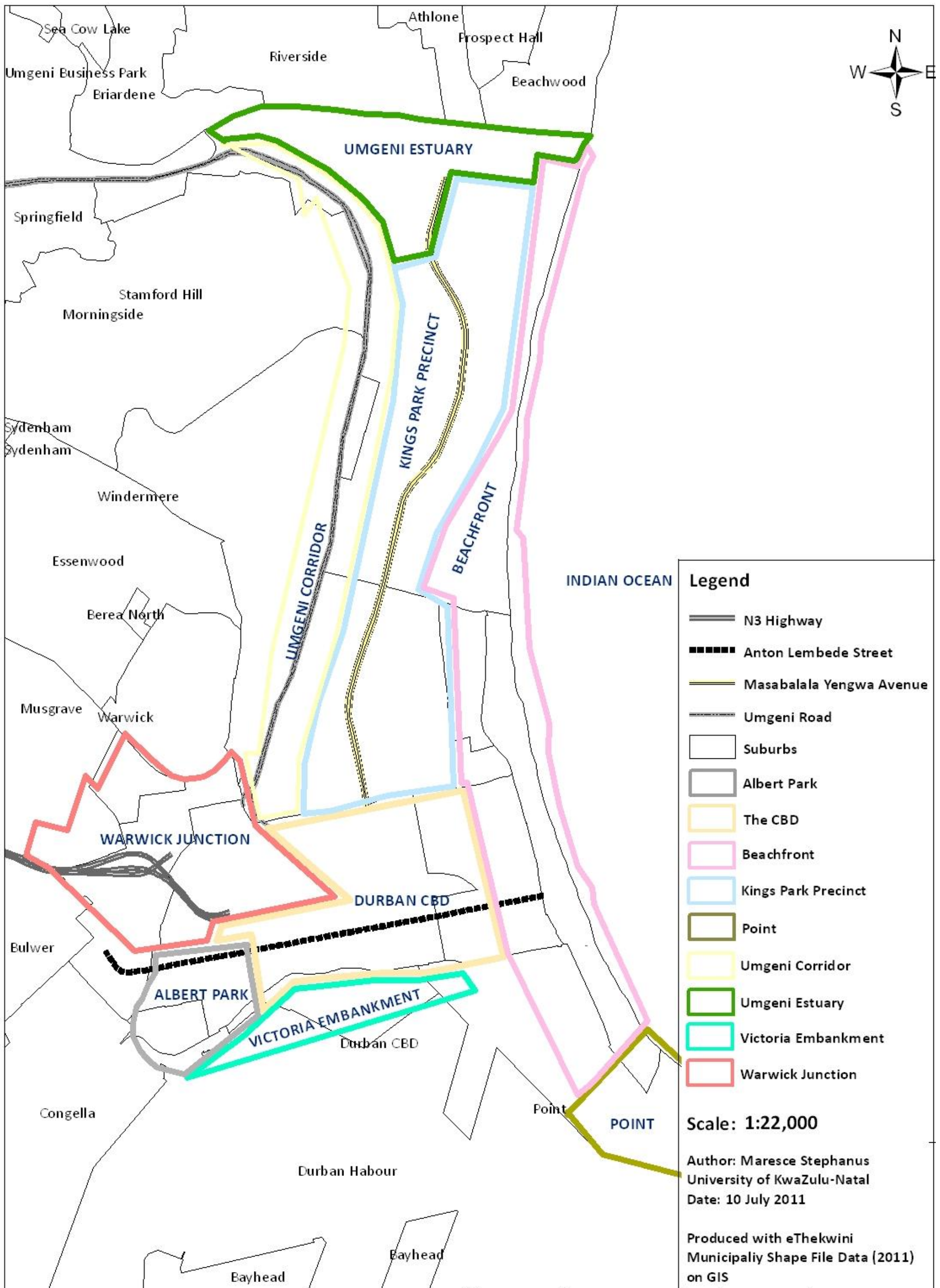
**Locality of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct** - The Kings Park Sporting Precinct is located in the suburb of Stamford Hill, which is bordered by Durban's beachfront, Old Fort, Umgeni Corridor and Umgeni Estuary. The approximate size of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct is 3km<sup>2</sup>, which is 300 hectares of land (eThekweni Municipality Shape File Data, 2011). Its land use is a mixture of both public and non-public open space. The impetus for its massive redevelopment was primarily in preparation for the 2010 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. However, the precinct also fell within the city's long-term vision to position all sporting facilities in close proximity (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). Given that the size of the precinct is on such an immense scale, the researcher made the decision focus on a smaller portion where a concentration of activity existed (See Map 5). The bulk of the researcher's data collected was along Isaiah Ntshangase Road (formerly Walter Gilbert Road); situated between Kings Park Stadium and Moses Mabhida Stadium. Each case study will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.



Map 1: Locality of the Inner City within eThekweni Municipality

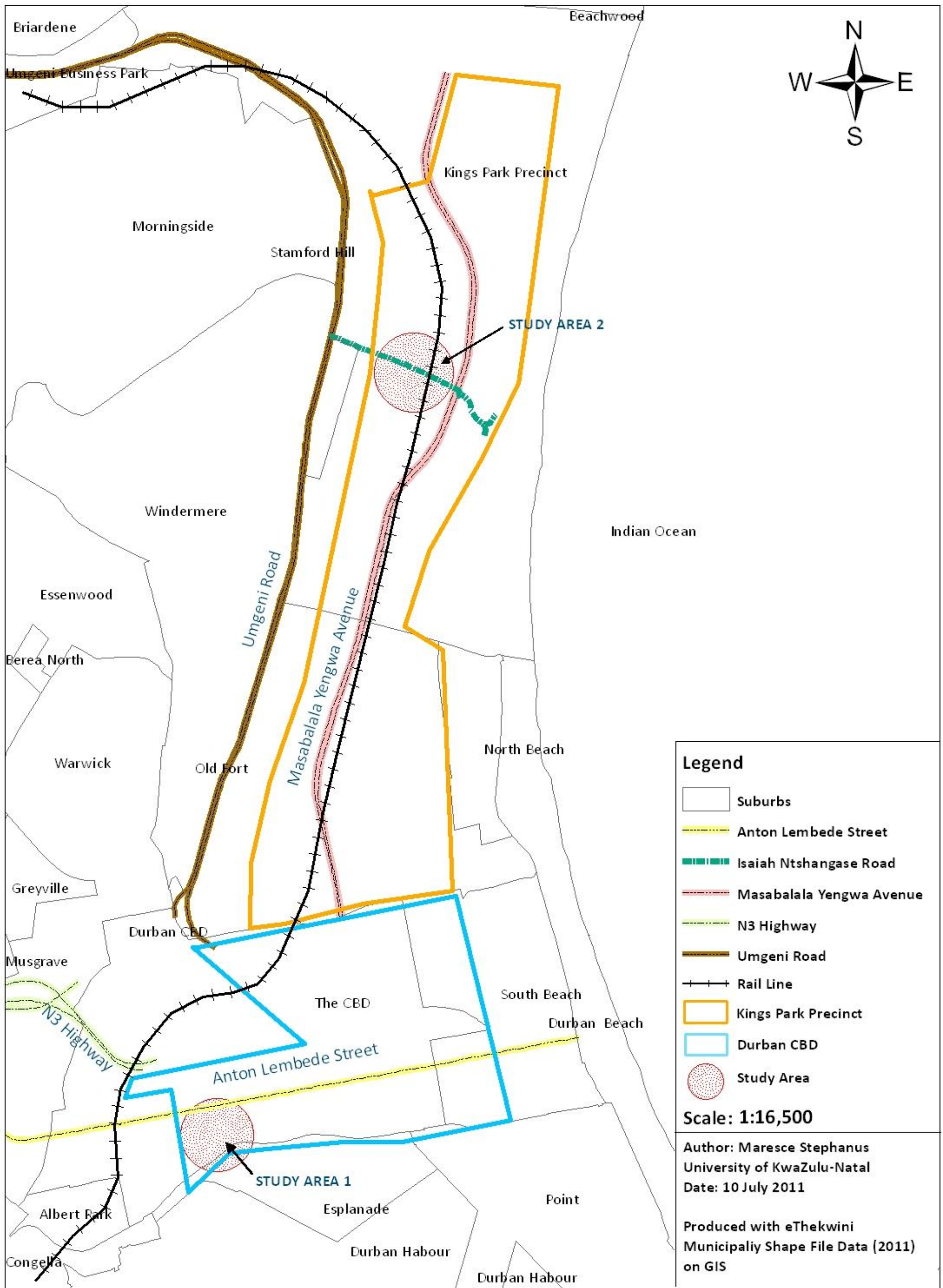


## Map 2: Locality Map of iTrump Inner City Districts



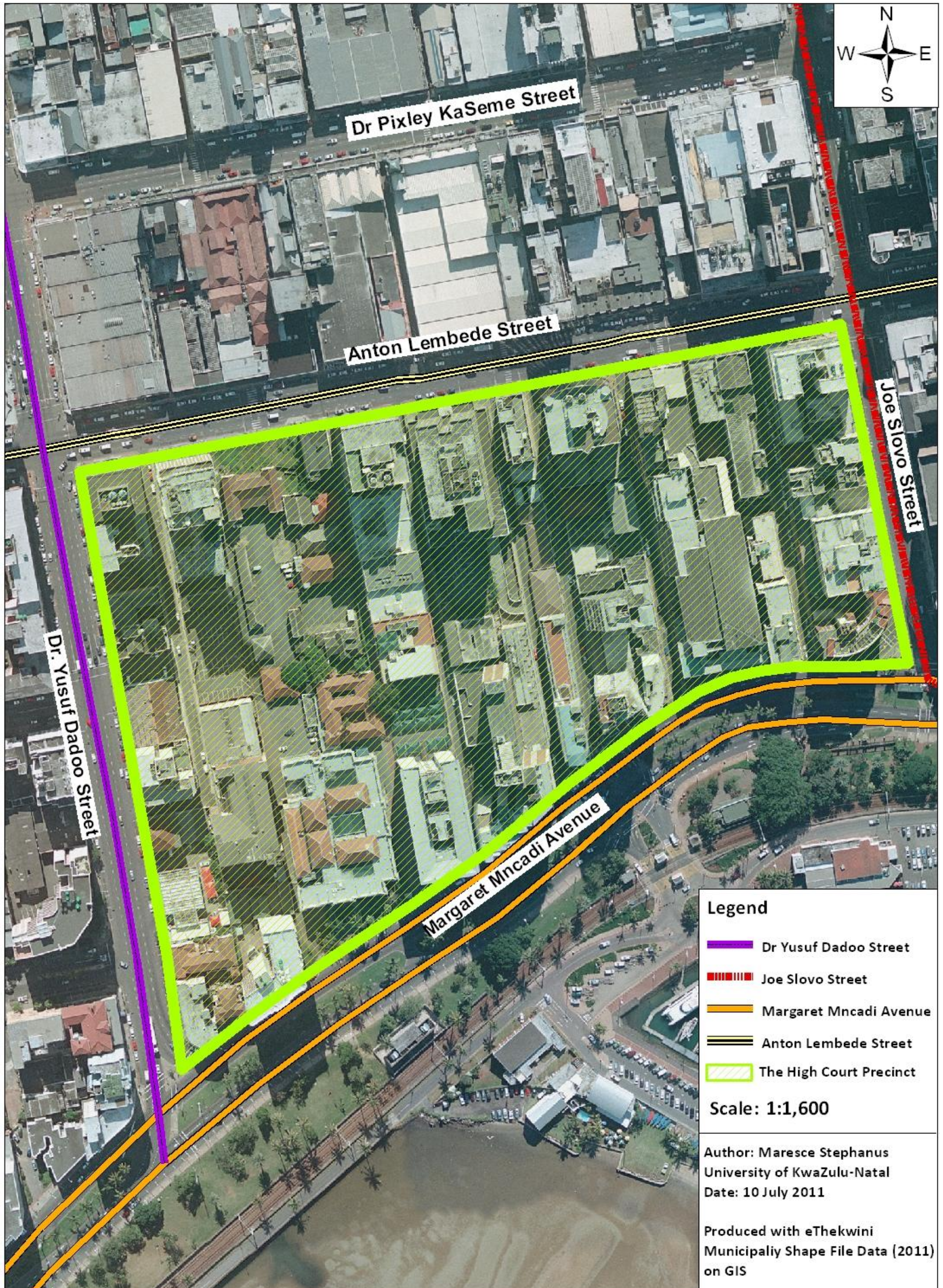


# Map 3: Study Area - The CBD and Kings Park Sporting Precinct



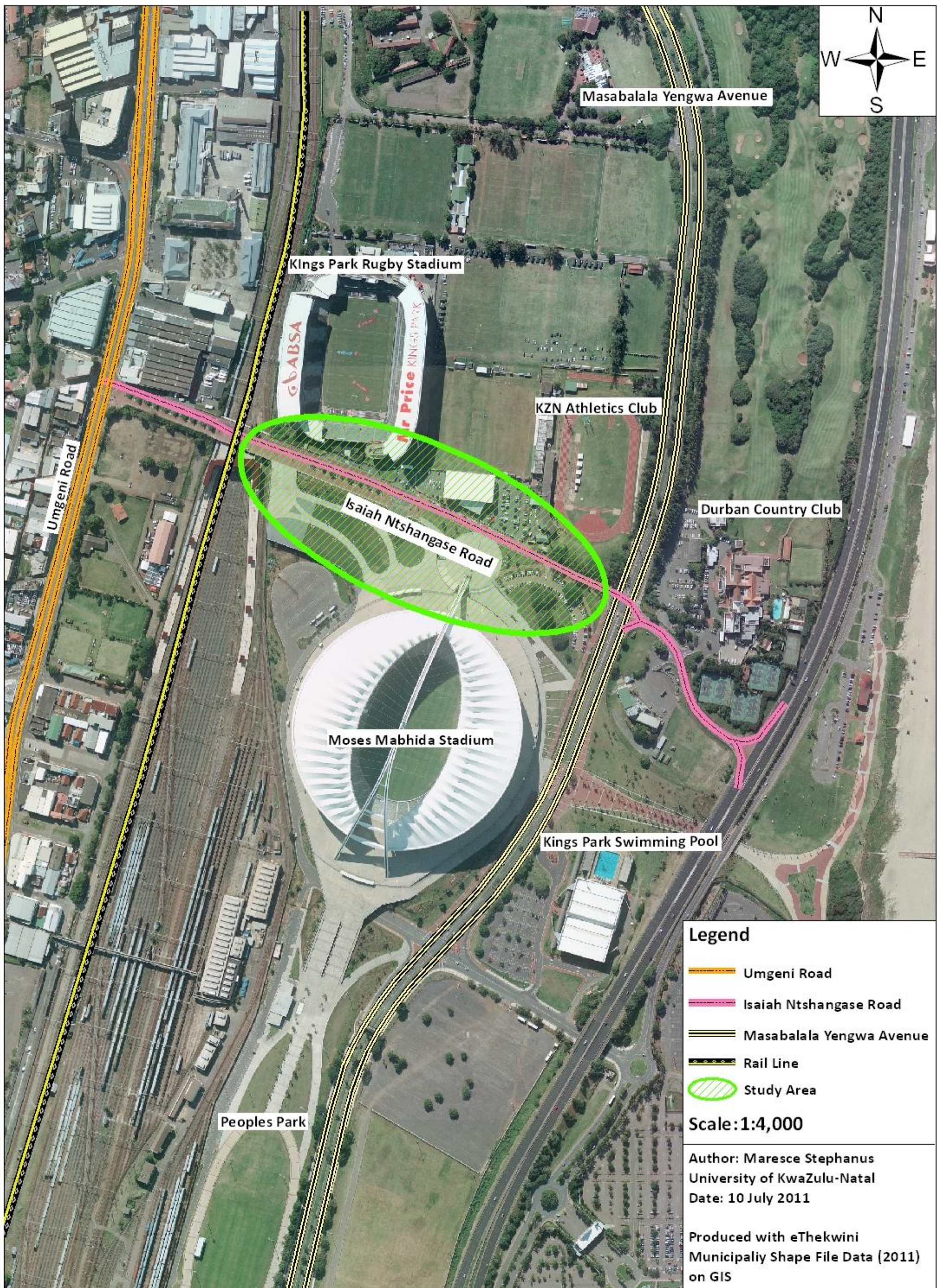


Map 4: The High Court Precinct





# Map 5: Kings Park Sporting Precinct





## **1.6.2 Sources of Data**

### **1.6.2.1 Secondary Sources**

A secondary source is a document or recording that relates or discusses information originally presented elsewhere (Patton, 2002). The secondary data sources that were utilized during the data collection process included:

- a) Books
- b) Journal Articles
- c) E-Journals
- d) Relevant Unpublished Dissertations
- e) Internet Articles
- f) Maps and Reports
- g) The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for eThekweni Municipality (2010 – 2011)
- h) Geographical Information Systems (GIS) shape file data

### **1.6.2.2 Primary Data**

Primary data relates to material that contains raw, direct evidence or an eyewitness account of a topic or event under investigation (Patton, 2002). The following section relates to the instruments, tools and techniques used in obtaining primary data during the research process.

- a) Personal Observations

Observations functioned as a major form of data collection during fieldwork. The process provided a firsthand view on the successes and limitations in each study area. The researcher made use of a notebook and checklist to record major points witnessed during fieldwork. The focus and location of observations were predetermined. The criteria listed on the checklist were according to Principles for Regeneration as well as Spatial Planning Objectives listed in the IDP (See Annexure 3).

#### b) Land Use Surveys

A Land Use Survey assisted the researcher in establishing the distribution of commercial, residential, industrial and open space systems located within the study area. Lynchian elements (paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks) were incorporated to establish the way users utilised their surroundings. Densities and concentration of uses were also observed during the Land Use Survey (Refer to Annexure 3).

#### c) Photos

Photos were taken by the researcher to capture key points or features referred to within the text. Photos also formed a significant component of the data analysis process as they assisted the researcher in making secondary methodical observations of particular points which may not have been looked at in detail previously.

#### d) Interviews

The majority of the information sourced in this dissertation was obtained through semi-structured interviews with key informants and shop keepers located in each of the study areas. The significance of the interviews was to provide the researcher with undeviating knowledge and expert insight into the current and previous state of each precinct. The term 'semi-structured', simply refers to the questions that were prepared for interview respondents beforehand. A semi-structured approach was adopted when interviewing key informants to allow for some level of flexibility but still maintain structure over its parameters. Key informant selection was based on a reputational basis, whereby individuals were approached if they were known or recommended as potentially knowledgeable and cooperative subjects. The questions asked by the researcher were contingent upon the area of expertise of the person being interviewed.

The flow of the interviews generally determined when and how questions were asked. Respondent's familiarity and depth of knowledge regarding particular case studies played a major role in key informant selection. Appointments for semi-structure interviews were arranged via email and telephonic communication. All interviews were recorded by hand written notes and a voice recorder, given the permission of the respondent (See Annexure 4).

The researcher also employed a Snowballing Sampling Technique as a way of identifying future subjects through existing subjects. A total of 4 eThekweni officials and two private sector consultants were interviewed during the data collection process. These professionals had extensive knowledge or held direct experience with either of the case studies. The researcher conducted public interviews with a sample of the shop keepers situated on the ground floor of buildings in the High Court Precinct. The sampling technique is in the section 1.6.3 below.

In addition to semi-structured interviews with private sector professionals and eThekweni officials, the researcher also conducted informal interviews with visitors in the precinct. This was done at the discretion of the researcher. If visitors expressed interest in answering questions or expressing themselves on the research topic, unstructured methods of communication were employed.

At the primary stages of the research, the researcher carried out a reconnaissance survey in each of the study areas. Interview subjects were identified in both areas. A residential component was not present in both precincts, only the CBD. With the data gathered and gaining a good sense of what both precincts offered, the researcher determined that it was unsafe to conduct interviews with residents in the CBD. Access restrictions and safety concerns were the primary factors that led to this decision.

### **1.6.3 Data Collection**

#### **a) Sampling Procedure**

What is sampling? Sampling is the strategy of selecting a smaller section of a population that will accurately represent the patterns of an entire target population during research (Goddard et al. 2001). When a researcher is targeting a large population, it is not necessary to collect information from the total population. Instead, a smaller subgroup of the target population or a 'sample' can be selected for the purpose of study. The observations or responses from the subset of individuals usually correspond with the views of the larger population in an accurate sample (Patton, 2002).



## b) Selected Sampling Procedure

Given that the study is qualitative in its nature, the bulk of the information sourced was through key informant interviews with professionals who held firsthand knowledge on the development of one or both study areas. Information was also sourced through interviews held with individuals working in each the study area. The researcher employed a Purposive Sampling Method in identifying key informants. In Kings Park Precinct, a Purposive Sampling Method was also used for selecting shop keepers as interview respondents. Given that there are only 7 businesses in the precinct, the researcher chose to conduct interviews with all 7 shop keepers (given their availability and willingness) for a sufficient supply of information. In the Durban CBD, semi-structured interviews with shop keepers were conducted using a Systematic Random Sample. The researcher selected the sampling method based on its recognized advantages. It fundamentally allowed for a degree of system in the random selection of the subjects. It also gave the researcher the assurance that the population would be evenly sampled. The sample size selected was based on the density of businesses located in the area. The researcher looked at the number of ground floor businesses located within the study area; which was a total of 64 businesses.

Starting at a random point, every fifth shop keeper was selected for a semi-structured interview. The total number of shop keepers interviewed amounted to 13. The aim of interviewing shop keepers was to gain an understanding on their perceptions of the area before and after eThekweni Municipality made any efforts to regenerate the precinct (Refer to Annexure 5: Semi-structured Public Interview Schedule). Interviews with shop keepers were also justified by their everyday experience within the precinct and direct use of the facilities and services.

### **1.6.4 Data Collection Process**

During the data collection process, the researcher found fieldwork to be unproblematic. The Durban CBD was considerably active with vehicular and pedestrian movement. The researcher observed a high police presence which offered a sense of safety. In the Kings Park Sporting Precinct, the researcher did not face any challenges whilst collecting data. The spacious layout of the precinct offered a great degree of visibility. With good visibility, one

tends to feel safer as it is less likely that incidents of crime can occur. In both study areas the researcher was able to take photos, capture field notes, conduct land use surveys and approach shop keepers for interviews.

The researcher was unable to conduct interviews with every shop keeper within the CBD sample. Two shop keepers expressed that they were not willing to speak to the researcher and one shop keeper expressed uncertainty around the study therefore chose not to participate in the interview. As a result, only 10 out of 13 interviews planned for the High Court Precinct were conducted. When approaching key informants, the researcher began with email communication and followed up with telephone calls in instances where informants had not responded within a week. Key informants were accommodating with their time and also very cooperative during interviews. The researcher initially targeted 7 key informants but only got a positive response for interviews with 6 of the 7 informants.

Throughout the research process, the researcher applied experiential knowledge when making comparisons on the previous and current state of each case study area. The researcher gained thorough knowledge on the city's urban environment being a resident in Durban for 24 years and also through working for the eThekweni Municipality in the Durban CBD for two years.

## **1.7 Data Analysis**

Thematic coding was applied during the data analyses process. Coding is a way of indexing or categorising the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas. Coding allowed the researcher to define, in one category, what the aspects being evaluated were about. The researcher was essentially able to add information of the same nature into one category, allowing for management of the data. Given that the Urban Regeneration Principles and Spatial Planning Goals to measure successes and limitations in each case study were cross-cutting, the researcher was able to merge the criterion and create thematic categories from the merged items.

The researcher captured data relating to each theme by listening to the six recorded key informant interviews; by placing shop keeper responses in relevant categories and by capturing pertinent information obtained through field work (i.e. If a key respondent communicated information on the challenges relating to the visual environment, the researcher would place that particular response under the theme labelled 'Aesthetic Environment'). The degree of information collected through fieldwork and from professionals and shop keepers enabled the researcher to make well informed conclusions and recommendations on the study's major enquiries.

## **1.8 Dissertation Structure**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter introduces the study as a whole, setting the scene for the intended research. The background, research problem, research question, study objectives, selected study areas and the methodology follow in chronological order.

### **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This chapter presents information on the approaches to urban regeneration carried out in South Africa and abroad. It effectively gives an indication as to what has been successful and ineffective in the field of study, by looking at a collective body of knowledge that has been built up around the subject matter. The guiding policy and legislation that surrounds and influences regeneration practice in South Africa is also looked at in great detail.

### **Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework**

Chapter 3 explores the theories within which the study is contextualized. An in depth discussion on longstanding theories and models relating to urban regeneration are presented. The Framework is expected to provide theory based knowledge to enable the reader to establish where key concepts have originated from and the interrelations of such.

### **Chapter 4: Urban Regeneration within eThekweni's Inner City**

This chapter presents the data collected by the researcher, making comparisons on what had previously existed to what is currently existing in each of the study areas. Concurrent

ideas and informant responses are captured in this section in addition to the information gathered during the researcher's visits to the study areas.

## **Chapter 5: Summary of Research Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations**

Chapter 5 covers a thematic presentation on the researcher's summarised findings and conclusion as to whether the study's objectives were met. The conclusion is based on the researcher's major findings. The findings and conclusion ultimately guide the researcher's recommendations on the possible actions and approaches that could improve urban regeneration practice in eThekweni Municipality.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

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### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of the literature review section is to provide a context in which the study is set, drawing on historical and existing concepts and the practice of urban regeneration. The history of the subject matter is explored thoroughly, followed by an inspection into the global and national approaches to achieving urban regeneration. This chapter elucidates the relationship between the study and previous work conducted; effectively providing evidence of its value.

