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Masters in Development Studies

Short dissertation

Title

***Urban management and regeneration in contested spaces:
An examination of the development processes within a large scale inner-city
regeneration project in South Africa, using Newtown Cultural Precinct,
Johannesburg, as case study.***

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Masters Degree of Development Studies in the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

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Abstract

Urban landscapes have become the dominant form of living environments around the world. It is now estimated that over half the world's population live in a city or urban landscape, with this figure constantly increasing (World Bank Group; 2005). Cities now dominate as economic, social and political hubs, featuring as the central core for essential functions of daily life. Because of the prominence and the ever-increasing importance cities play, they have become focal sites for future developmental interventions and opportunities. The dominance of urban living has brought with it both positive and negative consequences, as cities are the sites of great growth opportunities, but also of dire poverty and inequality challenges. Inner cities generally feature as the central focal area of urban environments, the core region of the city, and as a consequence of numerous impacting factors, are increasingly exhibiting compounded difficulties.


Cities in both the North and the developing South are increasingly being placed at the front line in the international developmental arena, as sites for potential improvement and beneficial welfare. This is evident in the campaigns lead by most prominent international development agencies concentrating on urban populations and problems. They are priority sites for the eradication of growing challenges such as poverty and inequality, and for enhancing developmental opportunities. Due to the sheer number of problems and complicated interactions, it is increasingly evident that cities are complex entities in need of effective, efficient, equitable management and development.

These are the main issues explored throughout this research. The concerns will be viewed from an international perspective, looking at current trends and debates, as well as a more detailed investigation into how they play out in the South Africa urban context. The research makes use of a case study example, Newtown Cultural Precinct in Johannesburg, to examine nuanced, localised urban complexities and possible regeneration strategies to counter them. The aim is to explore concerns and issues within a specific case study example and examine what implications these understandings may offer for other urban contexts. Numerous key findings and important conclusions were reached through the case study investigations, which hold vital lessons for future inner city regeneration projects, as well as issues pertinent to dynamic and changing urban environments.

Declaration

The work contained in this document was undertaken in the partial fulfilment of a Masters Degree from the School of Development Studies, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and was conducted under the supervision of Glen Robbins.

This is to declare that this research is my own work, and has not been used previously in fulfilment of another degree at this University, or any other. Any use of the work of others has been fully noted in the text. Confidentiality of participants has been ensured and interviewees' names have only been used by expressed consent.

Signed: 
M McGarry

Date: 18 APRIL 2008

List of acronyms

BID	Business Improvement District
CBD	Central Business District
CID	Central Improvement District
CJP	Central Johannesburg Partnership
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVA	Gross Value Added
ICO	Inner City Office
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JPC	Johannesburg Property Company
LSM	Living Standards Measure
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NID	Newtown Improvement District
UDZ	Urban Development Zone

manner. Research into these dynamics helps contribute to positive and beneficial developmental change. The research aims to offer both critical and constructive reflections about the evolution of cities, with a focus on urban management intervention strategies, particularly in inner-city districts. There is a need for innovative research to explore the interrelated and complex nature of these dynamics; how they impact one another, how they play out in urban landscapes, and where possible scope lies for future improvements.

This research is timeous and of great importance, as these issues help to cast some light and understanding on matters of the sustainability of urban living, and the basic elements of development within city environments. Development Studies places emphasis on applied research; the discipline aims to explore possibilities for improvement in any problem or field. It is hoped that this research on urban inner-city dynamics and the related management interventions, will be of some relevance to both the discipline of Development Studies and South Africa. It is hoped that research of this nature will highlight that urban regeneration needs to become a primary development priority, as it would reinforce the potential significance of urban regeneration and for creating efficient and productive urban landscapes. Research of this nature will also highlight possible pitfalls and problem areas of potential intervention strategies that are in need of future attention.

The case study, focusing on Newtown Precinct in Johannesburg, was chosen for investigation, as it is a very prominent urban regeneration project within Johannesburg and South Africa. This has been led by major state intervention from all levels of government; including important partnerships and collaborations between the various levels, services providers and development agencies. The project has sought to address the problems established by the apartheid past, to improve quality of life for city residents, to counter degeneration and provide active urban management interventions (Johannesburg Development Agency; 2004). Through this investigation, the research will aim to explore what dynamics were involved in the project and explore some of the problem areas experienced. The Newtown Precinct makes use of general interventions and urban management strategies, but these are implemented within a unique urban context. The use of this case study aims to highlight the importance of place and context for development strategies, and begins to investigate the very difficult question of what is meant by 'development' and whose interests does it serve, particularly if led by state action.

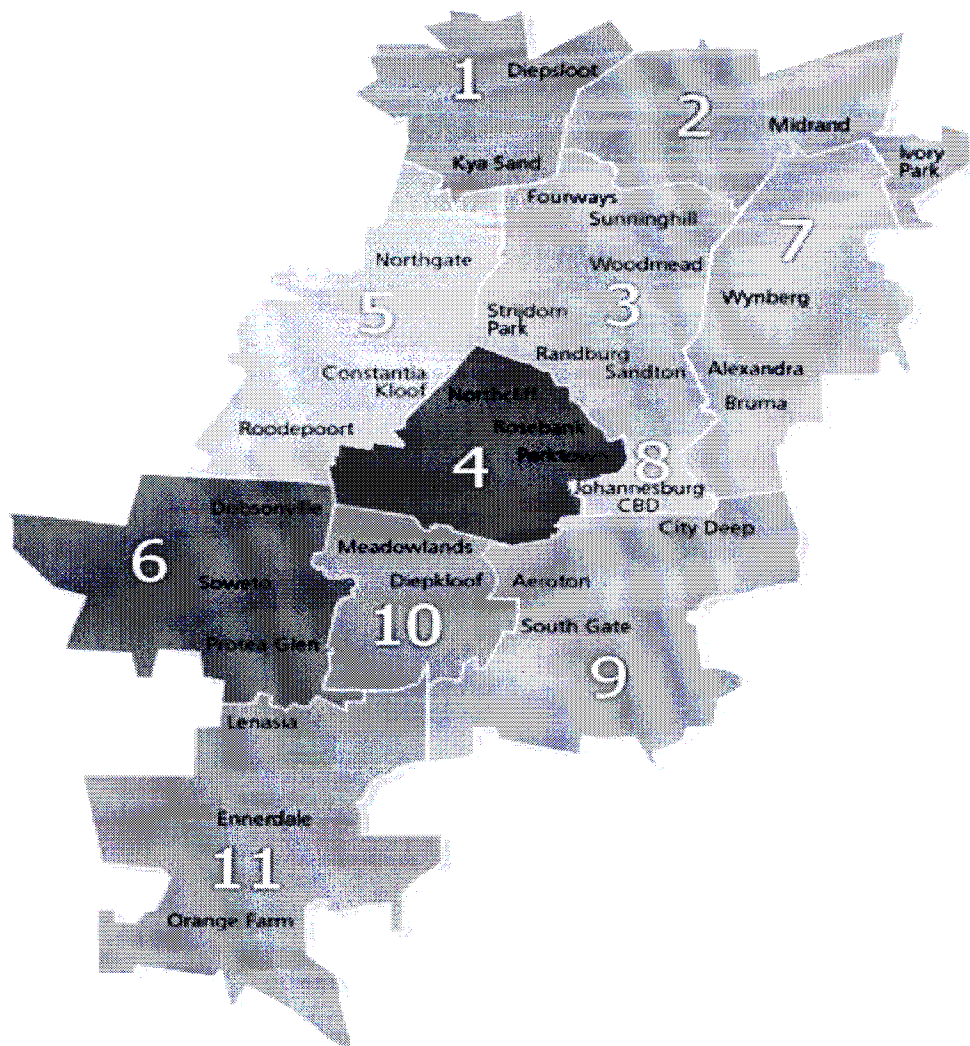


Figure 1: Current regional demarcations in the City of Johannesburg

Region 8 as inner city area and the location of Newtown.

(Source: City of Johannesburg's official website; 2007)

The dominant objective of this research will be to explore urban management and regeneration strategies at play in contemporary South African urban landscapes, with particular focus on inner-city districts. This will be done to assess how these interventions may contribute to social and economic objectives. Through this study, broader issues of how South African cities have developed over time will be brought to light, as well as how urban management has contributed to these changes. The investigation will focus on the evolution of urban development and its related processes in inner city areas, focusing on the economic and political factors contributing to change and tensions involved. The research will explore the original intentions of interventions and how these are affected in practical implementation.

Key questions include what choices are made in development of urban areas, by whom, what issues are influential in decision making, and for what reasons.

Complexity of development

This links to exploration of the very nature of what is meant by development and whose interests it serves. Development is not a benign process with automatic benefits, rather it is complex and can have detrimental effects of particular groups neglected or displaced by the process (Robinson; 2002). All too often, large amounts of money and resources put into use by the private sector or the state are touted as development, without exploration of the wider consequences on less prominent or powerful groups. Development has much to do with power relations and the economic, political and social conditions it is practiced in. These issues need to be explored in light of increasing numbers of development projects taking place in cities; simply because there is money and action does not mean the process will be beneficial (Kleniewski; 1997). It is increasingly evident marginalized and disadvantaged communities are the principle groups facing mounting problems (Robinson; 2002). Tensions, conflicts and negative consequences of development are explored further in Chapter 2.

Context setting: International perspective

The percentage of global populations living in urban landscapes is projected to grow exponentially in the future, if current population rates and urban migration trends continue to increase. Based on current trends, the future of the world will be a significantly urban landscape. This relates to challenges and complexities involved in interventions, as without them it is possible problems will only become exacerbated, placing increased pressure on municipal bodies, local government structures and other agents to manage these growing urban environments (World Bank Group; 2000). This raises concern over the future planning and organisation of urban landscapes. Important challenges emerge such as questioning whether inner cities will remain vital features of the urban fabric. To challenge this, questions arise as to whether rapid urban sprawl and suburbanisation trends will result in increasingly polycentric cities, where urban landscapes are broken into numerous key hub areas, each with their own differential functions and user groups. These questions have become increasingly important, as aim to investigate such consequences in the growing urban environments across the globe.

It is essential in our globalized world to place emphasis on the importance of cities and to understand that urban living is the future of human development (World Bank Group; 2000).

The urban landscape has become the concentrated geographical area for social living and for economic production. The inner city, or central business district (CBD), feature as the centralized focus area of this urban form, but it is increasingly evident that this region and its functions are being threatened. Changes in urban forms have challenged this region and its core function, creating complexities for future interventions and possibilities (Reader; 2004 and Girouard; 1985). Due to increasing sizes of urban landscapes around the globe, these problems have become highly pervasive for all population groups. Therefore it is of vital importance to ensure that urban areas become efficient and productive environments, able to support changes and create balanced future growth (Panerai et al; 2004 and Pillay et al; 2006).

Over the last 20 years, there has been a growing phenomenon of inner city degeneration evident, taking place throughout the world in both the North and the South. A clear relocation is occurring as large numbers move away from the city centre and no longer consider it to be of vital value to the city's fabric. Urban environments are instead showing an increasing development trend of greenfield sites occurring on peripheries of metropolitan areas, causing rampant sprawl of urban boundaries. Both Chisholm and Kivell (1987) and Panerai et al (2004) relate this degeneration to the increasing trend of suburban growth and urban sprawl. The inner city highlights complex processes of change that occur within a finite urban area and is often the space for contested problems and usage. Through these trends it is clear that the inner city is an area that reflects the complexities pervasive in urban landscapes and is a focal point where problems play out and are compounded. This area, despite growing challenges, is still a vital feature of the urban environment, functioning as a core location within the city (Roberts & Sykes; 2000 and Porter; 1995). Numerous arguments will be explored in the research as to why this area is worth protecting and improving. A case will be made throughout this study to justify the importance of the inner city area.

All of these difficulties influence possible intervention strategies within the urban landscape, and must be taken into account when attempting to remedy such problems. It is increasingly evident that interventions themselves in these complex environs can bring difficulties and even contribute to creating greater problems. It is indispensable to society that effective and sensitive urban management strategies are established. These must be done with attention granted to all parties and complex elements involved in order to mitigate the negative aspects of city living, which are concentrated in inner city districts (Audit Commission; 2002 and

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Every Saturday morning he caught a bus to the nearest T-stop and then the subway into the only city he had ever really known. It was not New York, sure but it was the only city he had, and Levi treasured the urban the same way previous generations worshipped the pastoral; if only he could have written an ode he would have.

“On Beauty” Zadie Smith (2005)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Urban environments

This dissertation aims to investigate the highly complex issues currently at play in urban landscapes, particularly focusing on the functioning of inner-city districts. The world has increasingly become dominated by urban living, with over fifty percent of the global population now living in urban environments (World Bank Group; 2000). This way of life has become prevalent throughout the world due to numerous factors, such as migration causing urbanization statistics to grow on a daily basis. Several trends have emerged that have created both beneficial and troublesome situations, affecting daily urban living and the quality of life experienced. The vast array of issues become concentrated within the inner city or central district, compounding problems and imbalances already prevalent and contributing to the complex dynamics present in urban landscapes.

Rampant sprawl, degenerating built environments and growing poverty are some of the increasingly prevalent problems in urbanized societies. Urban management strategies have correspondingly increased in prominence as responses to these phenomena. The strategies fulfil increasingly important roles in attempts to mitigate growing negative consequences of urban living. Urban management has evolved into a complex discipline. This term refers to the processes focused on organizing urban dynamics, involving numerous forms of development strategies and aims. Urban management includes everyday maintenance of systems taking place in urban spaces, as well as complex macro strategic interventions and organisational structures aiming to redesign the city (Roberts & Sykes; 2000). Regeneration in turn, refers predominantly to physical interventions in specific geographic areas in the urban landscape, including planned infrastructure projects such as building new freeway systems. This process forms one of many possible development strategies, designed to limit problems and improve benefits for many different stakeholders within urban landscapes.

The role of urban regeneration as a management strategy for cities has become increasingly relevant over time, particularly since changes in urban conditions often have direct consequences on the built environment. Problems such as lack of maintenance or outdated infrastructure are creating large-scale problems in urban areas around the world, as the built environment fails to sufficiently accommodate increasing populations (Audit Commission; 2003). Regeneration aims to provide comprehensive and integrated actions leading to the

CHAPTER 2 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

2.0 Introduction

To be able to understand the conversion experience of the women in this research, it is essential to present a framework of the foremost studies within the context of religious conversion. Most research since the late 1800's has taken place within the boundaries of Christianity, nevertheless, the theories and models that have been established can, to some degree, be used in assessing religious conversion in most faiths. There is an enormous amount of literature on religious conversion and it is impossible to cover all the ideas, models and variations in this dissertation. I have therefore limited myself to that which set the framework for conversion studies and to the models that have become the basis for most scholars' research.

Research can be broadly categorized into the classic and contemporary periods of research, with the former being spearheaded by such scholars as Stanley Hall, E.D. Starbuck, William James, George Albert Coe, Wayne Oates and Robert Thouless. They concentrated on the 'cause' of conversion within a personal or individual context and although they agreed that conversion could be sudden or gradual, they focused on sudden conversions. They considered these to be far more interesting than gradual conversions which they felt were a rarity. Sudden conversions appeared to be a factor of the socio-historic period of American Protestant Revivalism where letters, confessions and statements in religious pamphlets were used in their research. (Spilka et al: 2003) The three most important factors these scholars concentrated on were: the age of the convert, whether it was sudden or gradual conversion and the explanations of the processes that account for the conversion. (James: 2002; Coe: 1979; Thouless: 1971) It was Thouless who categorized conversion in terms of moral, social and intellectual content in the manner that change occurred. He admitted that these three elements could not be clearly distinguished from each other as they interacted with each other at some point. (Thouless 1971: 104)

resolution of problems, bringing about lasting changes within the boundaries of specific urban locations (Roberts & Sykes; 2000).

Research aims

The research aims to investigate the dominant challenges evident in the inner city and the urban landscape, the causes behind their growth, their different trajectories, and the impact they have. In turn it aims to investigate possible interventions that have been created as responses for these situations. In synopsis, the research investigates the dynamics of interventions in inner cities, and how these processes resonate with general urban systems and management strategies. Each challenge, and its related possible strategic solution, has its own particular focus and agenda to follow, but must also strive to create opportunities and linkages to other issues within the urban landscape. Interventions cannot take place in isolation, as one person's problem is potentially another's opportunity. For example, a prevalence of litter on the streets is problematic for some, but can offer economic income opportunities for street cleaners and refuse recyclers. It is for these reasons that strategies and interventions for urban challenges cannot be too restrictive or rigid in focus, as certain interests will then be supported, to the detriment of others.

These investigations will be done by making use of a contemporary South African case study as example, namely the inner city regeneration project Newtown Precinct in Johannesburg. The case study aims to explore examples of how urban management and regeneration occurs, and the evolution of processes and objectives involved. Urban spaces and relationships are generally sites of some contestation in South Africa, as there are large power and political struggles that take place within these landscapes. Money equates to power, allowing certain groups to further their own interests to the neglect of others lacking access to such power. These dynamics play important influential roles in urban areas, and are explored in full later in the research. It is for these reasons that the research aims to study the implementation of such strategies, and the contestation, displacement or benefits that arise as result.

Motivation

Many of the most prominent development issues and concerns are currently urban-based, making research in this field highly pertinent for Development Studies as a discipline, and for greater societal improvement and advancement. Regeneration and urban management in inner-city areas are intent on finding ways to ensure positive growth. It aims to help minimize negative aspects of urbanization and maximize the benefits of such living, in a sustainable

...Standing here, as immune to the cold as a marble statue, gazing towards Charlotte Street, towards a foreshortened jumble of façades, scaffolding and pitched roofs, Henry thinks the city is a success, a brilliant invention, a biological masterpiece --millions teeming around the accumulated and layered achievements of the centuries, as though around a coral reef, sleeping, working, entertaining themselves, harmonious for the most part, nearly everyone wanting it to work. And the Perownes' own corner, a triumph of congruent proportion; the perfect square laid out by Robert Adam enclosing a perfect circle of garden -- an eighteenth-century dream bathed and embraced by modernity, by street light from above, and from below by fibre-optic cables, and cool fresh water coursing down pipes, and sewage borne away in an instant of forgetting.

