

URBAN REGENERATION IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

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OPSOMMING

As gevolg van die oorgang van 'n moderne na 'n post moderne gemeenskap, en die besef dat die wêreld se hulpbronne nie vir altyd gaan hou nie, moet 'n verskeidenheid gebruikte vir die hulpbronne ontwikkel word om die stygende sosiale en ekonomiese druk te balanseer. Om die ideale van die volhoubare stad te bereik sal hierdie studie op die aspekte van stedelike hernuwing fokus. 'n Toenemende probleem waarmee die beplanner te kampe het is die konstante destruktiewe teenwoordigheid van metodes wat premature stedelike verval veroorsaak. Dit is dus die intensie van die outeur dat die karakter en funksie van stedelike hernuwing weer besoek moet word om te verbeter op die tradisionele metodes wat gebruik word om sentrale stedelike gebiede te verbeter.

Hierdie studie demonstreer die wyse waarop nuwe pogings na stedelike hernuwing, plaaslik en internasionaal aangewend kan word om die probleem van stedelike degenerasie in Suid-Afrika te hanteer. Dit bevestig die feit dat alhoewel daar aandag gegee word aan stedelike hernuwing in Suid-Afrika, daar 'n gebrek aan gestruktureerde beleid en wetgewing bestaan wat daarop gerig is om die potensiële voordele van die proses te vergroot. Twee belangrike bevindings van die studie is dat stedelike hernuwing slegs suksesvol kan wees indien daar groter betrokkenheid van die inwoners en 'n verskeidenheid aspekte van die stedelike omgewing soos ekonomie, kuns, kultuur, bemarking asook natuurlike en institusionele potensiaal ontwikkel moet word om die verlangde resultaat te bereik.

ABSTRACT

As a result of the transition from a modern to post-modern society, and the realization that the earth's resources are no longer infinite, a diversity of uses needs to be created in order to balance out the increasing social and economic pressures in built-up areas. In order to achieve the ideal of a sustainable city this study will focus on the aspects of urban regeneration. A growing problem the planner has to contend with is the constant presence of destructive tools that are working their way through inner cities causing premature urban decay. It is the contention of the author that the characteristics and functions of urban regeneration need to be revisited in order to improve on the methods that have traditionally been used to improve inner urban areas.

This study demonstrates how new approaches to urban regeneration, locally and internationally, could be applied to urban areas in South Africa to help solve the problem of urban degeneration. It shows that although some attention is paid to urban regeneration in South Africa, there is a lack of a dedicated set of policies and legislation aimed at maximizing the potential benefits of the process. Two of the important findings of the study are that in order for urban regeneration to be successful, there should be greater involvement from the inhabitants, and that a variety of aspects of the urban environment such as its economic, artistic, cultural, marketing, natural, and institutional potential needs to be exploited in order for it to have the desired outcome.

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CHAPTER 1

1.] OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1] INTRODUCTION

Change is inherent in our society, but what kind of cities do we envisage and how do we get from where we are to where we want to be? Considering past practice and how it influenced decisions around urban fabric it is difficult to determine the future as far as achieving our expectations is concerned. To regenerate the urban fabric and the areas of decline is one of the greatest challenges for the well-being of our society. The challenges that face us, not only includes the physical form but also those affected by degeneration. Two questions come to mind: first, how will the constraints of achieving the changing social-political and economic circumstances influence the visions of our cities? Secondly, we must realise that visions for the future will vary considerably as time passes. However,

the visions that there are for cities in the world despite the variances in visions for cities across the world, there are common features that people envision. These include:

- a safe and healthy environment;
- a city in which inhabitants and organizations contribute, rather than take out;
- an attractive city in which inhabitants can be proud of;
- adequate housing and income for all its inhabitants;
- good infrastructure;
- a incubator of cultural excellence and;
- opportunities to pursue business interest and other activities.

Each of these ideas has implications for implementation. Imagine living in a perfect world. The structures of everyday life are created to suit each and every need at an individual and societal level. This dream or ideal is what is commonly known as a utopia. Unfortunately the Biblical adage pertaining to the original sin of Adam and Eve resulted in the permanent destruction of the utopian concept. There have been many attempts to recapture the utopian ideal. Hitler and



his utopian ideal of the Herenvolk is one such example. The current reality of many major urban areas around the world is that of decaying, crime infested, anti-social and rundown buildings, surrounded by mazed networks of roads. This is the grim reality of what has become of areas across the world.