### **2.2 Defining Urban Regeneration**

The terms decline or degeneration in the context of urban development is used to describe undesirable changes. Local and international policies and strategies designed to deal with urban decline, decay or transformation are termed as urban renewal, urban regeneration or urban revitalisation. In order to define urban regeneration, the researcher provides definitions for 'urban renewal', 'urban regeneration' and 'urban revitalisation'.

Urban Renewal can be defined as a comprehensive and integrated action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change (Roberts and Sykes, 2000).

Urban Regeneration is a process which seeks to bring about the physical, social and economic upliftment of areas which have been subject to urban decline (Winkler, 2009). It relates, more specifically, to courses of action such as infrastructural development and the associated improvement of the quality of people's lives within an area that has been subject to change (Winkler, 2009).

Temelova (2009) suggests that urban revitalisation is to put new life into cities and to upgrade areas for higher social and economic use. A typical urban revitalisation project

involves investment to rebuild a portion of the urban environment for more profitable activities such as retail and housing.

Research on the subject matter revealed that some authors make distinctions between the terms and other authors draw on the similarities. Ultimately the 'renewal', 'regeneration' or 'revitalisation' of any urban area essentially has the same goal and purpose. It can therefore be said that the terms are interchangeable; given that they all focus on environmental, economical and social upliftment.

## **2.3 The History of Urban Redevelopment**

This section is based on the premise that urban redevelopment initially occurred as a response to the urban degradation which arose during industrialisation and conflict that took place both nationally and internationally. These processes have both contributed significantly to the mass destruction of cities around the world (Deane, 2000). Moreover, both industrialisation and conflict have been interlinked with migration, which was catalysed by substantial numbers of workers moving closer to areas of employment during both the industrialisation and war eras. Migration is seen as a process of momentous significance given that mass rural-urban migration has contributed most extensively to the pressure on the South African urban environment. This section provides the reader with insight into the way processes of urban regeneration began, influencing the process as a common practice today.

### **2.3.1 Industrialisation**

The history of redevelopment dates back to the Industrial Revolution, which began during the eighteenth century in Great Britain (Bendix, 2010). Bendix (2010) explains that the revolution was a social and economic convulsion which not only changed the economic order of cities but also had an immense impact on existing social structures and on working life. The most extraordinary trend to emerge from industrialisation was the unprecedented and continuous growth in population and increase in the average working person's income (Bendix, 2010).

Following the positive effects of industrialisation in Great Britain (Deane, 2000); cities around the world began to follow suit. In South Africa, industrialisation began during the early 1870s, at the wake of diamond and gold discoveries (Van der Walt, 1990). During this time, the changes to the physical environment had profound effects on the country's population demographic and physical expansion (Lang, 2005). The negative impact of industrialisation is that it gave way to major environmental pollution and a high volume of rural-urban migrants in search of employment (Gilbert, 1994). The environmental degradation from industrial waste and high rise in population could not be managed, with limited human capacity and financial constraints. The subsequent pressures on the urban environment essentially led to the physical degradation, and crucial need for urban regeneration (Gilbert, 1994).

### **2.3.2 Conflict and Urban Regeneration**

War has had an immense impact on the evolution of redevelopment around the world since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The South African War, also known as the Anglo-Boer War, began in 1899 and ended in 1902 (Omissi and Thompson, 2002). During the post-war era, the country went through a period of redevelopment, with gold mining as the leading sector of the South African economy. Although the country may have been progressing as a chief producer and exporter, the industry had extensive repercussions for the urban environment (Omissi et al. 2002).

Following the South African War, World War 1 impacted on the country's urban environment to a major extent. The war began in 1914 and ended in 1918 (Byrnes, 1996). The end of the war was associated with severe the demise of physical structures and economic stagnation. With troops demobilised, forms of employment associated with transportation and ports disappeared, creating a great deal of unemployment. The process of physical redevelopment was minimal given the relentless depression and unemployment rates. Trends that emerged as having long-term importance in during this period were urbanisation and migration (Byrnes, 1996).

The profound effects of World War II, occurring between 1939 and 1945 and involving most of the world's nations led to the substantial destruction of rebuilt cities (Li, 2003 and Williams, 2003). The war had a dramatic effect on South Africa, both economically and socially (Byrnes, 1996). While gold continued to be the most important industry, manufacturing grew enormously to meet wartime demands. This process catalysed urbanisation considerably, with many black people living in squatter settlements established on the outskirts of major cities (Byrnes, 1996). The devastation caused by the war resulted in extensive international reconstruction post-war (1950s and 1960s). This era was characterised by physical restructuring and redevelopment and the process was fundamentally considered to have catalyzed urban regeneration as a special field of development practice (Li, 2003).

## **2.4 Legislation Guiding Urban Redevelopment post 1994**

Apartheid was formally introduced in South Africa in 1950; two years after the National Party came to power. The ruling was characterised by racial segregation, irregular settlement patterns and functional inefficiency (Department of Provincial and Local Government - DPLG, 2006). Over the next 20 years, the Apartheid government continued to implement its race based policies. During this time, the opposing party, the African National Congress (ANC) led a widespread opposition movement against the Apartheid government (Schensul, 2009).

By the 1980s, pressure from the ANC, mass international democratic movements and considerable economic decline, led to the breakdown of the Apartheid system. Pass laws were rescinded and the ANC was unbanned by early 1990. In 1994, the first democratic elections were held in South Africa and the ANC was elected as the new democratic government of South Africa (Schensul, 2009). The unfortunate reality of the situation was that the ANC had inherited the legacies of Apartheid. South African cities were characterized with extreme spatial inequality and major inaccessibility to basic goods and services. The ANC's goal was ultimately to improve the lives of previously disadvantaged citizens and create an integrated society.



Central Business Districts were regarded as the hubs of opportunity in South African cities. CBDs were subject to major pressure on infrastructure, housing and services even before the democratic government was elected. Historically considered to be prime locality within South African cities, CBDs became less influential once laws no longer restricted access to non-white inhabitants (Hoorgendoorn, Lenka, Marais, Van Rooyen, Venter and Visser, 2008). With heavy strain on CBDs and the surrounding urban areas within South African cities, urban degeneration began to occur (Hoorgendoorn et al. 2008). The continual influx of rural migrants and the visible decay of the environment led to the counter-migration of wealthy inhabitants to the outer parts of the city. Buildings were left abandoned and derelict, creating a degree of economic inactivity and a poor aesthetic environment (Robbins, 2005). As a response to the rapid demise of major inner cities, the newly elected South African government began to devise laws and policies that would address the social, economic and environmental inequalities of the past, and in doing so, counteract the numerous challenges associated with the urban environment (DPLG, 2006).

The government focused primarily on redressing the imbalances of the past, which centred on economic and social development. In 1994, The Reconstruction and Development Programme was formulated in an attempt to regenerate rapid economic growth whilst simultaneously alleviating the widespread poverty (Blumenfeld, 2003). The broad framework of the programme was underpinned by socio-economic reform. The RDP is said to have been ambiguous in relation to its role and scope. Blumenfeld (2003: 88) gave emphasis to this perception, arguing that, "its generality made it simple for any activity to be justified by reference to one or more of its objectives". It ultimately could not sustain its duality of purpose as both a vision for transformation and strategic mechanism for change. The programme essentially set the general framework for government to address the needs of previously disadvantaged, but essentially was not specific in terms of strategies which were to be used to address the challenges.

Although government's mandate has focused specifically on addressing the needs of the poor, during the 1990s, local governments around the country began to experiment with Local Economic Development (LED) initiatives that did not directly link with national government's directive, but on a wider spectrum of economic development challenges

within respective municipalities (Robbins, 2005). A major implementing constituent of LED was given by the DPLG, allowing municipalities to apply for funds to cover projects towards the improvement of the rural and urban poor. Although, LED initiatives did not have to relate directly to the progression of the previously disadvantaged, government was essentially more rewarding to municipalities who placed the needs of the poor at the forefront of development enterprises.

Urban upgrading as a response to economic and social issues emerged more strongly once the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) was established in the year 2000. The Act was formulated to provide for a “robust local government system, which ensured the sustainable provision of services to citizens; promotion of social and economic development and promotion of safe and healthy living environments” (du Toit, Tomlinson and Pillay). A significant component of the Municipal Systems Act is that every city produce an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as a vehicle for municipalities to plan in a coordinated and holistic manner (Smit, 2005). The concept of Integrated Development Plans emerged from comparative experience in the United Kingdom, United States and New Zealand (du Toit, et al. 2006).

eThekweni Municipality’s current Integrated Development Plan (2010 - 2011) highlights that the municipality’s spatial structure still reflects the apartheid legacy of “imbalanced, fragmented development with high social, economic and environmental costs” (eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2010 - 2011: 50). In an attempt to ensure that development addresses the challenges specific to the city, a set of strategic planning guidelines have been listed to ensure that development and investment is located where it:

- i. Maximizes economic generation potential;
- ii. Creates opportunities for the poor;
- iii. Promotes accessibility;
- iv. Ensures that people are well located with respect to employment and services;
- v. Minimizes the cost of infrastructure expansion by optimal use of current capacities in the core area of the municipality; and

- vi. Protects and enhances the natural resource base, including the retention of viable agricultural land (eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Plan, 2010 - 2011: 50)

Integrated Development Planning has fundamentally assisted municipalities in pursuing long term planning in response to challenges which have been identified within each municipality. However, a downfall of the IDP is that although it is at a local government scale, it essentially only provides guidelines and statistics for those who are implementing projects at the grass root level.

## **2.5 Approaches to Urban Regeneration**

Urban regeneration fundamentally occurs in any scenario where redevelopment alters the natural, built, social and economic environment in a positive way. The process has certainly occurred in many instances where the objective was not intentionally to 'regenerate' the environment. The following section highlights national and international projects which have either directly or indirectly influenced the path to successful urban regeneration.

### **2.5.1 Flagship Projects**

Flagship projects are carried out to highlight strategic locations or unique facilities within a city. Local developers and investors are usually involved in the delivery process, fundamentally encouraging growth and a shift of negative perceptions within a given locality (Loftman et al, 1995). A major element of the flagship approach is to attract business back from the decentralised areas of the city rather than balance development between the inner city and its outlying areas (Hoogendoorn et al; 2008). Attracting business back to the city would essentially facilitate an increase in land values and promote further development activity in adjacent areas.

Although flagship projects have been successful in regenerating the physical environment and attracting investment, they have also created a great deal of social polarization (Henry and Passmore, 1999). Henry et al. (1999: 62) validate this notion by arguing that, whilst flagship projects have been identified as "economically exclusive", what is less recognised is their "social exclusion of many citizens from major spaces in the city centre". Social

exclusion is usually rooted in the economic and aesthetical exclusivity associated with many urban regeneration initiatives. The notion of exclusivity usually links with various private developer objectives which are to ensure that the transformation of localities is attractive to potential investors (Loftman et al. 1995). Such projects have been carried out in Britain and take the form of office complexes and waterfront residential developments. In South Africa, they are usually in the form of convention centres, festival markets, major office complexes, new retail developments, leisure and sporting facilities (Hoogendoorn et al. 2008).

Flagship projects implemented in eThekweni Municipality include the Point Waterfront Redevelopment, Ushaka Marine World and Moses Mabhida Stadium. The Point project was developed in support of transport infrastructure, Ushaka Marine World was implemented as a recreation project driven by tourism (Robbins, 2005) and the Moses Mabhida Stadium was developed as a leisure and sporting facility for the 2010 FIFA World Cup and beyond (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). In relation to promoting socio-economic equity, Robbins (2005: 68) states that the Point and Ushaka Marine World projects had “little in terms of explicit activities seeking to make them relevant to the poor, apart from indirect trickle-down effects of employment and economic growth”. Robbins (2005) argues that this was due to the lack of experience held by the private sector in incorporating measures that would support the growth of low-income groups.

Since the close of the FIFA World Cup in 2010, the Moses Mabhida Stadium has been subject to both positive and negative criticism. Although the immediate and surrounding area at the Stadium has been extensively regenerated, similar questions on social inclusion and equity remain.

### **2.5.2 Prestige Projects**

Loftman et al. (1995: 300) define a Prestige Project as *“a pioneering or innovative high profile, large scale, self-contained development which is primarily justified in terms of its ability to attract inward investment, create and promote new urban images, and act as the hub of radiating renaissance – facilitating increases in land values and development activities to adjacent areas”*.

Although prestige projects are considered a hybrid form of Flagship, they differ in terms of the scale, orientation and intended extent of impact. The large-scale nature of prestige projects is linked to their ability to attract international investment, thereby changing the Photoof the city (Hoogendoorn et al. 2008). Loftman et al. (1995: 300) elucidate that these projects are often linked to large international events and are located in areas which offer a “great deal of financial return”, in most cases, Central Business Districts (CBDs) and waterfront locations. Various forms of prestige projects include convention centres, festival markets, major office complexes and leisure and sporting facilities.

Internationally, such projects have been implemented in large cities as an important tool for economic development and a means of securing the physical regeneration of declining urban areas. The International Convention Centre (ICC) and National Indoor Arena (NIA) in Birmingham have been promoted as prestige projects; the Albert Dock development in Liverpool, and the Canary Wharf office complex in London (Loftman et al. 1995) South African examples of Prestige projects include the V & A Waterfront in Cape Town and the Durban International Convention Centre (ICC).

As a resident of Durban, experiential knowledge gives way to the perception that the ICC, although a municipal asset, is regarded as an exclusive space by many citizens of the city. The title ‘prestige’ is therefore self-explanatory in this instance. Maharaj and Ramballi (1998) expressed that, as LED initiatives, it was widely expected that projects such as the Point Redevelopment and the ICC Durban would create jobs and promote tourism. Initially driven by business and local state interests, there was no public participation, although pressure from community groups led to restructuring of the implementation process. Maharaj et al (1998: 1) raise significant points by arguing that most of the funding for the projects would come from the tax-payer, therefore would not address inequalities and “any benefits to the community would only take place by the trickledown effect”.

It may be concluded that prestige projects, whilst providing a useful mechanism for the physical regeneration of urban areas, also fall short of addressing the fundamental social and economic divisions with cities (Loftman, et al. 1995). The challenge for developers and

government may be to demonstrate how these urban initiatives can generate socially just outcomes.

### **2.5.3 City Improvement Districts (CIDs)**

In response to urban decline, local authorities around the world have acknowledged that urban revitalisation cannot be undertaken through government intervention alone. For that reason, governments have forged public-private partnerships (Hoogendoorn, et al. 2008). The City Improvement District (CID) Model is an intervention which has emerged through public-private partnerships throughout the world. CIDs have developed as a vital tool for urban regeneration, enhancing the physical, economic and social elements of various geographically defined localities.

City Improvement Districts originated in Canada as a response to ‘free-riding’ businesses that gained from the neighbourhoods voluntary efforts without having to contribute to them (McKenzie et al 2008). In other parts of the world, City Improvement Districts are also defined as Business Improvement Districts (BID), Special Improvement Districts (SID) and Public Improvement Districts (PID). CIDs are fundamentally endorsed by the public but driven by the private sector. McKenzie et al. (2008) explain that the local property owners and businesses privately fund these districts to provide a common service wider than that which the municipality provides. More specifically, they are “self-taxing, self-help public partnership organisations set up by business and property owners to maintain, promote and develop public areas within a perimeter, specifically through the enhancement of public services” (Peyroux, 2006: 9).

Communities are primarily in support of these initiatives, as their services and shared spaces are substantially improved. If over 51% or more of the areas property owners have voted to adopt a CID, all owners are compelled to participate. Additional services within the CID include sanitation, security, cleaning and marketing (Miraftab, 2007). Cape Town’s CBD was identified by the Cape Town Partnership as being a critical zone of importance to metropolitan success. The area was targeted as a CID in order to address urban decay and attract investment. This was also a strategy for achieving world-class city eminence and attracting business in a competitive global market.

Many credit CIDs with providing a new method of neighbourhood-level governance, one that has the financial resources and administrative skills necessary to significantly improve the services and the environmental quality of many urban areas (Mckenzie et al. 2008). However, CIDs are not always fully representative of business interests and perpetuate the exclusion of informal trader's interests. CIDs have fundamentally been seen to promote the uneven social and spatial integration characteristic of neoliberal spatiality (Miraftab, 2007). This notion highlights the paradoxical nature of public-private partnership. Although government benefits from the initiatives funded by the private sector, low-income groups are marginalized in revitalised areas. It appears that in order to increase the city's revenue, municipalities may have to select particular zones which are marketable for investment, at the cost of social integration.

#### **2.5.4 Gentrification**

The process of gentrification has emerged as a controversial form of urban renewal and a tool for enabling urban regeneration in South Africa (Kotze and Visser, 2008). It has been defined as 'a class remake' (Porter and Shaw, 2009), fundamentally driven by developments aimed at producing space for progressively more affluent users. Gentrification and urban regeneration are argued to have similar objectives but their outcomes differ substantially. The process of gentrification requires the displacement or exclusion of lower income earning residents, businesses and other users of that space. Urban regeneration is essentially considered 'gentrification' when exclusion or displacement of occupants of a particular area occurs.

The dark side to regenerating a particular urban area is that the improvement to the environment influences an increase in land values, which in most cases leads to the inhabitants of the area being unable to afford the cost of living (Porter and Shaw, 2009). Winkler (2009: 369) suggests that "there is no empirically justified, link between economic growth and social equity", thus seeking to enhance the economic competitiveness through the physical transformation of a particular area does not necessary translate to a successful regeneration attempt.

The process of gentrification has been driven by both public and private entities. In order for successful regeneration to occur, public-private partnerships are necessary to cover the expenditure. Public-private partnerships have intensified over the past decade resulting in much larger, more expensive and expansive development projects (Winkler, 2009). The implication of many development projects is economic growth and the associated inflated property values and higher tax rates. A downfall to these public-private partnerships is often the marginalisation and exclusion of the poor from the decision making process (Winkler, 2009).

It is important that government considers that the positive outcomes of developmental projects very often have negative implications for lower income earning inhabitants of the particular area. An increase in tax, land values and the extensive improvement to the aesthetical environment are examples of factors which would have negative implications on less affluent inhabitants. Concepts such as 'economic competitiveness', 'social cohesion' and 'responsive governance' serve as examples of how gentrification is being replaced by euphemisms' to prevent criticism (Winkler: 2009). To make certain that development goals are met by making provision for low income residents, one must take full consideration for the implications of positive outcomes.

## **2.6 The Inner City**

Historically, inner cities have been known to hold strong Photoroles for cities around the world (Engelbrecht, 2004). The magnitude of economic activity within inner cities suggests that they are recognised as a strong source of revenue for local government, as well as a significant source of regional growth. Inner cities and older declining areas are more commonly distinguished as being prone to high levels of deterioration (Couch, 1990). The rationale for regenerating inner cities is justified evidence of a strong relationship between urban regeneration and economic growth. Areas which are restored are usually those which have high levels of economic activity, those which have deteriorated attract less business.

With the continuous urban sprawl and associated decline of existing urban centres, there is pressure to establish new urban hubs in decentralised urban areas (Engelbrecht, 2004). The purpose of creating these urban centres is to provide multi-functional facilities, with strong



transportation hubs, as well as commercial, retail, cultural and residential components. Despite the strong emergence of 'edge cities' in South Africa, leading cities in the country have adopted a similar approach to international countries by upholding the CBD as the core area of activity and economic growth. Less prominent South African cities have not given as much attention to their CBDs as metropolitan cities have.

The majority of South Africa's existing inner city residents are poor; many relying on the informal sector as a means of income. Many inner city residents reside in dilapidated apartment blocks, or 'bad buildings' as classified municipal government. The increase in inner city population is perceived by municipal officials, policy makers and politicians as undesirable and unmanageable obstacles in achieving a 'World Class' vision. Evidence from a study conducted by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions indicates that the greater majority of residents residing in the inner city would rather tolerate really poor living conditions than move to the urban edge.

The importance of uplifting our inner cities has become more and more significant for the economic growth of our cities at a national and regional scale. Inner city revitalisation is a varied concept that includes actions such as commercial development, upgrading, gentrification and renewal (Hoorgendoorn et al., 2008). There can be no doubt of the need for reinvestment in distressed inner cities. Forms of upgrading have proved to be a grave challenge for local government, with the high volume of abandoned buildings, illegal occupant and slum lords, it extremely difficult for revitalisation to be enforced. The biggest issue facing local government is the eviction of illegal occupants and slum lords from buildings which have been abandoned.

## **2.7 Responses to Urban Decline in Leading South African Cities**

South Africa is widely recognised as the political and economic leader in sub-Saharan Africa (Lemanski, 2007). Lemanski (2007: 451) suggests that despite significant socio-economic progress, South Africa remains a country of 'the South'. In comparison to other African countries, South Africa is often seen as a more developed region. The process of urban transformation has been catalysed by a range of factors. These include the legacy of

apartheid, decentralisation, South African legislation, spatial planning, private sector investment decisions, government capacity and financial constraints (Engelbrecht, 2004).

An inspection into the regeneration processes which have occurred in three diverse South African cities will give insight to the way in which practice varies in each of the respective cities. Each city's municipal governments' have responded to the process of urban decline by employing varied approaches. Focus will be placed on South Africa's three major metropolitan areas; Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, which together have the largest proportion of urban revitalisation occurring in their inner cities (DPLG, 2006).

### **2.7.1 Johannesburg**

Johannesburg is deemed to be the most rapid paced developing city in South Africa as it has been the single most significant contributor to growth and development for over 100 years (City of Johannesburg - CoJ, 2004). Although global cities appear to remain rare in Africa, Johannesburg has emerged as the continent's dominant metropolis, followed by Cape Town, Lagos and Nairobi (Lemanski, 2007). It is effectively considered a chief region in which ideas and observations are derived towards the revitalisation of neighbouring South African cities (Lipietz, 2004).

A competitive cities approach has been adopted by the City of Johannesburg as its vision is to ultimately build a 'World-Class City'. Bremner (2004) describes transformation in Johannesburg much different to that of other South African cities as its overall development is soaring at an intense pace. The city gained recognition as the sole commercial and financial hub within the African continent after the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold reef in 1886 (Bremner, 2000). This breakthrough ultimately galvanized the city into becoming the most economically active core within Africa, stimulating interest by international investors as the base for African trade and industry. The city underwent dramatic changes to its physical configuration and the strength of its economic structure was evident in its physical metamorphosis from a "low-rose mining town to a modern city with high-rise steel and concrete structures in a matter of decades" (Gaule, 2005:2336).

Apartheid ruling in South Africa impacted on the city's expanding economic structure significantly. At the height of this political dominance, the city was perceived as an exclusive one that "celebrated white dominance and brushed aside the alternative black experience of the city" (Bremner, 2000: 186). However, the end of apartheid triggered a chain of consequences. Bremner (2004), Boraine (2009) and Lipietz (2004), have stated that the rapid urbanisation and subsequent decentralisation contributed extensively to the physical decline of Johannesburg's inner city.

The city, perceived to be an area of high economic activity, presented opportunities for employment which gave way to rapid rural-urban migration. The lack of space within the city created overcrowding and overuse of facilities ultimately leading to the dilapidation of many buildings and infrastructure. The response of many inhabitants was to avoid the 'crime and grime' associated with the city and migrate further away, ensuing a new form of 'edge cities'. Ultimately, Johannesburg's post-apartheid government had insufficient control over the fast changing, chaotic and complex inner city environment, leading to the need for large scale urban regeneration (Bremner, 2004).

The most viable approach to the regeneration of any developing city would be to attract investment within the given area. The City of Johannesburg, along with private investors, has constructed mechanisms toward the revival of the inner city, which include the Urban Development Zone, City Improvement District, the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Better Building Programme. Alongside the given mechanisms relevant to the redevelopment of the inner city is the promotion of private sector investment as an integral part of the city's regeneration strategy (Ngwabi, 2009).

The debate between pro-growth and pro-poor strategies remains unresolved, with the city of Johannesburg, focusing more on pro-growth strategies to enhance their competitiveness in the global market (SACN, 2006). Critics have argued that for the urban regeneration to be successful there has to be a shift from the spatial and economic imperative for renewal and there has to be a focus on addressing the social dysfunction.

## 2.7.2 Cape Town

The city of Cape Town was established in 1652 as a trading post for the Dutch East India Company (SACN, 2006). Being the oldest city in South Africa, it has been referred to by many as 'the Mother City', embracing an array of diverse cultures. The landscape and attractiveness of the city has aided in it becoming an internationally eminent tourist destination attracting waves of investment (McKenzie, 2004). Despite its magnetism, the city is also home to sprawling informal settlements, poverty and significant inequality within its population of three million (SACN, 2006).

Like most South African cities, democracy impacted heavily on Cape Town's spatial form (Hiller, 2000). Hiller (2000: 442) states that, the massive rural-urban migration led to "burgeoning squatter settlements on the margins of the major cities where lack of adequate housing and unemployment had grown to epidemic proportions". By the late 1990s, Cape Town's central city encountered a period of gradual decline, characterised by massive decentralisation of businesses, office parks and retail malls in an attempt to forgo the rising 'crime and grime' associated with the city centre (Boraine, 2009).

In an effort to regenerate and galvanize the city into the global arena, the private sector, provincial and local government established the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) in 1999 (Boraine, 2009). The vision of the partnership was described by the CTP as "an inclusive, productive and diverse city centre that retains its historic character and reflects a common identity for all the people of Cape Town" (Boraine, 2009:2). By early 2000, regeneration began to occur, attracting global and national corporate giants to the northern part of the city centre, catalysing further efforts towards revitalisation. The decision by corporate organisations to move back to the city centre encouraged other businesses to follow suite (Lemanski, 2007).