“Saturday” Ian McEwan (2005)

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Dominance of the urban landscape

Urban landscapes have become the primary form of living environments around the world. Cities have come to dominate as economic, social and political hubs, as well as concentrated commercial and industrial productions sites (Kotkin; 2005). Urban landscapes have become the focal points of society, forming one of the most widespread important features of modern day society (Reader; 2005). They also feature as vital social developmental sites, where people have increasing access to improved quality of life, social services, and diversity of cultures. Cities are home to a range of highly powerful institutional and political decision-making bodies.

Concentrations of large population groups within a finite geographical space are found in cities, resulting in condensed and complex land usage, social structures and institutions, and intensive, widespread economic activities (Kotkin; 2005). It is vital when examining cities to recognize the importance they hold as dynamic development arenas due to the convergence of diverse activities and the collaboration of relationships involved. It needs to be emphasised that cities are complex environments with diverse and complicated relationships simultaneously at play (World Bank Group; 2000). Due to this prominence and the ever-increasing importance cities play in daily life, they have become focal sites for developmental interventions and opportunities. The dominance of urban living has brought with it both positive and negative consequences. Cities hold great developmental and growth opportunities, but also dire poverty and inequality concerns.

A brief history of cities

Cities are not a new feature of human living and have been part of humanity for centuries. However, it has only been in the last few centuries that urban living has become dominant. Each city has its own unique reason for existing, for its location and manner of development, and for the shape and form it takes on over time. For ninety percent of human history people have lived in the simplest form of societal arrangement, such as hunter-gathering tribes, or nomadic transient groups. Over time, agricultural production began to dominate, resulting in increasing numbers of the population settling in specific locations, forming the basis for urban landscapes and life (Reader; 2005). Many changes in living and production facilities resulted in the intensification of land usage. Population growth and increased family size in urban concentrated areas forced food production to increase accordingly. Over time, excesses in production lead to the storage of surpluses, which allowed for the division of labour of the population and

It is common to find one primary urban centre in most developing nations, where a large majority of the population resides in one main city. These function as the primate cities, and are generally the nation's capital, which holds a large concentration of the economic resources, cultural activities and political institutions (Kleniewski; 1997). Large populations place pressure on the city's infrastructure, as many have limited resources for renovation or provision of services. They face outdated, failing infrastructure and lack the ability to adequately provide for those in need. It is only those with money who are able to buy access to meet their needs. These developing cities often share similar characteristics owing to their histories as centres of colonial administration and control. Many cities existed as centres for resource extraction and as a supply of cheap labour. These cities were generally established as colonial administrative centres and were never conceived or established to serve an increasingly large indigenous population (Reader; 2004). It was due to this original limited purpose that many of these cities are not prepared for the dramatic increases in population they are currently experiencing, which converge for the potential increased economic opportunities available. These historical factors have not only influenced the built environment, but have also entrenched inequalities and imbalances in the system, as rampant poverty and inequality are clearly evident in the majority of these cities (Simone; 2004). It is important to keep these imbalances in mind when examining problems faced by urban environments and potential solutions.

Urban living

Two influential views emerged about the increasingly prominent position cities held. One view regarded cities as essential to future human development. Cities were considered to be the centres of enlightenment, civilization and better living (Girouard; 1985). Those in favour of this view saw the city as being able to offer a better standard of living than rural life as it offered a full range of services that were previously unavailable. This group also saw the benefits of large public spaces and buildings, lower densities in residential areas and the provision of opportunities and access to services for all residents. One important reason people gather together in urban areas is due to the economics of agglomeration. This means costs are decreased and proportionally benefits increased when players join together and perform complementary activities (Panerai et al; 2004). This in turn attracts more educated workers, concentrating innovative and educated people, leading to a more efficient labour market and more productive workers. It is due to these simplified factors that urban areas hold a disproportionate share of national economic production and output, and are the dominant source

of economic growth. This in turn is associated with higher incomes per capita; the urban share of output is generally greater than its share of population. Again these benefits and advantages are due to the benefits, such as minimized costs and risks afforded to urban areas on the basis of agglomeration (World Bank Group; 2000).

The opposing group believed that cities were terrible, foul places with an unnatural concentration of populations causing numerous problems in life. This group believed that the development of cities was against natural order. They aimed to save people from the squalor of urban living and make liveable environments that resembled the country more than city living (Girouard; 1985 and Reader; 2005). As cities developed, local political bodies took on the role of public provider in charge of provision of basic services. They adopted the view that private bodies were no longer able to accommodate the needs of all. As economies developed in maturity, so did the city environment. With industrial advancements came more money. Increasingly the detached house with private garden became the ideal aspiration within middle to upper class families, and with the development of the car, the spread of suburbia began (Kleiniewski; 1997).

Urban Theory

A great deal of research has been conducted regarding the dynamics involved in urban environments. Cities function as collections of human nature within a finite geographical area, making research vitally important (Kleiniewski; 1997). People both affect and are affected by the built environments that surround them. As city dwellers, we determine our physical environment, but are simultaneously affected and dedicated to by them in turn.

There are two dominant theoretical forms used to examine urban landscapes and their complex dynamics, namely Urban Ecology and Political Economy. Both these theoretical perspectives aim to examine principle questions about the nature of society and its institutions. The dominant question underlying much of the research is whether society and its institutions are orderly systems composed of independent parts or not. Both theories aim to examine urban dynamics, focusing on occurring patterns and exploring how they reflect the power struggles between groups. The foundation principle behind both is that society is made up of competing parts and groups, each fighting to gain advantage over the other. This led to the idea that changes in urban patterns are the result of the struggles between groups to gain and retain resources (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell; 2002). This is the core idea or principle upon which both are based;

however the ways in which they interpret urban dynamics differ. Urban Ecology was developed from a focus of the sociology of urbanization is considered now to be an older urban paradigm, which emphasises the idea that urban environments, namely cities, reflect orderly interactions between interdependent parts of the greater social system (Kleniewski; 1997). In comparison Political Economy is a newer theoretical understanding, which stresses the use of power and domination of resources in forming cities and their environments.

Urban Ecology

Urban ecology is the culmination of the growth of sociological studies with increasing interest in city development, as they have grown dramatically over the last 100 years. This theoretical understanding emerged as a means of examining the impact urbanization has on society as a form. As previously explored, increased industrialization of society in Europe caused a transformation from traditional rural life to modern urban living, resulting in the dramatic urbanization of large sectors of the population. Theorists became interested in the transformation that was established between the two living arrangements. There were attempts to understand the different dynamics between community, involving traditional living based on strong kinship ties and society, which was defined by self-interest and modern urban living (Kleniewski; 1997). Over time the traditional was replaced by the modern and urban, thus theorists aimed to explore how these changes would affect society and social cohesion.

Kleniewski (1997) describes that all theorists of this school of thought aimed to explore questions of social order and differentiation within a city environment. Theorists such as Durkheim, Simmel and the Chicago School were all interested in exploring the effects of urban life on individuals. They saw the city as a laboratory or testing ground for investigating relationships and social patterns. These studies involved exploration of complex issues of self-preservation, fragmentation, and cohesion out of necessity that emerged in urban environments due to rapid urbanization. These theorists were considered ground breaking in understanding urban sociology and human ecology. They were the forerunners in investigating the relationship between populations and their environments, forming a primary understanding of modern society.

As a result of their detailed examinations of cities, this group of theorists aimed to find patterns in urban life explaining established systems that occurred in cities such as land use. Urban ecology links patterns of land use and urban forms with the dominant norms of the society.

Different urban forms and built environments emerge according to how the different populations adapt to, and compete for, territory (Girouard; 1985). This theoretical body established that the location of different land uses was related to the ability to pay for the location. This idea was based on neoclassical economics whereby the use is determined by competition between various users, with the winner able to pay the highest amount. The city centre was for high-priced uses, such as businesses, as they could afford to pay and could benefit best from their centralized locations. Residential zoning patterns would flow outwards from this central point, according to the expense of commuting to the centre. Because of this, the wealthy could live on the outskirts as they could afford transport costs, whereas poorer groups remained closer to the centre.

Various theories on city formation and urban patterns have emerged due to these investigations. The most interesting commonality between them is that despite different patterns and systems, all urban layouts have a central core, or CBD as the middle or starting point. This helps highlight the importance and the centrality of the CBD area in urban landscapes, and related theory. Despite this commonality, urban ecologists failed overall to find a model that fit all cities; anomalies and differences persisted. Too heavy a reliance was given to the idea that economic competition between individuals was the explanation for urban patterns, tending to neglect other influential factors such as culture and class in determining the patterns (Kleiniewski; 1997).

Political Economy

Political Economy theorists in comparison examined the same phenomena of urban landscapes and complexities of urban living as the ecologists, however from very different perspectives. The political economy theory emerged, as many believed that urban ecology had failed to properly explain changing social phenomena. Political economy aimed to find new ways of explaining urban forms. This theory was greatly influenced by the works of Marx, Weber, Engels and other political scientists, who looked at the positions of dominant institutions and their effects on society. The main understanding was based on Marxian theory, which proposed that economic systems have inherent contradictions (Beall et al; 2005). These were complex systems that were constantly evolving and it was these changes that affected social order, leading to the dominant concern over power issues. The theory focused on the role of various forms of power in influencing urban patterns. Dominant institutions and leading powers established mechanisms in urban landscapes geared to perpetuating economic, political and social domination of one class or group over the other. Political economists purported that cities

played important political and economic roles in society, as they functioned as the dominant markets for trade and the powerbase for political or governing bodies. In turn, it was the presence of these institutions and their power bases that defined modern urban society.

The political economy theory was based on a dominant idea that political institutions and economic restructuring were the most important prevailing factors of influence in an urban environment. It is these institutions that shape patterns and hold power over the changes in society. It was deduced that conflicts over distribution of resources and power cause urban patterns to shift and change in favour of the dominant power. This group of theorists strongly believed that cities functioned as machines for economic growth. The urban landscape was built by those who benefit most by growth and who hold most power (Wilson; 1966 and Roberts & Sykes; 2000). It was believed that there was no one single answer to understanding urban landscapes, but rather various ways in which to interpret. Political economists have come under criticism for placing an over-emphasis on the uniformity and degree to which economic and political forces affect cities. They tended to neglect the influence of local context and variations, which did not explain differences between cities. They also tended to neglect attention on the individual and the links between micro and macro issues.

Political Economy and the city

Both theories have contributed to understanding urban dynamics and patterns. Their examinations have helped to create new avenues of exploration to further understand the complexities and dynamics of modern society (Kleiniewski; 1997). However, for the purpose of investigation for this particular study, there is a strong case to be made for the use of the political economic model of thought, as it provides insight into modern urban dynamics. The political economy framework emphasizes the state system and economic model in place are the most important factors influencing urban patterns. This framework allows for investigation of the complex interactions between dynamics influencing and affecting urban environments. Each factor influences and is influenced by the other. These dominant factors have very strong relationships with one another, the results of which play out within the urban landscape.

These theoretical ideas correspond well with the original intentions of this investigation into urban dynamics evident in the Newtown case study, providing a theoretical backing and understanding to investigations into the case study. The study aims to investigate who determines change and what forces are at play influencing and affecting inner city urban space.

diversion to increasingly non-agricultural activities. There is a direct link between the intensification of agricultural and non-agricultural production, and the growing dominance of urbanization (Roberts and Sykes; 2000). Cities have emerged and become established over time due to numerous reasons, such as trading sites, administration centres, religious significance, production of specific activities, or a combination of these reasons (Kleneiowski; 1997).

Vital features

Despite evident differing contexts, there are some universal traits in urban development that can be deduced. It is pertinent to examine a brief generic history of development and growth patterns in order to understand the essentials involved in urban living environments. All urban locations have developed according to dominant control of some form of political, social or religious body as leading authority, responsible for development and establishing societal structures (Kleneiowski; 1997). All physical features were made of permanent structures, thus the built environment was an enduring and imperishable entity. Such an urban environment could change and alter dramatically over time, but despite these changes, would remain an ineradicable feature of society (Girouard; 1985). The built environment therefore reinforces the permanence of placement of urban life rather than transient, nomadic movements and life.

The majority of cities reflect similar socio-economic and political characteristics, contributing to patterns in growth and development processes. Socio-economic similarities include divisions of labour between various population groups, such as class and gender divisions of labour, and the dominance of a ruling elite body (Reader; 2005). A system of social stratification, namely an unequal social ranking based on various factors such as power, position and privilege, has been a foremost characteristic of cities and social structures around the world (Kleiniewski; 1997). Systems of citizens' rights and responsibilities, taxation, and investment in public infrastructure, have also helped to develop the urban lifestyle that modern society has become associated with. These various features and dynamics serve as common linkages in developed urban landscapes and form the basic principles of urban landscapes around the world (Nasr and Voliat; 2004).

Current trends: A 'global' urban world

Global and national changes in economic models and interactions, as well as dominant political ideologies, have greatly affected the development of urban areas. Trends such as growing urbanization, decentralization of production methods, in combination with increasing global interactions have all affected the current state of urban landscapes (World Bank Group; 2000). Dramatic changes have taken place in the international arena, particularly due to globalization,

resulting in an increasingly powerful network of economic transactions between various groups across the globe. Due to the concentration of economic agents and global players in certain dominant urban areas, particular cities now feature as more economically and politically powerful institutions than their national governments (Kotkin; 2005). These so-called 'global cities', such as London or New York, now feature as the financial and economic powerhouses or hubs of globalization, with an unprecedented level of power and presence (Sassen; 2006). "The global city is a border zone where the old spatialities and temporalities of the national and the new ones of the global digital age engage." (Sassen; 1991). The world has changed dramatically. It is now cities, not nations or empires that control forces such as large-scale economic change.

Characteristically these cities have very diverse populations, as an increasing number of immigrants join the population with the hope of improved economic opportunities. Leading cities also reflect increased polarization as growing populations and inequalities exacerbate the divisions between classes and groups (Sassen; 2006). Now there is greater emphasis on private sector interests and investment, as dynamics favour those with power. Similarly there is a clear move towards fewer government controls, where policy and development take on a greater free market ideology, generally led by private sector capital and initiative. This has created concerns as vulnerable, powerless groups have very limited input or impact on the state of their surroundings. Cities today clearly favour and benefit those with wealth and power as a consequence of the dominance of capitalist values.

Urban conurbations

Global dynamics have changed dramatically over the last fifty years of development. These particular global cities have grown so far into the landscape that many cities are linking up to form urban corridors or regions. This results in entire regions of countries becoming vast urban centres (Florida; 2006). It is these urbanized regions that are becoming the world's real economic organization units. They produce and hold the bulk of the world's wealth and economic power, and have become complex models of urban landscapes, forming concentrated corridors of trade, transport, innovation, production and urban residential living (Florida; 2006 and Sassen; 2006). Global economics is now highly concentrated and takes place in roughly twenty of these urban mega-regions around the world, each lead by a dominant city. Such areas are home to ten percent of the world's population, estimated at roughly 660 million people, yet alone produce more than half of all global economic activities, two thirds of the scientific

activity and three quarters of global innovation (World Bank Group; 2000). These percentages help to reflect the dominance urban regions hold in today's world. This is the age of the urban landscape.

Foroohar (2006) argues that more people will live in cities than in the countryside for the first time in human history. The future of the 21st century will be urban centred. All cities on every continent have been forced to find new ways to accommodate their rapidly growing populations and to deal with the numerous benefits and problems that come from concentrated urban living. This is evident by the dramatic increase over the last fifty years in the number of cities with populations of more than ten million. The number of these mega cities has increased from two to over twenty in the same period (Foroohar; 2006).

Developing nations' urban dynamics

Developing nation cities face similar characteristics to one another, however these are in direct contrast to those evident in many global cities. Developing nation cities are marked by very large populations, with exceptionally high urbanization growing at phenomenal rates and form many of the largest cities in the world. The urban populations are growing faster than the economy can provide jobs, resulting in problems such as urban poverty and unemployment rates becoming rampant (Kleiniewski; 1997). As a result, the informal sector often forms the dominant employer, as large sections of the population are forced to find their own opportunities and income sources.

Urban poverty has become an increasingly problematic predicament in urban landscapes around the world, particularly in the developing nations. Increased poverty rates caused by rampant urbanization and population sizes have resulted in deteriorated living conditions and quality of life experienced in many cities, causing distortions such as growing numbers of vulnerable and dispossessed groups (World Bank Group; 2000). These problems are having increasingly negative social, economic and political consequences and impacts on urban society. This directly affects many groups abilities to gain access to opportunities and therefore to change or improve their situations. The poor are the most vulnerable group, as they have little access to services such as education, housing, sanitation and basic services (Robinson; 2002). Related problems such as disease, crime and violence are also on the rise as a result of increased poverty and unemployment. It is becoming starkly evident that the urban poor are increasingly alienated from mainstream society and the benefits it can provide.

This includes investigating who holds power and possible influences political and economic institutions have, which help to provide further insight to the study. This is a common approach dominant in South Africa and has influenced schools of thoughts and urbanisation dynamics in powerful ways (Beall et al; 2005). By making use of the political economy framework, it is possible to explore the dynamics between influencing factors contributing to, or causing these increasingly problematic situations, and provide insight into possible remedies.

The built environment and political power

Cities and their functioning are determined by urban form, which is the shape of settlement patterns that have developed over time. Different factors are needed for various activities, such as economic or social forms, however these can be conflicting in nature, with trade-offs often made between the various needs. Kleiniewski (1997) explains that people are affected by the context in which they live, and their actions in turn affect the situations in which they live. However, concurrently cities are built to fulfil specific functions and once built in turn influence how people live in them. This results in a complex relationship between people and the institutions that govern society, and the built environment in which these actions and relationships play out. It is clear that the urban landscape has transformed and changed dramatically due to changes in the economic form of production and prevailing activities. This helps highlight the powerful influence economic institutions and their associated ideals exert on the urban landscapes in which they occur. It is of dire importance to address principle questions of how urban growth should be accommodated and managed in a manner that best meets the needs for all.