Improving the wellbeing of urban areas is an important objective of the South African society. Urban areas are the economic generators, and the social-political and cultural hubs. Urban areas are also the home of more than half the population of South Africa and are thus the driving force behind each country's continuation (Statistics South Africa. 1996: 6). In the urban setting one finds built-up areas, partly covered by the dust of the slums, and surrounded by "green areas" the latter being the protector of the natural environment. Within the urban space one is introduced to a mixture of cultural and social activities and various transport modes connecting several nodes. This seems to be a footprint that is found in nearly every city in the world.

Urban areas represent both negative and positive space. On the one hand they can be seen as the destroyer of the natural environment and on the other hand as a

safeguard of the environment. Whatever the case, the protection of urban areas is essential if there is to be an urban future. In an effort to protecting the urban environment various urban regeneration projects are embarked upon with the hope of attracting new business and creating a safer environment. Urban regeneration is implemented to ensure better development possibilities. This idea of urban regeneration is not a new one, but, techniques to achieving the end have evolved over time.

1.1.1] PROBLEM STATEMENT

Various regeneration methods exist internationally and locally. Many of these can be implemented or improved upon in urban areas in South Africa. However, not all these methods are known or implemented in South Africa. The following questions will assist the study in solving the research problem:

- What is the status of South African cities in regard with social, economic, institutional and cultural aspects?
- What does urban regeneration mean?



- What methods are used in urban regeneration locally and internationally?
- What makes certain cities more liveable than others?
- How can these methods be implemented in South Africa? and
- How can the sustainability of cities be improved?

1.2] AIM OF THE STUDY

The hypothesis of the study is that methods investigated in this study such as urban art, urban landscaping, architecture, cultural improvement and regeneration legislation can contribute to improvement of urban areas. Thus attracting investment, thus creating jobs, and residents back to the dying urban core again.

Various urban renewal projects have been started as a result of the "rotten apple" syndrome of the city core. The outcomes of these projects have both been viewed both positively and negatively by the public. The aim is to look at urban areas of other countries and to use the positive elements of projects that can be adapted for South African

urban areas by combining them with relevant writings on the required subject.

The study will also revisit methods that exist globally and to apply them to the *current situation of South African cities* that can be used for future planning efforts in this country. The study aims to find solutions for many of the ills of our urban environment while returning to the utopian icon of a compacted, well functioning urban environment. It will introduce techniques for urban renewal that have not as yet been used in South Africa before or techniques that deserve more attention.

The theme 'Urban Regeneration' is of great importance to every urban area that exists. Due to the popularity of this subject a huge amount of information exists. It is thus important to limit the information gathered. The data collected *will then have a time frame to the end of 2002*. In some cases articles were added that were written before May 2003, due to the relevance to the subject.

1.3] GLOSSARY

The following definitions will apply within the context of the dissertation:



Dystopia – A bad place. A place or utopia that is considered bad.

Eutopia – A good place. An interpretation of utopia that recognises the quality of its ideals. Thus a description of a real place that is considered good.

Flagship development – as used in this study refers to high profile developments that can play an influential part in urban regeneration which can be justified if they attract other investment.

Prac-topia – The term used in this study to describe both the model and the result of the modern compromise of utopian vision and pragmatic execution made possible by the abstraction of both.

Rotten Apple Syndrome – this effect happens when a bad (such as high crime) area or business locates itself in a good area and then attracts bad businesses or industries to the area and thus downgrading the area.

Squatter settlement – a settlement where people occupy land without the permission of the owner.

Topia – A place that exists or has the potential to exist.

U-topia – No place. An interpretation of utopia that recognizes its impartibility. A description of a real place that is so abstract that particularities are irrelevant.

Ubuntu – Zulu word for a feeling of brotherhood. Thus belonging to a group.

Urban agriculture - as used here, refers to small areas (e.g. vacant plots, gardens, verges, balconies, containers) within the city for growing crops and raising small livestock or milk cows for own-consumption or sale in neighbourhood markets.

Urbanite – a person living in an urban area.

Urban Regeneration – the process in which the problems (such as crime and pollution) in urban areas are attempted to be corrected through different strategies.

Utopia – An imaginary or visionary place that is ambiguously happy and ideal but impracticable and impossible.