The implementation of the Cape Town Partnership's vision essentially focused on improving the performance of the central city by making it safe and clean, in order to restore public and business confidence and ultimately change the wide perception of the city. Although the revitalisation of the inner city has been praised as a huge triumph, it has generated a

degree of social polarisation beyond the inner city boundary (Lemanski, 2007). The city has been criticised for the promotion of the city centre as a private financial enterprise from which the inner-city poor have been 'excluded or victimised' (Lemanski, 2007:456).

Social inclusion is a chief theme interlinked with urban regeneration, it is not solely based on rebuilding the physical environment, Robbins (2002) and McKenzie (2004), emphasize that social upliftment is fundamental for the success of any redevelopment process. In light of preceding arguments, it may be concluded that the city of Cape Town has not made substantial efforts to include lower income earning groups in processes towards the revitalisation of the inner city. It has conversely gained similarities to Western countries making the cost of inner city habitation more and more unaffordable to lower income earning residents. In addition, areas designated for international corporations have been prioritised as well resourced and exclusive zones (Lemanski, 2007). An on-going challenge for the city, is deciding whether to prioritise the needs of corporate giants above the city's poorer residents who are becoming increasingly marginalised.

Cape Town and Johannesburg have embedded the vision to be globally recognised within their municipality's directive. The approach to upgrading has in effect, been focused on redevelopment which matches the acclaimed global city experiences. Directing resources on projects which promote developing countries in the global economy is certainly a step towards progression, but should it be at the expense of the most underprivileged inhabitants? Ultimately, Cape Town's leaders are striving for global eminence, that which has been achieved to a great extent. The city has undergone extreme transformation and regeneration but the question is whether the transformation merits sustainability on a micro scale. The city needs to consider enforcing a dual approach to attracting international investment whilst simultaneously ensuring that less affluent areas are provided with adequate resources.

### **2.7.3 Durban**

The city of Durban is the third largest city in South Africa, with a population of almost 4.5 million. It is known most commonly for its warm climate and active harbour. Historically, Durban's port was naturally large, leading to shipping as a major source of trade within the

city. Today, Durban's harbour is the busiest container port within Africa (Freund, 2001). The city of Durban is the largest within the province of KwaZulu-Natal and forms part of eThekweni Municipality.

Durban has been affected by processes of political transformation equal to that of Cape Town and Johannesburg. Democracy gave way to rural-urban migration most significantly in all three major cities in South Africa. Although Durban has undergone democratic processes which mirror that of Cape Town and Johannesburg, efforts to address inner city decline has been limited by various factors. The city centre has been characterised by stagnation and decay, largely as a result of the illegal occupation of buildings (Hemson, 2003). Previously marginalised inhabitants have taken refuge in informal settlements and abandoned buildings. Hemson (2003) suggests that the occupation of illegal buildings and increase in informal settlements has exacerbated over the past two decades.

In the late 1990s, the city of eThekweni gained a very strong financial position from its surplus resources, in the form of a Capital Development Fund (Robbins, 2005). Once the municipality had a clear view on its developmental objectives, the Capital Development Fund was directed at Local Economic Development (LED) project interventions which would transform the post-apartheid city. The LED projects included Small Business Development, Tourism Promotion, Private Sector Development, Community support income projects, the Flagship Fund and the Regeneration Fund (Robbins, 2005). The rationale for the establishment of the funds was due to a combination of factors, those included; the discontent shared by business owners and council officials at the lack of progress in the development and upgrading of particular areas; the provision and improvement of existing infrastructure and the delivery of economic 'assets' such as the International Convention Centre (ICC). The table below highlights the Flagship and Regeneration Funds from eThekweni's LED Project Interventions, which make up the largest proportion of expenditure from the Capital Development Fund:

Table 1: A Summary of LED Project Interventions in Durban, 1996 - 2001		
Project	Programme	Description
<b>Flagship Fund</b>	Point Redevelopment River Horse Valley Business Estate ICC Expansion	Development of major economic development infrastructure projects.
<b>Regeneration Fund</b>	Township Business Centres Tourism Nodes Markets Inner City Southern Industrial Basin Regional Town Centres	Upgrade of business centre environments in townships, town centres, business nodes and tourism nodes.

Source: Robbins, 2005: 68

In relation to the successes and limitations of the Regeneration and Flagship Funds, it has been argued that despite their considerable and largely successful efforts in addressing economic and environmental concerns, the regeneration and flagship projects had little influence in uplifting the poor apart from ‘trickle-down effects’ of employment and economic growth (Robbins, 2005). Pieterse (1998) substantiates this argument by suggesting that local governments in South Africa are struggling to find concrete and sustainable ways to integrate LED initiatives with explicit anti-poverty strategies. Factors which may have been accountable for the shortage of anti-poverty strategies include “the false assumption that economic growth in itself will automatically filter down benefits to the poor” and “the lack of detailed information concerning audits or profiles of urban poverty that might permit the formulation of coherent local anti-poverty strategies” (Pieterse, 1998: 145). In order to address this issue, the link between LED initiatives and poverty alleviation needs to be made clear to local government in order to be implemented.

In the year 2003, the municipality established the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme to counteract the deteriorating economic, social and physical environment within of the inner city (eThekwini Municipality, 2004). iTRUMP’s role was to identify new economic uses for buildings which had come to the end of their economic life

and were, as a result, in a poor condition. Ellingson (2006) expressed that iTRUMP focused on two interrelated components, that being the regeneration of the eThekweni Municipality's inner city and "urban management to ensure the sustainability of capital investments on the part of the city and private investors" (Ellingson, 2006: 58).

iTRUMP identified 9 districts which made up 'the inner city'. The districts include Albert Park, the Beachfront, the Central Business District (CBD), Kings Park Sporting Precinct the Point, Umgeni Corridor, Umgeni Estuary, Warwick Junction and Victoria Embankment (Dobson, 2005). Warwick was iTRUMP's pilot project as it had been identified as a zone which required extensive regeneration. The area is characterised by informal trading and a major transport interchange for citizens travelling through the CBD. Although informal trade has contributed significantly to the growth of the informal economy, a negative trend associated with it is urban decay.

The significance of iTRUMP has been somewhat overshadowed by the establishment of the Strategic Projects Unit established in 2005 (Dobson, 2005). The Strategic Projects Unit has been mandated with the planning, management and implementation of a number of significant projects within Durban (Ellingson, 2006). Although the Unit is recognised as being most involved with the planning for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, it has taken on a number of additional projects which have an overarching implication for urban regeneration within the city. Since the establishment of the Strategic Projects Unit, the city has focused on five major urban regeneration projects: Kings Park Sporting Precinct, the International Convention Centre Extension, Wilsons Wharf and the Point. Experiential knowledge gives way to the notion that the majority of areas that have been regenerated are considered to be exclusive spaces and do not promote a balanced socio-economic environment.

In comparison to the cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg, Durban has not established a leading public-private partnership who has led the process of urban regeneration (Gounden, 2010). Although the city has had assistance through private developer support, this has been insufficient with regards to issues of urban decay in the inner city. In order to maintain the city's level of competence with competing cities, its liveability for its inhabitants and attractiveness to tourists, it is vital to improve upon elements which may be hindering its growth and advancement.



## **2.8 An International Perspective on Urban Regeneration**

The following section provides insight on international countries that are dealing with urban degeneration issues. The researcher focused specifically on countries with similar dynamics to that of South Africa, namely in Brazil and India. The international perspective essentially provides an understanding of urban regeneration outside of the 'Apartheid City' context.

### **2.8.1 Brazil**

Brazilian cities, similar to South African cities, are known commonly for their high levels of income inequality, social exclusion, housing challenges and urban violence. In the urban development context, vast concentrations of informal settlements are a common feature in Brazilian city centres. Between 1990 and 2001, the number of informal dwellings in Latin American cities increased by 16 million (Maricato, 2007). The gigantic rate of illegal occupation of urban land has led to major environmental consequences for the people who are occupying the spaces and society as a whole (Maricato, 2007).

The city of Sao Paulo is Brazil's largest city and is also the largest city in the entire southern hemisphere. The city grew 500 times in just over a century, making it extremely difficult for the government to control development (Inter-American Development Bank, 2003). Despite Sao Paulo's considerable economic development, the city experiences an extremely high level of inequality. Over 60% of Sao Paulo's citizens live in unstable housing conditions in slums (Nobre, 1994). The high density of the informal housing has led to a great deal of urban decay in the shanty towns and surrounding areas in the city centre.

Much of Sao Paulo's urban regeneration efforts have been driven by housing projects. The city's goal is to enhance the urban environment, improve the quality of life for neighbourhoods, protect historic and cultural resources and promote public and private investment (Nobre, 1994). In 2008, LSE Cities (an international centre at The London School of Economics and Political Science) determined that since the 1990s, Sao Paulo had failed to deliver an effective and democratic vision for the city. Without a solid vision for the city, regeneration efforts were haphazard and unsuccessful. LSE Cities (2008) research revealed

that the reason for the failure was because of the absence of a proper management and implementation vehicle that takes into account the full social and economic costs.

Sao Paulo and other Brazilian cities have potential to become sustainable compact cities. Over 80% of Sao Paulo's population are living in cities (Maricato, 2007), which does present a multitude of challenges but could also be seen as an opportunity for the government to reduce the city's energy footprint. Demolition of entire pieces of city and their replacement by 'model' projects will do little to improve the lives of existing urban dwellers, and will simply cause displacement and erosion of its existing social and urban fabric. LSE Cities (2008) suggests that given the extreme levels of social inequality found in most Brazilian cities, a more "subtle and sophisticated approach to urban regeneration is necessary: one that is based on a collective effort and broad participation, and that aims to promote local development and social inclusion".

### **2.8.2 India**

The most striking characteristic of India is its massive population and the vast rate at which it is continually growing (Dhote, 2008). The population growth rate has put immense pressure on the country's urban infrastructure and availability of civic services. Since India's independence in 1947, its population has grown fivefold, leading to a great pressure on services and facilities and an increase in the urban poor (Pandit, 2005). The urgent problems facing Indian cities include urban poverty, housing, inadequate infrastructure, insufficient basic services and pollution (Hagn, 2011).

In the Indian context, Pandit (2005) states that regeneration would need to focus specifically on urban infrastructure and public service delivery. Although India is populated with related cultures, the Indian society is a diverse and complex one, giving way to a variety of problems in the urban environment (Dhote et al. 2008). Policies and programmes must therefore cater for individual cities and their unique features. The following section looks at the popular Indian City, Mumbai, and the attempts that have been made to regenerate the city's urban environment.

Mumbai experienced a decline in its urban environment in the early 1990s; concerned stakeholders from the private sector established a non-governmental organisation called 'Bombay First'. The organisation later became the 'Mumbai Transformation Programme'. The Programme is a long-term initiative to transform Mumbai into a world-class city with a vibrant economy and an improved standard of living for all citizens (Cities Alliance, 2010). The Mumbai Transformation Programme directs all of its resources towards Urban Regeneration in the city. The programme has initiated more than 40 projects to improve economic growth, reduce poverty and enhance quality of life for residents (Cities Alliance, 2010).

Similar to South African cities, the approach to regenerating cities in India has been criticized largely with the displacement of the poor. Dhote et al (2008), state that the country's approach is more inclined towards the provision of infrastructure rather than urban regeneration. In addition, the redevelopment is taking place only on the prime locations occupied by slums. Proper social and economic interventions result in the displacement of slums. Given that India's urban population is projected to reach 600 million by 2031, it is imperative that government plan ahead and make provision for the expected pressure on facilities and services.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

Urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization are processes that may differ in approach but all have a common goal. It was determined that all three terms are interchangeable in the context of urban development. The most distinctive and valuable factor to recognize is that urban regeneration is about people, not just buildings and infrastructure. Positive outcomes are ultimately established based on the reduction of crime, the promotion of new businesses and the provision of employment to the area. Negative characteristics are characterised by the displacement of low income residents and destruction of historic neighbourhoods or landmarks.

Urban planning is continually being reformulated as a primary instrument for remaking South Africa, much as it has been several times before under different political conditions

(Engelbrecht, 2004). Approaches to urban regeneration vary from place to place but a very common form of regeneration is that which takes place inadvertently during mega-events or with the development of flagship projects. Many large scale developments in Durban have prompted regeneration in surrounding areas without being the initial objective of the given project.

A key finding drawn from South African city case studies is that local governments and private developers have not made substantial consideration for lower income groups during regeneration developments. Local governments may be drawing on international best practice without taking cognisance of our country's political history, spatial disintegration and socio-economic inequalities. The lessons learnt from international case studies indicate that processes of urbanisation and subsequent urban degeneration are not unique to South African cities. Income inequality, housing shortages and poverty are challenges that developing cities are facing around the world. With high urbanisation and an expected increase in city populations, government should look at employing the compact city approach as an appropriate response.

In conclusion, it is vital to grasp that cities are not only central to wealth generation but also act as the focus of cultural differences of social diversity (Williams, 2003). Cities do depend heavily on their economic and institutional competitiveness; but their successes also depend profoundly on the existence of social equity.

## CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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### 3.1 Introduction

The Theoretical Framework of this study acts as a structure which supports the research by citing factors and theories written within which the research is contextualised. It essentially assists the researcher by providing a suitable context for data collection and data analysis. By giving insight on theories which have influenced urban regeneration within inner cities in South Africa, the researcher will fundamentally determine what elements to measure in order to evaluate statistical relationships that emerge. In light of theories and concepts presented, varied criticisms have been drawn on each, thereby exercising caution when applied at the data analysis stage of the study. Theories and concepts that are explored include Inequality, Elitism, Capitalism, Socialism, Competitive Cities, and Compact Cities.

### 3.2 Inequality

The following section describes the way in which Colonialism and Apartheid have shaped the nature of poverty and inequality in the South Africa. It places emphasis on elements that have influenced inequality in our present society and lastly examines the relationship between inequality and the urban environment.

#### 3.2.1 The Inception of Inequality

The existence of inequality dates back hundreds of years to a period where slavery was exercised around the world. During the Colonial era, beginning in South Africa in 1652, slavery and forced labour was enforced by the Dutch settlers (South African History Online). The colonialists were the original advocates for racial segregation in South Africa, as they believed that White Europeans were superior to Black Africans. With colonialists declaring ownership of land in certain parts of the country, the movement of Africans became constrained. The first form of restricted movement of Black people was through the *Land Act* of 1913 and 1936, where access to land was limited, despite Black people representing 80% of the population (Farred, Frye and Nojekwa, 2009). Black South Africans were placed in 'Homelands' or 'Reserves', which in due course, deteriorated as a result of the 'over-

utilisation' and 'overcrowding' of the land (Farred et al. 2009: 263). In 1948, Apartheid was officially introduced after the National Party (NP) won the general election.

The core elements of Apartheid were seen through racial segregation, by the categorisation of four race groups; Black, White, Coloured and Asian. The National Party believed that white citizens were superior to non-whites; for that reason, placed each race group into separate living areas. Whites were provided superior services and non-Whites were provided with inferior services, non-white business ownership was restricted and non-whites were forcibly removed from their homes (Porter, 1995). The National Party (NP) was in power until the first democratic government was elected in 1994, under the African National Congress (ANC) (Farred et al. 2009).

The ANC's efforts to promote equity and redistribution have been exemplified through redistributive policies and programmes, essentially giving previously disadvantaged citizens opportunity in terms of education, employment and housing. Although these terms of policy have remained consistent to date, the high unemployment rate has prevented a large number of previously disadvantaged citizens from achieving growth. Farred et al. (2009) suggest that unemployment has contributed significantly to the increasing levels of inequality in South Africa. Moreover, it has had a significant impact on crime levels, drug and alcohol abuse, illegal trade, and other social challenges (Porter, 1995).

South African cities are known to be amongst the world's most unequal cities as socio-economic inequalities are continually entrenched by high levels of unemployment. In examining the distribution of income within the context of democracy, Nattress and Seekings (2001) make reference to South Africa and Brazil as countries with the most unequal distribution of income in the world.

*"After fifteen years into democracy, the South African economic system appears to have more similarities than differences to the Apartheid economy" (Farred et al. 2009: 268).*

The South African economy fundamentally continues to resemble that of a colonial country with respect to inequality and the exploitation of human and natural resources. Despite South Africa being an "upper-middle income country", millions of people continue to live in

poverty, “while a small elite continue to profit and prosper” (Farred et al. 2009: 277). This trend is being reinforced as the lack of employment allows the wealthy of the country to exploit the majority of the population’s poor for very low remuneration.

### **3.2.2 The Impact of Inequality on Urban Environments**

Inner cities are populated largely by low income and middle income earning citizens, whilst suburbs on the outskirts of the city are populated by wealthy inhabitants. As discussed previously in Chapter Two, the eradication of Apartheid in 1994, no longer restricted movement by non-whites in urban areas. Many Whites still supported Apartheid’s planning ideologies and chose to migrate to suburbs far from the city, in effect promoting new patterns of disintegration (Schensul, D. 2007)

With the multitude of rural-urban migrant’s post 1994, the lack of space within inner cities led to the vast formation of informal settlements. To date, this has been one of the greatest challenges for government. It has been eighteen years since democracy and previously disadvantaged South Africans are still living in poverty, with limited access to basic services such as housing, water and electricity (Schensul, D. 2007). The South African Cities Network (SACN), State of the Cities Report - 2011, gives emphasis to the impact inequality has had on low income housing:

*“The scale of income inequality in South Africa means that private developers of middle and high income housing will almost always be able to pay considerably more for land than developers of low income housing. Furthermore, established property owners often lobby and resist any proposals to locate affordable housing in adjacent areas as it will depress their property values and damage their amenity”* (South African Cities Network, State of the Cities Report, 2011: 27).

The displacement of low income housing by middle and high income housing developments is evidently one of the many challenges associated with the eradication of informal settlements. Although high income housing is often seen as a new form of urban disintegration, factors such as crime and urban degeneration, influence wealthy citizens to invest in such developments. It is also important to note that cities that are categorised as

‘unsafe’ need to provide safe living environments to attract highly skilled labour as well as tourists to contribute to the growth of the economy.

Inequality in South Africa has been influenced most notably by Colonialism and subsequently, Apartheid planning. With one of the highest levels inequality in the world, and conversely, one of the most progressive Constitutions (Farred et al. 2009), the government is faced with challenges far greater than that of other developing nations. The continuous entrenchment of this trend has been driven by the high unemployment rate as well as the housing and services backlog. Leaders must recognise that cities will continue to degenerate if people’s basic living needs are not met. As a start to ensuring that urban environments are improved, adequate and accessible housing and services must be provided for all. Bold thinking and participatory action is necessary to rebuild the country in the years to come.

### **3.3 Marxist Theory**

Marxism is both a philosophy of science and a theory of history. It has developed into a political philosophy, economic and sociological worldview based upon a materialist interpretation of history (Cafruny, 2006).

The three primary aspects of Marxist Theory are as follows (Parkin, 1979):

1. Humankind’s history is fundamentally that of the struggle between social classes.
2. In a capitalist’s society, an economic minority dominate and exploit the working class majority.
3. In order to overcome the restrictions of private ownership, the working class must expropriate political power through an international social revolution. Productive capacities should be placed on society as collective ownership.

The focus on this section of the theoretical framework is placed on two of the three primary aspects. These include the element of social classes’ struggle and the critique of capitalism, both of which are dominant themes in cities worldwide. Marx argued that in a capitalist society, the wealthy minority dominate and exploit the working class (Parkin, 1979). The notion of capitalism and the struggle between social classes are interconnected and have a



strong bearing on each other. Humankind's history reveals that social classes have existed for hundreds of years, monetarily, politically and religiously. The following section looks at capitalism and socialism independently, making reference to the history of these processes and relevance to urban environments from an international and South African perspective.

### **3.4 Capitalism**

The term 'capitalism' is said to have first been cited in 1854 (Taeush, 1935). The process of capitalism essentially consists in the organisation of "productive or distribution agencies" with an intention to create an increment in an original investment (Taeush, 1935: 221). Looking at capitalism from a historical perspective, it is evident that much of its influence and attributes remain consistent today. In 1935, C. F. Taeush wrote 'What Is Capitalism?' and made the following suggestions: Capitalism was a process that originated during the industrial revolution, the capitalist business or enterprise was typically owned privately for 'profit motive in a competitive system' and the business interests were usually of a 'cut-throat variety'. More recent accounts of capitalism reveal that Taeush's (1935) views are concurrent with what is presently occurring.

With globalisation on the rise, the power of capitalist growth is increasing. Globalisation has had major influence on the power of capitalism in that it has increased direct foreign investment in facilities and financial markets substantially (Clark and Driscoll, 2003). Clark et al (2003) suggest that when poorer countries drop their trade barriers, they are put at a distinct disadvantage. Multinational corporations invest in facilities such as factories in developing countries to cut the costs of production and labour. Globalisation has in effect, promoted the free movement of capitalism thus exploiting less progressive nations and impeding their ability to grow and develop.

#### **3.4.1 Urban regeneration within the context of Capitalism**

With the mass rural-urban migration and decentralisation that took place post 1994, capitalists began to invest in business opportunities further away from the CBD as the movement of wealthy inhabitants meant that there would be major business prospects at the city's outer edge. Capitalism, in the form of property development, affects our urban

environments considerably as it promotes the emergence of varied processes such as, inner city investment and disinvestment, suburbanization, disintegration, decentralization, urban degeneration and urban regeneration (Hoorgendoorn, 2008). It has not only fuelled various degenerative and regenerative processes but it has also influenced urban problems, such as “the loss of heritage, destruction of communities and the escalation of crime” (Hoorgendoorn, 2008: 162).

Although capitalism may be considered responsible for much of the world’s poverty, vast income gaps, urban degeneration and disintegration, it is also the way in which we “acquire our daily bread, as well as our houses, cars, cell phones, shirts, shoes and all of the other goods we need to support our daily lives” (Harvey, 2010: vi). It is through these many flows of goods and service provision that wealth is created. Governments are essentially able to tax these flows to deliver basic services to their citizens.

Critics of the process consider it to be unfair in that it broadens the inefficient distribution of wealth and power and heightens various forms of “economic exploitation, unemployment and economic instability” (SAGE Publications, Capitalism – Economics, 2010). A fundamental contradiction of a capitalist society is that without the elimination of the restraint of private ownership, society is unable to achieve further development.

In South Africa, government has become highly dependent on public-private partnerships as a means to achieving growth. The extensive regeneration of Johannesburg and Cape Town’s inner cities has occurred through government’s support of private development. These developments have transformed the physical dimensions and potential of inner cities substantially. The improvement of the aesthetical form essentially promotes further development in adjacent areas and attracts business to the vicinity. Much of Chapter Two of this dissertation discusses social disintegration and exclusion as a result of inner city regeneration. The solution to this is to formulate strategies that ensure the inclusion or provision for the poor.

### **3.5 Socialism**

Marxist philosophy denotes that human life is that of a struggle between classes, in a capitalist's society where the economic minority dominate and exploit the proletariat. Socialism's principles are the opposite to that of capitalism as they fundamentally represent an idealistic conception that people live in "justice, equality and freedom in a world in which humanity collectively controls its own fate" (Haynes, 2009: 1). The inception of socialism was principally a product of economic and political forces created by modern industrial capitalism (Haynes, 2009). Socialism is in essence, largely seen as the opposition to capitalism and the advocacy for an alternative system based on social ownership.

From a political perspective, a socialist approach to reform was adopted in South Africa when the newly elected government, the African National Congress (ANC), assumed duty in April 1994. The ANC's main objectives for transformation were placed firmly in the national Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This programme and subsequent policies that followed are emblematic examples of the use of socialism's idealistic principles as a vehicle for redevelopment. The reality however, is a contradictory view of the idealistic principles. South Africa's highly prevalent class society was heightened through capitalism even after the extraction of apartheid's influence in 1994. Democracy gave way to South African citizen's freedom from oppression, but although this freedom allowed for movement and habitation in any part of the city, it still inflicted challenges under the social and economic system of the country (Haynes 2009). The struggle between social classes is in effect, evident in the existing low income and high income fragmented settlements.

#### **3.5.1 Criticism of Socialism**

Frederich Hayek and Ludwig Mises were important critics of socialism. Both Hayek and Mises argued that a socialist economy would face information constraints that would prevent the efficient allocation of resources (Hodgson, 1998). Other criticisms of socialism include distorted or absent price signals, reduced incentives, reduced prosperity, feasibility and its social and political effects (Hodgson, 1998). Socialism is fundamentally considered a

political ideal and largely unrealizable system, despite the fact that numerous governments and other political organizations have employed the term in various forms.

There are elements and approaches to socialism and capitalism that are dominant in South Africa. Governments and leaders, not only in South Africa, but in countries abroad, have taken the approach towards idealistic policies and programmes which are aimed specifically at development and provision of opportunities for disadvantaged citizens. Although South African policy suggested that positive growth was to emerge within the country, the reality of racial disintegration, urban fragmentation, unemployment and extreme levels of income inequality prevailed. These processes have, in effect, influenced a number of social challenges which have had a major impact on urban environments. Although socialism is seen by many activists as the only means to which classes of society can be eliminated, the downside to this notion is that, without competition and demand forces for goods and services, the appropriate allocation of resources would be impossible.