Urban future

Cities are not only the dominant current way of life, but will continue to expand in the future, establishing a global urban conurbation. This makes cities important focal areas for intervention. Cities may hold growing opportunities and gains, but simultaneously are sites for concentrated problematic and often detrimental situations. Issues such as poorly managed urbanization, coupled with market or government failures, have led to an increased presence of poverty, raising inequality and degeneration of both the physical and social environments. These problems have been discussed in full, however due to the escalating scale of urban environments, as well as projected future increases, hold dramatic implications for future institutions to accommodate such consequences. These increases already directly affect governments' abilities to meet the needs of their populations, and if not managed now, hold serious implications for development and future populations (World Bank Group; 2000). It is

manifest that mobilizing the potential of urban landscapes in a sustainable and responsible manner will be the future global challenge.

Urban management

As previous sections illustrated, urban areas are complex entities affected by both external and internal forces. In such complex environments, management over competing forces is essential to ensure improved quality of life and establish sustainable environments. It is due to this inherent complexity that a significant role for urban management exists. Such management makes use of numerous strategies to implement these aims, often using regeneration and renewal strategies in specific regional interventions to offer catalytic improvements. Political, economic, social, environmental and spatial dynamics all need to be incorporated in such strategies, to create comprehensive changes in an interactive process. It is recognized that change is inevitable in urban environments and can either be beneficial, benign, or problematic. The political, social and economic systems dominant in society are constantly reacting to new demands and opportunities. These dynamics need to work together to ensure change is as positive as possible. It is the role of urban management as a discipline to ensure positive features of change processes limit the negative aspects (Roberts and Sykes; 2000). This discipline aims to establish the possibility of creating urban environments where social, economic, and physical improvements all work together to enhance society. Regeneration strategies aim to have long-term developmental impacts, in order to implement strategic and sustainable interventions.

Urban management as a dynamic discipline emphasises the eradication of problems in urban areas and is ultimately an interventionalist activity. There are four main areas of change in urban environments, namely economic and employment change, social issues and class structures, physical needs and obsolescence, and the quality of the environment. All of these areas require sustainable long-term management to create positive paths of development (Beall et al; 2000). A number of strategies can be employed from the urban management toolbox, corresponding to the range of problems within the context. Economic regeneration in particular is a vital part of urban upgrading, as it aims to counter decline evident and create conducive environments for future opportunities. However there is no ultimate solution for dysfunctional urban areas.

Urban regeneration is not simply about addressing physical ills. Rather it entails comprehensive focus on economic issues, particularly concerning poverty and unemployment rates, and associated social inequalities. The aim of this discipline is to establish solutions designed to

address local needs (Roberts and Sykes; 2000). The focus of such processes is to establish cities as engines for growth and innovation, with the ultimate objective of encouraging efficient functioning of all aspects of urban landscapes. Successful management and development are now seen as essential and crucial determinants for economic growth and overall national development (Kleiniewski; 1997). Mobilizing potential of urban areas in a sustainable manner and mitigating negative consequences is the challenge for future urban regeneration strategies and practitioners.

Concerns about development

Through research done on urban development, it becomes apparent that one needs to question what type of development is needed for varying situations. Development is not a benign process, which once implemented, automatically brings positive benefits and changes. Instead it is directed by those with power, who aim to further their own interests. Development is intimately connected with power (Robinson; 2002). Development is a game of choice and decision making, and these are made according to whose voice is most influential. The concern of development for whom, and by whom, will constantly plague the development field and needs to be continually questioned. Wealth and power are closely associated with one another. Those who in control of wealth, wield direct power over the use of territory, particularly in concentrated environments such as cities. Development as a result is not a simple, benign process, as it is directly linked to power, wealth and the degree of access to choices that these can afford. Development is funded and controlled by particular groups. As a result of inherent inequalities in society, it is not an automatically beneficial and positive process.

Urban landscape evolutions have been caused by various factors such as government actions, changing markets and altering power struggles over time. These changes have differential effects on societal groups (Kleiniewski; 1997). The scale of impact, be it positive or negative in nature, is largely imbalanced to further the position and interests of dominant groups. This is to the neglect of the disempowered and marginalised, as those who have power and wealth, have control. Vulnerable groups hold very little power over their environments, resulting in increasingly negative consequences.

Development-induced displacement is one such problem that occurs from complex power struggles. This phenomenon is evident in much recent development literature, particularly Jenny Robinson (2000). Robinson (2000) explores this problematic phenomenon in detail, as it occurs

in numerous situations worldwide. The most pertinent factor relating to this study is displacement problems caused by urban regeneration and inner city development. These problems occur when certain groups of people lose access to their place in the landscape against their will, resulting in displacement due to changes that occur. Initiatives such as regeneration and infrastructure upgrades are not automatically beneficial, as often force people off their land in order for development to occur, without provision of alternatives.

Gentrification is considered to be a cause of displacement, particularly in inner city areas. Preceding economic and political changes greatly affected inner city areas, resulting in these areas often functioning as home to poor and marginalized groups. When gentrification processes start, these groups are the first to be forced to relocate, as capital is injected for infrastructure to be built and redevelopment to occur. Wealthier social groups, particularly private capital investments move into the regenerated neighbourhoods, causing property prices to improve, higher taxes and rates to be implemented and cost of living to rise (Kotkin; 2005 and Panerai et al; 2004). As a result of changing price structures and alterations, lower income groups fail to be able to keep up payments or living expenses. Consequently they are forced to find more affordable accommodation in other areas. Therefore improvements can often displace whole groups of people, as the poor can no longer afford costs of living.

Many government redevelopment projects, particularly those done in response to deindustrialization, have caused large-scale displacement. State structures can use the power of eminent domain to enforce redevelopment. This is a legal process whereby local authorities buy properties and redevelop in the name of greater public good. Therefore one always needs to question who is in control of development, and who benefits from the proposed motions. What assists and benefits one party can directly negatively impinge on another. These considerations must be kept in mind when examining regeneration strategies. What party wields power, with what motive, and who carries the negative consequences are important questions to continually address.

Future implications

The complex issue of development raises questions about the future of the city in the increasingly urban world. Will it be possible to change negative trends in favour of regeneration of the city, while ensuring beneficial development for all? Is it possible to halt rampant spread of Greenfield developments and suburban sprawl, in favour of inner city redevelopment? Will

the essential principles of the city itself begin to alter to find a new model, based on a greater mixed urban/ rural trend of living as city boundaries dissolve? It was against this contextual background context and the questions it raised that initiated investigations for this research. The model of the city is something members of current society have become accustomed to. The history of development of 'the city' as a generic model gave impetus to understanding the evolutions urban landscapes have gone through, consequences these have caused today, power issues inherently involved, and what future impacts these will hold. These questions were in mind in initial phases when looking to select Johannesburg as a particular model example, to help explain and comprehend changes to be made to ensure an equitable, sustainable urban future.

...There was Toronto up ahead, an artificial mountain of glass and concrete rising from the flat lakeside plain, all crystals and spires and giant shining slabs and sharp-edged obelisks, floating in an orange-brown haze of smog. It looked like something I'd never seen before- something that had grown up overnight, or that wasn't really there at all, like a mirage. Black flakes flew past as if a mound of paper up ahead were smouldering. Anger vibrated in the air like heat. I thought of drive-by shootings.

“The Blind Assassin” Margaret Atwood (2000)

The general opinion is that cities are violent, overcrowded places, while the countryside is calm and peaceable. His own experience is to the contrary; the country is turbulent and primitive, while the city is where life becomes orderly and modern. Of course Birmingham is not without crime and vice and discord, else there would be less of a living for solicitors, but it seems to George that human conduct is more rational here, and more obedient to the law; more civil.

“Arthur & George” Julian Barnes (2005)

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter explores the methodological background to this research paper, and outlines the main questions underpinning investigation that took place for the study. A primary hypothesis was used to guide the research, helping to focus on the key issue under investigation. The use of a hypothesis helps provide a framework through which the research can be viewed.

Underpinning much of the discourse on urban regeneration in South Africa, is a potential hypothesis that suggests the existence of public and private sector interests in urban regeneration brings, and maximizes, benefits to a wide range of existing and potential future inner city users. The research questions established through the course of the study were then used to examine the degree to which this hypothesis is entrenched in dominant and lesser discourses. Furthermore, they were used to interrogate the validity of such a hypothesis within the specific case study and the broader context in which it is placed.

Key questions:

- What factors contribute to changes in urban landscapes and forms?
- What goals, objectives and aims are proposed for urban management and urban regeneration strategies? How do these compare to what is implemented on the ground?
- What dynamics are involved in urban management, and regeneration?
- What has been the role of the state in redevelopment programmes?
- Who benefits from these interventions and in what manner? What are the complexities involved with state led development?
- What interests are dominant, why, and how do these dynamics play out in inner city locations?
- How has South Africa's history contributed to the current state of urban landscapes?
- What were the original objectives of the intervention in Newtown, and the processes and players involved? Have these changed over time? If so, what are the implications?
- What lessons can be learnt about urban management strategies from the case study?

Research methodology

Qualitative research entails an enquiry process of understanding and investigation into specific social or human problems, based on building complex, holistic pictures of issues under investigation (Creswell; 1994). Such research makes use of reporting detailed views from informants in the relative field, within a natural setting. This involves a constructivist approach to research, in which interpretative methods are used to understand the numerous

realities existing in the research situation. The understanding is based on the idea that reality is constructed by individuals; that all parties embrace their own sense of reality. It is the researcher's intention to investigate the diverse realities and create interpretations on this subjective reality (Creswell; 1994). To achieve this, a number of interviews are carried out, allowing a holistic view of the research situation. Qualitative studies actively admit the use of subjective, value-laden information and personal accounts, however reports on these biases help to shape authenticity of the topic under research. Such studies allow for personal insight and understanding to be used as the dominant reference point.

The intentions of this particular research follow these overall aims, by focusing on finding an understanding for the current phenomena, urban management and regeneration. The research is primarily based on background literature and studies of recent debates on urban patterns, processes and factors influencing change. Information was also distilled from numerous interviews performed with key role players in the field, which helped to provide insight into the phenomena. The methodological process that followed was inductive, whereby the research followed an emerging design, shaped during the research process. Qualitative studies are context bound, so understandings develop organically and allow for the full range of issues to emerge during the study process (Creswell; 1994). Because of the data collection tools employed, the methods of analysis used followed this theoretical path, with thematic analysis being the main form of interpretation used. The research also included the method of analysis as suggested by Ulin et al (2002) and Hayes (2000). These methods provide a set of analysis techniques that are appropriate for case studies, and thus were applicable to this research.

Methods incorporated

Case studies allow for one particular instance to be investigated in detailed analysis, with concentrated efforts in order to find more detailed assessments of the particular case chosen. A case study aims to "illuminate the general by looking at the particular" as this research aims to accomplish (Denscombe; 1998). Case studies are useful as they explore a single phenomenon bound by time and activities, allowing for information to be collected through a variety of methods. This is done over a sustained period of time, using the case study to draw generalizations and wider meaning (Creswell; 1994). This research study made use of the Newtown Cultural Precinct as an example of the implementation of theoretical urban management strategies. The case study was used as an example of strategies in practical use and an examination of complexities involved. The value of case studies is that they offer the

potential to deal with subtleties of complex social situations, and to establish wider understandings (Denscombe; 1998).

As a result of use of the case study method, the research made use of non-probability sampling, as a fixed number of people were involved in the project, forming a fixed population. Choice of people to be included in the study was not due to random selection, but rather deliberately specifically targeted. Purposive sampling is utilised when the sample included in the research is hand picked. The researcher already knows about the phenomenon under study and selects specific people to be included, usually those most valuable to the study (Denscombe; 1998). There are limitations involved in this method, as those omitted from the study may offer different insights to those included, which may in turn lead to biased understanding. In order to counter this, the researcher must include a wide range of people involved in the study, to provide a healthy cross section of views (Denscombe; 1998). This method allows for the research to admit deficiencies or limitations, and recognize flaws and possible imperfections, which in turn leads to holistic, honest research.

Equal emphasis was given to two primary data collection tools: analysis of key documentation about Johannesburg and its local government processes, obtained primarily from the Municipality, and to interviews performed. Interviews were conducted with key role players in Johannesburg's development, and Newtown in particular. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a number of informants from a range of sectors (Gaskell; 2000). A full questionnaire of questions asked is included in appendix 1 of this report. This method contributes to principle aims of qualitative research, that people form their own realities and actively construct the social world surrounding them. Making use of detailed interviews allows insight into these realities, to provide the basis for understanding complex social phenomena under research (Gaskell; 2000). Qualitative studies follow a certain axiological approach, which is value laden and biased information. Studies of this nature actively admit to reporting on more personal and biased information, as it is the personal insights of informants that help to construct the understandings and insights into the problem under investigation (Creswell; 1994).

There are limitations involved in this method as informants may omit valuable information for a number of different reasons, leading to potential gaps, or may provide misleading accounts of events (Gaskell; 2000). Many key stakeholders were not available for interviews, and

owing to time constraints and mismatched schedules, it was not possible to include some in the research. Other methods were used to gain necessary information to fill any gaps that emerged. Telephonic interviews and email correspondence were utilised with interviewees who could not be met in person. Making use of a cross section of people, the researcher was able to prevent possible problems of research limitations. The research includes the use of contextual scoping, which entails gathering relevant information existing in the public domain from a range of sources. These included documented research and reports about Newtown Precinct and the greater Johannesburg Metro.

Data analysis

Thematic analysis was employed to identify dominant themes emerging from interviews and research conducted (Hayes; 2000). Themes are recurring ideas that emerge from continual analysis of information gathered and allow for insight into the study. This study made use of inductive analysis, where themes emerge from data collected in the study, rather than being established beforehand, informed by the theory available (Hayes; 2000). This reinforces the dominant aim of qualitative research, from which findings emerge from field research; the realities covered by the study establish a holistic view of the phenomenon under research. This form of analysis reflects the importance of context in research. A social phenomenon and its understanding emerges due to its context, not just from the physical setting, but also from historical, social political and organizational structures involved (Ulin; 2002). Gathering information from numerous sources and allowing information to reflect dominant findings helps to explain contextual factors that lead to them. The Newtown Cultural Precinct is an important regeneration case study in Johannesburg and allows for insight into practical use of urban regeneration strategies in a finite area. Insight was gained into how urban management strategies are implemented and what problems or benefits emerge. The case study was representative enough to allow for generalizations to be established about the implementation process of such strategies, complexities involved and outcomes achieved.

This once familiar landscape is now strange to me- all the boundary lines have changed, municipalities along the gold mining reef on which Johannesburg perches have new boundaries too, former black municipalities are now incorporated in 'white' areas. The physical landscape I traversed is orderly on the surface but a little more dangerous underneath. This is a land of confusion for me; so different and still so much the same... Something of the old fabric of life in South Africa insists on reasserting itself, despite having at last a new government- it is still a place suffering from years of apartheid rule.

“The state of writing in South Africa” Anne Kellas (1994)

Chapter 4: Context setting

South African urban environment

The preceding section illustrated the international trends and problems to have emerged in urban theory, dominating the last hundred years of development of urban landscapes. Cities currently function as local, regional and international production sites, with a complex mix of dynamics occurring on, and between, each level, as well as within both the local and global arenas (Robinson; 2002). This chapter aims to narrow the focus to explore current dynamics occurring within a specific South African urban context. This chapter aims to highlight challenges evident in South African urban landscapes and the numerous patterns of development, and exploring these in comparison to international trends.

Urban landscapes are playing an increasingly important role in driving the South African economy. The rampant rate of urbanization evident in South Africa reflects this increasing dominance, with over 50% of the population now residing in urban areas (SA Cities Network; 2006). In 1999, it was estimated that South Africa had a population of 43, 46 million people, with approximately over 26 million living in urbanized areas (Dewar & Todeschini; 1999). These populations are mainly concentrated in the three most populated cities of the country; Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Gauteng Province features as the nation's largest urban conurbation. It is considered to be the dominant economic corridor not only within the country, but also the Southern African region.

Table 1: Leading figures from urban landscapes in South Africa

(SA Cities Network; 2006)

	21 key urban areas (combined)	Gauteng Province
% of total national land area	2 %	1,4 %
Economic contribution	+70% (national)	33% (national) 10% (African GDP)
Total population	26 million	9,5 million
Percentage of national population	60%	201, %

South Africa has large population concentrations found in urban areas, due to high urbanisation rates (Dewar & Todeschini; 1999). The bulk of population increases occur on the peripheries or outskirts of cities. This is mainly due to the implementation of large-scale, government-subsidized, low-income housing schemes, as well as the growth of informal squatter locations. Poorer, marginalized and disadvantaged groups form the majority that migrate to urban areas as they aim to access increased economic opportunities and better living standards. These

marginalized groups are forced to live on the metropolitan outskirts, due to financial constraints and limited options as alternatives. This results in reinforcing their disadvantaged positions as they face little or no access to services necessary to meet basic needs. This is an international trend evident, with South Africa unfortunately following a similar pattern of large scale, low-density areas contributing to rampant urban sprawl. Serious socio-economic inequalities have contributed to this problem as is evident by poor living conditions for large proportions of society. These concerns become part of the challenges urban areas face today, particularly prevalent in South Africa.

Urban economic trends

The leading South African cities have been dramatically affected by problems such as rapidly increasing populations and growing inequalities. Conversely cities have also become concentrated zones of wealth and economic advancement, in comparison to the largely poor, underdeveloped rural areas within the country. Gauteng province reflects a 96% urban population density, and is the single largest economic production hub in the nation. This urban zone features as an important national and regional manufacturing and industrial centre. Johannesburg and Durban are the two largest, most populated municipalities within South Africa, acting as the core urban production centres (JDA; 2006). To highlight this trend, Johannesburg is the highest percentage contributor of national growth and demonstrates the highest gross value added (GVA) production contribution to the nation, with eThekweni (Durban) the third largest (SA Cities; 2006). Johannesburg reflects a per capita income almost double that currently evident in Durban.