1.4] METHODOLOGY

1.4.1] UNDERSTANDING RESEARCH

"In virtually every subject area, our knowledge is incomplete and problems are waiting to be solved. We can address the holes in our knowledge and those unresolved problems by asking relevant questions and then seeking answers through systematic research" (Leedy & Ormrod. 2001:3). Research is thus the systematic process of collecting and analyzing information in order to increase understanding on the relevant subject. Research methodology refers to the "approach that the researcher takes in carrying out the research project this approach then dictates the particular tools that the researcher selects and will be using" (Leedy & Ormrod. 2001:14).

In this study research is done by mainly using qualitative research methods. It is, however, important to note that to a lesser extent use will be made of quantitative research methods. According to Martins (1996:125) quantitative research generally involves the 'collection of primary data from a huge population with the intention to apply the results to a wider population'.

The method, whether quantitative or qualitative, then also perceives the way in what tools will be used to solve/answer the research problem. More attention has been given to quantitative research since it was regarded by the society as a better science because it related to numbers and precision (Berg. 1998:2). Qualitative research, broadly defined means 'any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Strauss & Corbin. 1990:17). Qualitative data are data that describe a certain object or situation and can therefore not be measured or analyzed statistically (Martins. 1996:131). It is important to emphasize the emergent nature of qualitative research design. Because the researcher seeks to observe and interpret meanings in context, it is neither possible nor appropriate to finalize research strategies before data collection has begun (Patton. 1990). Qualitative research proposals should, however, specify questions to be explored and plans for data collection strategies.



1.4.2] QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

This study is based on several research methods. Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researcher to study social and cultural phenomena. According to Smit (2000), there are various qualitative methods and he defines a research method as a strategy of inquiry which moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to research design and data collection. The way in which data is collected determined by the choice of the method:

Primary data: original data collected specifically for solving the problem in hand

Secondary data: existing data which can be used in solving the problem under study

- **Case Study research** – this research is an 'in-depth analysis of one or more events, settings, programmes and individuals to permit the researcher to understand how it operates or functions' (Berg. 2001:212). This approach may also imply a number of data technologies such as interviews, life documents or observations (Yin. 1984 & Hagan. 1993). A case study can also be multi-case, where several different entities are studied.
- **Ethnographic research** – ethnographic research is an in-depth analytical description and interpretation of naturally occurring behaviour within a culture or social group. Leedy et al (2001:151) adds that the focus of the investigation is on the everyday behaviours of the people in the group, with an intent to identify cultural norms, beliefs and other cultural norms.
- **Grounded theory** – This method is used to discover or generate a theory. The theory is essentially an abstract schema, or set of propositions, that pertain to a specific experience, situation or setting. It is thus to derive a theory from data collected in a natural setting (Leedy & Ormrod. 2001:157).
- **Content Analysis** – Content analysis is a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of material for the purpose of identifying themes or patterns (Leedy & Ormrod.



2001:155). This refers to books, newspapers, television or art, thus any form of human communication. This study is a literature study and thus it is important to set limitations. Because of the scope of the study literature that is investigated on can be dated.

- **Historical research** – involves a process that ‘examines events or combinations of events in order to uncover accounts of what happened in the past’ (Berg, 2001:199).

This research consists of an eclectic combination of various qualitative methodologies. This approach was adopted so that a holistic view could be reached, instead of merely focusing on one type of data retrieval. The techniques used to retrieve data include:

- Analysis of literature
- Evaluation of developed and developing countries case studies

Secondary data that were used included:

- Books relating to the subject;
- Articles;
- Television programs and

- The internet.