### **3.6 Elitism**

A considerable observation that was drawn from Chapter Two of this dissertation is the poor social impact various regenerative initiatives have had on urban environments in South Africa. The elite theory essentially offers some insight into the notion of social equity. Throughout the world, the 'elite' are seen as those that hold power, whether it is economic, cultural, religious or political (Cammick, 1990). In terms of its relevance to urban regeneration, the existence of elitism proposes that development cannot always ensure benefits to the wider urban population. Referring back to the previous section, Marxist theory corroborates that societies are ruled by a small number of like-minded people with business or capitalist interests. Capitalists are simply interested in gaining profits from their investments. The present society appears to represent strong class divides and evidence that the elite make decisions with little or no involvement of the majority of the poorer population.

The perception that white citizens are elitist was introduced by the Apartheid government and had a great impact on every citizen's mindset even after the abolishment of the rigid

planning regime (Farred et al. 2009) The rural-urban influx of previously disadvantaged citizens also had a major implication for the capacity at which urban environments were sustained in South Africa. With the rapid demise of CBDs and continued perception that non-whites were inferior; white citizens fled CBDs soon after democracy (Farred et al. 2009). Presently, the 'elite' of South Africa are not as strongly confined to race as various race groups have made substantial progression since democracy. The 'elite' of South Africa may refer to those who are considered to be a part of an exclusive culture, religion, political domain or level of wealth.

### **3.6.1 Elitism within the Urban Environment**

The elite South Africa have created exclusive spaces through developments on the city's outer ring and gated communities (Farred, 2009). Edge city developments and gated communities have in effect, restricted entry to only those that reside within the given establishments. With such strict regulations, residents within these communities are able to make decisions which are specifically to the benefit of those who reside within. Landman and Schönteich (2002) suggest that gated communities have recreated a pattern of disintegration by excluding lower income earning citizens. Given that these developments are private-led, the government has had little influence on their existence. In addition, private developments and public-private partnerships have become necessary for successful inner city redevelopment; governments therefore, have less influence on the outcome of various initiatives. The increase in the supremacy of the elite has in essence, influenced inequality to a major degree, as the minority of the population hold the power and ability to exploit and marginalise poorer classes.

Elitism has essentially existed under various guises for centuries. The concept links largely to Marxist philosophy in that the minority of the powerful population are able to make decisions which are not to the wider benefit of the majority of society's proletariat. Within the context of urban regeneration, elements of elitism are evident when redevelopment processes are driven by a few powerful stakeholders who have little or no involvement with the poor.

### 3.7 Competitive Cities

The competition for cities to make their mark in the global environment is becoming fiercer each day. Cities around the world have aspirations to become the next 'global city' or 'world city' (Henry and Passmore, 1999). The simplest rationale for cities becoming increasingly interconnected and competitive is Globalisation. The process of Globalisation emerged as a recognised phenomenon in the 1970s (Anholt, 2007). It has influenced countries' political, social, economical and physical interactions, to the extent that countries are now thought to be incapable of complete independence. With countries becoming more interconnected, they are seen to be competing for a share of the world's "consumers, tourists, investors, students, entrepreneurs, sporting and cultural events, and for the attention and respect of the international media, governments, and the people of other countries" Anholt (2007: 1).

The benefits of cities gaining a competitive advantage is evident when a city is able to produce goods and services that meet local, regional, national and international market standards, while simultaneously increasing the income and quality of lives of its citizens (Lever and Turok, 1999). Moreover, for a city to have gained competitive advantage, development should recur in a sustainable manner. Lever and Turok (1999: 792) suggest that although GDP is seen as a practical tool to measure growth, more 'sophisticated' measures of growth should include "indicators of equity, distributional effects and the sustainability of economic growth". Lever et al (1999) suggest that there are two views to the competitive cities theory. The first view is that cities compete on an extensive scale. The alternate view is that cities do not compete with each other at all, "they are merely the locus in which firms and enterprises compete" (Lever et al. 1999: 791). The latter suggestion is validated by the notion that a firm's competition is not enhanced by the city's assets but by its own attributes.

Quintessentially, locational attributes of cities are said to be basic requirements for firms competitive success, but do not suffice as a mandatory condition. Given that mega-events and much of city's developments are led by local governments, the idea that firms and enterprises compete may only hold true if cities are also regarded as firms or enterprises. Suggesting that firms and enterprises are the only means of generating competition may be

an equivocal supposition. There are many variables and dynamics within each city that impact on competitiveness, firms therefore cannot be regarded as the only source of competition. Investment flow has local, regional and international dimensions; as a result cities have to compete with each other to secure new sources of investment in the face of growing international competition.

### **3.7.1 Urban Regeneration within the context of Competitive Cities**

Urban Regeneration can be understood within the context of Competitive Cities Theory as an economic, social and physical intervention. The process of regeneration is fundamentally necessary to address urban decline, in order to create an environment that enhances a city's investment prospects and competitiveness. In order for cities to remain competitive, it is important that not only the physical environment is aesthetically attractive but also its economic structure, political configuration and ability to promote social integration (Duffy, 1995).

Chapter Two highlights that South Africa's leading metropolitan, Johannesburg, has enunciated its long term vision as that of African world class city (City of Johannesburg, 2005). The City of Johannesburg (CoJ), much like other 'world cities' has taken advantage of its assets as an angle or draw card in attracting investment. Its rapid pace development and international recognition is attributable most significantly to its gold mines (Bremner, 2000). Geographically, Johannesburg is located within the smallest province in South Africa but hosts the highest population in the country. South African's generally perceive the city as one which is flowing with employment and business opportunity (Duffy, 1995), hence from a national standpoint, Johannesburg is viewed as having the greatest competitive advantage.

In the build-up to the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, substantial evidence of competition between South African cities emerged. Given that leading metropolitans did not have the infrastructure or facilities to host such mega events, cities became competitive for the opportunity to become hosts. The benefit of games being held in the various cities included tourism, urban regeneration, economic activity, entertainment, potential future investment, and massive exposure. Although the effect of cities competing galvanized local commitment

to development, it also had negative effects by being divisive and undermining local strengths. In instances where neighbouring cities are competing, the city with a competitive advantage may undermine the strength and attractiveness of its neighbour city. The progressions of world cities may be positive for their individual development but do in fact overshadow the potential of less influential cities.

There is substantial evidence that cities are seeking to identify their competitive and comparative advantage in order to compete for economic growth. The stereotypes or perceptions of any given area essentially affect our behaviour towards the place (Anholt, 2007). In 2001, the president of the South African Planning Commission, Philip Harrison, advised that “the primary developmental role of the local state is to position localities optimally to gain maximum benefit from globalisation”. Although, the concept of competitive cities is becoming more widely recognised, an important factor to take into consideration is that, for cities to compete effectively, they should command the resources, capacity and leadership capabilities to catalyse their future trajectory (Lever, 1998). In order for a city to become recognised, its leaders need to discover what the world's perception of their country is, and develop a strategy for managing it (Anholt, 2007). Ultimately, South Africa is a diverse and developing country that needs to promote a competitive structure which reflects the experiences of its wide range of cities.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

Much of this Chapter has focused on theoretical constructs from a South African perspective. To understand the rationale for the various issues presented, it is necessary to refer primarily to the country's extreme political transition. South Africa's political history has impacted on the level of inequality, forces of capitalism as well as the nature of elitism. The government positions its mandate strongly on the need to reduce poverty and inequality. This however, may be falling short on research that captures the failures and successes of previous state interventions, as well as public participation in the delivery process.



It is vitally important to note that degeneration in cities exists for a variety of reasons. The impetus for urban decline extends to the political history of the country, inequality, rural-urban migration as well as processes of decentralisation. Capitalism is criticised as a cause of continual social divides, it is however, vital for service delivery, development and progression in any economy. Globalisation is a process that is bound to increase substantially in years to come; government should therefore position localities optimally to gain maximum benefit from this process.

## **CHAPTER 4: URBAN REGENERATION IN THE ETHEKWINI INNER CITY**

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### **4.1 Introduction**

The following chapter looks at eThekweni Municipality's attempt to regenerate its Inner City post 1994. In an effort to present an unbiased analysis, two case studies which offer both positive and negative dimensions, have been included. As mentioned in section 1.6.1, the researcher focuses on the regenerative undertaking within the Central Business District (CBD) and the Kings Park Sporting Precinct, with a view to establishing the successes and limitations of the distinctive inner city localities. Under the premise that the CBD has not been regenerated to the fullest extent and the assertion that Kings Park Sporting Precinct has undergone extensive regeneration, the researcher measures each case study against principles for successful urban regeneration, as well as spatial planning goals within eThekweni Municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2010 - 2011. A series of maps, photos and interview findings will be presented to show the changes in both case study areas pre and post 1994.

### **4.2 Contextual Understanding of eThekweni Municipality**

eThekweni Municipality is a metropolitan municipality that was created in the year 2000. It is located on the east coast of South Africa in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province. The municipal area is approximately 2297km<sup>2</sup> and contains almost 3.5 million inhabitants (eThekweni Municipality's IDP 2011/2012). The following section explores eThekweni Municipality in terms of its national, regional and metropolitan influence.

#### **4.2.1 National Scale**

The city of Durban is known administratively as eThekweni Municipality<sup>3</sup>. Durban holds considerable prominence as the third highest populated city in the country, following the City of Cape Town, which is the second and the City of Johannesburg, which contains the highest population. One of eThekweni's major assets is its coastal port, as it is the largest and

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<sup>3</sup> Durban and eThekweni Municipality will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

busiest port on the Africa continent. It holds a considerable competitive advantage over many other centres in South Africa in terms of its imports and exports industry (The Municipal Institute of Learning - MILE, 2011). Nationally, the city is also utilised as a major tourist destination, given its warm, subtropical climate and extensive domestic beaches.

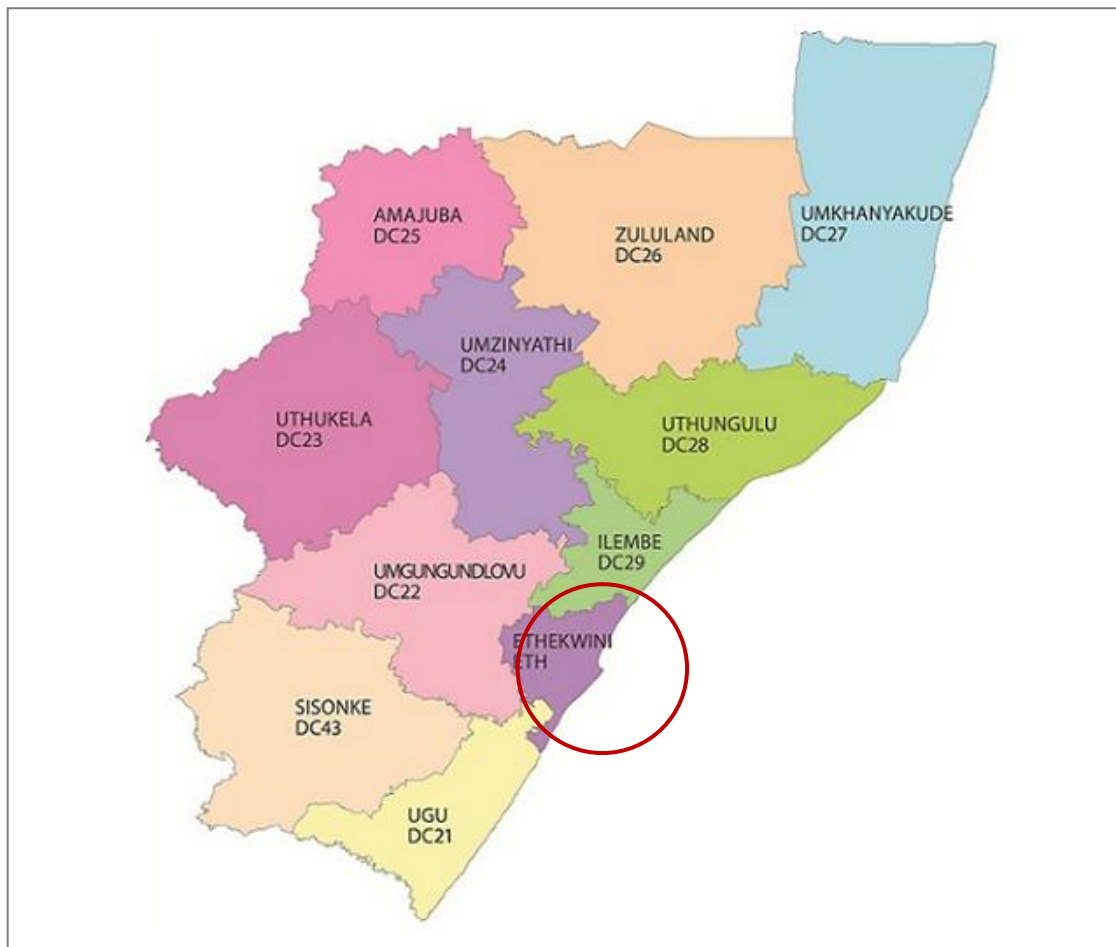
#### **4.2.2 Regional Scale**

eThekwini Municipality is the chief economic driver in the KwaZulu-Natal region, contributing to over half of the province's output, employment and income (The Municipal Institute of Learning - MILE, 2011). The role of the city in KwaZulu-Natal is considered essential due to its large Gross Domestic Product (GDP) contribution from tourism, manufacturing and its port importing sector (eThekwini IDP, 2010–2011). Corridors of regional development are situated between Durban and Richards Bay, Durban and Maputo as well as Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg (eThekwini Municipality, 2011). Given that Durban is the largest port city in the country, many of the inland metropolitan cities rely on the city as an entry point for the delivery of large goods. It essentially holds the biggest transport exchange in the KwaZulu-Natal province, given its major role as a port authority.

#### **4.2.3 Metropolitan Scale**

In terms of its metropolitan influence, eThekwini Municipality is the largest of 11 district municipalities in the KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa. It is surrounded by Ilembe District Municipality to the North, Ugu District Municipality to the South, uMgungundlovu District Municipality to the West and the Indian Ocean to the East (See Map 6). Surrounding municipalities often seek support from eThekwini Municipality on various technical development areas such as water and sanitation management, solid waste management and Integrated Development Planning. eThekwini is recognized as being the only city, internationally, that provides municipal technical support to neighbouring municipalities and other developing African cities at no cost (The Municipal Institute of Learning, 2011).

**Map 6: eThekweni Municipality in relation to its surrounding municipalities**



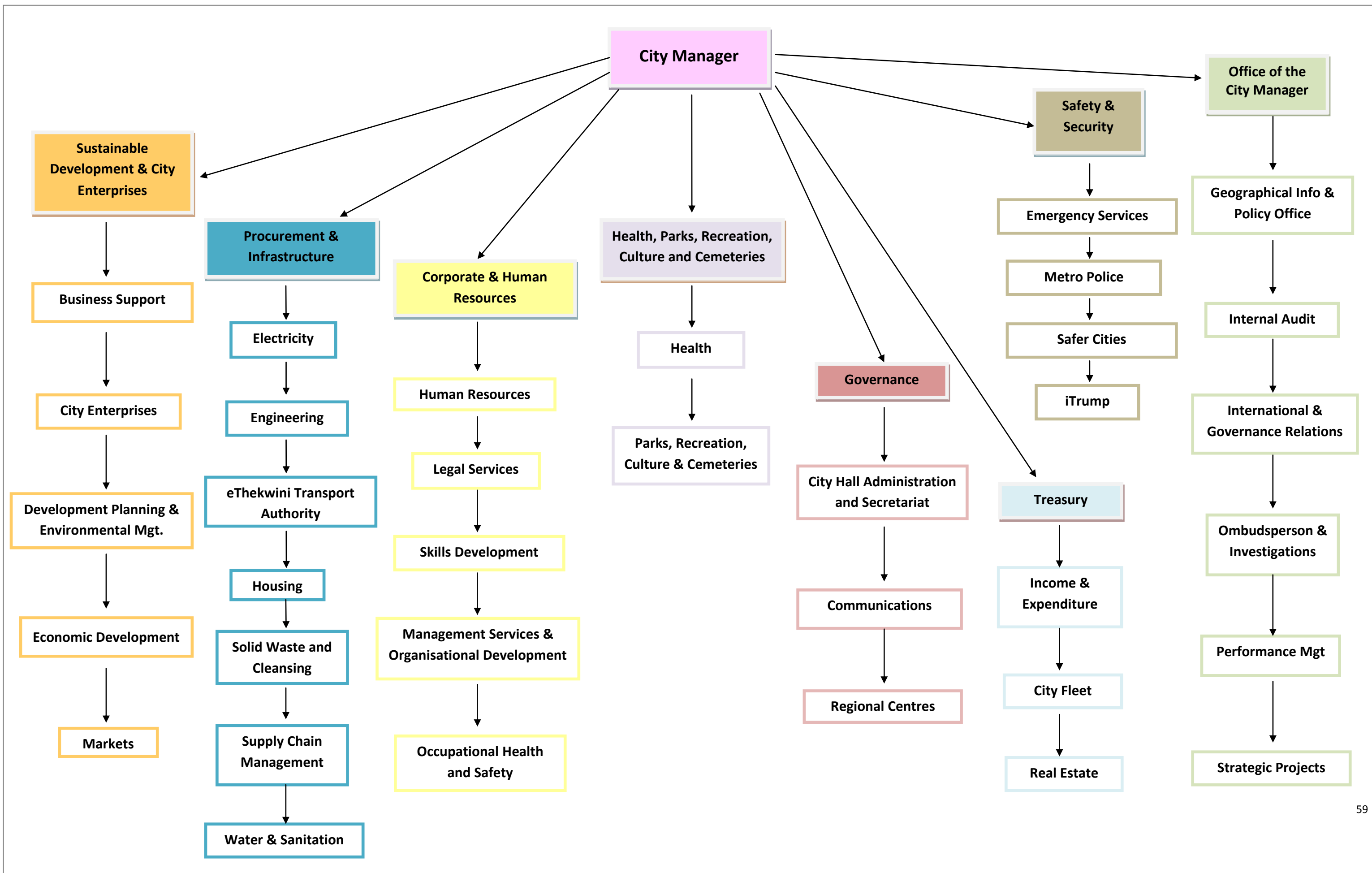
(Source: Collins, 2012)

### **4.3 Institutional Background**

eThekweni Municipality comprises of eight administrative clusters, each with focused roles and responsibilities. Figure 4.1 shows the Organogram of eThekweni Municipality's Administrative Clusters. During an interview with a Town Planner from eThekweni Municipality's Strategic Projects Unit (SPU), the researcher learnt that although the municipality has an entire unit dedicated to Development Planning and Environmental Management within the city, focus on 'urban regeneration' has not been significant. Inadvertent regeneration projects have been driven by the Inner Thekweni Regeneration and Management Programme (iTrump) and the Strategic Projects Unit (SPU). The following section looks closely at the role of iTrump and SPU within eThekweni Municipality.

**Figure 4.1: Organogram of eThekweni Municipality's Administrative Clusters**

(Source: eThekweni Online, May 2012; Organogram by Author)

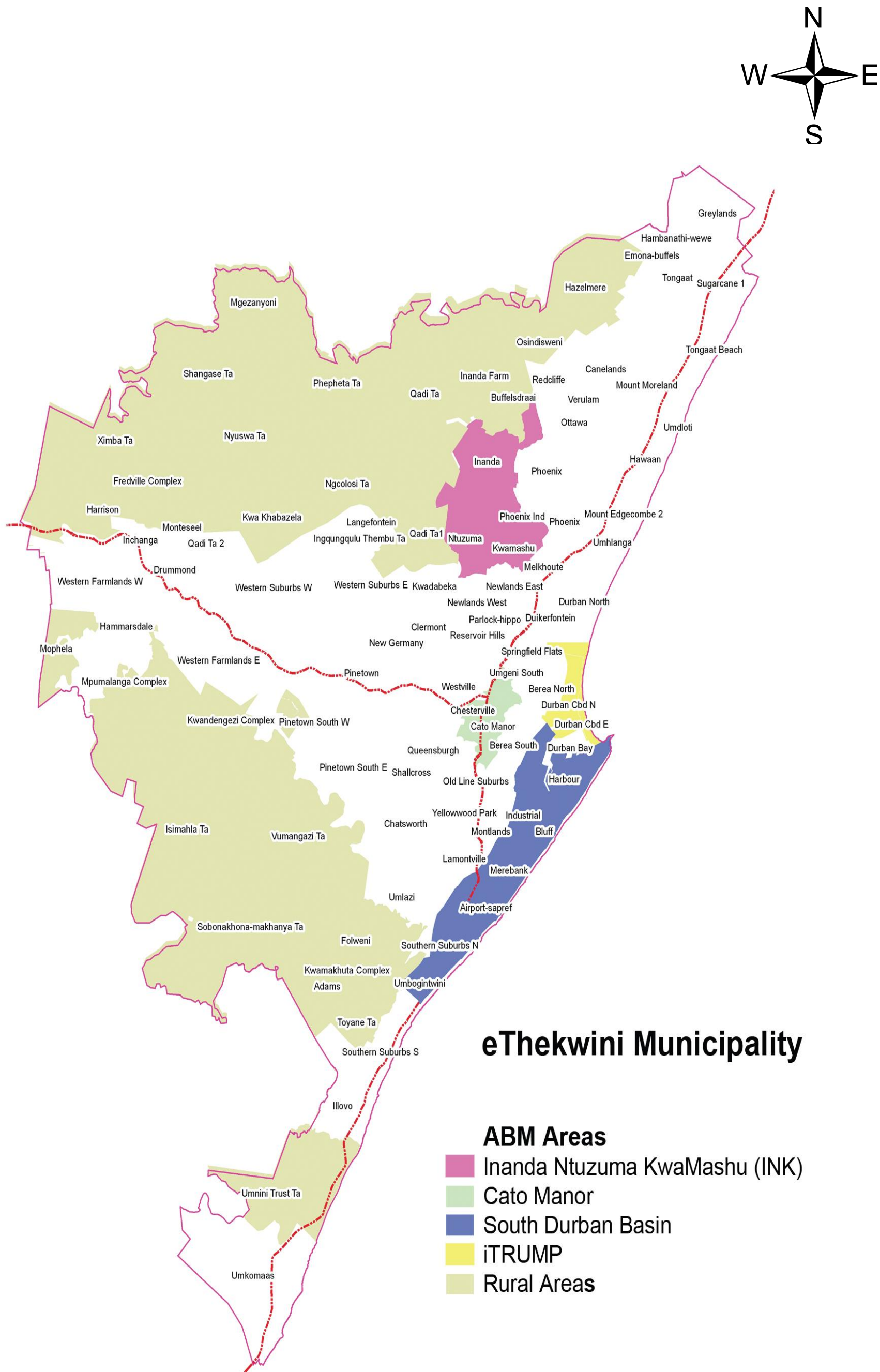


#### **4.3.1. The Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (iTrump)**

In the year 2003, eThekwini Municipality introduced the Area Based Management (ABM) and Development Programme. The concept of an ABM Programme emerged through international best practice which applied an innovative 'learning by doing' approach to local governance (The Municipal Institute of Learning, 2011). With significant funding received from the European Union, the city identified five geographical areas, with the aim to address challenges relating to poverty and underdevelopment and improve the lives of residents in the areas (The Municipal Institute of Learning, 2011). The five ABM's included the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) area, Cato Manor, the South Durban Basin, Rural and the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Management Programme (See Map 7). Each programme varied substantially in its focus but fell within the broader developmental goal of the city.

Prior to the inception of the iTrump programme in 2003, the city did not have a unit or programme that was mandated to address or manage urban decay issues. Although various projects and interventions often brought about positive regenerative effects, the city needed to focus more strongly on tackling urban decay. Addressing the extensive urban decay would ultimately bring about the improvement and sustainability of the economic, social and environmental components of the inner city. The city therefore commissioned iTrump to focus solely on urban regeneration and urban management within the inner city. The iTrump area, also known as the 'Inner City Area' consists of nine core areas: Albert Park, the Beach Front, the CBD, Kings Park Sporting Precinct, the Point, Umgeni Corridor, Umgeni Estuary, Victoria Embankment and Warwick Junction. Once the European Union's five year funding lifespan came to an end, eThekwini Municipality opted to continue supporting the ABMs, given their effectiveness. iTrump is currently clustered within the Safety and Security Unit on the city's organogram.

## Map 7: Area Based Management Localities in eThekweni Municipality



**Source: eThekweni Municipality, 2011**

#### **4.3.2 The Strategic Projects Unit (SPU)**

In the year 2005, the Strategic Projects Unit (SPU) was set up by eThekweni Municipality to drive key economic projects in the city. SPU's mandate was primarily to focus on large-scale projects that were being driven by the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Management Programme (iTrump) at the time. Given that iTrump had limited resources and limited financial capacity, the management of large-scale economic projects was shifted to SPU.

During an interview with a senior official at SPU, the researcher learnt that the project's undertaken by the unit were not 'urban regeneration' projects but generally promoted substantial regeneration in the project area and its surrounding areas. The senior official also informed the researcher that projects driven by SPU are determined as 'strategic', based on their monetary value. If a project ranges between R80 - R100 million, it is regarded as a strategic project. In terms of massive-project funding, there is usually very little capital spent by the Unit, the bulk of financial support is covered by national and provincial government.

SPU is typically tasked with carrying out a number of project phases in a project life-cycle. The phases often include project conceptualization, pre-feasibility, construction phase as well as post implementation support. Based on two of the key informant interviews conducted, this is said to be different to the way other departments in local government work. Ordinarily, there are a number of departments that are responsible for each of the project phases. Some of the challenges associated with SPU achieving its mandate have included human resource constraints as well as budgetary constraints.