Growth in leading urban areas is driven primarily by the commercial and financial sectors, as well as by transport and construction. Johannesburg, Tshwane, and Cape Town are the nation's significant financial, commercial and services centres, whereas growth in Durban is led primarily by manufacturing, and the presence of its port. Consumer and property market booms have been significant economic growth contributors over the last few years throughout the nation. These sectors have been the leading sources of economic growth, resulting in increased investment in retail space, infrastructure and industrial properties throughout urban centres. This has directly created fast-paced changes to urban environments, as large shopping centres and industrial business parks have become progressively dominant.

Spatial dynamics

Most leading South African urban areas reveal a very low population density with widespread development, and have a lower density ratio than is evident in other cities internationally. South Africa has a density ratio of only 1 560 people per square kilometer, a figure falling well below the international average (SA Cities Network; 2006). This is due to urban sprawl and low-density growth, features which have become central characteristics of South African cities. This has led to important spatial dysfunctionalities becoming apparent. It is necessary for cities to confront challenges of continuing sprawl, with growing pressure on service provision such as public transport and on the sustainability of infrastructure. Responses such as densification strategies, involving reinvestment in old building stock are being implemented across South Africa in attempts to halt this problematic trend and directly increasing density rates.

Economies in the larger of the cities are increasingly clustered in a polycentric structure, with the presence of specialized nodal areas zoned around economic production or consumption activities and facilities. This indicates changing built environmental patterns are occurring as there is no longer a single central core economic area that dominates, but rather numerous nodes that due to factors such as increased sprawl have become progressively prominent as separate entities (Beall et al; 2005 and Dewar and Todeschini; 1997). Two economic hubs or CBD areas, namely the inner city and Sandton, have come to dominate the urban economy and the landscape of Johannesburg, with many smaller economic nodes disbursed throughout the city. These two main zones are in direct competition with one another to offer better, more attractive services in order to retain economic strength and attract new investment. All urban areas appear to be following similar polycentric development patterns. In the case of Durban, it is increasingly evident that the dispersed nodes of Umhlanga, Pinetown and Kloof are becoming prominent business, retail and residential areas and are surpassing the CBD as core economic zones. These trends show increasing polycentric patterns being established in urban landscapes, often resulting in competition and tensions between various economic zones, as they compete for resources, prominence and revenue.

Inner city concerns

Following international trends, increasing numbers of businesses, including production facilities and office headquarters, have relocated away from the traditional central city business areas, to suburban locations and greenfield sites. This occurs for numerous reasons such as lower land and infrastructure costs, or access to more direct services and markets. The relocation of large groups of the population, including businesses and residents have had detrimental effects, not

only on the sprawl of urban landscapes, but also on the older traditional CBD areas (Roberts & Sykes; 2000). These problematic happenings have been explored in detailed in the previous chapter, but include growing slum lands, rising crime and grime issues, and general decay of the urban landscape. When this occurs, concerns such as falling property prices and rental occupancy, as well as large-scale disinvestment occur as reactions to failing urban environments. These problems are consequences of each other, and form a fast-paced, negative spiral of decay. In comparison to the rapid pace urban degeneration can occur at, urban regeneration processes are slow and very complex, requiring continual effort.

¹Over a relatively short period, as a result of collapse of apartheid urban management systems and the subsequent accelerated urbanisation during the late 1980s and early 1990s, degeneration of inner cities areas has been fast and pervasive, with detrimental consequences. All urban centres in South Africa showed a noticeable increase in inner city office vacancy rates, highlighting the fast tracked relocation of large groups of businesses from the inner city to new, growing suburbs located outside of town. No new businesses or outlets were filling vacant properties, due to the growing negative stigma of the inner city. This shows that the sharp rise in vacancy rates within inner cities throughout the country was a clear sign of the growing problems the region faced. Rapid changes in inner cities in South Africa were not only due to decline, but was also an expression of changing racial structures of urban space. This meant that city agents were forced to reconsider the urban space for the poor in a context where they had previously been marginalised and refused permission. The contributing factors and timeline of the decline of Johannesburg inner city will be discussed in detail later in this study, helping to explain these concerns.

Over time these rates of decline appear to have stabilized, with many leading cities showing positive improvements, often as a result of direct intervention such as reinvestment programmes (Trafalgar; 2007 and SA Cities Network; 2006). Due to commitment by municipalities, through implementation of strategies such as establishment of focused area interventions, as well as input from investors, many cities have managed to halt this problematic trend and create a more

¹ “Between 1969 and 2001, with Johannesburg leading the way, the amount of decentralisation office space [mainly found in suburbia] in South Africa increased from 200 00 square metres, to 6 million square metres. [Whereas, in comparison] vacancy rates of office space in the CBD areas increased dramatically in all the leading cities across the country [within only a ten year period]: Johannesburg over 25%, Durban 20%, Pretoria 17%, and Cape Town 15%” (Harrison; 2003, pg 7).

positive future. Urban regeneration strategies are now slowly beginning to generate improvements. Each intervention has slowly scaffolded on one another, with priority on strategic catalysts to initiate change. Central Improvement Districts (CIDs) and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are two such strategies. Such initiatives focus on uniting stakeholders involved and coordinating action to upgrade and redevelop specific locations. These aim to prevent further degeneration and coordinate economic and physical renewal. All of these activities in turn help improve standards of living and business activities in the area, thus attempting to rejuvenate the landscape. There are several examples of such initiatives. One particular example is the Cape Town Partnership, which established a management CID covering the four major inner city CBD areas (CTP; 2007). Intervention strategies implemented in partnership between city government and private sectors has contributed to a growing reversal of problematic trends and a renewed focus on redevelopment.

Urban populations

There is a problematic trend in Africa, where many countries are experiencing dramatic urban population rates of an estimated 4%. This occurs simultaneously with low growth rates, resulting in population growth outstripping economic growth for much of the past two decades. A result of this challenging trend is the urbanization of poverty, causing concentrations of deepening poverty in urban areas, as local economies are simply unable to accommodate populations. Only in the last few years has South Africa appeared to be progressing contrary to this trend. Economic growth has outstripped population growth in most urban areas. However problems are still evident due the imbalance of economic opportunities available to the nation's population. The growing economic opportunities are concentrated with a limited few, while the majority of the population is not able to access opportunities enabling them to grow accordingly. Unemployment rates are incredibly high within South Africa, highlighting that large groups of the population are not included in the benefits afforded by this comparatively successful economy. Therefore despite high growth rates, this does not mean that South African cities have managed to limit the high rate of urbanised poverty. Inequalities still entrenched in the country, from institutionalised imbalances of apartheid have prevented creating large-scale opportunities for all. Urban poverty is still a rampant problem for the country, despite high growth rates and a seemingly healthy economy.

The HIV/ Aids epidemic is set to have large-scale implications on the national economy and on urban environments, their populations, living arrangements, and management issues, as its

effects are highly complex and are emerging slowly over time, as the epidemic worsens and death rates increase. A challenging population trend has become evident in all large urban areas in South Africa. Household size has decreased over the last few years. However the number of households has increased dramatically within the same period, as living arrangements are changing in response to numerous factors [SA Cities Network; 2006]. These changes hold important implications for urban management, particularly delivery and sustainability of basic services. Growing number of households affect the urban landscape as people are forced to live further out of city centres, stressing limited resources.

Employment

Due to high unemployment within the rural areas, South Africa's urbanisation rate is high, often placing pressure on the cities to accommodate these populations and to provide economic opportunities. Cities feature as the most prominent location of both formal and informal employment in South Africa. In 2005, the leading urban areas provided over 50% of national employment, with the largest proportion concentrated in Johannesburg. Employment growth rates have increased in the last few years in urban areas, with the rate increasing by 2, 15 % per year between 2001 and 2004 (Pillay et al; 2006). Nonetheless employment is still a major challenge in all urban areas and the nation as a whole. South Africa is marked by disturbingly high unemployment rates. In 2005 unemployment statistics showed 38, 8 % of the population was unemployed (SA Cities; 2006). These high figures directly affect urban areas, causing problems. This highlights that high proportions of the population are unemployed and face little or no access to economic opportunities, placing increased burden on municipalities to provide for these groups. Employment in the formal sector is unable to accommodate increasing populations, resulting in most cities facing growing urban poverty and an increased presence of informal sector work.

The informal sector becomes the alternative for people forced to turn to find opportunities. As a result of problematic situations such as lack of education, there is a mismatch evident between the demands of employment sectors and supply of workers. Consequently large percentages of urban population seek informal opportunities, now estimated to constitute over 25 % of total South African employment (SA Cities; 2006). Many are employed in the informal retail and services sectors, a trend which is increasingly becoming the norm in urban areas. This is beneficial to some who are able to gain income and employment opportunities, particularly the unskilled. Most of these positions are marked by difficult conditions and very low incomes,

placing large proportions of urban workers in precarious economic situations. The formal sector is ill equipped to provide solutions, and increasingly the informal sector is providing an important contribution to the economy and to job creation (Dewar & Todeschini; 1999). This may be beneficial to those unable to find other sources of income, but does contribute to making urban management more difficult. Although cities contribute large income percentages to the national economy, leading South African cities also accommodate the highest percentage of people living below minimum income levels. Poverty and unemployment have subsequently the two largest urban problems (SA Cities Network; 2006).

Inequality

South Africa features as one of the most divided and unequal societies in the world, with the general quality of life statistics, such the Gini coefficient, worsening over time. The leading urban areas throughout the country face decreasing standards of living experienced by their residents. Concerns are evident over issues of access to services, backlogs of those without decent living conditions, and failing infrastructure unable to support increasing populations. For example the availability of access to clean running water has increased over the last few years in all of the leading cities, with increasing numbers of households able to gain access to this essential service. Nevertheless, there are huge backlogs in water supply and in many cities these are growing. It is estimated that in Durban 37 % of the population is still without access to onsite water services, and 1 in every 3 households are without adequate access to sanitation. These statistics are high and show the extent of the problems South African urban landscapes are facing in terms of provision of services (SA Cities; 2006 and eThekweni Municipality; 2006).

Looking at the high levels of inequality in cities in South Africa helps to highlight the complexities and diverse range of issues present and actively occurring in urban areas; all contributing to the complex nature of these highly populated areas. High levels of inequality in urban areas directly affect people's access to opportunities and services, thus resulting in large proportions of the population neglected or failing to access benefits. This results in growing tensions, problems and concerns, as large sections of society are unable to benefit from the advantages urban living potentially offers. Again this helps to highlight the complexity of issues and problems involved and intricately linked in urban areas, often directly negatively affecting the population.

Apartheid legacy

Apartheid created numerous problems for modern democratic urban areas throughout South Africa. Its effects are far ranging and diverse, and due to its institutionalised inequality and segregation has left a permanent mark on urban centres. This legacy is one of the main reasons for the bulk of problems experienced by municipalities. During apartheid South Africa had systematically entrenched separatist policies for all aspects of life, including living arrangements, access to services and economic opportunities (Beall et al; 2005 and Pillay et al; 2006).

“At a city level, a combination of policies and legislation dating from the early twentieth century consistently denied native Africans vital components of well-being and a secure base in urban areas where, in principle at least, they were not allowed to live permanently. This history confirms the legacy of Johannesburg’s past in contributing to contemporary levels of inequality.” (UNDP; 2006)

Urban dynamics and migratory patterns of the South African population are complex, largely due to political restrictions and policies from the apartheid past. Large groups were forced to go to urban areas to seek employment opportunities, particularly evident in the large groups of mine workers in transient residence, particularly located in Gauteng. Many left rural areas in the hope of improving their lives and opportunities in the cities, however these populations were denied access to permanent status in urban areas (Beall et al; 2002). These policies limited them to residential facilities far outside city centres and to menial labour or whatever employment they could find. On the other hand, white populations had unlimited access to the advantages of urban life. Provision of resources for adequate service delivery and quality of life were totally imbalanced, with white areas receiving incredible advantages and benefits, while the majority of urban residents were forced to suffer on the outskirts. These institutionalised imbalances are responsible for the large-scale backlog of services still evident throughout the country and for problems experienced in urban centres. Apartheid is a principle reason for imbalances and urban management problems cities experience and there is still much work to be done to amend these inequalities.

Urban management

Cities face great pressure to achieve the urban ideal of providing good living environments for all residents. This involves supporting profitable economies, ensuring amenities and services, and accommodating various forms of future growth (SA Cities Network; 2006). These are high expectations with many cities lacking sufficient capacity to accommodate these ideals simultaneously. This often results in growing urban dissatisfaction, infrastructure problems, and marginalization of large populations. For numerous reasons, substantial problems have occurred

in South African cities, resulting in need for large-scale interventions and radical transformations in certain areas. However evidence is emerging that catalytic positive changes have occurred throughout the nation, helping remedy backlogs from the past and set in motion optimistic futures. Local government is essential for effective urban management and for creating a stable urban environment, through systems of service delivery intended to meet local population needs.

Gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in the winter of 1886. Until then the veld had offered no more than grazing for a handful of cattle farmers, but soon it was dotted with wagons, tents and reed huts, as gold-seekers poured into the area. Within three or four years a town of brick houses, offices, hotels and governance buildings sprang up, and within a generation the city was home to half a million people.

Commissioner Street, the backbone of Johannesburg, follows the old wagon track between two of the first mining camps, from Jeppestown in the east, to Ferreirasdorp in the west. So the city's spine was fused to the gold-bearing reed that called it into life. Today, going down Commissioner into the high-rise heart of the city, I am reminded that here we are all still prospectors, with a digger's claim on the earth beneath our feet. Where Commissioner passes the Fairview Fire Station, cracks have appeared in the tar, long, ragged creases following the curve of the road. Here and there chunks of tar have broken loose and rusted steel glimmers in the roadbed. The tramlines, tarred over in the early sixties, coming back to the surface.

“Portrait with Keys; Joburg and what-what” Ivan Vladislavic (2006)

Chapter 5: Themes and findings

Developments throughout Johannesburg

This chapter explores milestone events occurring in Johannesburg's development. It also examines institutional transformations and processes that have taken place in the municipal structures, influential in altering and affecting the urban landscape. By examining these developments, it helps provide an understanding of the institutional context Newtown emerged from, and insight into development over time of the urban environment in Johannesburg. The following timeline shows key milestones that have influenced Johannesburg's trajectory, as well as highlighting more recent developments in regeneration activity to have taken place in the city. This provides a summary of important institutional processes that have influenced development. These key events must be kept in mind when examining the Newtown findings, as they form the contextual setting for the case study.

Table 2: Brief timeline of milestone developments in Johannesburg

Source: City of Johannesburg [online]; 2007 and Johannesburg Development Agency [online]; 2007

1886	Gold is discovered on the Witwatersrand, resulting in a massive gold rush. The mining camp of Johannesburg grows rapidly as people rush to take advantage of opportunities.
1930s	Johannesburg is established as one of the leading world cities; considered the New York of Africa. Rising gold prices create great boom periods, causing exponential economic and population growth in the city.
1940s-1960s	Construction boom occurs, with growth of sophisticated commercial facilities and high rise developments in the CBD. Hillbrow established as a residential core, with gentrification taking place focused on private capital investment attraction. Racial segregation forces black populations to live on the extreme outskirts of the city, while white populations enjoy the full advantages of urban life.
1970s-1980s	Large scale decentralisation begins to separate and divide the city landscape. Increasingly commercial and residential activities move out of the CBD to more suburban locations. This process is precipitated by the opening of large shopping malls, lead by Sandton Shopping Centre opening in 1973. New road systems also contribute to urban sprawl, as decentralisation places increasing prominence on suburbs as important centres, resulting in neglect of the inner city. The city becomes racially and economically divided between rich white suburbs in the north, with poor black populations forced to live in townships in the south.
1990s	Hiatus of urban management processes occurs in this decade due to the transformation of local government structures during democratic change. Limited implementation of city bylaws or regulation of services takes place, as old municipal structures cease to operate, and new transition systems lack capacity and operational knowledge. This period sees turmoil in administrative systems, with neglect of problems in the urban landscape, particularly in the state of decay evident in the inner city. The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) is established to remedy problems and operational faults of the local authority. The organisation focuses on establishing partnerships for development initiatives throughout the city, with priority on the CBD. Strategies are devised to initiate inner city redevelopment, based on key focal points to maximise developmental impact and create catalytic growth. The first private sector management interventions occur in various locations in the city; focused on maintenance operations, such as cleaning and security.

1998-2002	The Inner City Office (ICO) is established, helping to initiate development and prioritize inner city problems. They instigate processes for regeneration interventions such as Newtown and Constitution Hill. Numerous important documents and frameworks are released by the city council, outlining strategies and implementation plans for economic transformation and spatial redevelopment of the city and the CBD. These highlight institutional direction change to place priority focus and development attention on the inner city as a core area within Johannesburg. Amos Masondo is elected as City Mayor, heading the second democratic local authority. Inner city renewal becomes one of 6 mayoral priorities, emphasising ground level change and improvement. The ICO becomes institutionalised to form the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the leading implementation agents of development in the city. Promotion of precinct-based development intervention becomes a primary intervention strategy, resulting in initiatives such as Newtown and the Fashion District. These interventions are led by the JDA, but in collaboration with many other role players, including important private sector partners.
2003-2005	More strategic frameworks are developed, outlining regeneration strategies for the inner city. The inner city is established as an Urban Development Zone (UDZ), which provides incentives such as tax benefits to attract increased investment in the CBD. Major problems are still evident in this central area, particularly involving increasing presence of informal activities throughout the inner city. Development appears to be fragmented across the CBD however, occurring in limited finite areas, failing to create large-scale improvements. Council restructures in attempts to rationalise the municipality, resulting in removal of the inner city metropolitan region and its councillor. This indicates lack of bureaucratic focus and misdirection on inner city issues.
2006-2007 (current)	Numerous interventions appear to have made positive changes in terms of the urban environment evident in the inner city. These initiatives have helped curb decay and implement regeneration of many problem areas, and have helped to establish important partnerships between role players. It appears that once again the inner city has become lead focus of development interventions in the city, with the Inner City Summit process helping to redefine strategies to counter neglected or problematic issues. The Summit and the related Charter document will provide new vision and direction for inner city development, and outline implementation strategies to achieve set goals. This is a positive step for future potential improvements of this important region.