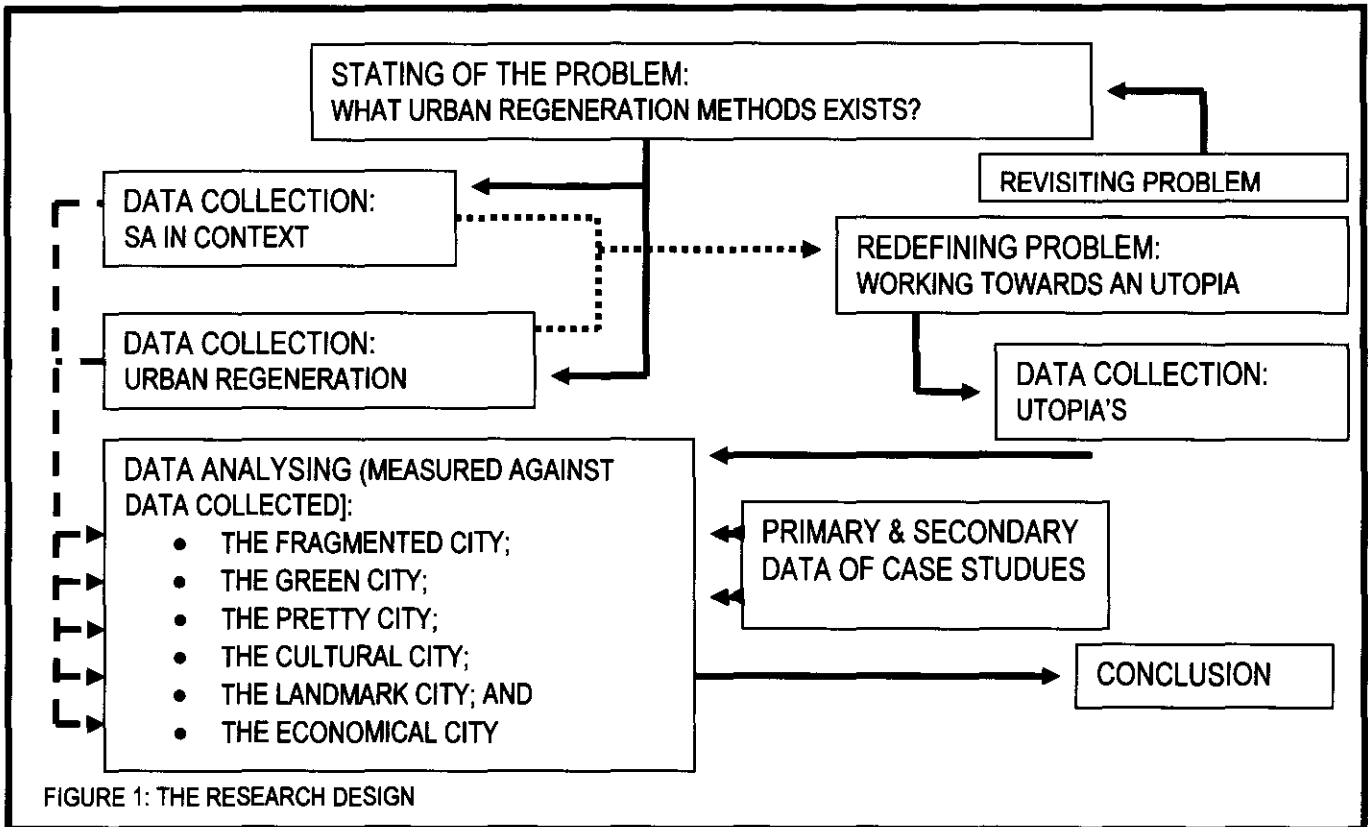
The analysis process for qualitative research aims to make sense out of the data that were captured in order to allow some conclusions to be made.

1.4.3] RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design can be seen as a complete attack on the central research problem (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001:91). It provides the overall procedures that the researcher follows, the data collected and analyzed and the final conclusion. The research design for this research can be seen in figure 1:

1.5] PROJECT STRUCTURE

This study is presented as a document that includes a critical analysis of the South African status quo followed by different urban utopias to be researched that can have an impact on the South African condition.



Chapter 2 – South African urban areas in history. The aim of the chapter is to establish the state of urban areas in South Africa by looking at the history of urban areas and their planning;

Chapter 3 – Urban regeneration defined. This chapter investigates the theory behind urban renewal in a South African context. It investigates the various definitions of the concept and techniques used;

Chapter 4 – Urban Utopia. This chapter looks into the utopias formed in the past such as the Garden City or the Radiant City. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the following chapters that are prac-topian based. The study then moves on to discuss various elements in the following six chapters.

Chapter 5 – The Fragmented city. This chapter investigates the role of policies such as apartheid on urban form. It also looks at case studies, internationally and locally.



Chapter 6 – The Green city. In this chapter the natural areas of urban areas are investigated. Attention is mainly given to parks and the role they can play as the lungs of urban areas.

Chapter 7 – The Pretty city. Art is sometimes seen as a method to make something 'pretty'. This chapter will thus be looking into the possibility of using art to revive urban areas.

Chapter 8 – The Cultural city. This chapter looks into the possibility of introducing cultural activities into urban areas in order to regenerate these areas. The investigation will focus on the preservation of historic buildings.

Chapter 9 – The Landmark city. This chapter deals with the marketability of cities and the influence of tourism on the possibilities to introduce this as a method for implementing urban renewal.

Chapter 10 – The Economical city. Local economic development is used globally. Urban agriculture is investigated and the possible role it can play in urban regeneration.