Over the past seven years, the unit has carried out the delivery and management of massive projects such as the Beachfront, Kings Park Sporting Precinct, Ushaka Marine World, the Point redevelopment and the South Beach area. SPU differs to iTrump in that it is a unit whilst iTrump is a programme. Unit's in eThekweni Municipality hold considerably more weight than programmes, as the scale and focus of a unit is on a wider range of projects; programmes are often grouped together under the 'umbrella' of a particular unit. Given that SPU took over managing iTrump's large-scale projects, it meant that the unit would be directing much of its resources towards the upliftment of the inner city. The inner city is a



target area for large projects as it is well serviced, close to public transport and accessible to all citizens. The section below looks at eThekweni Municipality's Inner City in further detail.

#### **4.4 eThekweni Municipality's Inner City**

In July 2005, the Inner City Plan was prepared for eThekweni Municipality by a group of academics and private sector consultants. The plan identified key issues that needed to be addressed through a regeneration process over five to ten years. The objectives of the plan were aligned with the city's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and were expected to promote long term sustainability of the inner city area. Chapter 2 of this dissertation explored Inner Cities broadly; the following section highlights some of the key points discussed in the Inner City Plan, which are specific to eThekweni Municipality.

Durban's Inner City is characterised most strongly by its "strategic location, significant transportation exchange, accessible metropolitan and local facilities, concentrated population and activity and a complexity of formal and informal networks and exchanges" (eThekweni Municipality, 2005: 13). The layout and land uses of the Inner City are typical of most coastal cities in the world; the exception is that the development of the residential component has been influenced strongly by apartheid laws. The inner city consists of a range of diverse land uses including business, commercial, industrial, recreational as well as residential. Given the high level of poverty in the city, there is a great demand for affordable housing. Although there are parts of the inner city which are considered undesirable to middle and higher income earners, there are also parts that are in great demand (eThekweni Municipality, 2005).

The Inner City Report (2005) makes reference to the Inner City being in the process of becoming a place of 'integration and vibrancy' since the dawn of democracy in 1994. To date, this notion remains the same as there are constantly new opportunities and challenges being presented in terms of integration. The vision adopted by the iTrump Stakeholders Forum in 2002 stated "By the year 2005 the inner city area of Durban will have a sustainable economy, will be well managed and enjoy the reputation of being caring, attractive and safe". Frequent visits to the inner city and CBD in particular has led to the researcher's understanding that the Inner City has not had any dramatic changes to its

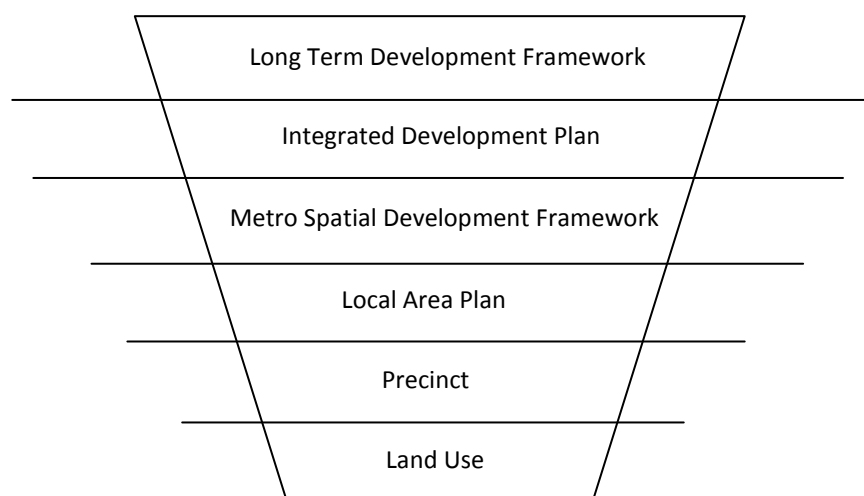
aesthetic, economic or social environment since the Inner City Report was compiled in 2005. An interview with a town planner from the Strategic Projects Unit validated that the city is still grappling with very similar challenges to those experienced in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Issues of urban degeneration have affected the inner city immensely.

The researcher has touched briefly on the Integrated Development Plan's relevance to many of eThekweni's inner city processes. The city's IDP is the primary instrument through which the major role of the inner city is communicated. The IDP's eight point plan fundamentally sums up the strategic objectives of the city. All the objectives listed within the eight point plan essentially link strongly to the challenges associated with the Inner City and CBD. The following section looks at the applicability of Integrated Development Planning and its relevance within the context of urban regeneration in eThekweni Municipality.

## 4.5 Integrated Development Planning

An Integrated Development Plan is a statutory requirement in terms of the Municipal Systems Act No 32 of 2000 (MSA). The IDP is a principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning, budgeting, management and decision-making in a municipality over a five year period (eThekweni Municipality, 2005 – Inner City Plan). The diagram below illustrates the IDP's positioning in eThekweni Municipality's Hierarchy of Plans.

**Diagram 4.1: Hierarchy of Municipal Plans**



(Source: eThekweni Municipality, 2005)

The regeneration of the CBD as a key economic zone is identified in the IDP (2011-2012) as a pilot area for the city. The IDP highlights the CBD as a major economic investment node as it has been listed as a Priority Programme towards strengthening the economy in eThekweni (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). Several major metropolitan routes converge in the Inner City and connect via high capacity CBD arterial roads. The CBD will therefore always be utilized as a major economic hub in the city of Durban.

## **4.6 Case Study 1: Durban Central Business District (CBD)**

### **Contextual Understanding of the CBD**

The Durban CBD is located to the east of the municipal boundary. It essentially represents the core part of the city as it is positioned at the centre of the inner city and it is bordered by the majority of the iTrump inner city precincts; i.e. Albert Park, the Beachfront, Kings Park Sporting Precinct, Umgeni Corridor, Victoria Embankment and Warwick Junction. This study focuses strongly on the core CBD which comprises primarily of business, commercial, government, residential and retail use.

### **Durban's CBD pre and post 1994**

During the 1820s, British settlers identified the Durban port location as a suitable trading outpost given its large natural harbour (Davies, 1963). The increased use of the port influenced the formation of the city, which was formally established by the British in 1835 (Schensul, 2009). The establishment of the city's Central Business District (CBD) was stimulated primarily by the development of a small core of businesses adjacent to the harbour; where buildings took the form of a central grid pattern and remained 'loosely knit and dispersed' (Davies, 1963: 22). With the development of commercial land use, residential habitation began to form on the outskirts of the CBD and by the mid-1950s; Durban's CBD was bordered by 19 outer local authorities that made up the entire municipal area (Davies, 1963).

Racial segregation in South Africa developed during colonial times under British and Dutch rule. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, Apartheid policy was officially introduced by the Afrikaaner-dominated National Party following the general election that took place in 1948. The Apartheid government passed a number of laws which separated race groups, giving

white citizens superior facilities and forcibly placing non-whites in inferior areas. The CBD was considered a chief locality for both commercial activity and residential habitation. The Apartheid government ensured that only white citizens were able to fully utilise the CBD; given its prominence and its accessibility to goods, services and employment (Schensul, 2009).

During the 1960s, the demand for land close to the city centre increased; the city of Durban was described by many as a 'two street town'; as Smith Street (presently Isaiah Ntshangase Street) and West Street (presently Dr Pixley KaSeme Street) dominated (van Niekerk, 1980). Land use along the two streets was heavily concentrated by commercial stores. The visual aspect of the CBD differed immensely to its current state. Buildings were described as each having a unique ornate touch, "some arch, some gable, some neo-classical twist, decorative colonnades, windows, balconies and of course a lot of wrought iron work" (van Niekerk, 1980: 53). Durban's CBD was in essence, regarded as prime land in the city for more than 100 years prior to 1994.



Photo 4.1: West Street during the 1950s (Source: [www.mirabeth.net](http://www.mirabeth.net))

The photo above illustrates how elaborately buildings were constructed; very few high rise buildings existed during the mid-1900s; roads were designed to include two wide lanes with traffic flowing from either side; tram lines were constructed in the centre of the streets and overhead trolley bus wires were also present. The city centre was evidently aesthetically pleasing and very well kept.

Apartheid began to breakdown in the 1980s; the city of Durban, along with the rest of South Africa, officially emerged from the ruling of Apartheid in 1994. Although the rigid system had been abolished, extreme spatial inequality persisted (Schensul, 2009). Durban's spatial structure limited movement and integration and hampered development close to the CBD. By the late 1990s, the significance of the CBD declined heavily in South Africa (Bromley and Thomas, 1999). The stimulus for its decline was largely due to the dawn of democracy. With all races having the freedom to occupy any part of the city, it led to the CBD becoming a zone that was flooded with migrants. The huge mass of people had a significant impact on its usability and its aesthetic environment. The newly elected government had very little control over the rapid decline of the urban environment in the CBD.

In a report published by eThekweni Municipality in 2011, the Durban CBD is described as a locality which has "suffered the most in terms of economic decline, crime and rampant decentralization, with many businesses having relocated, particularly to Umhlanga, where a new CBD has arisen". With a 'new town centre' in Umhlanga (north of Durban central), many business have no need to relocate back to the CBD. During an interview with a Durban based urban design consultant, the researcher was informed that businesses situated in Umhlanga are willing to pay high rents as there is as better public perception around the safety and cleanliness of the precinct. Based on the researcher's knowledge on the Umhlanga area, it is evident that businesses occupying space vary extensively and include most of the goods and services required for everyday living. This would therefore give citizens, residing and working in the area, very little reason to travel to the Inner City.

The following section looks closely at a portion of the CBD which was identified by eThekweni Municipality as an area requiring extensive regeneration. The portion, known commonly as the High Court Precinct, offers a comprehensive perspective on the state of

the CBD at large, as it contains a land use that is considered to be in both a good and poor condition.

#### **4.7 The High Court Precinct**

The High Court Precinct is situated within two of the iTrump Inner City localities; the Durban CBD and Victoria Embankment (See Map 8). An official report on the precinct informed the researcher that the city had received a number of informal requests for the regeneration of the precinct. The requests were expressed by the Durban High Court's legal fraternity, business owners and property owners in the vicinity. In 2008, the Legal Fraternity and High Court Association formally requested that eThekweni Municipality prepare a plan to revitalise the area. Major issues influencing the request for regeneration included concerns around safety and security, the lack of cleanliness in the area, inadequate facilities around the precinct, dilapidated infrastructure, insufficient space for major court cases, a lack of public parking, high levels of noise, absence street furniture, illegal usage of buildings, drugs, taverns, prostitution and vagrancy.

Discussions with an official at iTrump informed the researcher that once the request had been considered and approved by eThekweni Municipality in 2009, iTrump appointed a team to conduct a situational analysis and a proposal for the regeneration of the precinct. The rationale for iTrump's selection of the precinct boundaries was to ensure that it was not looked at in isolation, but rather within the broader context of the CBD (See Map 8). The researcher's reconnaissance survey of the precinct suggested that iTrump's objectives for the precinct had not been met. This next section of this chapter presents data collected by the researcher on the current state of the precinct. The researcher went about presenting collected data thematically. Given that many of the Principles for Urban Regeneration and Spatial Planning Objectives are crosscutting, the researcher merged the criterion for one set of themes upon which the CBD and Kings Park Sporting Precinct could be measured. The diagrams found on page 66 remind the reader of the said principles and objectives. Page 67 presents the merged themes in one diagram. Merging the items has fundamentally reduced the likelihood of repetition and improved the overall flow of the case study presentations. The data presented in each case study section was obtained from books, official reports, interviews and extensive field work.

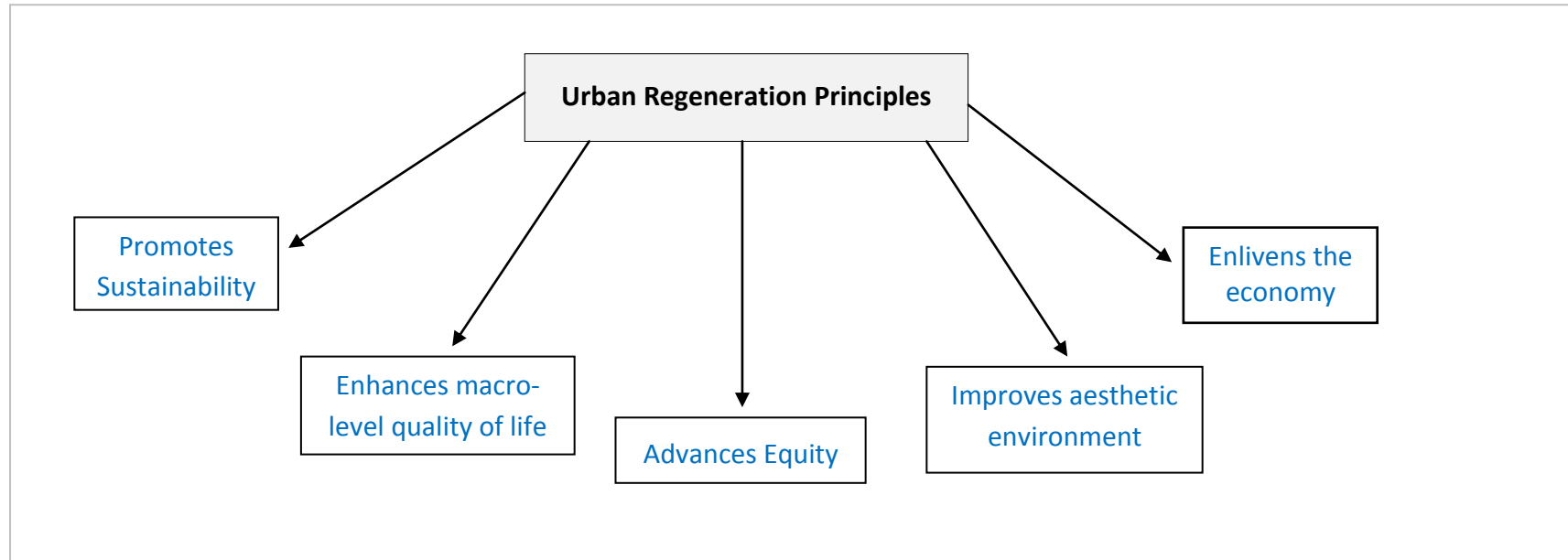


Map 8: The High Court Precinct within the context of the CBD

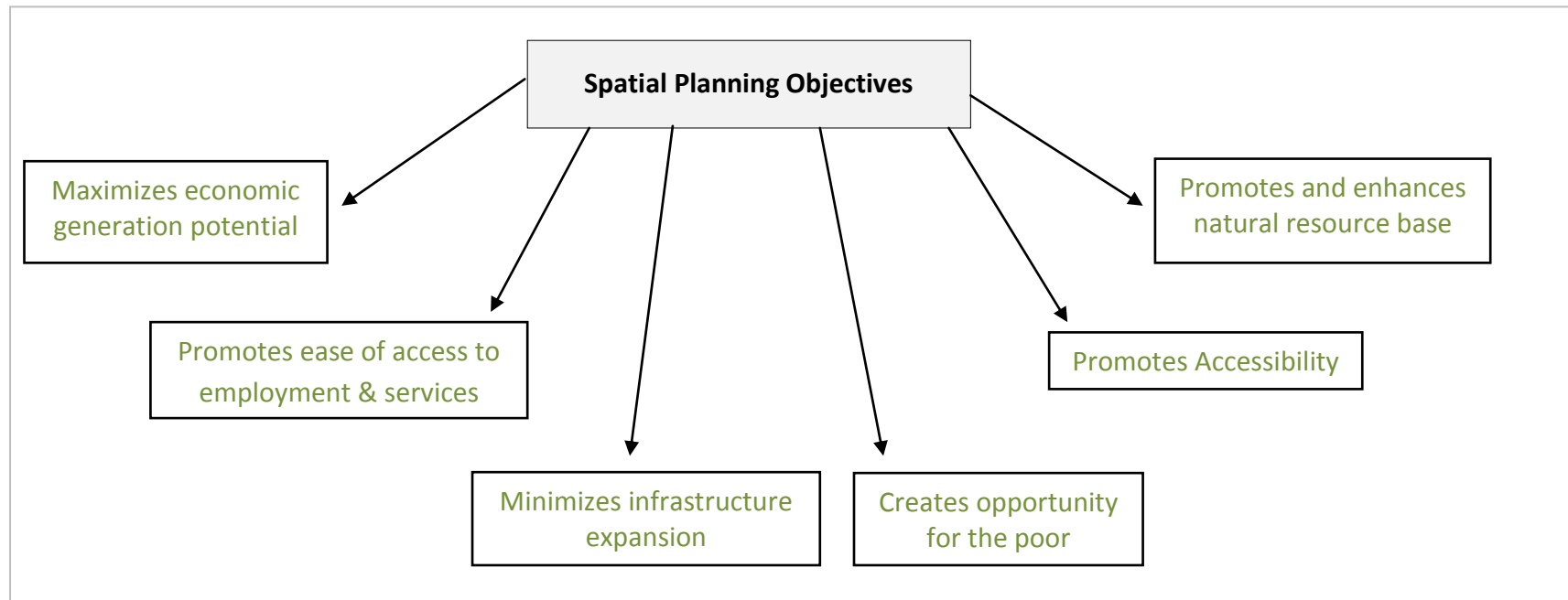




**Diagram 4.2: Urban Regeneration Principles**



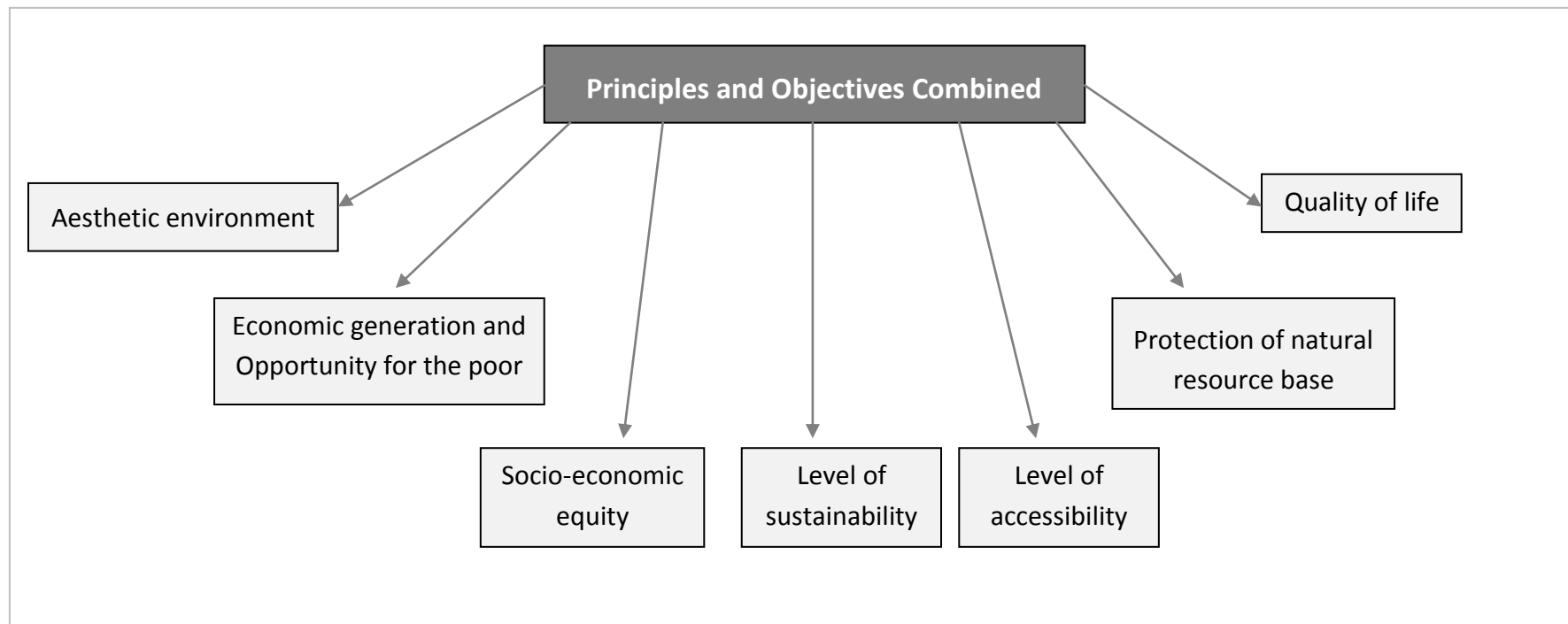
**Diagram 4.3: Spatial Planning Objectives**





The research objectives of this study are to determine the extent to which urban regeneration efforts within the Inner City correspond with principles for urban regeneration and align with spatial planning objectives within the city's IDP. The diagram's above prove that many of these principles and objectives are cross-cutting. The researcher has therefore consolidated the urban regeneration principles and spatial planning objectives into one set of themes to which case studies can be measured. The combined principles and objectives are illustrated below.

**Diagram 4.4: Combined Regeneration and Spatial Planning Principles**



## 4.8 Current State of the High Court Precinct

### 4.8.1 Land Use

The High Court Precinct is currently zoned for mixed use and high density residential (See Map 9). The built form is made up of predominantly high rise buildings that typically consist of business or retail use on the ground floor and office or residential use above. Other uses include small retail shops, big commercial stores, hair salons, banks, offices and low-cost hotels. Although there is an up to date zoning plan, a mixture of illegal activity including illegal drug trade, trading of counterfeit goods and prostitution, exists within the area (Collins, 2012). Buildings that are continually deteriorating are a strong indication of a lack of control by the government. During an informal discussion with a shop keeper in the CBD, the researcher established that it is common to find illegal activity taking place in deteriorated or abandoned buildings.



Photo 4.2: Ground floor shops & residential apartments on floors 1 to 14



# Map 9: The High Court Precinct Zoning Plan

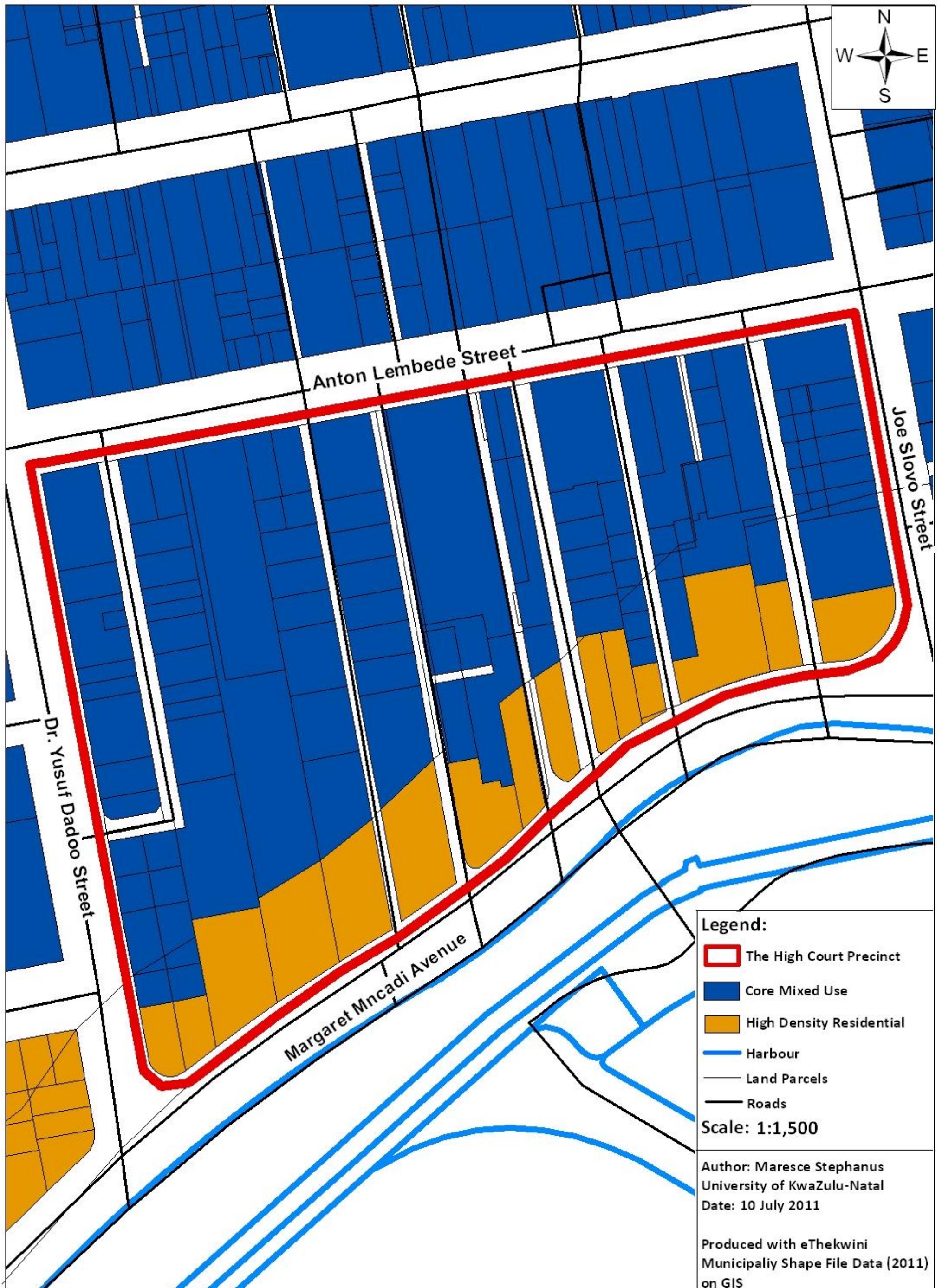






Photo 4.3: Ground floor shops and residential apartments on floors 1 to 14

Photo 4.2 and Photo 4.3 illustrate a common feature in High Court Precinct and the CBD at large; popular franchise take away shops or low rent shops on the ground floor and residential apartments above.