Organisational structures in Johannesburg

The previous timeline highlights important development milestones the City of Johannesburg has undergone. This provides a brief background to understanding the context from which the case study of Newtown emerged, and within which it is placed. It helps explain organisational systems from which strategies have emerged. In order to understand Newtown comprehensively, it is necessary to understand background contexts occurring in the municipality as a whole. The following section aims to fill in any contextual happenings that may not have been explained through the timeline.

Previously the local authority was a highly bureaucratised administration machine, where local service delivery systems were divided along racial lines. There were crucial differences between racial municipal structures. Urban management interventions failed to rectify imbalances evident throughout the city and were based on racial strategies simply covering basic minimum requirements for the population.

When transitional democratic institutional structures were implemented, systems altered dramatically, with separate municipal bodies coming together to create the UniCity.² Substantial change took place from apartheid systems of management to transitional democratic city structures. They inherited a vastly differentiated divided urban landscape, with areas experiencing imbalanced development and service delivery effectiveness. This resulted in large-scale difficulties, challenging transitions and increased responsibilities for the city structures. This helps to highlight issues raised in the literature, particularly in political economy theory. The presence of powerful economic and political institutions defines modern urban society. These institutions form the more important factors of influence in urban environments, as they shape urban patterns and hold dominant power over society (Kleiniewski; 1997). It also reinforces the understanding that cities often feature as sites of complex power struggles and contestation between the various groups present (Panerai et al; 2004).

“Johannesburg - newly expanded in population, size and complexity - has seen a breakdown in authority. This has a huge impact on the perceptions of potential investors, as well as residents’ confidence in the city and its future. While current initiatives by the city’s government are commendable, they do not go far enough in facing up to the consequences of Johannesburg’s new economic, physical/spatial, and political reality.” (Bernstein; 2002. www.cde.org.za)

Policy transformations

An important milestone in Johannesburg’s development occurred during the late 1990s into the early 2000s. This was the creation of the iGoli 2002 policy, developed as an attempt to redesign the city, remedy errors from the past and move Johannesburg into a dynamic position for the future. A series of problematic projects and bad management caused the City to face financial crisis and bankruptcy in the late 1990s. Budgets had been spent far beyond capacity, without making headway into rectifying imbalances and backlogs caused by apartheid. Little evidence of effective development was seen at ground level. This led to a period of transformation, as the city attempted to streamline organizational systems and correct gross mismanagement. The iGoli 2002 policy was an integral part of this transformation, aiming to radically redesign systems. Andreas Bertoldi described the core proposal of this strategy was to adopt the Michael Porter idea of a competitiveness approach. This was based on a core principle that the city needed to become more competitive, understand its competitive advantages, and then structure itself in a way to maximise

² “The municipal area covers 1 644 sq kilometres, with an average density of 1 962 persons per square kilometre. It is the densest urban area in South Africa. The Unicity has merged into Johannesburg such previously independent satellite towns as Soweto, Alexandra, Randburg, Sandton, Roodepoort, Kyalami, Midrand and Ivory Park...The Unicity has an operating budget of R9 730m annually, or R2 897.65 per capita.” (City of Johannesburg’s website; 2007. www.joburg.org)

these advantages, utilising market forces for effective implementation. This policy aimed to rectify problems that emerged in the transitional period and overcome imbalances in development and service delivery throughout the city. The policy aimed to radically transform how development would take place and be implemented and was considered to be a progressive document ahead of its time. These changing processes help reinforce the understanding of the important role urban management and intervention strategies hold in complex urban landscapes. Strategies and processes of this nature are necessary to accommodate all activities and their needs that occur in cities, in systematic and sustainable ways to counter imbalances and problems of contestation (Roberts & Sykes; 2000).

“The outcome of the iGoli programme was that on the one hand they were trying to find ways in which to attract and mobilize private sector development and expertise. The underlying philosophy being unless you get economic development and growth in the city, you can do nothing. All policy interventions will fail, as there is no money to go around.” (Interview with Andreas Bertoldi; 2006)

Establishing partnerships with various stakeholders was prioritised to achieve effective, long-term growth in the city. In turn, these would help improve problem areas and implement effective development. It was not the authority's sole priority to implement change, but rather to facilitate this process by providing a conducive urban economic environment in which other partners could achieve implementation. This policy led to the creation of 'Joburg 2030', outlining details of the city's development strategy. Importance was placed on improving growth opportunities for the city, prioritizing the micro economic environment. Through development, growing investment and other practices, the city would benefit greatly, helping to improve circumstances of the population. Numerous strategies followed these initial interventions, but the principle documents helped change the policy landscape. Over time, policy direction has altered dramatically, culminating in a realization that local government needed a more active role as an agent of development within the city.

“The micro economic perspective is important, and the human development perspective is important, but the city needs to become a more active player...it can't just be a passive participant.” (Interview with Andreas Bertoldi; 2006)

Institutional practises

Institutional transformation took place as the municipality aimed to streamline practices and create better incentives for effective delivery on developmental goals. This involved privatizing a number of functionary entities and delivery agents. These were separated from overall institutional structures, made into private agencies, operating as private sector organizations, with the City as primary stakeholder. This process was done to streamline management services and create private sector systems of incentive for efficient delivery. Again this highlights political economy theory,

which understands urban patterns occur as a result of decisions made by powerful institutions. The changes and choices made by these groups, particularly by the leading state power has direct affect on social dynamics, economic processes and on urban spaces (Kleiniewski; 1997 and Beall et al; 2005). Changes in institutional arrangements therefore aim to institute improved systems and balanced, streamlined processes all benefiting urban dynamics in a positive manner, to limit contestation (Robinson; 2002)

Streamlining also aimed to refocus structures to prioritize dominant developmental needs of the urban landscape. The private agencies established are divided into two main systems. The first group is service delivery entities, such as Johannesburg Water. The others included specialist agencies, such as the Johannesburg Development Agency, which has specific tasks and operational focuses. These were established to follow corporate models of organisation, to improve effectiveness of operations. The Municipality now out sources service delivery and management activities to these entities with renewable contractual arrangements, aiming to ensure operational effectiveness. This change appears to have had beneficial effects on service delivery systems throughout Johannesburg. It has enabled authorities to redesign the city's management structures, resulting in an increasingly positive urban landscape. However, results are still uneven and difficult to assess. According to numerous respondents certain entities, particularly the JDA and Pikitup, have been successful and progressive, managing to implement fast tracked changes contributing to improving the urban environment. However their apparent success has not been replicated elsewhere, as the privatisation experience appears to be largely uneven.

“Removal from that core administrative and service delivery function enabled the [JDA] to really go out and establish a completely new way of operating government. This was based very much on a partnership system, where you engage the private sector and other government players on each development. It's been a very successful model from that point of view, but not a model that the city has been very good at replicating anywhere else.” (Interview with Andreas Bertoldi; 2006)

Others in contrast have not managed such success; many are plagued by insufficient resources and lacking capacity. Problems have emerged, as these 'private' organizations take on lives of their own, with internal dynamics strongly based on issues of power, and the capacity and quality of staff that run them. Some have done well as productive people have made concerted efforts to improve mandates, while others lack sufficient capacity and quality people required for direction. Overall, it appears local government has problems with attracting capacity and calibre of human resources necessary to effect sustainable development. Andreas Bertoldi felt that as a rule, local governments have a real problem with attracting sufficient capacity necessary for effective implementation.

An associated problem in local authority's implementation ability is the private-based agencies were established without sufficient appropriate support services, necessary for long-term change. Resource strain is also causing each entity to become protective with limited revenue resources. This has resulted in a dichotomy between development objectives and need to be fiscally sustainable. These problems are slowly being addressed, but the issue of development versus budget and territory battles are still causing tensions. Cities are often left to pick up the pieces, tackle mounting problems and complexities of implementing national directives, all on their own. Difficulties of these natures will occur, due to large-scale lack of capacity and resources, resulting in problematic failures and issues being neglected, as cities lack abilities to deal with ever-increasing challenges.

The inner city is the symbolic, economic and cultural heart beat of Johannesburg and is strategically important to the city as a whole. The revitalisation of the inner city was a catalyst for economic growth and job creation, as well as creating a work and living environment that was secure and decent. There are more than 250 000 permanent residents in the area, while 800 000 people or more move through the area on any given day.

Executive Major, Amos Masondo; Inner City Summit speech (5 May 2007)

Ultimately, the vision is for Newtown to become the creative capital of Johannesburg and South Africa: dynamic, vibrant, sophisticated and cosmopolitan, boasting the best cultural offerings in Africa...We are looking at the idea of an integrated mixed-use area that allows Joburg to become a 24 hour city.

McLachlan; 2004. City of Johannesburg official website

Chapter 5.2: Themes and findings: case study specific

This section explores the details of development interventions that have occurred in Newtown thus far. The chapter describes the history of the area, including interventions that have taken place over time. It also explains the various urban management strategies implemented by local authorities and agents in attempts to instigate redevelopment processes, going into particular detail about the Newtown Improvement District strategy and its operational structures that have been the leading development agents in the precinct. A comprehensive list documenting numerous leading developments to have occurred in Newtown is detailed in full in appendix 2 of this study.

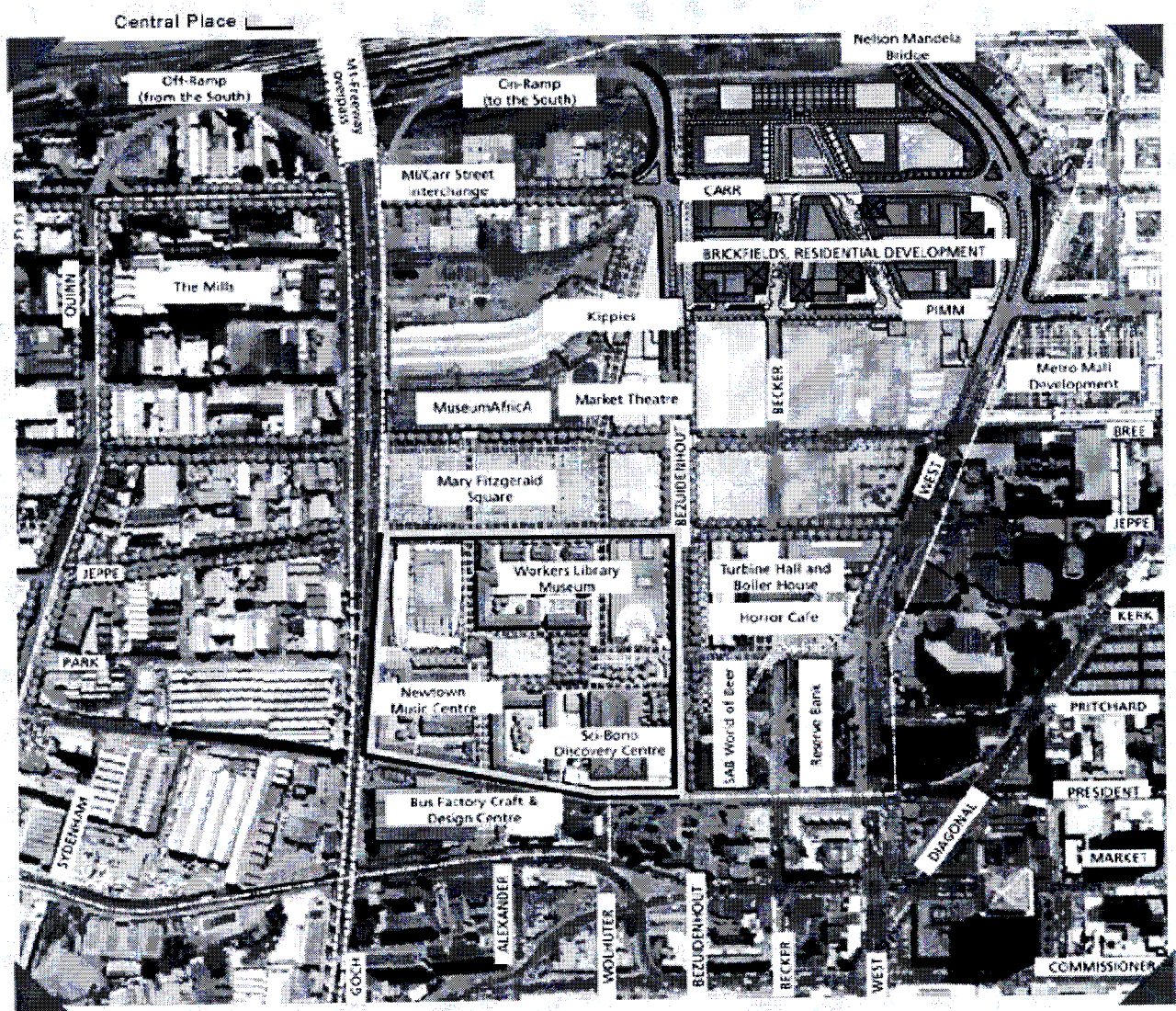


Figure 2: Newtown Improvement District- geographical layout

Source: City of Johannesburg [online]; 2007

History of Newtown

Newtown has a long, rich history, featuring as an important landmark area for over a century. In 1896 approximately 7 000 people of mixed races lived in the area, a remarkably large population for the time considering Johannesburg was still a fledgling city with a newly settled, rapidly growing population (City of Johannesburg [online]; 2007). At the turn of the century, Newtown was known as “Brickfields”, as was rich in clay, resulting in brick-making and clay-mixing becoming primary income-generating opportunities. In April 1904, the city’s fire brigade burned down large sections of the district in attempts to stop the bubonic plague, which was sweeping through Johannesburg. It was rebuilt in haste and renamed “Newtown” to attract reinvestment and new activities. By October that year, the area became primarily commercial in nature, with priority on milling, sugar refining and food production. The precinct functioned as a hub of exchange and interchange, and was considered to be the original centre of Johannesburg (Harrison; 2003).

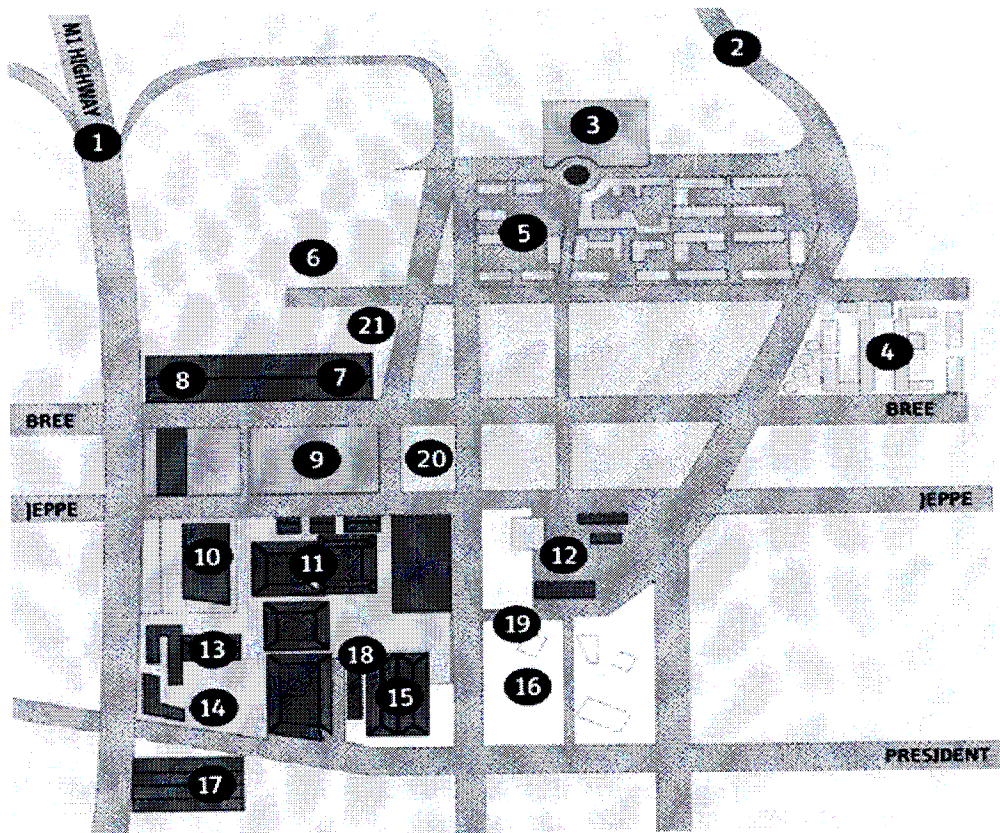
Renamed “Burghersdorp” later in the century, the area was known as a popular destination for businesses and overseas immigrants, as was located close to the CBD and to railway hubs. During repressive apartheid, certain influential cultural amenities found home in Newtown, including the well-known Market Theatre, Mega Music Centre and the Oriental Plaza. Changing dynamics within the inner city over the last decades of the 19th century, particularly ‘white flight’ to Northern suburbs and growing crime, the district became increasingly desolate and plagued by problems. As explored previously, Johannesburg’s city centre experienced similar processes of degeneration as most leading cities around the world (Fraser; 2007). These problems have been largely transformed due to concerted, dedicated redevelopment undertaken by the City within the area, with the Greater Newtown Development established as a prominent intervention to attempt to counter these issues.

The precinct features as one of five developmental sites in the city centre, aimed at inner city regeneration. The initiative was led by the JDA, in partnership with Blue IQ, City Council and numerous private sector investors. The area has been redefined to become synonymous with cultural heritage of South Africa. The redevelopment strategy was intended to capitalize on this past, and identified the area as a key location with potential to attract investment to the inner city. The main focus of strategies was to place priority on cultural, tourist and educational activities, redefining the district as a vital cultural destination to live, work and play (Johannesburg Development Agency [online]; 2007). Newtown hosts unique features, as functions as a vital transport and trading node, as well as a mixed income residential facility. It has also become the

site for a combination of large-scale public and private sector development investment, both working in collaboration to improve the precinct to feature as a vital destination (Fraser; 2007).