Chapter 11 – Drawing Conclusions. This chapter brings together the conclusions accumulated throughout the

chapters to make possible recommendations that must be implemented to ensure sustainable urban regeneration.

1.6] CONCLUSION

"There's some good in this world, Mr Frodo, and it is worth fighting for¹."

Urban regeneration is of great importance for the sustainability of urban areas as well as for the nation, its citizens. It is thus imperative that attention is given to urban regeneration.

Because of the trustworthy issue of qualitative research, the most important aspect in qualitative research is the persons who review it and give credibility to it. This report is thus done by using the relevant research tools in order to create the best answer for the research problem.

In the following chapter the state of South African cities will be investigated. The history of South Africa that had an impact on its urban form will also be investigated.

¹ Sam, character from Lord of the Rings – The two towers written J.R. Tolkien.

CHAPTER 2

2.] THE URBAN REALITY

2.1] INTRODUCTION

“A disease known is a half cure” – Latin proverb

A city has several roles. What makes a city? Is it the cosmopolitan feeling of Manhattan, the crowds of Japan, the old buildings in Europe or the shacks of Soweto? A city is the sum total of places, features, trading, sports, vast spaces, rooms for living, rooms for culture, rooms for religion, night spots, landmarks expressing spirit and homes to confront the individual.

According to Gruen (1967:21) a ‘city acts as a mixing ground of races and nations, of the rich and poor, and the powerful and helpless’.

This chapter will examine the history of South Africa as it relates urban planning and its resultant problems, since history determines the future.



Figure 2: Batman the (comic) hero that come to rescues when a citizen of Gotham city is in need of help.

2.2] SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN AREAS IN HISTORY

The Batman series ignited the imagination of the world. It started with comic strips and was later developed into several movies. The retail market attracted the interest of the public and exploited it. The mystery surrounding Batman and his Gotham City made him to be a hero in Gotham City where there were many problems. Apart from the horrible visual conditions of Gotham City, there are also the antics of Mr Freeze or the Joker (the villains of the Batman legacy). Batman’s ‘help’ button is pressed whenever someone needs to be rescued. The residents and the government rely on Batman to come and solve their problems

so that life can go on. Batman to the rescue!

The idea of reconstruction, and the calling on planning (Batman), stuck to mind each time South Africa was faced with stress and conflict in the past (this also happened throughout the world in various other countries for example the Marshall Plan in Europe). Each time the trust was put on urban planning to solve the problems that were 'created by various destructive tools' (Mabin and Smit. 1997:193). After each period of turmoil, the South African government started to develop new institutions, laws, visions and plans to deal with the rising issues such as urban migration, poor health conditions and lower standards of living.

South Africa is still a country in progress; it is still rebuilding itself from the past. It is undergoing strong currents of democratisation and is becoming part of the global village. Socially, new movements are being formed; institutional restructuring is taking place, and new identities for South Africa are being forced on them. This is being enforced by other countries and can be that of positive such as the whole democratisation process or negative such

as the country with high crime rates. Changes within the government structure are taking place at a fast rate in South Africa and new policies are formed to work for a new future. Controversial issues arise in the parliament daily a new African identity is being established. It is essential to look at the history of urban areas in South Africa to establish what factors played a role in the shape and reasoning of urban areas in South Africa today.



Figure 3: The Durban CDB developed dramatically due to its port and sugar plantations and is one of South Africa's major cities.

2.2.1] THE PERIOD BEFORE AND AFTER THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

The origin of South African urban planning can be traced back to the 19th century. After the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed new local authorities with the power to remake the urban environment were established. Initially the black population established themselves on the

periphery of urban areas near mines in Johannesburg (Chipkin. 1993:197). Because of the unpleasant conditions facing people in Johannesburg, attempts were made by the government to revive the urban areas of the city. The initial stages of the reconstruction process were successful. The process involved the removal of 'native' people to Klipspruit (part of Soweto today) to work against the bubonic plague that broke out in Johannesburg. In 1899 the Transvaal government started their plan of moving certain people from the inner-city. Indians were moved to designated locations for the 'purpose of sanitation' (Chipkin. 1993:197). Physical reconstruction also took place at Newtown, west of Johannesburg where in 1904 the area was surveyed and replanned. This urban 'cleansing' was not done to improve the life of the minorities but to improve the quality of life for the majority, financially and physically. It is unfortunate that the energy spent in this type of reconstruction, at that time, could not be replicated elsewhere because of the size of the project and determination of the actors involved (Mabin and Smit.1997:195). Chipkin (1993:198) states that this was the start for Johannesburg's long history of urban renewal.