### 4.8.2 Aesthetic Environment

Some parts of the Durban CBD are in a visible state of urban decay. During the data collection process, the researcher used photos as the primary method for capturing what was present aesthetically. The High Court precinct presented two diverse spectrums; Margaret Mncadi Avenue, which is visually pleasing and exceptionally clean, and Anton Lembede Street, Joe Slovo Street and Yusuf Dadoo Street which are heavily polluted and fundamentally, a more accurate representation of the greater CBD. The photos below illustrate the contrast that exists.



Photo 4.4: Margaret Mncadi Avenue depicting litter-free streets and flourishing vegetation



Photo 4.5: Entrance to the High Court along Margaret Mncadi Avenue



Photo 4.6: High volumes of litter and bins filled to capacity along Isaiah Ntshangase Street



Photo 4.7: Litter along Isaiah Ntshangase Street

Margaret Mncadi Avenue and Anton Lembede Street run parallel to one another and are separated by 100 metres. The most common visual feature along Anton Lembede Street, Joe Slovo Street and Yusuf Dadoo Street is the high volume of litter, bins that are filled to capacity, stained pavements and highly degenerated buildings. Three of the four streets that border the precinct are considered to be highly polluted and visually unpleasant whilst only one of the streets is aesthetically pleasing.





Photo 4.8: Bins that are filled to capacity

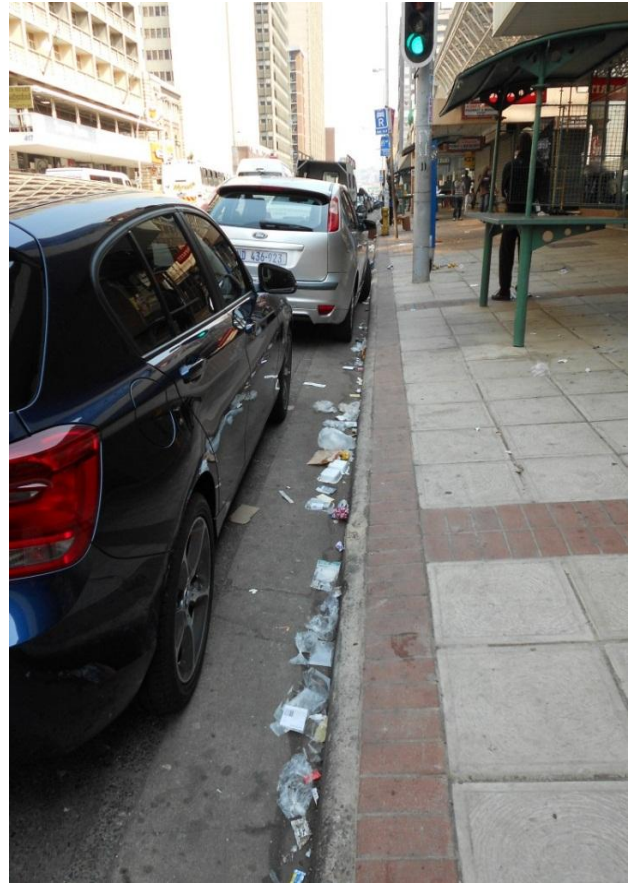


Photo 4.9: Litter posing a hazard to storm water drains

Both photos 4.8 and 4.9 were captured by the researcher along Anton Lembede Street. The photos illustrate the high volume of litter on the streets. A key informant interview with an official from SPU revealed that the excessive litter along the pavements of the CBD often leads to blockages in storm water drains resulting in flooding and infrastructure having to be repaired or replaced by eThekweni Municipality. Further discussions revealed that the presence of bins have not reduced the amount of litter and pollution in the streets of the CBD. The official explained that it is impractical for street sweepers to attempt cleaning during the day as streets and pavements are extremely busy. Street sweeping usually takes place at night once trading has ended and the roads are quiet.



Photo 4.10: Degenerated building along Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street

During a field work survey, the researcher noted that buildings along Anton Lembede (formerly Smith Street), Dr. Yusuf Dadoo (Formerly Grey Street) and Joe Slovo Street (Formerly Field Street) are in a greater state of decay compared to buildings along Masabalala Yengwa Avenue (Formerly Victoria Embankment). During an interview with a Town Planner from the Strategic Project's unit, the researcher learnt that property owners abandoned their CBD apartments due to inadequate maintenance, illegal occupation and the high crime rate post 1994. Further discussions revealed that the municipality's biggest challenge is having to trace former owners in order to evict illegal occupants and take charge of derelict buildings. The interviewee explained that during Apartheid, the *Durban Corporation*<sup>4</sup> had considerable control over sectional title properties; particularly in the CBD. The Corporation had the right to take over an entire building if a certain percentage of people did not pay their rates in a sectional title establishment. The Corporation's control was

<sup>4</sup> eThekweni Municipality was previously called The Durban Corporation under Apartheid ruling.



eventually overpowered by illegal occupants and legal inferences post 1994. New laws indicated that the city would only be allowed to take over individual units that were not being paid for. Of the shop keeper's interviewed, seven (70%) of them indicated that Illegal habitation and the abuse of basic services has had a huge snowball effect in the CBD.



Photo 4.11: Degenerated building within the High Court Precinct

In 2001, iTrump initiated the 'Better Buildings Programme' in an attempt to revitalise "economically dysfunctional buildings" (Brown University, 2008: 11). The programme was used as a method to encourage property owners and landlords to take responsibility for their building's structure and appearance (eThekweni Online, 2003). iTrump would essentially identify 'bad buildings' and liaise with the building owners to improve them.

Given that urban regeneration and renewal issues are a major national priority in South Africa; the National Government initiated Urban Development Zones (UDZ) in 2003 as an incentive to encourage renewal in areas affected by urban decay (South African Cities Network, 2008). The



initiative offers tax breaks to investors that refurbish buildings or build new buildings on properties that have been declared 'derelict' (South African Cities Network, 2008). A Brown University report on 'Urban Transformation' in the Durban CBD states that "there is speculation that some of these absentee landlords in Durban, especially where a large number of units belong to one owner, are simply investors in waiting for UDZ benefits. Actively enabling a building to deteriorate through absentee ownership and not paying rates speeds up the process of getting it declared derelict and offers the potential investor profit through rent in the meantime" (Brown University, 2008: 11).

In an interview with a senior manager at iTrump, it was conveyed that the dilemma iTrump faces is trying to get building owners to comply with the city's regulations. The senior manager explained that there are many unscrupulous property owners who have abused municipal services in their buildings but there are also poor people who are desperate for accommodation. The city's challenge is trying to identify the buildings that are being abused by property owners and landlords.

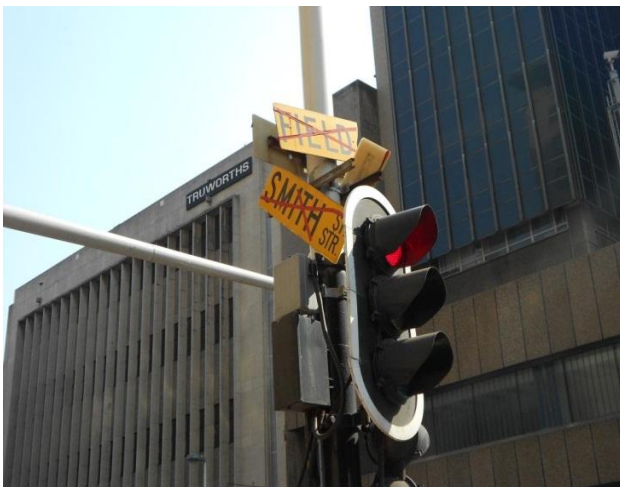


Photo 4.12: old signage present on street corner

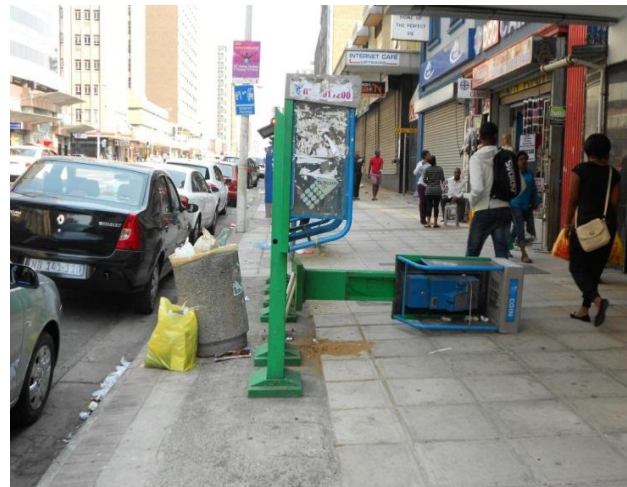


Photo 4.13: Collapsed public telephone

The photos above show outdated street signage and vandalized public telephones along Joe Slovo Street and Anton Lembede Street. Road names were changed in eThekweni Municipality in the year 2009 but old street names are still present. This suggests that citizens of Durban have not yet adjusted to the new road names. During an interview with a shop keeper in the precinct,

the researcher was informed that road name changes have not changed eThekweni citizen's mindsets; roads are still referred to using their previous names.

The researcher learnt that the poor maintenance and persistent degeneration in the precinct has had a strong influence on prominent business owner's lack of interest in relocating back to the CBD. As mentioned previously, business owners in the Umhlanga area are willing to pay higher rents given the rich aesthetic environment and abundance of services available in the area. An interview with an official from eThekweni's Strategic Projects Unit confirmed that the poor state of the CBD has had a direct impact on the low rent trend and low occupancy level of prominent corporations and business owners.

#### **4.8.3 Economic Generation and Opportunity for the Poor**

The Durban CBD has for decades been considered to be the economic hub of the city (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). During fieldwork in the CBD, the researcher made note of the myriad of economic processes that take place in the city centre on a daily basis. These processes include included in retail, commercial, transport, commerce, government and informal trade. The CBD is regarded as the biggest transport interchange and is therefore considered a prime location for trade, with the heavy amount of vehicular and pedestrian traffic (eThekweni Municipality, 2011).

Although formal economic processes are often used as an indicator for cities' economic growth in Durban and other cities in South Africa, informal trade is considered pertinent for the growth of the economy (SACN, 2011). The informal economy makes a very important contribution to the economic and social structure of Durban (eThekweni Municipality, 2001). Pre 1994, there were strict laws restricting street trade in the CBD; once deregulation took in 1994, policy allowed informal trade in parts of the city where it was previously restricted (eThekweni Municipality, 2001). Presently, it is common to see black traders operating informally on the pavements of the CBD. As depicted in the photos below, eThekweni Municipality has designated informal trading stands in parts of the CBD. In the High Court Precinct, the researcher noted that there were 8 informal trading stands located on Anton Lembede Street.



Photo 4.14: Informal trading stand



Photo 4.15: Informal trading stand

Many progressive citizens view informal trade in a ‘backward’ negative sense, as the sector is often associated with pollution and disorder (SACN, 2011). The reality is that this form of employment has become a form of livelihood for the poor. Contrary to what has been written about street traders, the researcher found the trading stations to be pleasant and orderly. Traders are usually busy throughout the day with the constant pedestrian traffic flowing along the pavements.

#### 4.8.4 Quality of Life

eThekweni Municipality’s IDP (2011/2012) indicates that the main reasons for life satisfaction include good health, family and friends, employment and economic opportunities; whilst dissatisfaction with life stems from unemployment, health problems, financial problems, crime and basic needs not being met. The IDP also highlights issues identified as the most serious day to day problems experienced by citizens; those include run-down roads, unreliable public transport, poverty, the high cost of living (food, electricity and water), high levels of crime, high levels of corruption, lack of cleanliness in the city and high levels of unemployment. In this section, the researcher focuses on the quality of life experienced in the High Court Precinct.

The researcher’s interviews with shop keepers and unstructured conversations with the public in the precinct provided information on their general perceptions of the Durban CBD. Shop keeper interviews were conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire (Refer to Annexure 5) through a Systematic Random Sample. Eight (80%) of the shop keepers interviewed expressed their

general satisfaction with working in the CBD. The other two shop keepers (20%) of the population expressed their dissatisfaction due to incidents of crime, high level of pollution, the lack of opportunity for better paying jobs in the CBD and lastly due to the fact that trading shuts down at night.

The researcher found that the half of the shop keepers interviewed the High Court Precinct pay little attention to the poor state of the aesthetic environment. Accessibility, low rent and low cost of goods and services were the common responses for shop keepers staying in the CBD. In the *'eThekweni Municipal Services and Living Conditions Survey 2011 – 2012'*, The Durban CBD and Kwa Mashu were the area's most commonly reported as being unsafe in the city of Durban. In terms of safety within the precinct, the researcher observed a high police presence during the day time; offering a fair sense of safety. Eight of the ten shop keepers interviewed, revealed that regular users of the CBD do not perceive the area to be unsafe. Due to access restrictions and uncertainty around safety in the residential apartments, the researcher was unable to conduct any semi-structured interviews with residents in the High Court Precinct.

In an interview with an official from iTrump, the researcher learnt that the low rent associated with trading in the CBD allows all shop tenants to meet their targets even though goods and services are priced low. A major observation made by the researcher was the high number of foreign immigrants trading in the CBD; nationalities included Asian, Pakistanis, Nigerians and Zimbabweans. Very little information was accessed from the immigrants due to their uncertainty and suspicion around the study.

In terms of the recommendations for the improvement of the High Court Precinct, one of the shop keeper's expressed that the city should impose stricter control around street trade as there are many traders operating without permits and contributing to the high levels of pollution in the precinct. Five of the ten shop keepers interviewed suggested that the city make more of a concerted effort to beautify the buildings and restore decaying buildings. The last interviewee to suggested a higher police presence be enforced in order to the reduce the crime rate in the precinct.

### 4.8.5 Socio-Economic Equity

The city of Durban has a cosmopolitan range of cultures, socio-economic groups and race groups. The researcher observed that the High Court Precinct and CBD on the whole, represent a very narrow demographic base. During fieldwork, it was evident that mostly less affluent Black African citizens utilise the CBD on a day to day basis. There appears to be a major lack of racial and cultural integration within the precinct. This however, resonates with what existed pre 1994; in that a single race group dominated the CBD. During Apartheid (1948 - 1994), the city centre was occupied predominantly by affluent White citizens. The Durban CBD has therefore experienced a complete shift in its occupant's socio-economic demographic, pre and post 1994.

Presently, it is rare to find wealthy citizens shopping in central Durban as the majority of the goods and services that are available are targeted at low income earners (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). The photos below illustrate the dominant race group that frequent the precinct and CBD at large.



Photo 4.16: Predominant race group in the precinct



Photo 4.17: Citizens walking through the CBD

### 4.8.6 Transport and Accessibility

As previously mentioned, the Durban CBD is regarded as the most significant transport interchange in the entire city and KwaZulu-Natal region. Most of the city's public transport users commute through the CBD in order to reach their destinations. During fieldwork, the researcher took note of the extremely high vehicular traffic flow and a high volume of pedestrian movement



along all of the roads in the High Court Precinct. The precinct includes two of the major transport routes in the city; Margaret Mncadi Avenue (Formerly Victoria Embankment), which connects people to the South Durban basin and Anton Lembede Street (Formerly Smith Street) which connects to the N2 and historically, represents a dominant transport route in the CBD (See Map 10).

The high volume of pedestrians in the area is attributed to the wide range of commercial and retail activity (eThekweni Municipality, 2004). Internationally, roads in Central Business Districts are designed as one way streets in order to alleviate heavy traffic (Hadingham, 2005). Durban's CBD was been designed in a similar way to ease congestion. Anton Lembede Street is a common public transport route whereas Margaret Mncadi Avenue, Joe Slovo Street and Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street are more commonly used by private vehicle owners or business vehicles. Taxis dominate the public transport sector in the entire city. Very few buses were seen during field work, Allopi et al. (2010) suggest that many South African public transport users prefer mini bus taxis to buses as they are faster and more reliable.

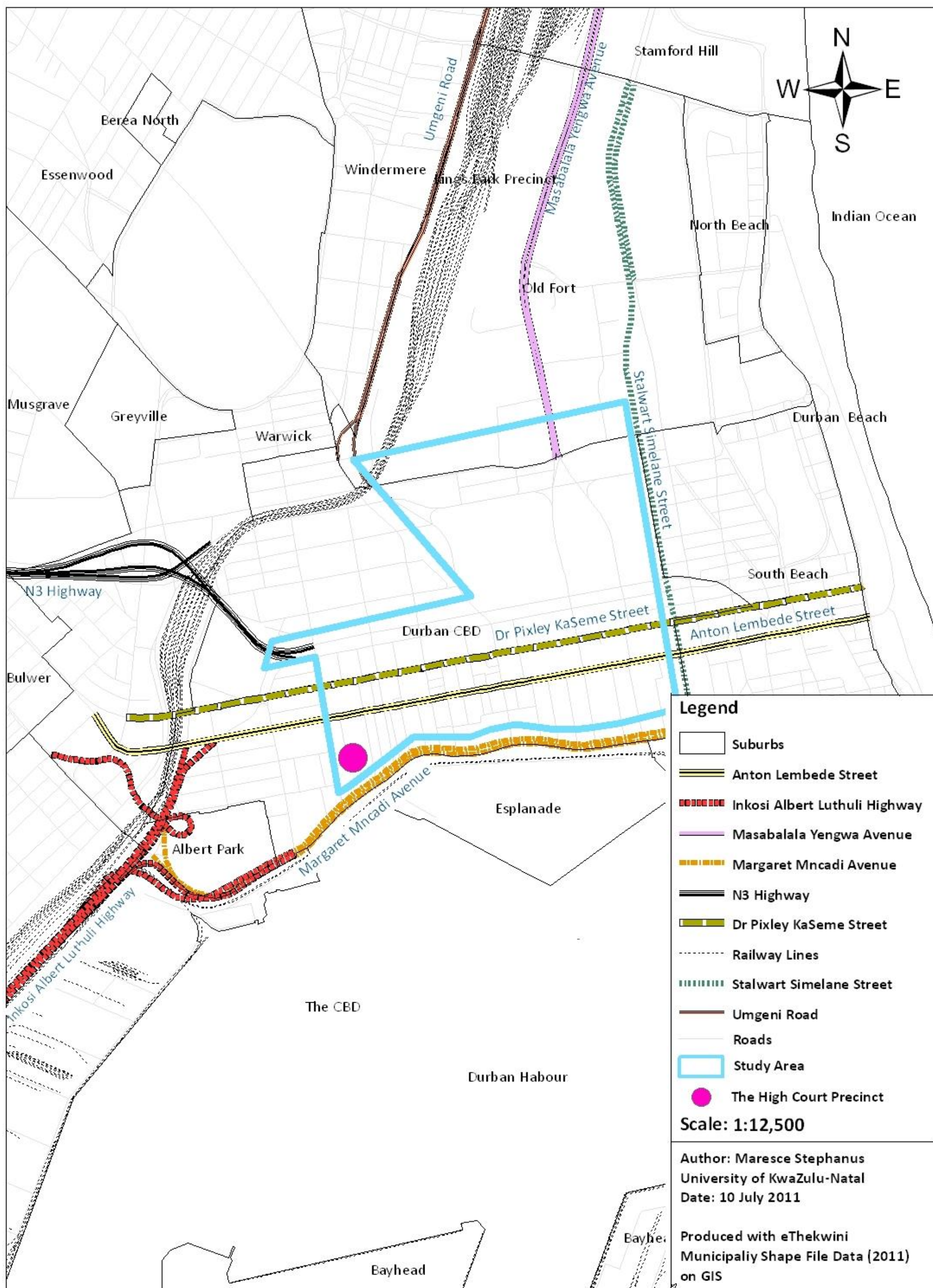


Photo 4.18: Mini Bus Taxis on Anton Lembede Street



Photo 4.19: Citizens catching taxis in the CBD

# Map 10: Major Road Linkages through the High Court Precinct





#### 4.8.7 Protection of Natural Resource Base

The High Court Precinct and CBD at large consist of very little vegetation. Much of its land use is dedicated to its built form. During fieldwork, the researcher noted that there is little to no vegetation on the main roads. The city has however, made efforts to plant trees on internal roads but many of these trees and plants have been vandalized or have degraded substantially. The photos below illustrate the state of pot plants on shorter internal roads off Anton Lembede Street and Margaret Mncadi Avenue. Due to the lack of bins on the internal roads, people often use the pot plants to dispose of refuse and other garbage. Images 4.22 and 4.23 represent vegetation that is in a better state to what is seen in Images 4.20 and 4.21. Overall, the city's effort to provide an improved aesthetic to the area is still being overshadowed by the high levels of pollution and vandalism.



Photo 4.20: Garbage disposed in pot plant



Photo 4.21: Damaged pot plant being used for refuse disposal



Photo 4.22: Pot plant in a decent condition



Photo 4.23: Pot plant beside parking bay



The High Court Precinct's prime recreational space is located along Margaret Mncadi Avenue adjacent to the Durban Harbour's Yacht Club (See Photos 4.24 and 4.25). Although this area appears to be well maintained and utilized by a number of citizens, accessibility is hampered by heavy volumes of traffic and large trucks with abnormally heavy loads which pass through Margaret Mncadi Avenue (See Photos 4.26 and 4.27 below).



Photo 4.24: Prime recreational space on Margaret Mncadi Avenue



Photo 4.25: High volume of traffic along Margaret Mncadi Avenue



Photo 4.26: Large truck on Margaret Mncadi Ave.



Photo 4.27: Heavy goods being transported

In an unstructured interview with a shop keeper on Margaret Mncadi Avenue, the researcher established that youth often play informal soccer games in the recreational space but this is extremely unsafe as vehicular movement is at a high speed and volume.

## **4.9 Challenges Associated with Regenerating the High Court Precinct**

### **i. Funding Limitations**

An interview held with a Town Planner from iTrump informed the researcher that the High Court Precinct proposal was never fully implemented due to the City's budgetary constraints. The Town Planner explained that there was minor landscaping and revamping improvements in the immediate vicinity of the High Court; but the lack of funding and limited budget prevented iTrump from delivering in the entire precinct. The funding that was received from national government during the build-up to the FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2010 allowed for regeneration to take place in areas that would be visited most frequently by tourists. The CBD was not identified by the city as a tourist location and was therefore excluded from all regeneration plans for the city. Funding will ultimately always be a major issue for the city, as it is a challenge that most municipalities in South Africa face (DPLG, 2006). The funding allocated to inner city regeneration may be determined by the city's broader long term strategy. If eThekweni is looking at attracting business or tourism investment in the city centre, a greater portion of the annual budget would need to be placed in the respective area.

### **ii. Demand for Office Space**

The regeneration of the precinct hinges strongly on the demand for office space. The municipality would need to attract investors to offset redevelopment costs. If there is low demand for office or business space, there is ultimately no need for the city to call businesses, institutions or organizations back to the CBD. An interview with a city official from the Development Planning and Environmental Management Unit (DPEMU) revealed that presently, demand is low for business and office space in the CBD but there is a great demand for accommodation, particularly for students. Students have as a result been identified, by the municipality, as potential beneficiaries of city apartments. Durban's leading tertiary institutions are located within very close proximity to the CBD, which offers potential for a new regeneration concept.

### **iii. Legislation**

Although it is within the city's mandate to ensure that its citizen's urban environments are adequate and sustainable, there are huge legal barriers when it comes to regenerating Durban's CBD. During an interview with an official from the DPEMU, it was established that one of the major difficulties that the city has experienced is controlling sectional title establishments. Ordinarily, if rates are not being paid or if buildings had degenerated substantially, eThekweni Municipality would approach the body corporate of the particular building to address the situation. Given that so many body corporates in the CBD are presently dysfunctional, the city has to track every owner in the building to get approval for intervention. Further discussions with the official revealed that the challenge in tracking owners is that many of them have emigrated or relocated to other cities in South Africa. Presently, a substantial number of abandoned buildings have been taken over by drug lords, prostitutes, and homeless people who are not paying city rates and connecting electricity and accessing water illegally (eThekweni Municipality, 2011).

The researcher learnt that in the event that the City is given rights to take over a rundown establishment, the Municipality could either redevelop it using municipal funds or put up a tender for developers to redevelop the site. When looking at other South African cities with similar dynamics to Durban, it is evident that these challenges can be dealt with successfully. Both Cape Town and Johannesburg have, to a large degree, overcome urban degeneration challenges in their CBDs (Bremner, 2004). Bremner (2004) indicates that progressive South African cities transform parts of their Inner Cities by buying degenerated buildings and redeveloping them through the private sector. The researcher learnt that the biggest challenge the city faces through the whole legislative process is getting illegal occupants out of degenerated buildings. Property owners are generally willing to sell their apartments; the law however, prevents municipalities from taking control.

### **iv. Social Challenges**

Durban's CBD is strongly associated with the city's biggest social challenges. Although it presents a magnitude of opportunity for social activity and entertainment, it is also known as a space in which crime, homelessness, prostitution and illegal drug trade is prevalent (eThekweni

Municipality, 2005). These social challenges have contributed significantly to the atmosphere of decline in the precinct.