Figure 3: Leading landmark sites in Newtown

Source: Johannesburg Development Agency [online]; 2007



- 2. Nelson Mandela Bridge
- 3. Old Railway Station
- 4. Metro Market
- 5. New Residential Development
- 6. Africa Cultural Centre
- 7. Market Theatre Precinct

- 8. MuseuMAfrica
- 9. Mary Fitzgerald Square
- 10. Dance Centre
- 11. Worker's Library and Museum
- 12. Multimedia Centre
- 13. Turbine Hall

- 14. Mega Music
- 15. Dance Factory
- 16. Electric Workshop
- 17. SAB Museum
- 18. Reserve Bank
- 19. Bus Factory

Newtown developments

This section unpacks the challenges faced, strategies employed to counter these, and how the urban landscape has altered within the Newtown case study. It also examines urban management strategies used, exploring details of organizational systems. The section aims to discuss critiques and themes relevant to Newtown, emerging from research and interviews performed.

Urban management strategies: Inner city interventions

Urban management strategies have focused on three dynamics to implement inner city development; namely commercial, residential and infrastructure upgrades. Johannesburg's developmental focus has altered over time and now is showing a potentially positive trajectory towards priority being directed towards the inner city and effectively rectifying challenges (Johannesburg Development Agency [online]; 2007).

“Attention has been directed to the inner city, in a way that they have to say how can we grapple with the existing set of conditions, not just how can we achieve an end result that we're looking at. In what way should we be engaging with the really complex set of issues that exist in the inner city [that has become priority].” (Interview with Sarah Charlton; 2006)

Newtown was selected for direct, fast-tracked developmental intervention because it was considered by various agents to hold catalytic potential for regeneration of its surroundings and the whole of the inner city. This was primarily due to its close location to major transport links and the presence of prominent infrastructure stock. Great attention and resources have been focused on developing this precinct, aiming to transform the region and eradicate blight and decay plaguing the district. This is an important step for the local authority. It has moved away from simply aiming to impose ideal visions of what a city should be, implemented by top structures. Instead there appears to be growing recognition paid to what actual needs and challenges are at street level within the city and an attempt to practically consider how various stakeholders can attempt to improve issues (Interview with Neil Fraser; 2007).

A top-down approach is lead by a single group, who implement strategies created in isolation to any consultation with other role-players. Many local authorities appear to follow this route, where solutions are established for particular issues and implemented without apparent regard given to considering the full range of issues and stakeholders involved. It is a unilateral decision-making process of what authority bodies feel is best. Officials admit these strategies often fail to create proper lasting solutions, as they fail to fully impact on issues involved (Interview with Rashid Seedat; 2006). They also fail to actively engage necessary elements and

players, rendering strategies unsustainable. In stark contrast, numerous observers argue bottom-up developmental initiatives help incorporate all players and full ranges of issues, to effectively alter situations by considering local nuances and accommodating them sufficiently. Strategies developed according to local conditions and needs gathered by all relevant parties in consultation, have a far higher chance of success at implementing effective, long-term development.

This idea is based on the dominant literature and themes that emerged in the theory covered in Chapter 1. Urban patterns occur as results of decisions made by dominant institutions. These powerful groups directly affect change. Society in turn is made up of competing groups all fighting to gain advantage and to maximise their interests. It is the responsibility of dominant and powerful institutions to attempt to balance these interests to affect equitable growth. They shape urban patterns and society so it is essential for them to attempt to ensure ground level needs of all parties are met (Roberts & Sykes; 2000 and Kleiniewski; 1997). In terms of Johannesburg's development processes, it was felt by some that over time the local authority has improved in terms of how it creates and implements development strategies. Increasingly emphasis is placed on consultation with all role players, and on creating unique solutions for each specific problem. This appears to be a more effective development strategy, as many feel initiatives are becoming more sustainable and are addressing root causes, with transformations slowly becoming evident.

Improvement Districts

The City of Johannesburg has expressed long-term commitment to regenerating the inner city region. Part of this commitment was to establish Newtown as an improvement district (CID) and an essential cultural destination within the city. This entails a legislative process whereby a geographical area is selected for regeneration, with specific urban management functions maintained by private property owners and city agents. Private stakeholders pay a mandatory levy towards upkeep of the district, established as a zoned upgrade location. Focus is placed on self-initiated development strategies and improvement of problems particular to the area. Incentives, such as tax breaks are also introduced to support further initiatives. This urban management strategy is gaining momentum world wide, becoming a valuable strategy for degraded areas within inner cities, particularly areas where local authorities face mounting problems and limited resources to lead implementation themselves. Increasingly, precedence is showing in numerous locations, improvement districts are contributing to positive urban experiences with enhanced sense of place and ownership (CJP Official website; 2007). CIDs

aim to function as catalysts for growth, investment and focused redevelopment, particularly emphasizing the importance of regeneration of key areas in the inner city. These precinct-based strategies have been argued to help improve property values, rental prices, and provide commitment to developing the urban landscape.

City centres perform dynamic roles as economic and social destinations, attracting and accommodating various groups, some of which can be conflictual in nature, with trade-offs often occurring between their needs (Beall et al; 2002). Increasingly municipalities struggle with resource limitations to tackle growing problems. State systems feature as one of the most dominant influential bodies in the urban landscape, but face growing capacity problems (Robinson; 2004). Hence need has arisen for forms of self-sustaining development to focus limited resources to fulfil needs and counter problems faced by many inner city areas. It is necessary for ensuring sustainability that a sense of ownership be established among stakeholders. Levies are paid for these role players to ensure property and business owners control development interventions in their own areas, which protects their interests. The CID strategy offers potential to balance between expected roles played by local government and those of the private sector. CIDs feature primarily as local business responses to declining urban landscapes and failing municipal services (Roberts & Sykes; 2000).

Rather than authorities carrying the full burden of implementing growth, particularly in light of resource shortages, responsibility is spread between various prominent role players residing in the area, making implementation more feasible. Supplementary services are put into place by private management structures, including safety and security patrols, cleaning services for refuse collection, general maintenance of public spaces and removing unwanted problems (CJP Official website; 2007 and JDA official website; 2007). Newtown has followed a different process, informed by unique circumstances, as insufficient stakeholders were present for development to be led primarily by private sector stakeholders. The municipality, particularly the JPC, were dominant landowners within the district. Thus for foundational stages of Newtown's development, the JDA funded the CID and its running costs. This ownership structure altered at the beginning of 2007, and will be discussed in full later.

NID organizational system and its operations

The JPC is contracted to manage the area, on behalf of the JDA. Selected members of the JPC form the small management team principally in charge of running Newtown Improvement District (NID). The four-member management team is responsible for daily upgrade and

management strategies employed, as well as future development processes. This team consists of a Business and Operations Manager, responsible for partnership development and overseeing various operational procedures taking place, as well as a Cultural Programmes Manager, ensuring synchronised development aims to follow common visions for future development. Other members include an Event Coordinator responsible for organizing happenings and festivals taking place in public spaces throughout the district, and an Operations Supervisor managing 'safe and clean' functions for the entire precinct. One important feature of the CID strategy is physical upgrade and maintenance of the area, including introducing cleanliness regimes to counter urban decay and eradicate crime problems. The team in Newtown consists of 18 security guards, on duty 24 hours, as well as 8 cleaning staff and a gardener for all public spaces around the precinct. This team helps manage upkeep of Newtown.

These numerous systems are managed by a Section 21 Company, the Newtown Improvement District. This company in turn is managed by a board, comprising nine board members drawn from various important stakeholders in Newtown (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006 and JDA [online]; 2007). This team has an array of members, each representative of interests present in the area, including NGOs, commercial interests, government bodies and private land-owners. This is to ensure balanced development takes place, supporting needs of the various groups present, all working towards a united vision for the precinct. One does need to question whose voices are not included or represented on the Board. Informal sector presence and residential interests have no space to communicate needs or direct development in this management strategy. Hence one has to conclude the bias of initiatives must be occurring in favour of the dominant interests represented, namely commercial and private sectors.

This is a problematic tendency of development initiatives, one that is in clear need to be rectified in order to ensure all role players needs are met through development. The literature highlights a problematic trend of growing polarities and inequalities between groups within cities. Urban environments tend to favour powerful and wealthy populations, leaving others facing vulnerable and marginalised positions (Kleiniewski; 1997). As is clear in the theory, cities have become centres of concentrated power, thus it is a concern that the NID operational system fails to actively include alternative voices, potentially reinforcing their marginal status (Robinson; 2002).

“[We] manage the area in accordance to the board; the financials, events, coordination between the venues and everything. We actually are only managers. (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

The NID team is responsible for management of the area. They cannot act without Board approval, which features as the overarching management structure for the precinct. The JDA previously managed the precinct, with the NID team officially controlling management on a contract basis from July 2006. The JDA provides bulk resources required to run the precinct's management structures. This changed at the beginning of 2007, when sole management responsibility was handed over to the CJP's NID team, and funding officially ceased (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2007 and interview with Neil Fraser; 2007). It is difficult to determine possible consequences of this change, as too short a time period has lapsed to determine full impact.

The JDA was principal agent responsible for strategic intervention in Newtown, from inception in the late 1990s (JDA [online]; 2006). The year 2000 was important in the precinct's history, as much work was done to considerably alter the area and fast track developmental changes. This involved removal of approximately 20 000 squatters, to facilitate gentrification processes, and large scale infrastructure development. These included building the Nelson Mandela Bridge, on and off ramps to the freeway, and iconic buildings such as No 1 Central Place, contributing to growing Newtown's infrastructural base. They also actively supported upgrade of numerous private sector ventures, such as the Bus Factory and other initiatives. This reflects the JDA's great commitment to the area and to development of the inner city.

Development timeline

There have been numerous important organizational changes to establish the NID and offer effective services to further its endeavours. Important management upgrades have taken place. Now the area is in need of increased usage to create a dynamic, successful urban space. "Newtown needs to be used from the ground, people on the streets, people sitting in the park, using the areas." (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006). Greater commercial sector presence, as well as a larger residential core is needed in order to establish the NID firmly within the dynamic fabric of the inner city. It takes time to change urban landscapes and alter long-standing problems. It is too early in the precinct's lifespan to determine long-term success of implemented changes, as there is only a limited history to gauge possible impacts. There is nevertheless much potential growth and a seemingly positive future for the area. Numerous role players have expressed interest in implementing initiatives, each holding promising, positive growth potential (Fraser ; 2007).

“The fact that it was cleaned up, is managed now, so it’s clean and safe...all the venues and stakeholders are talking together, because there is a central place in which to communicate...so those are very, very positive.” (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

Evictions and housing concerns

One hindrance to fast-tracked growth has been a large informal vagrant presence evident. There is a large squatter population present in Newtown, particularly located within many derelict, abandoned. Over time illegal vagrant groups have caused problems for proposed developments. Numerous evictions have taken place, both in the precinct itself and the inner city region, however are dependent on High Court orders necessary to validate such evictions.

“The problem areas...like also in the whole of Joburg, [is that] we have a huge problem of vagrants and squatters...We have to work in conjunction with the City, so Higher Court orders have to actually be passed [for eviction processes] and it does take a long time to pass those High Court orders. It’s just an on-going challenge on that side.” (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

A judgment was passed on housing concerns within the inner city of Johannesburg, and features as an important impacting factor on this complex issue. Judgement prevented authorities from evicting residents within the inner city without providing alternative accommodation of equal nature, within the same region. This is a positive step in terms of empowering marginalised residents, helping to reduce negative consequences of displacement by development that are becoming increasingly problematic world wide. It does however complicate gentrification processes and hinder government initiatives as it is costly and difficult finding alternative arrangements in the inner city.

“There isn’t currently a residential model that is both affordable to [poorer] people and satisfies health and safety requirements of the local authority. The city initiatives to clear people out of buildings results in investments and accommodation that are not affordable to those people who were originally in those buildings. The social housing institutions providing accommodation in the inner city are not really able to target particularly poor people [either].” (Interview with Sarah Carlton; 2006)

There is an evident shortfall of available, appropriate residential facilities in the region, which is proving to be a difficult concern for development. Previously mentioned in the literature, there is a need for gentrification development, but that must take place with space allocated for social housing and lower income options, in conjunction with high-end schemes implemented. Development occurring within the inner city is effectively neglecting to incorporate diverse marginalised resident populations, as the poor are forcibly removed for upgrade to take place. Many aren’t able to return to original residences as rental prices increase dramatically in redeveloped buildings, with no provision for lower income groups (Beall et al; 2004). There appears to have been little foresight as to where people would find alternatives once evicted. Development is a game of decision-making, often made in favour of most influential groups, primarily those with money. Those wielding power over resources, hold power over territory.

This can lead to displacement of those without access to such resources. Groups lacking power are pushed out as a consequence of not being able to participate in opportunities (Kleiniewski; 1997). Development has differential effects on various groups, thus it is important to ensure all groups are provided for otherwise it will result in imbalanced environments (Robinson; 2002).

“Better Buildings” programme

From a housing perspective, the inner city is an ideal setting for poorer income groups to reside, as generally convenient access to services, employment opportunities, transport nodes, and cheaper rental spaces are to be found, making it a high demand zone for residential facilities. A large proportion of the urban poor reside in the inner city, with the majority of this population involved in the informal economy, or in part-time employment (Fraser; 2007 and Roberts & Sykes; 2000). It is becoming increasingly evident is that there is no appropriate housing model to adequately accommodate large demand for residential spaces in the inner city. The result is lower income groups are forced to live in ‘slum lands’ throughout the city. These are often hijacked or condemned buildings that have been taken over illegally, lacking access to basic services and in neglected and dangerous condition, as are often the only options for the poor (Interview with Melinda Silverman and Sarah Charlton; 2007). This poses escalating problems for the municipality as are hindrances to upgrade and sources of socio-economic concern. There is a gap missing in residential opportunities, as the inner city needs to be able to house a range of socio-economic groups.

One partnership initiative the City has prioritised within the inner city is the ‘Better Buildings’ project, aiming to revitalize physical infrastructure, and redevelop the residential core. The aim is to prevent sinkhole buildings from further degrading, with a number of buildings selected for attention. These face particularly poor physical condition, with failing infrastructure and condemnable living conditions. This is one City-driven effort to improve decayed pockets within the inner city and convert these to offer better living conditions (Interview with Neil Fraser; 2007).

“Basically there is an impasse; there isn’t an easy obvious model that is going to provide acceptable accommodation at a level people currently living in bad buildings can afford. There is a huge gap in understanding about who the people are that are living in bad buildings, and what affordability ranges are. It is a lot more complex.” (Interview with Sarah Carlton; 2006)

There are large misconceptions about ‘bad buildings’ as they are generally seen to be dens of sin and vice, home to rampant criminal activities. These stereotypes fail to understand root causes for such problems. Often financial problems, landlords lacking funds for upgrades, cause these problems of failing infrastructure. In order to make way for upgrade, local agents evict

residents, gut the buildings, and open the way for private sector re-investment. Legal challenges and negative publicity have emerged as a result of such evictions to clear slum lands, done in the name of development. These create problematic contestations and tensions within the inner city, as various interests are clearly not being addressed (Interview with Rashid Seedat; 2007 and Neil Fraser; 2007). This is directly linked to concerns over displacement, as emerged in initial literature searches, in terms of the negative consequences that could potentially arise from development (Robinson; 2000). Problems such as evictions and displacement of poorer groups in the inner city in Johannesburg, clearly illustrate that ‘development’ as an activity or a process, is not necessarily automatically positive or beneficial for all.

High-end residential focus

Many current residential schemes appear to have failed to create adequate facilities for lower income groups. Rather they aim to attract higher ends of the income and property market scales. Preference of new projects appears to focus on creating ‘sexy’ high-end facilities, rather than increase opportunities for accommodating a more diverse range of income groups. Attempts to balance these tensions have emerged. One direct attempt is a requirement for new projects occurring to allocate space for social housing facilities as part of the residential development. The housing estate in Newtown, ‘Brickfields’ is an example as 30% was allocated to social housing facilities in its residential planning (Interview with Rashid Seedat; 2007 and Sarah Charlton; 2007). This attempts to create a more inclusive balance in all developments implemented, to prevent contestation and displacement. There is direct need to have a balance between extremes of income accommodation opinions to offer diversity for various population groups aiming to reside in the area. These tensions are inherent in development, however it is important agents actively attempt to create balance to accommodate a range of interests (Robinson; 2000).

Private sector initiated development

Local authorities have prioritised attracting the private sector to lead upgrade changes, particularly through property-led initiatives. The municipality has focused on creating a conducive environment in order to attract private sector investors to fast track developmental changes, particularly through infrastructure upgrades. Local authorities have implemented strategic interventions to improve incentives in the physical urban landscape, for private sector developers to implement change at a faster pace and larger scale than authorities are able to.

“In Joburg, there has been a particular focus on the revitalisation of the inner city...which has taken [a] property-led regeneration approach. [This is] trying to attract private sector investment back into the

inner city, to improve the quality of residential stock and to create confidence for investment in the inner city” (Interview with Sarah Charlton; 2006)

One of the 5 pillared strategies for inner city revitalization is a focus on creating an environment attractive to private sector investment, to initiate further development (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality; 2006 and interview with Rashid Seedat; 2007). Establishment of CIDs and the UDZ, with tax incentives, has directly contributed to the attractiveness of the region. Incentives such as these have helped attract developers to buy and improve buildings, and implement upgrades making the area more attractive and viable. This does favour private sector, high-end development, which as discussed, holds negative consequences (Roberts & Sykes; 2000). Problems emerge as investors need to fast-track developments to make as much return on initial inputs as possible in a short timeframe, for investments to be profitable. Most private sector agents are not philanthropists; they aim to make worthwhile returns and profit on investments. Often it is not considered profitable to build social housing or low-income residential facilities, as these fail to create sufficient returns on high costs of development.