In 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed after the amalgamation of the four colonies. A new Department of Land was formed through the merger of previous Township Boards. The aim was to standardise the way in which urban land would be handled by the authorities.

Olive Schreiner predicted some of the dangers that lay ahead in the Union of South Africa. In an open letter she pinned the fact that the 'dark man' was only seen as a tool to work in mines (Schreiner. 1908). George Orwell also suggested that a miner is the perfect tool to do work and never resist anything because he is too tired to work against the government (Orwell in Chipkin. 1993).

Large slums developed as of a result of the discovery of a new gold reef and the expansion of industrial sectors. South Africa's land ownership system was centred on the 1913 Land Act, which later became known as simply the Land Act. The Act, the first law in the twentieth century to create group areas, declared that the whole of South Africa would be exclusively for white South Africans, with the provision that certain "designated areas" would be kept in trust solely for the welfare and benefit of black South Africans. These scheduled areas would

comprise approximately 13% of total land area and were mainly occupied by tribal communities. In later years, "homelands" were created out of these areas, which were expected to become the permanent abode for all black South Africans (Tager.1998:1).

In 1922 the Stallard Commission on local government had issued its recommendations: total residential segregation and no security of tenure for blacks (Chipkin. 1993: 200). These recommendations were, however, only incorporated into the Native Urban Act of 1923.

One of the Black Land Act's key elements was that, although blacks lived in urban areas, they could not have tenure over the land. In later years, the Black Land Act curtailed the right of blacks to occupy property without the so called 'pass' system. Influx control, for example, limited the freedom of non-whites' movements through a system of passes (this was the backbone of the apartheid system). This system became ever harsher under apartheid. Blacks were treated as temporary sojourners, forced to live in residential areas called locations (later called townships, such as Soweto, Mamelodi, Katlehong, inter alia), which

were adjacent to, but always at a distance from white towns or cities (Tager. 1998:2).

The Black Native Land Act, no. 27 of 1913 made provision for the appointment of the Beaumont Commission that led to subdividing the country into a number of homelands. This act also led to the establishment of the Representation of the Blacks Act, no. 12 of 1936 and the South African Bantu Trust and Land Act, no. 18 of 1936 (Geyer. 1989:253). Geyer (1989:253) adds that the Black Act of 1936 made provision for 'separate political development' in the designated black areas and the South African Bantu Act of 1936 allocated more land to the Bantustans.

2.2.2] THE PERIOD BETWEEN AND AFTER THE TWO WORLD WARS

During the First World War that started in 1914 and ended in 1918, many pressures from the black communities and the international community for a new approach to the reconstruction ideas of urban areas in South Africa emerged. Costs of living increased as a result of the war consequently increasing the demand for housing. The 'temporary segregation camps' (Chipkin 1993: 198) that were

hastily created and renamed to wipe out the old names from maps and human consciousness demanded another approach. Urban planning (Batman) was called upon to play an integral part in attempts at reconstruction. During this era, reconstruction aimed at altering the physical urban reality to ensure better living conditions, efficiency and a social consciousness in the city was a driving factor in the reconstruction process.



Figure 4: "City Burning". Artist unknown. The painting shows the image from World War 1 and its consequences.

The British Garden City movement was started at this time in Cape Town at about this time. The promoter of the Garden City ideal in South Africa was Richard Stuttaford, a member of the Union cabinet. After a visit to Letchworth, one of Ebenezer Howard's projects, he launched a Garden Cities Association. Using his access to government and his own finances, he initiated the "Pinelands" project, South Africa's first Garden City,

thereby influencing urban layout in the country for decades to follow (Mabin & Smit. 1997:197). The Pinelands project was developed on the farm Uitvlug and this 365 ha farm was made available to the then Union Government of South Africa.

This also started the 'health theme' and a reaction to the bubonic plague attributed to the Public Health Conference held in September in 1918 to highlight the 'demands for new powers to address issues raised by concerned parties in slum clearance, housing and town planning' (Mabin & Smit. 1997:198).

The concerns surrounding the influenza epidemic also called for a new direction in thinking about reshaping urban areas.

This era can be identified as the eye of a tornado, where calm conditions emerged globally, and the world resettling after the storm. Locally more focus was given to the relocation of Africans to new urban areas. Urban areas were considered as white areas by the South African government and development was thus mainly 'white' focussed leaving non-whites on the fringes of the cities. Non-whites were only allowed into the urban

areas to work or for reasons that suited the ruling government.