The CBD and Point area are often regarded as the 'headquarters for drug trade' and prostitution in the city (eThekweni Municipality, 2005). These activities are associated with heightened levels of crime and danger. Collins (2012) argues that most Durban citizens avoid the CBD as it is perceived as a space that is extremely dangerous. Although there are no escort agencies present in the High Court Precinct, there is still a huge amount of prostitution in the vicinity, particularly along Margaret Mncadi Avenue. Vagrancy is dominant throughout the CBD; there is a huge presence of homeless beggars observed at most intersections.

In terms of social facilities and services, the High Court Precinct is in close proximity to the city library and Addington Primary School. Although it has these basic facilities, the primary school is oversubscribed by 300% and is considerably rundown. In addition, there are inadequate day-care facilities for toddlers and there are no secondary education institutions. It is therefore known that the CBD is not a space which is particularly well suited to family life.

#### **v. Existing Built Form**

The redevelopment of the CBD is likely to be a challenging process as it is fully built up and extremely dense. The CBD is much more complex space as opposed to a Greenfields site. Development would need to take place around the existing built form. In addition, the heavy vehicular and pedestrian traffic would create an even further degree of chaos and restrict public movement along pavements.

#### **vi. Public Perceptions**

Experiential knowledge validates that the majority of Durban citizens perceive the CBD to be a dangerous place. As mentioned previously in the quality of life section, those that work in the precinct do not perceive the area to be unsafe. 80% of those interviewed in the CBD revealed that they had not been affected by crime. Urban regeneration is largely about creating safe spaces, through the improvement of the environmental, economic and social components. Changing the public's perception is likely to take place incrementally. Safety concerns have

thus increased the challenged associated with the Durban CBD; especially when compared to decentralized retail and entertainment establishments.

#### **vii. Existing Developments and Infrastructure**

In terms of potential for recreation, there is major linkage potential across Margaret Mncadi to recreational activity located at Durban Harbour. Views of the harbour however, have been hampered by high rise buildings on the edge of the precinct. Margaret Mncadi Road forms a major barrier between the High Court Precinct and recreational activity. The centrally located internal roads and the distance between buildings create a confined corridor within the precinct. eThekweni Municipality. Existing developments such as the Point Waterfront and Ushaka Marine World have increased land values in the Central Durban area (Robbins, 2005). However, access to the Point Waterfront is very restricted and Ushaka Marine World is not affordable for the average low – middle income citizen.

### **4.10 Conclusion**

The researcher's principal finding on the High Court Precinct was that the urban regeneration project was never fully implemented due to the lack of funding. The project commenced prior to full funding being approved. Given that there is no demand for office space in the CBD, the municipality is unable to attract investment or form public-private partnerships. In addition to funding limitations, the municipality is faced with legislative barriers that prevent the government from forcibly removing illegal occupants from their buildings. The municipality would need to look into suitable laws that allow for the upliftment of areas subject to urban decay; without infringing on the rights of the illegal occupants. In order to promote positive transformation and encourage demand and investment, a strategy to address the social ills in the CBD is necessary. Illegal trade, prohibited drugs, vagrancy and prostitution are all still prevalent in the High Court Precinct and CBD at large. The removal of these negative elements would improve public perceptions and promote the CBD as a place of business, recreation and retail.

## **4.11 Case Study 2: Kings Park Sporting Precinct**

### **Contextual Understanding**

The Kings Park Sporting Precinct is located in the suburb of Stamford Hill in the city of Durban. It is bordered by the Umgeni Estuary to the North, the CBD to the South, the Beachfront (Indian Ocean) to the East and Umgeni Corridor to the West (See Map 2). The precinct is known commonly as Durban's dominant sports and recreation space, accommodating a number of sporting codes within very close proximity.

### **Historical Background (Pre 1994)**

During South Africa's Apartheid era, opportunity for involvement in professional sport was associated strongly with race. Professional sport was reserved for white South Africans who were of the same class and socio-economic status (Black et al. 1998). In the 1960s, most nations around the world began to encourage mixed race sport as it was seen as "a social unifier that transcended race and politics" (Harborth, 2010:18). South Africa, being the only country that maintained its laws against racial integration, continued to support and promote development within the white community; denying non-whites the opportunity to access the best sporting facilities (Nauright, 1997). After a long period of isolation from international sporting events, South Africa participated in the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. By 1994, sport was prioritized as a focus area for reconciliation and integration within the "New South Africa" (Harborth, 2010: 21).

In an interview with a Town Planner from eThekweni's Strategic Projects Unit, the researcher learnt that Kings Park Sporting Precinct had been zoned as a sports facility prior to the inception of democracy in 1994. Its suitability for sports use was attributed to its gentle gradient and its close proximity to the beachfront. Development took place in an uncoordinated way until the 1940s when the first planning framework was produced by the city. By 1959, the land surrounding old Kingsmead grounds was targeted for sports fields and two stadia, Kings Park rugby stadium (1960) and Kings Park soccer stadium (1969). Between the 1970s and 1990s, a cycling track, cricket archery, equestrian, diving, athletic facilities were added to the precinct (Harborth, 2010). In 1999, the city proposed that the Kings Park Sporting Precinct be zoned specifically for sport and recreation. The proposal promoted environmental

awareness, sustainability and also aimed to reintegrate the precinct with the surrounding areas. In 2004, iTrump began conceptualizing sports tourism as a key economic sector for Durban. Although Durban is a leading domestic tourism destination in South Africa, the city was not getting the income it needed to sustain the economy. The economic analysis for the development of the precinct showed that Sports Tourism was a key sector for Durban primarily because of its high number of sports facilities located in such close proximity.

## **4.12 Factors influencing the extensive regeneration of Kings Park Precinct**

### **2010 FIFA World Cup**

In 2004, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) announced that South Africa would host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. When Durban was selected as a host city, the Strategic Projects Unit was tasked with regenerating the Kings Park Sporting Precinct. The City initially had intentions to upgrade the existing ABSA (Kings Park) Stadium, which was used regularly for rugby games. An economic impact assessment of the stadium revealed that the cost of the proposed upgrade would amount to over R800 million. The excessive amount of money that would need to be spent on refurbishing the stadium influenced the decision to construct a soccer stadium from scratch. eThekweni Municipality ultimately saw the redevelopment of ABSA rugby stadium as having limited use and benefit for the city post world cup in comparison to the benefits a new soccer stadium would offer.

During the project planning phase, the Strategic Projects Unit (SPU) looked at ways to improve the precinct as a whole and not focus solely on the construction of the soccer stadium. SPU also looked at ways of generating economic activity for the future by conducting an extensive pre-feasibility assessment. In an interview with a Town Planner from the unit, the researcher learnt that the world cup allowed the city to leverage major funding from a national and provincial government and it ensured that the entire project was completed within a very specific time frame. The crucial objective of the redevelopment was to open up the sports precinct to the people of Durban and create a platform for future economic growth (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011). The agglomeration of sporting infrastructure in such close proximity created a national and global competitive advantage. There are very few cities in the world that have as many sporting codes in such proximity within the inner city. In addition, public



transport, recreation and accommodation facilities are all located close to the precinct (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011). The researcher was informed by a Town Planner at SPU that when the city bids for mega sporting events, it's not only about the sporting infrastructure; one accommodation, accessibility and public transport are all factors that are taken into consideration.

In a key informant interview with a senior Urban Designer from a private consulting firm in Durban, the researcher learnt many of the urban design concepts that have presently been implemented in the precinct were previously nonexistent. The precinct was not visibly in need of major intervention, but given the scale of the World Cup event, urban design changes needed to be implemented. The city made the decision to position the Moses Mabhida Stadium on the prime grounds of the old Kings Park soccer stadium. The stadium was situated opposite the ABSA (Kings Park) rugby stadium and provided sufficient access and space for the construction of the new iconic landmark. The picture below illustrates the old Kings Park Soccer Stadium in the year 2006.



Photo 4.28: Kings Park Stadium before being demolished (Source: eThekweni Municipality - Strategic Projects Unit, 2006)



In a report prepared for iTrump in 2005, the Kings Park Precinct was regarded as “a major asset in an environment of growing international focus and commercial development related to sport” (Hadingham and Robbins, 2005: 94). As part of the inner city spatial development project, the report also highlighted key issues requiring attention in the precinct. Those included poor integration, the alienation of local users and the lack of effective management which presented a fragmented asset to potential national and international users (Hadingham et al. 2005). The appointed lead urban designers for the Kings Park Sporting Precinct project worked closely with officials from the Strategic Projects Unit during the development process. At the start of the project, the design team determined that the boundaries of the immediate stadium vicinity would need to be extended in order to create “a state-of-the-art landmark and sports facility with excellent amenities, and a sustainable recreational and multi-disciplinary sporting venue” (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011). Construction of the stadium began in late 2006 and was scheduled for completion in October 2009.

The overarching goal of the urban design team was to ensure that the redevelopment of the precinct had benefits extending beyond the precinct facility. The official that led the entire project process emphasised that the regeneration of Kings Park Sporting Precinct was not simply a ‘regeneration project’; it was it was a mega project that had major regeneration implications. The researcher learnt that regeneration does not drive the identification of key projects in the City; key projects in fact drive regeneration. In the case of the World Cup, the City viewed it as an opportunity to leverage major funding for urban regeneration that would benefit the 2010 World Cup visitors as well as the citizens of Durban in the long-term.

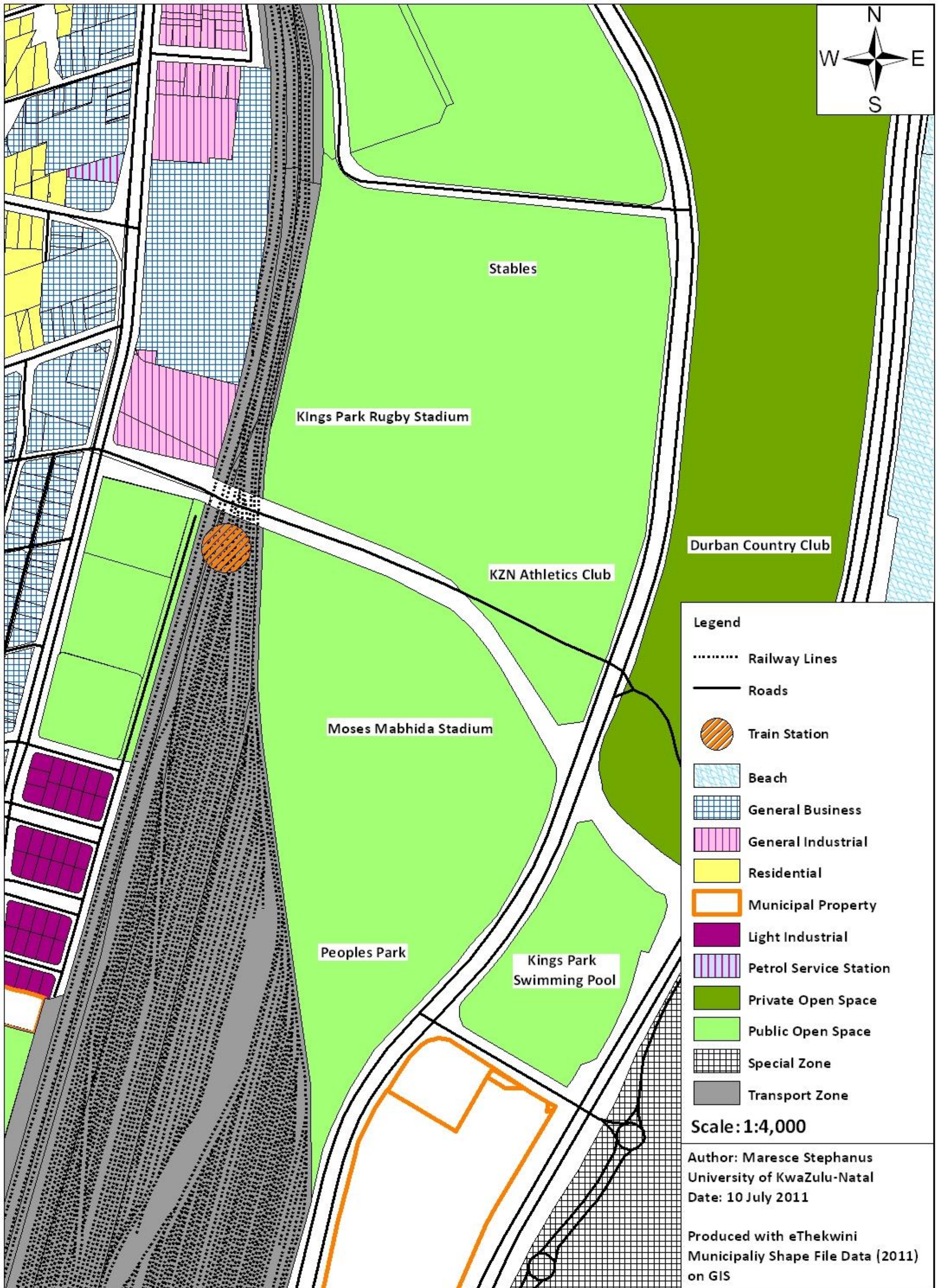
## **4.13 Current State of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct**

### **4.13.1 Land Use**

The Kings Park Sporting Precinct is currently zoned as open space dedicated to sports and recreation (See Map 11). As mention in Chapter 1, the Kings Park Sporting Precinct is approximately 3km<sup>2</sup> (300 Hectares). Although the City’s zoning plan indicates only public and private open space, private restaurants and shops are located on the ground floor of both Moses Mabhida Stadium and ABSA Stadium.



# Map 11: Kings Park Sporting Precinct Zoning Plan





#### 4.13.2 Aesthetic Environment



Photo 4.29: High quality vegetation along pavements



Photo 4.30: Clean, well maintained pavements

The aesthetic quality of the precinct was improved tremendously in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Visually, it is considered one of the most attractive and pleasant spaces within the city. The above images illustrate a clean, litter free and well maintained environment; that supports cycling, jogging and other sports related activity. In an interview with a consultant from the lead urban design team, the researcher established that the high quality building materials used on the outside of the stadium were the same standard as those used on the inside. This was done purposely to highlight the great value of both the interior and exterior domain. Wide pedestrian crossings, pavements and street furniture seen in the photos highlight that the immediate area surrounding the stadium is a pedestrian active zone (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).



Photo 4.31: Street furniture



Photo 4.32: Wide pedestrian crossings

### 4.13.3 Economic Generation and Opportunity for the Poor

eThekweni Municipality formulated approaches to continue generating income within the precinct post world cup. The stadium was designed specifically to allow for recreational activity 7 days a week. During fieldwork, the researcher made note of the activities taking place in the precinct. Activities included sky diving, 'sky car' rides up the arch, arch climbing facilities, retail shops and restaurants. Moses Mabhida was intentionally designed to include retail, commercial and recreational features. An interview with the official leading the development in the precinct revealed that there were 380 functions held at the stadium during 2011 (the first year after the FIFA World Cup); this contributed significantly to its post-world cup success. The precinct is open to all socio-economic groups, promoting integration.

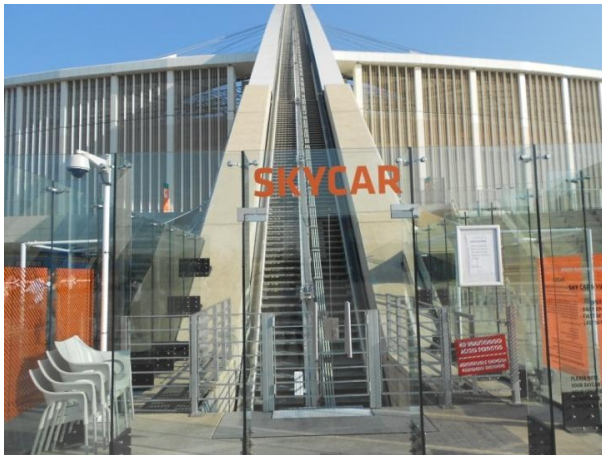


Photo 4.33: Skycar at Moses Mabhida Stadium



Photo 4.34: Restaurants at Moses Mabhida Stadium

Although the majority of the space in the precinct is open to the public; the researcher discovered, through an informal/unstructured interview with an employee in the vicinity, that the recreational facilities were being utilised mainly by tourists and visitors from outside of Durban. In addition, the precinct does not make provision for informal trade which is a common form of employment for the poorer citizens of Durban. Many low income earning citizens have been employed in the precinct as unskilled workers.

### 4.13.4 Quality of Life

This section looks closely at the quality of life experienced by workers and users of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct. In the previous 'Quality of Life' section, the researcher made

reference to the indicators for life satisfaction, life dissatisfaction and other day to day problems experienced by the citizens of Durban. In the Kings Park Sporting Precinct, purposive interviews were conducted with all seven of the shop keepers in the precinct, given the very limited number of businesses in the area.

Of the seven shop keepers interviewed, 100% of them expressed their satisfaction with the high quality working environment. Responses to the level of accessibility and availability of public transport were all positive. With a major public transport corridor (Umgeni Road) and train station (Moses Mabhida Train Station) adjacent to the precinct, none of the public transport users experienced any issues getting to and from work. Parking facilities in the precinct are plentiful, as the overflow from the actual stadium is usually directed to the Kings Park Swimming Pool which is within walking distance to shops and restaurants. No incidents of crime were expressed by any of the shop keepers.

The researcher also made efforts to conduct unstructured interviews with people visiting the precinct. Of the five people spoken to, four expressed their great satisfaction with the accessibility, attractiveness and feeling of safety experienced in the precinct. One of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the high cost of recreational facilities. In addition, there was a suggestion for the precinct to be promoted to the citizens of Durban as many are unaware that the space is open to the general public. Overall, the researcher observed an extremely comforting, safe and family oriented environment, essentially promoting a high quality of life.

#### **4.13.5 Socio-Economic Equity**

During fieldwork, the researcher observed that the precinct presented a wide demographic of races, cultures and age groups. There appeared to be a much higher level of integration compared to the Durban CBD. The recreational facilities that are free to the public promote a higher level of interaction and fundamentally do not discriminate against ones socio-economic status. However, it was also observed that the recreational amenities which are not free attract only middle to high income earners.

Progressive South African cities are beginning to adopt ways of creating safe interactive spaces that are not regarded as typically exclusive places. Decentralised malls and entertainment facilities are often regarded as 'safe' and 'exclusive' spaces in the South African context. The city Cape Town and The City of Johannesburg are using indoor and outdoor markets to attract citizens to their CBDs. These markets often take place in degenerated parts of the city. In the past year, Durban markets have become much more popular spaces for informal trade, entertainment and social interaction. Photo 4.33 depicts market activity at Imbizo Place, which is an open space opposite Moses Mabhida Stadium. This open space was purposely included to promote leisure activity within the immediate vicinity of the stadium. It is an informed place of gathering within the stadium precinct and was intended to be a vibrant space for younger adults (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).



Photo 4.35: Market activity at Imbizo Place



Photo 4.36: Use of Imbizo Place as a public amenity

Adjacent to Moses Mabhida stadium is the Peoples Park. Peoples Park represents a landmark project within the history of the city. It performs as a multifunctional recreational space accommodating a range of activities and attractions. In an interview held with the lead urban designer of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct redevelopment, the researcher established that the Peoples Park was initially not included in the original project plan. The lead urban designer explained that the project team saw it as a viable component that needed to be added to the precinct. The team therefore made a proposal to eThekweni Municipality for the addition. Although eThekweni Municipality had a limited budget for the project; positive reactions to the proposal led to the city securing additional funding additional funding from National Government. the objective for Peoples Park was to create a multifaceted facility. As depicted in the photos 4.35 and 4.36 below, restaurants, play



facilities and a 1 kilometre cycling and jogging track are included around the park. The space is envisaged to eventually be the “Central Park” of Durban as it presents a wealth of potential for people to meet, play and picnic (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).



Photo 4.37: Public space at People's Park



Photo 4.38: Children's play area at People's Park

A unique opportunity existed within the development of the Peoples Park for the inclusion of elements that celebrate the sports achievements of the city, region and country. The City and urban designers came up with a concept which represented the journey dedicated to icons of sport culture and political change from 1994 to 2010. The concept was realized in the form of a pathway called ‘Heroes Walk’ which stretches around the 1km radius of People’s Park. Heroes Walk essentially pays homage to sports heroes and sports achievers who were not previously recognized. Its main concept is the memory and reflection. The achievers whose names have been inscribed are sportspeople that excelled at a national level in various codes of sport but would never have been bestowed with national colours prior to 1994. The ongoing journey of achievement and acknowledgement encourages future generations to ‘earn their place’ in one of the biggest sporting cities of the country (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).

#### **4.13.6 Transport and Accessibility**

eThekweni Municipality saw the precinct development as a catalyst to serve as a linkage corridor to the rest of the city. The major roads present within the precinct are Umgeni Road to the West, Masabalala Yengwa Avenue to the East and Isaiah Ntshangase Road cutting



through the precinct (See Map 12). In addition to the road linkages, the precinct has been designed as a 'special' pedestrian zone with enhanced pedestrian crossings, extremely wide pavements and street furniture.

#### **i. Public and Private Transport**

**Masabalala Yengwa Avenue** is considered to be a major arterial that links the CBD to the north of Durban. It is used primarily as a private transport route. The road connects to other minor roads that enable further linkages within the precinct. The design of the road includes three lanes on either side as well as a designated lane for cyclists; promoting further use of the precinct as a sports facility. One of the broader goals of the Kings Park Precinct project was to ensure that Masabalala Yengwa Avenue was seen a corridor which 'stitched' the city closer together. The focus on transport accessibility was to pitch it on a long term scale (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).



Photo 4.39: Masabalala Yengwa Avenue



Photo 4.40: Police presence on Masabalala Yengwa Ave.

**Isaiah Ntshangase Road** connects people from Umgeni Road to Masabalala Yengwa Avenue. The researcher learnt that before the world cup, it was converted from a 4 lane road to a 2 lane road to allow for a greater level of pedestrianisation. Photos 4.39 and 4.40 depict wide pavements and street furniture. The researcher noted that the building materials used promote a feeling of safety and wellbeing. Again, the materials were purposely incorporated to highlight that this is a special zone in the city.



# Map 12: Major Road Linkages through The Kings Park Sporting Precinct

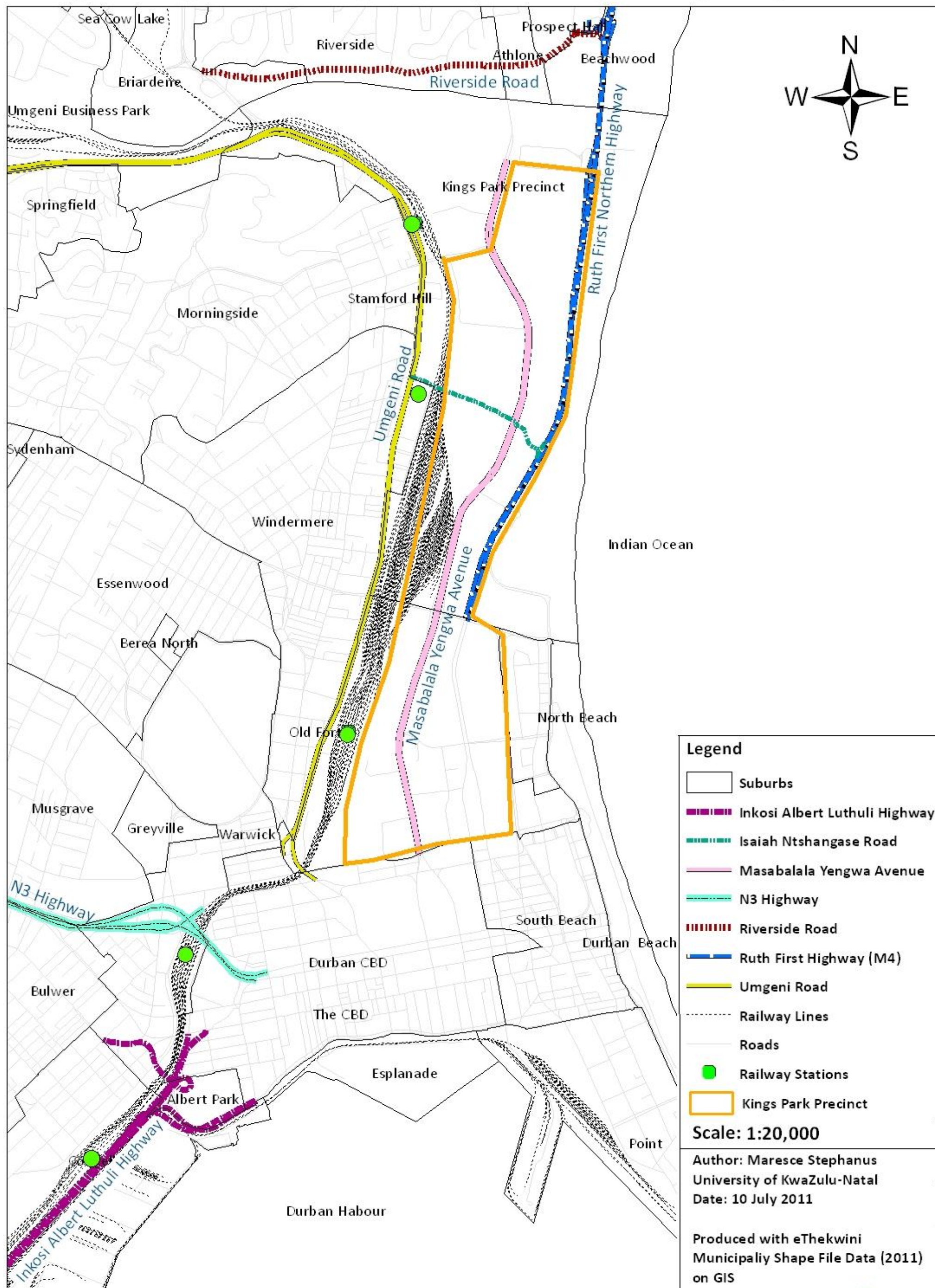






Photo 4.41: Isaiah Ntshangase single lane road



Photo 4.42: Wide pedestrian route

**Umgeni Road** forms part of the Umgeni Corridor. It is a major public and private transport route. The Photos below depict the high volume of buses, taxis and industrial trucks make use this route on a daily basis. Umgeni Road is of much greater significance to people that depend on public transport as Masabalala Yengwa Avenue is used only by private commuters.