“It’s always a catch 22, because you build one thing, but is it going to bring you the returns that you need to on the development itself?” (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

Accordingly it is a challenge for local authorities to encourage private sector developers to build such schemes for lower income populations. It is a struggle establishing incentives encouraging such developments; however it is vital they do so as the inner city is in desperate need of such facilities. Boosting the residential core, with a diverse population, is vital to success of any redevelopment the inner city undergoes and for ensuring sustainable growth.

Conflicting objectives

Objectives for development have altered over time, often in contradiction of one another, creating tensions. There appears to be a battle between primary objectives complicating all development action in Johannesburg; this is a priority divergence between slick new development action and everyday urban management. The main vision set by local government focuses on establishing Johannesburg as a ‘beautiful, vibrant 24-hour city’, where the inner city acts as the heart of this exciting vibe (Interview with Rashid Seedat; 2007 and City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality; 2006). This idea is based on models predominantly evident in First World nations’ inner city development strategies. New York is a good example as has an incredibly high-density, populated inner city, with advanced infrastructure and services evident. Many visions for Johannesburg appear to follow these lines, where development aims to be catalytic to establish the inner city as a high-gloss, high-end focal point and as the leading area in terms of dynamic atmosphere and activities. The alternative is that

urban management systems are needed to grapple with everyday problems evident. These include dealing with issues such as crime and grime concerns, general maintenance and effective service delivery such as refuse removal. These day-to-day issues ensure the region works to full potential and meets the needs of all, in order to nurture productivity. This reiterates the important understanding that urban environments are inherently contested spaces due to the multiplicity of issues and interests present. All groups battle over limited resources to have their needs met and prioritised (Kleiniewski; 1997).

Problems arise as glossy city visions often appear in direct conflict with everyday management. It appears there is a constant political tug-of-war occurring between these two as to which gets attention. It appears these two fail to work in conjunction with one another to create better urban environments, rather there is constant battle between which dominates action. It is evident in the past that local authorities tended to favour big, sexy interventions, particularly large-scale infrastructure. These were often done without consideration of surroundings and other concerns; often creating large gaps of neglect in daily operational management activities (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2007 and Neil Fraser; 2007). This resulted in misdirected and mismanaged development, often focusing on large, expensive interventions. These often failed to take into account unique local characteristics, and without effectively improving overall urban environments. This neglect indicates why development has only occurred in finite geographical pockets within the city, failing to transform inner city dynamics dramatically.

“There’s this quite sexy, glamorous, shiny vision on the one hand. On the other hand, there really has been real attempt to get to grips with the pragmatics of Joburg... [such as] investments in taxi ranks and markets. Not necessarily always successful, but there has been a real attempt to grapple with those issues; but often in an unstrategic way... The challenge is how do you manage those things simultaneously?” (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2006)

Newtown’s strategy is potentially problematic for urban development in Johannesburg’s inner city. The CID model is predominantly from First World cities; however local authorities have failed to adapt it in any way to accommodate unique local conditions evident. The precinct is not designed for everyday functional usage by average local citizens found in the inner city. The surrounding areas of the inner city, including Fordsburg, are compromised of ordinary, working class people; despite this, developments taken priority in Newtown are aimed at groups with much higher income and cultural consumption levels (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2007). Much gentrification is evident in Newtown, aimed at middle to upper income groups. This creates a gap between what is developed and those predominantly make use of the area. It

appears the strategies have insufficiently accommodated the surrounding contexts in which Newtown is situated, therefore failing to provide for average working class inner city citizens.

“I can’t ever quite see it becoming this dense café culture, vibrant place...Initially the area around Newtown was about cultural production, which for me resonated with what the area is; which is in a way industrial [production]. It’s a work space, and that suggests a low density [activity rate]. It’s about people coming to work.” (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2006)

The precinct strategies don’t appear to be enhancing unique, local features. Rather it is said by some that Newtown is a sterile, low density environment that is not suited to local needs and demands. It aims to be a high-end, cultural consumption precinct based on Eurocentric ideals. There is no established cultural consumption behavioural pattern in South Africa; our nation does not have a large cultural consumption prioritising population (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2007 and Andreas Bertoldi; 2007). Those who do actively engage in cultural activities and attend such facilities are predominantly found residing in removed, far off suburbia; in northern areas such as Sandton not making regular use of the inner city. Large proportions of these groups view cultural consumption as a dominant, important feature in their lives and have the income to make use of facilities available to support this consumption. Despite this incongruity, they are the very group of cultural consumers that Newtown hopes to attract. Similarly foreign visitors, who are large cultural consumers, don’t stay in hotels in the inner city or surrounding areas, and so also don’t make everyday use of Newtown.

“In terms of overseas visitors, who generally tend to be consumers of museum culture and art galleries, they’re in the North. They aren’t in the South. They aren’t in town.” (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2006)

Many felt that perhaps Newtown was unsuccessful, as it excludes a large proportion of the population active in the inner city (Interview with Andreas Bertoldi; 2007, Melinda Silverman; 2007 and Sarah Charlton; 2007). This results in the precinct standing empty from lack of use, due to this apparent disjuncture between the area and its offerings and needs and demands of the population making use of the inner city. Related to this concern of lack of use, is the relative scale of developments made in the precinct. It emerged through the research, that one of the major short falls with Newtown is the scale is far too overwhelming, failing to create a vibrant, energetic space (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 20067). Associated with limited usage of the area, many felt the spaces have a sense of abandonment and sterility, rather than contributing to the establishment of a vibrant, dynamic precinct. It may be too early in its timeframe to make such bold statements, but many felt that the area with its numerous expensive investments, had failed to create a busy and exciting vibe necessary for attracting people and creating exciting, dynamic urban landscapes in the inner city. Large city blocks and open public spaces had

inhibited rather than promoted street interaction and active engagement with the surroundings (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2007). Certain informants felt the precinct had failed to capture the needs for everyday usage.

Disconnection

Newtown has always been rather removed and disconnected, remaining distinct from the rest of the core inner city area. Due to this dislocation, or lack of connectivity with its surrounding areas, it functioned predominantly as industrial space, with few activities for everyday users of the inner city, mainly found in the informal sector.

“Newtown has always been a transitional piece of the inner city, because it was disconnected from the inner city, just in terms of transport networks...so it attracted almost industrial usage. So it’s never had the same intensity of development that the rest of the inner city has had.” (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2006)

Development focused within this area is potentially beneficial as attempts to alter this dislocation, and attract new sets of users and usages to the area. The infrastructural developments, particularly Nelson Mandela Bridge and the freeway interchanges, were specifically developed to remedy this dislocation and actively bring Newtown into linkage with the rest of the inner city (Interview with Rashid Seedat; 2007). This helps to explain why Newtown was a seemingly neglected space until recently, as well as potential advantages of concerted development to alter this dislocation and neglect. Newtown however is an old area, with dated infrastructure often failing to accommodate current requirements. Many of the buildings lack modernised systems and services and are in need of much maintenance, of not total transformation in some cases. This provides a hindrance to fast tracking development strategies and proposed future changes by both the private sector and authorities, as precincts of this nature are resource-intensive to develop. Much time and money is necessary to resolve infrastructural concerns, improve degraded features, and alter perceptions. This featured as a possible deterrent for developers, who would face problems of failing amenities, such as sewerage, hindering implementation of their projects (Interview with Andreas Bertoldi; 2007 and Melinda Silverman; 2007).

Greater usage of facilities

A concern for the NID is the need to attract larger audiences making use of venues and attractions present. Negative connotations are still prevalent about the inner city of Johannesburg, causing many groups to make use of features in Newtown. Much work is still to be done, and it is a current concern for the management team as well as the JDA to counter negative views and attract bigger audiences to the precinct and the inner city. This includes

particular attention on increasing attractions for Johannesburg citizens from the Northern suburban areas, who have larger budgets to spend on cultural activities and attending events.

“One of the biggest challenges is getting the Northern suburbs to cross Gennard Road and actually come and feel safe in the city centre, to come and enjoy...what is on offer within the city and specifically within Newtown. It is a big, big challenge, specifically after 5 o’clock at night.” (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

This has proved difficult thus far for development implementers, particularly with regards to increasing usage and attendance for evening activities. Slowly but surely role players are beginning to counter negative associations, and beginning to make a positive impact, which can be seen in incremental improvements. Venue owners appear to be working together to make concerted differences in attendance figures and creating increased attractions for Newtown. Some in particular are proving successful in attracting people, especially after hours. For example, the Baseline and the Market Theatre have diverse, exciting yearly programmes on offer, managing to attract consistently large, faithful audiences to the events occurring. Nadia Smith felt that a larger, more dynamic range of activities and venues, in terms of bars and clubs and so forth, was necessary in Newtown in order increase the audience presence. These strategies are beginning to contribute to the sustainability of Newtown; ensuring future developments make lasting impacts on positive growth of the whole inner city region.

However tensions are inherently involved in this objective, as these features appeal solely to those who can afford to attend and participate. It is not an inclusive strategy, as it actively excluded and neglects those without the necessary resources to participate. This is a stress or contestation present in many development and regeneration strategies. Tensions arise as it is necessary to attract certain groups to use the area, helping to increase revenue and attract income; however this is to the exclusion of other less fortunate groups (Interview with Neil Fraser; 2007 and Andreas Bertoldi; 2007). There is need for a balance of activities available in the area that appeal to a variety of groups, aiming to be inclusive of all income ranges and appealing to various socio-economic populations. Free concerts for example would be attractive to a variety of groups, help to be inclusive of a diverse range of populations, and still contribute to boosting usage of the precinct. This would help to counter exclusion and tensions that are often present in development strategies.

Sustainability

It is evident from issues evident in Newtown that the most important challenge of any development and urban management strategy is ensuring sustainability and long-term

improvement. It is essential that all developments are implemented by a range of role players to ensure self-sustainability and growth in a balanced manner for the future. This is an primary feature and a challenging difficulty of all urban management strategies, and highlights the importance of having coordinated, collaborative management systems to ensure areas do not become entropic and degenerate, resulting in growing decay and repeated mounting problems. This challenge is clearly evident in Newtown, as the management team is struggling to ensure the precinct and its systems become self-sustaining entities. Management teams and 'clean and green' systems cost, hence it is essential to bring on board various developers and stakeholders, contributing to financial support and thereby ensuring partnership development and self-sustainability.

The JDA handed over complete control to the NID team in early 2007, withdrawing budgetary support. As discussed, it is still too soon to determine whether these systems will have sufficient structures in place to ensure necessary self-sustainability. Thus far it appears that they have been partially successful, bringing together various role players and ensuring all partners are involved in supporting the precinct. For secure growth, there is a need to attract more developments and investors to the area. It is clear urban management has an important role to help accommodate all groups and their needs in strategic and sustainable ways. All elements need long term strategies to ensure balanced development (Roberts & Sykes; 2000).

"Once we actually get these developments [on board] that are now being proposed within Newtown, then Newtown can actually become self-sustainable." (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006)

Many feel the verdict is still out on whether or not Newtown is a successful model of regeneration and culturally-led redevelopment. Verdict on success or failure is still pending as firstly the timeframe is too short to allow for proper assessment of the system and its changes. Only a limited time period has passed since establishing the area as a major inner city redevelopment, thus it is too early to allow for possible criticism or validation of important changes. Despite this pending verdict, many felt that it will take a long time for the area to settle and for challenges to be met effectively. Development doesn't happen overnight (Roberts & Sykes; 2000). A long period of incremental growth is necessary for Newtown to make a marked difference on its surroundings and the rest of the inner city.

"In the long term, if they keep at it, [development] might happen, but I don't think that its going to happen very quickly...its all going to take a very, very long time." (Interview with Melinda Silverman; 2006)

This highlights the complexity and challenge of development in an urban environment. Problems develop quickly, whereas improvement takes a long time and must have an

incremental, long term focus, with concerted effort in order to be successful and make lasting impacts. This is an important lesson to have emerged from both the case study and the literature theory. There is little way to predict possible outcomes, or potential failure or success of such interventions, due to the complexity of the issues present (Robinson; 2004).

Future measures

There are important new partners moving into the area within the immediate future, holding potential for further large-scale development of the precinct. AngloGold Ashanti in particular is a vital future stakeholder, as they are relocating headquarter offices into Newtown, helping to confirm improvements have taken place thus far. Many of these have had remarkable impacts on the area, having helped entrench positive developmental transformations. This is an important step, as clearly shows that strategies used by various development implementers have successfully transformed negative views about the inner city, and dramatically altered decay and blight threatening to destroy this important region. These future steps help highlight improvements urban management strategies have achieved, implying potential success for the inner city of Johannesburg.

The management team aim to extend initial boundaries of the NID as a result of the initial success in Newtown, slowly spreading developmental impact into surrounding areas, and helping to maximize change in the urban landscape. This is a slow, challenging process however as management systems are heavily dependent on availability of sufficient financial resources.

“The problem is private property owners are moving at a much faster rate, as far as developments and growth, in comparison to the City. [This] is always the case, but there is still too much of a difference here in South Africa. So the more that we can get private development to actually invest in the city, invest and increase their capital base, which is their buildings, the faster it will go” (Interview with Nadia Smith; 2006).

The improvement area cannot extend its boundaries to include a wider region, without the important inclusion of a larger number of stakeholders, more funding and a better organizational structure. These additional services and support systems are necessary to address the increased numbers of concerns and problems that will arise due to the inclusion of a bigger geographical area. There are large problems evident in numerous surrounding areas to Newtown, including slum buildings and growing numbers of squatters taking up residence. The authority structures still need to re-appropriate land throughout the area in order for upgrade to take place, allowing for increased returns through levies to happen. It is vital sufficient resources are available for this extension, before implementation as without proper support systems in place, developments will fail to be sustainable or make lasting improvements. It is important to highlight the positive

impact Newtown's improvement district strategy has made on the area, and that future plans are in place to extend this initiative in the close future. These developments offer a positive example for other South African metropolitans suffering similar problems.

Many believe that the improvement district strategy has implemented improvements to Newtown and helped instigate further development throughout surrounding neighbourhoods. The main aim of improvement district strategies for urban management and development in a city is to focus on incremental improvement, steadily growing to alter the inner city as a whole. This focus starts in a finite zone, to maximize initial interventions and dramatically improve all socio-economic indicators. From this initial focus, intention is to slowly spread benefits to surrounding areas, helping initiate growth within the region. It is hoped that through management strategies employed in Newtown, beneficial changes will spread throughout the inner city.

"The 'safe and clean' [strategy] is the base of the model. It's a hierarchy of actions. Eventually you want to get to the urban design framework [which focuses on] the whole precinct...What we would like to eventually get with the Improvement District is the whole urban design framework for the inner city ...where to put the informal traders, where the walkways and paths should go, and parking access available to the whole city...That is what we are working towards." (Interview with Nadia Smith, 2006)

This strategy illustrates that partnerships established between local authorities and private sector agents holds the intention for implementing positive change to urban landscapes (Roberts & Sykes; 2000). The private sector clearly is able to move faster than the City to implement regeneration, as they are not restricted by bureaucratic processes and organizational mandates as much. By creating partnerships, authorities can help create conducive environments and incentives for investment and meet demands of service delivery, while private sector help implement fast tracked development, as have sufficient resources to do so. It is important for implementation of successful development, partnerships between role players must be firmly established to maximize advantages and developmental impact. Partnerships help balance tensions and contestation that are inherent in urban landscapes, helping to provide opportunities for numerous groups, not simply favouring those with power and wealth (Kleiniewski; 1997).

Chapter 5.3: Reflections

This section aims to briefly explore generic lessons and concerns about urban development and management. These themes emerged from broader examination of upgrade processes taking place in a wider context of Johannesburg, not simply within the Newtown Improvement District. These are important to examine as they directly impact on the future of Newtown, and on the inner city. Broadening the examination is essential for assessing the contextual urban environment and establishing generic lessons from the case study.

- **Unique features of urban landscapes:** Many informants felt for successful urban management strategies to be implemented, it is vital that a nuanced understanding of the urban landscape context is evident. Issues change per area within a city; what works in one location may fail and be completely inappropriate within another region. In certain contexts, such as the inner city, dynamics may vary from street to street, each operating in a complex microcosm environment. It is important that these are accommodated for. When implemented, it is essential strategies are pertinent to their local environment, ensuring sensitivity to local dynamics.
- **Essential elements of urban management:** Management of urban environments must aim to enhance the landscape to function at optimal levels, best serving the population groups present. Strategies addressing urban issues must be creative, persevering to find optimal solutions. To achieve this, local implementing agents must ensure no duplication of effort or neglect of certain issues occurs. Priority for all strategic interventions must be to maximize advantages for the public good. Emphasis on one particular group's interests cannot be done in a manner that impinges on rights of others, or overall priority on greater public good. All developments must aim at enhancing experiences of the largest user population. Often development neglects this priority, with the private sector gaining advantage to the neglect of furthering basic public rights. Establishing a culture of participatory development is an essential element for effective development.
- **Spatial dynamics in Johannesburg as a leading constraint to development:** The way Johannesburg has physically developed has not been conducive to establishing an effective urban landscape. Constraints such as of low-density suburban sprawl, limited amenities such as public space, all contributed to creating a constrained built environment. These problems are highlighted in the geographically confined inner city. Development in such environments is complex, hence need

arises for greater understanding of problems and opportunities present. All space needs to be simultaneously improved for urban dynamics to change.