In 1934 the Slums Act was promulgated, which allowed for greater powers to local authorities to destroy existing slum areas and to replace them. The implementation required the substitution of alternative housing, but because of the great depression there was little or no funding available and the substitute for alternative housing was delayed until much later.

Changes in technology also occurred. This called for reconstruction once again. Changes in transportation, urbanisation and industrialisation affected cities significantly. The industrial age brought with it an increase in population and subsequently also a refocusing on the problems of overcrowding in urban areas.

Le Corbusier's ideas were also introduced to South Africa during a conference organized by a group of students at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg (Mabin & Smit. 1997:202) where his modernistic thoughts influenced the thinking of Rex Martienssen and his followers. Although none of Rex Martienssen and his followers' theories were developed in practical form (such as the Radical city

ideal of Le Corbusier), some of their influences on ideas still exist today. As one of Le Corbusier's disciples, Martienssen influenced left a mark in Johannesburg. Chipkin (1993:227-228) notes that Martienssen influences pervaded the busy practices in town where young Martienssen protégés moved into key design positions... most of Martienssens's works/buildings were built in Hillbrow. After the war this area became a trendy place to do business.

In South Africa, as in other countries, modernistic planning developed into a strong movement and its principles were applied through town planning and architecture and thus working towards one goal: the need to create distance from traditional forms or the need to secede from traditional styles (Hope. 1975). New technology and thus leading to the expanding in infrastructure developed the breeding ground for modernism in South Africa. Various committees were established to address the issues affecting urban areas of South Africa. The idea of racial zoning arose as a key post-war reconstruction method.

Report no.5 on Regional and Town Planning (commissioned by the government) made some very clear

statements on how reconstruction after the Second World War could be done. Meyer, et al, (2000:5) noted that:

- “a national department of *Physical Planning and Regional* planning had to be established;
- macro-zoning had to be done at the national level;
- regional surveys and planning had to be undertaken;
- new cities and towns had to be planned by making use of the neighbourhood concept;
- extensions to urban areas had to be planned by local authorities rather than private developers; and
- green belts should be used to separate the neighbourhoods of the whites and non-whites”.

The end result of the Report was not what the Smuts government hoped for or expected it to be as very little of its proposals came to fruition or wherever implemented.

2.2.3] APARTHEID

“It was not safe to allow the free movement of Natives over the whole of

South Africa... (W)e want planning to keep South Africa white.” – Dr H.F. Verwoerdⁱ

With the election of the National Party in 1948 government emerged as a dominant player in the planning field. Two spheres of



Figure 5: Verwoerd was seen as the architect of the apartheid policy.

emerged: namely, planning for apartheid and planning for the segregated areas, thus monochromatic planning in both directions. Planning of large new public housing estates, required to house the workforce and also to accomplish more comprehensive segregation started to develop.

The implementation of the apartheid policy was made possible by the Population Registration Act of 1950, which put all South Africans into three racial categories: Bantu (black African), white, or Coloured (of mixed race). A fourth category, Asian (Indians and Pakistanis), was added later (Robinson. 2000). The system of apartheid was later

enforced by a series of other laws in the 1950s:

- Racial law that touched every aspect of social life, including the prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No 55 of 1949 were established;
- the Group Areas Act of 1950 assigned races to different residential and business sections in urban areas whereas the Land Acts of 1954 and 1955 restricted non-white residence to specific areas. These laws further restricted the already limited right of black Africans to own land and entrenching the white minority's control of over 80 percent of South African land (Robinson. 2001). The visions pursued by Apartheid reconstructionist was based on modernistic views. It was highly ordered and controlled thus making non-whites temporary workers to the city. The government also introduced large informal settlements in order to keep the non-whites out of the city, since they believed that this would lead



Figure 6: Racially segregated stands at a South African sport stadium during the Apartheid era.

to the city being much more ordered. These controlled satellite towns were placed on the periphery of urban areas - Orange Farm (Johannesburg) and Motherwell (Port Elizabeth) were examples of these. The Group Areas Act also made it possible for upper income non-whites to be absorbed into existing white residential areas (Mabin & Smit. 1997:214). They were, however, not welcomed in all cases to the community, resulting in many moving back;

- The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 furthered these divisions between the races by creating ten African "homelands" administered by what were supposed to be re-established "tribal" organisations. In