Photo 4.43: Umgeni Road



Photo 4.44: Litter free Umgeni Road

Although zoned for General Business and Industrial use (See Map 11), Umgeni Road does not pose major threat to the aesthetic quality of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct. During field work, the researcher noted that there was very little pollution along Umgeni Road; it was largely litter free and aesthetically pleasant. The main contributors to traffic congestion and air pollution in the city of Durban include the common modes of transport; buses, taxis and private vehicles (Adebayo et al. 2008).

The South African Metro Rail train line runs parallel to Umgeni Road. During fieldwork, the researcher noted that the masses of people that work on Umgeni road commute on the Metro Rail trains. Before construction began in the Kings Park Sporting Precinct, there were two stations situated along Umgeni Road. The city's pre-feasibility study presented evidence that commuters often spontaneously jumped off the train at Isaiah Ntshangase Road (previously Walter Gilbert Road) as it slowed down. This was considered to be a major safety hazard to citizens. The Urban Design team submitted a proposal to build a new train station on Isaiah Ntshangase Road in time for the world cup. The team looked at the station as having long-term benefit for users of metro rail. Although Umgeni Station is located about 900 metres to the North of Moses Mabhida, the proposed station was ultimately seen as a need by the citizens. The station was ultimately built on Isaiah Ntshangase Road in time for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In an informal interview with a cleaner at the station, the researcher was informed that the train station has been a huge success. People who work along Umgeni Road and Kings Park Precinct jump on and off at the train station daily.



Photo 4.45: Moses Mabhida Train Station



Photo 4.46: Moses Mabhida parallel to the rail line  
(source: [www.ikindmedia.com](http://www.ikindmedia.com))

## **ii. Pedestrian Links**

Pedestrian routes are one of the key elements that add to an improved integration structure. The entire Kings Park Sporting Precinct has been pedestrianized extensively. One of the major objectives of the design team was to ensure that the stadium would link easily to the existing beachfront promenade. Previously, citizens of Durban could not get from the beachfront to the Kings Park Sporting Precinct by foot. The project team focused strongly on 'knitting' precincts

together through improved urban design. The team for that reason designed a 'Beach Link' (as depicted in Photo 4.45 below) to help connect pedestrians from the Umgeni Corridor and the Kings Park Precinct. The great width of the Beach Link was to ensure maximum safety of pedestrians and also extend the concept of an integrated public space urban system.



Photo 4.47: Beach link from Moses Mabhida Stadium

A significant amount of signage was seen in the precinct, giving clear direction on key facilities in the precinct as well as directions to other major centres within the city (The CBD, The ICC, Suncoast Casino and public beaches).

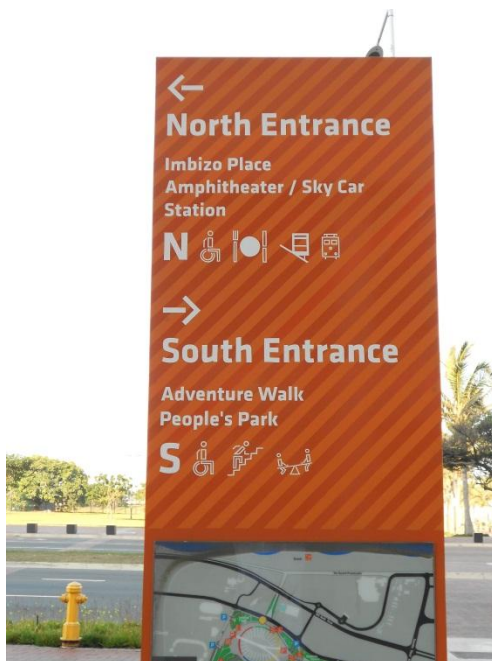


Photo 4.48: Precinct Signage



Photo 4.49: Signage directing walkers through Durban



#### **4.13.7 Protection of Natural Resource Base**

The strategy for protecting and enhancing natural resources in the precinct was to provide links to the broader ecological system. In order to enhance the existing natural environment, a variety of KwaZulu-Natal prevalent indigenous trees, shrubs, herbs and ground covers were included (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011). These elements encouraged bio-diversity which had a major effect on insect and bird life in the area. Plant types were selected based on Durban's weather patterns and proximity to the Indian Ocean. The selection also took into account the need for cost effective maintenance and irrigation. The landscape planting has increased bio diversity and restored ecological value to the area (Iyer Urban Design Studio, 2011).



Photo 4.50: Wide range of vegetation



Photo 4.51: Well-maintained vegetation in the precinct

#### **4.14 Criticism of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct**

After key informant interviews and informal interviews with visitors in the precinct, the researcher found that one of the biggest limitations of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct is that it has not been promoted enough to the Durban public. Experiential knowledge also gives way to the researcher's understanding that many citizens of Durban are still unaware that the precinct is a public amenity. Interviews with key informants confirmed that the Precinct has not been promoted to the public. The lead urban designer of the precinct suggested to the researcher that our history of exclusion may be a reason for citizens not wanting to venture out and explore the new spaces in the city.

Although a wide socio-economic profile of people frequent the precinct, the researcher learnt that some of the recreational facilities are not affordable to lower and middle income earning citizens. The Durban Country Club was not referred to in detail in the data analysis presentation but the researcher found it to be a slight anomaly within the context of the objectives of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct. The Durban Country Club is occupied by the elitists of the city and therefore excludes the general public. The reality however, is that every city needs 'elitist' or 'exclusive' spaces in order to attract investment. The golf course is rated as one of the top 10 in SA and is also listed as one of the top ten golf courses in the world. It brings international visitors who are interested in playing on the golf course. It can essentially be regarded as an economic generator in itself. Cities will always have to compromise in order to cater for people from all walks of life.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS**

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### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary on the researcher's findings, conclusion and recommendations. At the outset of the study, the researcher's objective was to determine the extent to which urban regeneration initiatives within eThekweni Municipality's inner city correspond with principles for urban regeneration and align with spatial planning objectives within the city's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2010 – 2011. The researcher subdivided the objective into three subsidiary objectives, those were specifically to determine the successes and limitations of the case studies against principles of regeneration, determine whether the case studies align with spatial planning objectives within eThekweni's IDP (2010 – 2011) and lastly to identify the challenges and limitations that eThekweni Municipality faces in the redevelopment process.

### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The following section presents a summary of the researcher's findings in an attempt to determine whether the objectives of the study were met. The summary of findings on each of the case studies is organised thematically. The researcher has used the study's research objective as a guide for the themes presented. The themes are concurrent with the merged urban regeneration principles and spatial planning objectives that were used as criterion for data analysis in Chapter 4 (See Diagram 5 on page 67).

#### **Study Area 1: The High Court Precinct**

##### **i. Aesthetic Environment**

One of the major findings through the researcher's interview with an official from iTrump was that eThekweni Municipality struggled to fully implement changes to the High Court Precinct's aesthetic environment due to major budgetary constraints. The project began in the year 2009 but was eventually abandoned by the city in 2010. In addition to funding issues, the illegal occupation of buildings and drawn out legal processes were also key challenges for implementing changes in the precinct.

The researcher found that although the project was not fully implemented, Margaret Mncadi Avenue presented a much more appealing aesthetic environment when compared to Anton Lembede Street (parallel), Joe Slovo Street (adjacent) and Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street (adjacent). Given that the Durban High Court is positioned on Margaret Mncadi Avenue, the city places as a greater deal of attention on beautifying the area compared to streets that are occupied by commercial, retail, office and residential land use. Refuse disposal, landscaping, bins, street sweeping occurs regularly along Margaret Mncadi Avenue; whilst litter and persistent urban decay is more prevalent on to Anton Lembede Street, Joe Slovo Street and Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street.

## **ii. Economic Generation and Opportunity for the Poor**

The research findings indicated that pre 1994; the economic processes that took place in the Durban CBD were strongly associated with high profile financial business and sophisticated trade (Brown University, 2008). The CBD was occupied by the 'elite' White citizens of Durban and had minimal opportunity for the marginalised Black South Africans, apart from unskilled work that was controlled through the Pass System (Schensul, 2009). Post 1994, the 'elite' citizens of Durban migrated from the CBD as democracy no longer restricted Black people's access to the city centre. Large corporations and finance houses fled the CBD in fear of transformation and also under the premise that they would lose the majority of their clientele. The image of the city had deteriorated, therefore the nature of business and trade took a complete shift (Brusse, 2010).

During the 1990s, the CBD transformed into retail, commercial and informal trade hub. Although the CBD did retain few of its corporate tenants, citizens' perception of the CBD was completely altered. Presently the CBD has evolved very little since the 1990s; the researcher learnt that dominating land use still includes commercial, retail, informal trade and residential. Informal trade is common along the pavements of the CBD. In comparison to 1994, informal trade has been 'formalised' through eThekweni Municipality's informal trade policy. There is more opportunity for poor citizens of Durban in the High Court Precinct and CBD at large, in terms of accommodation, affordable goods and services as well as informal trade.

### **iii. Socio-economic Equity**

Post 1994, the High Court Precinct and CBD at large were reshaped to meet a wider demographic of social and economic needs. The High Court Precinct is no longer considered an 'elite' space for White citizens as South African laws no longer dictate where citizens are allowed to live and work. After extensive field work, the researcher established that the High Court Precinct is presently occupied by predominantly "Black" South Africans. Based on interviews held with shop keepers in the precinct, the researcher determined that the majority of those residing in the precinct are less affluent citizens. It is uncommon to find wealthy White citizens living in the High Court Precinct.

The High Court Precinct does not represent socio-economic equity. Margaret Mncadi Avenue is considered a middle class area that attracts higher property values as maintenance and landscaping is given a greater deal of attention. The researcher also found that the cleanliness, harbour views and enhanced natural environment influence citizens' perception that it is one of the better places to live in the CBD. Anton Lembede Street, Joe Slovo Street and Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street are considered low class areas as apartments have a very low property value due to the persistent urban decay and high level of pollution. The High Court Precinct, CBD and Inner City have all experienced a resident profile change from a White community to a predominantly Black African community.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the initial request for the regeneration of the High Court Precinct was submitted by Durban's legal fraternity; largely demonstrating a great deal of power and influence on eThekweni Municipality's decision making. The city has given a great deal of attention to beautifying the entire area surrounding the High Court. Although incomplete, the beneficiaries of regeneration were not inclusive in this project. This highlights that even after apartheid has been eliminated, the wealthy and high powered are still favoured from a regeneration perspective.

### **iv. Quality of Life**

The researcher was unable to conduct any interviews with residents in the High Court Precinct due to access restrictions and security concerns. Of the shop keepers interviewed in the precinct, 81% of them indicated that they are experiencing a good quality of life with all things considered.



The researcher determined that the accessibility and the affordability associated with the CBD contributed to their overall wellbeing. The few things that contributed to shop keeper's dissatisfaction with their quality of life experienced in the CBD related strongly to the overall atmosphere of urban decay, crime and the lack of opportunity for trade at night.

**v. Level of Accessibility**

The High Court Precinct includes two of the major arterial routes within the city of Durban (See Map 10). The researcher found that the majority of the citizens that travel through the CBD do so using public transport. Although there are buses available, citizens prefer mini bus taxis as they are faster and more reliable. As a regular visitor to the CBD, the researcher also determined that private car owners frequent the area less due to the lack of public parking and the lack of on street parking. The level of accessibility is high and is therefore in alignment with the urban regeneration principles as well as eThekweni's Spatial Planning Goals.

**vi. Protection of Natural Resource Base**

The High Court Precinct consists of very little vegetation. Out of the four streets that border the precinct, only Margaret Mncadi Avenue contains a considerable amount of plant life. The researcher found that the high level of maintenance put into the natural environment along Margaret Mncadi Avenue contributes significantly to the higher property values along the street. The prime recreational space located opposite the High Court is maintained by the city to uphold the integrity of the space. The researcher found that the high level of pedestrian traffic on Anton Lembede Street, Joe Slovo Street and Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street contributed considerably to the excessive levels of pollution. Margaret Mncadi is less subject to pollution as there are a lower number of pedestrians commuting through the street. Overall, the city has made a greater attempt to protect the natural environment in areas within closer proximity to the Durban High Court. Efforts to beautify internal streets have been unsuccessful. This is attributed to the lack of maintenance, pollution and vandalism.

**vii. Level of Sustainability**

The city has grappled with preserving the environmental, economic and social sustainability of the inner city for almost 20 years. The dawn of democracy, although seen as a revolution for

South Africa, was coupled with urban challenges beyond the control and capacity of the newly elected government. eThekweni Municipality's attempt to redevelop the precinct has contributed very little to the sustainability of the precinct.

## **Study Area 2: The Kings Park Sporting Precinct**

### **i. Aesthetic Environment**

The aesthetic quality of the Kings Park Sporting Precinct has been given a great deal of attention. The wide variety of plant species incorporated into the regeneration of the precinct has had a positive impact on the environment's plant and insect life. The precinct promotes a feeling of comfort and enjoyment for visitors as it is extremely clean and well maintained.

After numerous site visits, the researcher established that there is a very low presence of poor people and there are no hawkers or vagrancy in the precinct. This informed the researchers opinion that the high quality aesthetic has given poorer citizens the perception that it an exclusive space. As a citizen of Durban, it is common that most exclusive spaces in the city are often associated with a high quality aesthetic and most times, a narrow socio-economic grouping of citizens.

### **ii. Economic Generation and Opportunity for the Poor**

The precinct attracts all cultures and ethnicities but its recreational facilities are not affordable to lower income earning citizens. The researcher established that the city has not presented any opportunities for the poor. Although the precinct is not suitable for informal trade, there are open spaces that could increase activity. The market that takes place in the precinct every month is an example of a form of trade for the poor but the specific market is targeted at the 'vibey' youth of Durban.

### **iii. Socio-economic Equity**

One of the major criticisms by key informant's interviewees is that citizens are not fully aware that this is a public asset. A major finding by the researcher was that the lack of marketing towards the precinct may be an approach to keeping the precinct exclusive. People's Park was

created as a public space with both adult and children's facilities. When visiting the park, it was visible that very few people were aware that most of the facilities are free to the public.

iv. **Quality of Life**

With the information gathered from the shop keepers in the precinct, the researcher established that 100% of them experienced a good quality of life in the precinct. It is a space that is considered extremely safe by its employees and its visitors. The researcher learnt that the high quality aesthetic environment, spacious layout, improved urban design and absence of vagrancy contributed substantially to the quality of life experienced by the users of the precinct.

v. **Level of Accessibility**

Kings Park Sporting Precinct borders the Durban CBD and also runs parallel to Ruth First Highway which is the Metropolitan route that connects drivers in the Inner City to Durban North. The precinct is therefore accessible for citizens based in central Durban as well as Durban North. The precinct is also very accessible to the public transport users as it is parallel to Umgeni Road (which is a route that is dominated by mini bus taxis and Durban Transport buses). The Moses Mabhida Train Station also makes it highly accessible to those commuting by train. The researcher found it easy to access the precinct and found the signage very informative.

vi. **Protection of Natural Resource Base**

As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, the city and the urban design team conducted a full assessment on the plant and insect life that existed in the precinct prior to development. With this information, the team selected plant life that would enhance and protect existing natural resources. The team also ensured that the plant life would promote ecological value and enhance insect and bird life in the area. Fieldwork confirmed that the wide variety of natural resources put into the precinct has already had positive effects on the natural atmosphere and environment.

vii. **Level of Sustainability**

The extensive regeneration of the precinct was justified by it having long term significance for sports and recreation from a local, regional and national perspective. The improved urban design and high level of maintenance ensures that benefits will continue beyond the 2010 FIFA World Cup leaving a lasting legacy for the current and future residents of Durban.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

A positive regeneration initiative brings about much more than just a visually comforting environment. The aesthetic environment should give way to a feeling of safety, ease and an enjoyment of city space. Regeneration should create active spaces that add value to the city. Efforts by the city to regenerate the High Court Precinct have not been successful. Evidence presented on the state of the CBD pre 1994 demonstrated that the CBD was previously one of the most prestigious parts of the city. The CBD was well serviced, aesthetically pleasing and abundant in employment opportunity pre 1994. Today, the High Court Precinct and CBD at large is characterised by extreme urban decay, crime, socio-economic inequity and an overall atmosphere of degeneration.

The Kings Park Sporting Precinct is regarded as one of the biggest assets to the city. Its extensive regeneration will contribute to sports tourism, public use and symbolise a landmark in Durban for years to come. The Precinct allows for the growth of the city as a result of strategic investment in new sports related infrastructure and associated public space structure. The social issues and perception that the area is an exclusive space can be addressed by eThekweni Municipality. Marketing and the promotion of the space as a public asset would ultimately increase its use.

### **5.4 Recommendations**

It is within the government's mandate to ensure that the outcomes of development projects are to the benefit of the greater public. When thinking about a regeneration project, one must always consider 'who' is going to be using it, 'why' they would use and 'what' benefit it would have on them. The approach to regeneration is premised on the local authority undertaking strategic actions to unlock broad based benefits for the Inner City. The Inner City is a centre of provision for private and public services and its role in overall quality of life is of major significance.

#### **The High Court Precinct**

- i. The High Court Precinct can easily be re-established through the regeneration of its historic and significant landmarks such as the Durban Harbour. The Harbour increases the city's competitive advantage considerably. Given that it is positioned adjacent to the CBD, the city could promote its competitive advantage and attract investment to this area.

- ii. eThekweni Municipality needs to take stock of all the buildings in the precinct. A team should be dedicated to tracking owners and landlords. Once relevant bodies have been located, the City should use discussion forums as a method for all parties to express their concerns and also make suggestions on approaches to changing the face of the inner city.
- iii. The High Court Precinct and broader CBD's period of activity should be extended into the evening by offering a range of activities likely to appeal to as wide a social spectrum as possible. Activities could include outdoor shopping, cultural activity, entertainment and recreational facilities that are unique to the CBD.
- iv. In terms of promoting safety, it is essential that activity nodes be created within walking distance from each other. Activities promote surveillance and with surveillance, one has a better sense of safety. If there are activities that are continually visible; the users of the space are likely to perceive the entire area as being safe.
- v. The social impact that a project might have on the area must be fully investigated prior to project approval. Although, displacement is a given in most regeneration projects, minimal displacement should be the ultimate goal. The city is responsible for where displaced citizens are placed when development takes place. A project's outcome should be to the benefit of the majority of the population.
- vi. Projects have often taken place incrementally in the city of Durban. Implementing projects incrementally does not always have the same impact as massive development over a shorter period of time. If the High Court Precinct were to be regenerated, this would have to take place on a massive scale. If areas surrounding regenerated zones are persistently subject to urban decay and social disorder, it would certainly pose as a threat to redeveloped zones.
- vii. In terms of the CBD's use of vegetation, the City should make more imaginative use of plants. Creepers could be used in an attempt to enhance the aesthetic environment of the precinct and promote a calming atmosphere.
- viii. The fundamental issue with urban regeneration is balancing out the economic imperatives with the social imperatives. They are very often seen as contradictory



elements. These fundamentals need to be given an equal amount of attention to ensure success.

- ix. eThekweni Municipality could consider using a flagship project as a way of redeveloping the CBD. Previous Flagship Projects that have been implemented in the inner city have leveraged substantial benefits, but there have been equity limitations (as discussed in Chapter 2). Whilst these projects contribute to the image of the city, employment opportunities have not necessarily benefited people from the inner city, nor are these projects necessarily targeted at local beneficiaries. Flagship investments need to be matched with broader regeneration interventions.
- x. Lastly, projects should not be approved unless a full budget has been allocated prior to project conception. It is not viable or cost effective to start a project with an undefined or unconfirmed budget. The feasibility of various projects is not determined at the early stages of the project. Officials need to look at the life cycle of a project to ensure that it can be sustained.

### **Kings Park Sporting Precinct**

- i. In terms of the physical elements, the choice of materials, design approach and aesthetic should encourage use and be inviting. When trying for a high quality standard, it should not be misconstrued for exclusivity.
- ii. eThekweni Municipality should make a greater effort to promote the precinct as a public amenity.
- iii. In the 1990s, Durban had an end of year lights and Christmas display in the heart of the CBD. The City is now looking at moving this display to People's Park. This would be a good opportunity for the city to promote the space and encourage maximum integration.
- iv. There is currently a successful outdoor flea-market that takes place on the first Saturday of every month in the Kings Park Precinct. The market attracts crowds of people from the city and visitors from outside of Durban. Given that it is a major success, the City should look at creative ways of championing a similar recreational space that is aimed at uplifting the youth, promoting informal trade and showcasing new talent in the city.

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## **Annexure 1**

Urban Regeneration Principles defined by Ng, M. K. (2005)

Quality of life perceptions and directions for Urban Regeneration.

The five comprehensive principles against which the successes and failures of regeneration projects can be measured are as follows:

- i. An effective tool to promote sustainability
  - ii. Enhancement macro level quality of life
  - iii. Building community character by advancing equity
  - iv. Improving the aesthetical environment
  - v. Enlivening the economy
- 

## **Annexure 2**

Spatial Planning Objectives defined by eThekweni Municipality's Integrated Development Plan  
IDP (2010 - 2011)

Strategic spatial planning for the Municipality is necessary to ensure that development and investment is located where it:

- i. Maximizes economic generation potential
- ii. Creates opportunities for the poor
- iii. Promotes accessibility
- iv. Ensures that people are well located with respect to employment and services
- v. Minimizes the cost of infrastructure expansion by optimal use of current capacities in the core area of the Municipality
- vi. Protects and enhances the natural resource base, including the retention of viable agriculture

## Annexure 3

### Observation Checklist

Basic Elements	Features Observed	Comments
Land Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What land use is present? (commercial, residential, industrial, offices, community facilities, other)</li> <li>- Are the uses evenly distributed?</li> </ul>	
Densities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What is the density of land use?</li> <li>- How concentrated are the uses?</li> </ul>	
Layout and Urban Design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lynchian elements:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Paths</li> <li>○ Edges</li> <li>○ Districts</li> <li>○ Nodes</li> <li>○ Landmarks</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
Regeneration Principles	Features Observed	Comments
Sustainability	Is the vicinity effectively promoting all spheres of sustainability?	
Macro Level Quality of Life	Does the precinct/vicinity impact the city on a broader scale?	
Level of Visible Equity	Is there a balanced level of gender and race equity? Does the area build community character?	
Aesthetic Appeal	Is the area visibly appealing? Has its appearance changed drastically in comparison to its initial form?	
Economic Activity	Does the area show signs of business, trade or industrial activity?	
IDP Spatial Planning Objectives	Features to be Observed	Comments
Economic generation	Has the redevelopment promoted employment opportunities?	

Creating opportunity for the poor	What elements suggest that opportunities have been presented to the poor?	
Promoting accessibility	Is the precinct accessible to pedestrians, vehicles and public transport?	
Accessibility to employment and services	Are residents/tenants well located in terms of access to employment and services?	
Minimizing costs of Infrastructure Expansion	How extensive has the infrastructure expansion been? Has the development made optimal use of existing infrastructure?	
Protecting the Natural Resource Base	The current state of the natural environment.	



## Annexure 4

### Key Informant Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

Key Informant Name :
Designation :
Affiliation :
1. Could you explain the nature of the mandate the Inner eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme Unit / Strategic Projects Unit has been tasked with?
2. What difficulties are experienced in achieving such a mandate?
3. What is the rationale behind the selection of the particular iTrump Inner City Precinct's?
4. Is there a specific list of criteria and/or methodology through which the projects are carried out?
5. Depending on the relevance to the interviewee: What is the precise nature of the regeneration initiatives which took place within eThekweni's CBD / Kings Park Precinct?
6. What do you suggest was the ultimate goal of this redevelopment?
7. Was there any regeneration principles applied in the development process?
8. Were there any spatial planning considerations relevant to the city's Integrated Development Plan (IDP 2010 -2011)
9. What are the general positive outcomes of the redevelopment thus far?
10. What are the general negative outcomes of the redevelopment thus far?
11. What lessons have you learned that you would apply in future regeneration initiatives?

## Annexure 5

### Semi-Structured Public Interview Schedule

1. What are your general experiences working in the Central Business District?
2. What are your thoughts on the visual aspects of the CBD environment?
3. Do you think the CBD provides opportunity for the poor (i.e employment opportunity, affordable goods and services, opportunity for informal trade)
4. How would you rate your quality of life in the CBD? (where some of the indicators include good health, family and friends, employment, economic opportunities and safety)
5. How accessible is the CBD for you in terms of transport, foot movement and access to goods and services?
6. What are the opportunities presented to you?
7. What are the challenges you experience on a day to day basis?
8. What recommendations would you make for the improvement of the CBD?