- Johannesburg's approach to local development: The City initially rushed into development processes without sufficient foresight, leading to financial crisis and problematic differentials in development experienced throughout the city. Realizing mistakes of severe mismanagement, the City underwent transformation, emphasising their role as an active economic developmental agent within the urban environment. This change led to redefinition of visions and of objectives for urban development. However authorities lacked flexibility necessary to address demands on ground level or clear mandates to follow, at times leading to battles over leadership of initiatives. These bureaucratic problems created hindrances for development processes, with many private sector bodies expressing frustration at these failures. There is a clear need for redirection to alleviate these persisting problem areas. For positive change to occur, agents need to redefine roles, streamlining strategies to minimize rigidity and maximize sustainable developmental changes.
- Precinct-based approaches: It is important unique local features be given priority attention when devising development interventions for areas. By making use of precinct-based approach, local authorities emphasise differences in regions; localising strategies, not simply establishing single blanket solutions for development throughout the city. This approach holds positive potential if strategically planned and implemented, as it helps establish the city as a dynamic location, full of unique locations, with specific areas offering different features for a variety of users. Despite certain improvements resulting from these strategies, concern is that certain areas receive greater support and resource attention than others, creating problematic segregation. This resulted in potentially creating a system of 'micro-apartheid', where targeted users were attracted to certain areas, according to income levels, and associated cultural or racial backgrounds, to the exclusion of others. It was felt that Newtown has received attention and resources to the neglect of other areas with greater need, such as Hillbrow where infrastructure and urban management are very poor. Trickle-down effects meant to occur from catalytic interventions have not spread as expected to transform other areas in dire need. If agents focus on specific areas for upgrade, including improved facilities and fast-tracked development, then it is essential to alternatively provide additional development services in other areas.

- Neglected concerns in development initiatives: social concerns of urban management have been neglected, including sufficient social housing facilities for lower income groups, economic opportunities and improved social services. Many strategies implemented neglected these concerns, rather focusing on large-scale infrastructure projects and investment incentives for private sector development. Policies were often too economic in focus, neglecting to actively intervene to improve human development imbalances evident. Johannesburg urban management structures have failed to address needs of the informal economy; at times simply removing informal activities, such as street traders from the urban landscape and failing to accommodate their presence. These activities are rife throughout the city, being a vital source of livelihood for much of the urban population. Despite this, interventions often enforced displacement of informal activities, banning trading or forcibly removing informal practices from the inner city, thus neglecting an important feature.

Lessons learnt

- Partnerships are an indispensable feature in development processes: Evidence shows partnerships between various role players, principally collaborations between public and private sector agents are important to ensuring long-term development of urban landscapes. Having a range of interests involved helps balance power struggles and prevents particular groups from prioritising actions.
- Understanding local context is essential: Development strategies must accommodate the full range of circumstances present within an urban landscape. It is important for strategies to address all nuances present in the local context.
- Development strategies must fit into long-term visions: Strategies cannot be implemented in one finite area to effect sustainable change, without featuring as part of comprehensive city visions. It is essential to simultaneously create linkages between development strategies within each node, and take into account surrounding areas and their needs, helping enforce sustainable effective growth in the urban landscape.
- Practical ground level implementation systems are imperative: This is a lesson learnt from the Newtown case study. For the NID to function at its optimal, sufficiently responsive to local needs, it is essential a locally-based team of practical implementation staff are present. In conjunction with ground level implementation structures, it is necessary to have balanced macro policies and institutionalised strategies for support on a holistic level. It is important to have good macro level policies and structures in place, but without ensuring emphasis on practical implementation systems, development will fail to be effective.

- Balance all interests present in the urban landscape and be actively aware development is not automatically a benign process: Negative consequences can occur due to biased implementation of strategies. The aim of successful development must be to mitigate possible negative impacts. Effective development must actively balance all interests, diminish problems and further positive repercussions. It is essential for upgrade to be implemented without negatively impacting on marginalised groups.
- Complexities involved in development must be actively considered when devising strategies: Development is complex activity, involving numerous challenges and potential solutions. It is clear there is no single remedy or strategy for implementation to achieve success. Problems, particularly those in the development field, must be understood on all levels, to assess the full range of concerns involved. To achieve sustainability, development strategies must accommodate all issues involved in any situation, understanding nuances prevalent. This is an essential lesson for development practitioners, particularly local government agents, in light of inner city regeneration. Failure to read all the signs results in incorrect strategies, neglected issues and overall development failure.

In ten years time, the inner city of Johannesburg will be unrecognisable from the city of today! The rapidly looming 2010, meeting ever-increasing demand for housing, a transportation system that will have widespread and dramatic impact on the city and the changing nature of demand for commercial premises will all put new pressures on the urban fabric. Timeous and proactive responses to these pressures will be critical. The infrastructure that will have to deal with these responses will also be crucial; here I am not referring to physical infrastructure, although that is clearly an aspect, but to the social and institutional infrastructure. These have not always been particularly successful over the last decade, with progress often being made despite them rather than because of them.

Neil Fraser: Citichat Newsletter; 2007

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This section aims to provide conclusions for the research undertaken in this study. The section helps to summarise dominant themes that emerged through the research process, outlining important issues explored in detail in preceding chapters. The research set out to investigate the complexity of concerns present in urban landscapes, particularly with attention on the tensions evident within inner city regions. The research sought to investigate dominant challenges present, as well as the evolution of processes established for development intervention of urban spaces. The research drew substantially on ideas from prominent literature in the development field, such as the political economy ideology, to provide a framework for examining complicated, contested urban environments. These helped provide a background necessary for analysis of the research undertaken, particularly providing tools for understanding dynamics of the case study. Newtown was employed as principal case study, as the research sought to use the precinct as an example to explore pertinent and prominent themes. Despite being a relatively limited and finite research project, certain key thematic findings did emerge, helping to provide interesting insight to understanding urban landscapes.

Through such background framework, it became clear that conflicting needs and tensions are always apparent in development; however concern is how these are balanced and accommodated for in strategies and processes. Conflict and contestation between various groups are prevalent in urban landscapes, but are compounded in inner cities due to compression of resources in this finite geographical area. Conflicts arise due to imbalances; who can access change, who wields power and whose interests are followed all create imbalances that lead to problems and tensions. This is principally due to money equating to power and control over processes, resulting in well-resourced groups having priority, with others lacking access to such resources marginalised from systems of change.

This is pertinent to development and upgrade, as what is implemented often furthers the needs of the few, preventing access or support for others. 'Development' often only includes and benefits those who can pay for it, thereby directly exclusive and exclusionary to other groups who lack necessary resources to actively participate. Tensions persist in such urban landscapes, as the range of interests and needs present are so diverse and varied. As a consequence conflict between groups persists, as each vies for power and priority. The political economy framework clearly provides understanding as to why these conflicts occur, as societal interactions and dynamics are determined by power relations and struggles for control (Kleiniewski; 1997). Tensions can occur due to design flaws and failures of

systems to regulate and control such complexities, namely state or public sector interventions and strategies. It is necessary that such strategies are conscious of the presence and nature of such conflicts, actively and creatively attempting to provide ways in which to effectively deal with them, accommodating the range of interests and preventing negative consequences.

It is evident that public sector strategies tend to assume away these conflicts to a degree, and often fail to implement systems that will ensure balance in prioritised interests; primarily that marginalised groups are not neglected in favour of private sector resource-rich interests. This imbalance is evident in Newtown, as priority has been placed on attracting private sector led fast-tracked development and reinvestment. This is not necessarily a bad strategic direction, as it is necessary to have money and investment from such groups in order to implement change in an urban environment. However the developments established have an overwhelming bias in favour of attracting moneyed, well-resourced audience groups. Principally high-income cultural consumers are prioritised in Newtown, thus failing to provide sufficient space to accommodate poorer or more marginalised groups working or residing in the area. Active displacement of such groups has taken place in some instances, highlighting the problem of misdirection, and a clear lack of balanced attention given to all needs. The urban poor, average daily commuters or residents in the area, informal workers and other such groups have been neglected as facilities and development schemes have failed to create features pertinent or affordable to these groups.

Thus it is clear that the public sector strategies employed in Newtown, particularly through the establishment of the NID, have directly favoured particular groups over others, creating systems to support these groups, while failing to incorporate other neglected, marginalised populations. This creates major tension, evident in contestation over informal activities and their presence in the inner city, problems of forced evictions and numerous other negative consequences. It is important that public sector strategies, through urban management or development processes, institutionalise necessary balance to mitigate negative consequences impacting poorer groups who cannot afford to carry the burdens. It is essential public sector strategies and institutional systems acknowledge these conflicts over different needs, interests and power, and attempt to actively intervene to ensure all interests are accommodated to some degree, without favouring particular groups.

Newtown as a result is at a crossroads, in regards to assessing its ultimate impact on the urban landscape and populations. Impact is incredibly difficult to gauge as currently it has had very differential impacts on poor inner city residents and other marginalised groups in comparison to

advancement of private sector capital. Emphasis has been placed on promotion and development of physical investment, attractive cultural activities and gentrification of the urban environment, however to the neglect of necessary people-centred developmental needs. This imbalanced prioritising has challenged the diversity of Newtown and its ultimate potential impact on the inner city region of Johannesburg, as it creates a schism in the fabric of urban life. In terms of a social development project for Johannesburg, Newtown has failed. Despite mixed interests present to a certain extent, there is a void of alternative role players' interests and voices evident. Development of 'things', hard infrastructure and physical upgrade, have had priority without direct attention placed on people-centred, social developmental facilities or services.

During the democratic transition of government in the early 1990s, it was pertinent for a severely resource and capacity limited local government in Johannesburg to enlist the help and services of the private sector. This sector had sufficient resources and capacity to instigate development and reinvestment processes in the inner city region, which was in desperate need of such attention. Without such support no development or regeneration upgrading would have taken place within a relatively limited period. In order for this to happen, the local authorities had to provide the space for private sector interests to win priority focus. However directly because of these actions, many developments have had negative consequences for more marginalised, powerless groups particularly the urban poor, with many interventions failing to address softer developmental needs, such as social housing facilities and providing economic opportunities for informal workers.

It is clear that all urban development agents need to now act to counter negative consequences, actively working together to limit contestations, contradictions and tensions present within urban environments. It is essential for positive future growth to establish processes and programmes to balance these problems. A positive directional change is the Inner City Summit process to have taken place recently. This is the beginning of a process attempting to bring all role players present in the inner city together, and create a comprehensive list of actions to eradicate problems and imbalances present within this region. This is a potentially positive step towards actively addressing the contestations present in urban spaces and the contradictions of many intervention and development schemes.

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Johannesburg Development Agency

<http://www.jda.co.za>

Property 24: property coverage

<http://www.property24.com>

Statistics South Africa

<http://www.statssa.gov.za>

South African Cities Network

<http://www.sacities.net>

Trafalgar Properties

<http://www.trafalgar.co.za>

UN-HABITAT

United Nations Urban Management Programme

<http://unhabitat.org>

Interviews with key informants throughout 2007:

- Andreas Bertoldi: Shishaka Urban Development Corporation
- Sarah Charlton: Architecture and Planning Department, WITS University
- Neil Fraser: Urban Inc, Urban Development Agency
- Nadia Smith: Business and Operations manager, Newtown Improvement District, Central Johannesburg Partnership
- Rashid Seedat: Central Planning Unity, Johannesburg Metropolitan
- Melinda Silverman: Architecture and Planning Department, WITS University

Personal communications conducted with other role players such as Graham Gotz, member of the Strategic Planning department of Johannesburg City Council and Yael Horowitz, CEO of the Johannesburg Development Agency.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Section A: Biographical details

- Name
- Specific position/ occupation
- Relationship to or involvement in either Newtown or urban development field
- Length of time involved

Section B: Urban management and regeneration, particularly focusing on inner cities

- What are the current problems faced by urban landscapes, particularly in inner city areas?
- Why have these problems come about?
- What affects city development; both negative and positive features?
- What interactions are at play in urban environments?
- What are the tensions involved in urban management issues? (Between macro and micro concerns)
- What is urban management- as a solution or intervention to these problems?
- Do these factors interaction, or influence one another and how?
- What goals, objectives and aims are proposed for urban management and urban regeneration strategies?
- What dynamics are involved in urban management? What leading factors help to contribute to the establishment of a good urban environment and landscape?
- How has South Africa's history contributed to the current state of urban landscapes?
- What are the problems currently evident?
- What are the major hindrances and challenges to inner city development and regeneration?
- What is your understanding of contested urban space?
- What are the possible strategies to prevent or balance such contestation over space?
- What lessons can be learnt from current regeneration and urban management strategies?
- What aims urban regeneration hopes to achieve for urban areas? What strategies are being employed in order to achieve these aims, and how do they do so?
- Explore evolution of urban management; original intentions versus end result implemented?

Section C: Detailed focus on case study of Newtown

- History and insight into the project; allowing for a fuller understanding of project
- What were the original intentions of the project: what aims and objectives were desired?
- What partners or institutional arrangement was established to fulfil these aims?
- What urban management strategies were employed in the area?
- Why the choice of that specific geographical area?
- What characteristics marked the area?
- What problems/ negative or positive attributes were evident?
- Describe the evolution of the project until current day.
- Have the objectives and aims changed over the project's history?
- Have institutional or partnership relations altered over time?
- Has the project had its desired effect, or have things grown further than expected/ not enough?
- Have the original aims and objectives been met?
- What is the current institutional arrangement supporting the project?
- What is the future trajectory of the project; where to from here?
- What lessons can be learnt from the project in terms of urban intervention and development, particularly intervention strategies in inner city areas?

Appendix 2: Leading developments in Newtown

This section highlights the major developments, focusing particularly on new physical infrastructure to have been built in the case study precinct of Newtown since its inception in the late 1990s.

Infrastructure

Majority of developments have been orchestrated by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), in conjunction with numerous other role players and stakeholders:

- Mary Fitzgerald Square and associated public ablution facilities, costing R15 million to develop. Opened in 2000, the Square can offer 50 000 crowd capacity for outdoor activities.
- Nelson Mandela Bridge, costing R120 million and opened in 2003.
- The N1/ Carr Street Interchange, allowing on and off ramps, improving traffic linkages.
- Metro Mall: offering taxi ranking facilities, public transport interchange, and large shopping complex. Development cost R100 million and is used by estimated 150 000 commuters daily.
- Upgrade of urban environment: renaming of streets, aesthetic redesign and spatial development framework, including signature identity for the area.
- Installation of CCTV camera security networks.
- Iconic lighting system designed by renowned French lighting designer, Patrick Rimoux.

Residential

Majority of developments have been coordinated by the JHC, with private sector developers. Many residential units offer mixed-income accommodation facilities, to attract a range of residents.

- Tribunal Gardens residential block
- Carr Gardens
- Cope Housing Development (border of Fordsburg)
- Brickfields housing development
- Metro Mall residential accommodations
- Newtown Urban Village
- Quinn Street Apartments (conversion from office block)
- Franklin residential accommodation (previously Earnst and Young offices)
- 'The Sidings' new major residential block behind new Quinn Street accommodation block
- Proposed plans for 'Transport House' to be developed as an 80 room boutique hotel and 200 apartment residential block, including approximately 3600 square metres of retail space, and a cinema complex

Office and Commercial

These include both new developments and refurbishments of established buildings. These developments have been led by the JDA, in conjunction with numerous private sector stakeholders.

- Number 1 Central Place: established to be a cornerstone area in Newtown.
- The Mills @ Newtown: office developments in previous factory buildings
- The Newtown Hotel

- The Bus Factory: National Craft and Design Centre. The city's original bus and tram storage underwent a R9, 5 million transformation and has been converted for manufacturing, sale and promotion of South African craft and design.
- The Oriental Plaza refurbishment
- SciBono Building: retail (shops and restaurant) as well as office space
- Turbine Hall and the Boiler House: headquarter offices for AngloGold Ashanti
- 11 Diagonal Street redevelopment and take over: now home to First National Bank and ABSA Bank headquarter offices
- Numerous new restaurants and clubs have opened in the area, including Moyo, Gramadoelas, Kippies, Nikki's Café, the Fuel Café, and many others throughout the precinct.
- Mixed-use developments contribute to establishing a range of uses evident in the precinct. Many new developments have combined retail, office and residential uses together to maximize usage and diversity of the precinct. 'The Majestic', is one example, combining retail space and residential accommodation.
- Complete refurbishment of SAB's 'World of Beer' museum and tour facility.
- Metro Mall retail and public transport complex, including taxi ranking facilities, and trading space for both informal and formal retail outlets.

Cultural presence

- SciBono Building: R150 million refurbishment of the 'Electric Workshop' building into a world-class science and technology education centre. This facility offers the biggest exhibition space in Africa focusing on interactive education.
- The Dance Factory: home to dance advocacy and training NGOs, and performance and training facilities, including 'Moving into Dance', a dance training institution and professional dance company.
- The Workers Library and Museum, a refurbished heritage site, showcasing workers' struggles through apartheid history.
- The MuseuMAfrica; Johannesburg's leading history and cultural museum. The museum borders Mary Fitzgerald Square, and is housed in the old fruit and vegetable market, dating back to 1913.
- The Newtown Music Centre, managed by the Music Industry Development Initiative (MIDI), offers performance locations as well as training and recording facilities.
- Refurbishment of The Market Theatre, a dominant historical presence in the precinct. Associated is the establishment of the Afrika Cultural Centre, behind the theatre, an arts centre focusing on arts development and education for youth including a resource centre and year-round education programme.
- Numerous restaurants and clubs throughout the precinct help to serve not only as commercial and retail ventures, but also contribute to the cultural appeal of the area. Many function as trendy music venues and popular social spots, contributing to the cultural ambiance of Newtown.

Organisational presence

- The JDA relocated in 2006 with headquarter offices at the Bus Factory.
- The Gauteng Tourism Authority offices: based in Central Place.
- Blue IQ, the provincial development agency, has headquarter offices on President Street.
- Next door to Blue IQ, are Johannesburg City's Art, Culture and Heritage offices.

- Number 1 President Street houses numerous NGOs and cultural organizations, offering training, advocacy and support in the arts and culture field. These include the Musicians' Union of South Africa, Newtown Film and Television School, and FUBA Music and Drama.
- NID management and operations team offices are located in SciBono Buildings.

Over **R3 billion** is the total estimated cost of changes and developments that have occurred in the Newtown precinct since 2001 (including known future proposed developments and investments). Public sector funding provided by Blue IQ, the City of Johannesburg predominantly through the JDA, National Roads Agency, and National Department of Transport, is estimated in excess of **R400 million**.