Johannesburg there was a sharp increase in the demand for housing. (Mabin & Smit. 1997:206). Thousands of people were also moved out of the urban areas in order to 'tidy-up' cities. The urbanisation of non-whites was also tightened;

- The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 made every black South African a citizen of one of the homelands, effectively excluding blacks from South African politics. The homelands being small and fragmented lacked the autonomy of independent states;
- In 1953, the Public Safety and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts were passed, which empowered the government to declare stringent states of emergency and increased penalties for protesting against or supporting the repeal of a law. The penalties included fines, imprisonment and whippings;
- African townships that had been overtaken by 'white' urban sprawl were demolished and their occupants were removed to new townships well beyond city limits. Between the passage of the



Figure 7: The Shop Hour Ordinance stated that these shops may only be open at a specified time. Other signs also stated 'whites only'.

- Group Areas Acts of 1950, about 1.5 million Africans were forcibly removed from cities to rural areas (Columbia Encyclopedia. 2001). The Act was also supported by the Illegal Squatting Act, no 52 of 1951 and the Development Trust and Land Act, No 18 of 1936 making it impossible for black Africans to own land in urban areas.
- To reduce job opportunities and industries for Africans in metropolitan areas the Physical Planning Act, no 8 of 1968 was introduced (Robinson. 2000). The underlying reason was to promote jobs for the poor-white, thus denying certain to non-whites; and
 - The National States Constitution Act, 21 of 1974 resulted in the establishment of legislative assemblies and executive councils in African areas. This act

must be read together with the Black Authorities Act, 68 of 1951 which provided for the establishment of African authorities in African areas (Geyer. 1994: 379).

In 1950 the South African government appointed the Tomlinson Commission to investigate the possibility into the socio-economic development of the 'homelands' with the intention to maintain the social structure and culture of the black Africans in the homelands (Geyer. 1989:253). The report was tabled in 1956 and contained the following recommendations: the Bantustans should be consolidated into economically viable areas and that the industrial development within the Bantustans should be stimulated on a partner basis between black and white, but as far as possible from their borders (Union of South Africa in Geyer. 1989:253).

The apartheid image provoked a rising tide of resistance of which the shootings at Sharpeville is clear evidence. In 1960, a large group of blacks in Sharpeville refused to carry their passes and the government declared a state of emergency. The 'emergency' of people wanting to free themselves from the big

brother situation lasted for 156 days, leaving 69 people dead and 187 people wounded. Wielding the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the white regime had no intention of changing the unjust laws of apartheid. An iron fist was imposed leading to the imprisonment and banning of opposition movements. Activists rose from the homelands and fought their way to something (freedom) they thought that was right. It should be noted that, unlike previous administrations, the Nationalist government maintained an ideological and practical commitment to the implementation of reconstruction into the 1970s – the reconstruction of apartheid. But the problems within the system widened dramatically in the mid-seventies (Mabin & Smit. 1997:209), as people realised that the government could not always be right.

Ways to circumvent the Group Areas Act emerged very quickly. Companies (such as the first company formed by Nelson Mandela in 1952) were formed and trusts were established to hold the property on behalf of individuals who could not own land themselves. Indian and Coloured South Africans who relied on this "nominee" system had to place their trust

and faith in the white individual who held legal title to the land (Tager. 1998:2) for them to work or live on. Much exploitation occurred since the arrangement was illegal; there could be no action against a nominee who abused the trust of the investor.

The Apartheid policy was also denounced by the international community and in 1961 South Africa was forced to withdraw from the British Commonwealth by member states that were critical of the apartheid system. This also led to South Africa being expelled by the United Nations in 1974 and in 1985 the governments of the United States and Great Britain imposed selective economic sanctions on South Africa in protest of its racial policy (Robinson. 2000). The outcome of sanctions had a more negative impact on the people at the bottom and not the people on the top, where the target should have been.

Black ownership of land was not considered necessary since the government planned to return all blacks to the homelands. Blacks were thus allowed three types of temporary occupancy permits in the townships, all of which were strictly controlled:



Figure 8: Nelson Mandela became the first democratically selected president of South Africa.

- Residential permits were a type of statutory lease with stringent provisions as to who was permitted to occupy the property;
- Another option permitted blacks to purchase a council house from the state, but, under this permit, blacks did not by law own the houses they purchased; these always belonged to the state; and
- A third permit allowed blacks to build on a vacant site, but, again, did not permit actual ownership (Tager. 1998:3).

In 1962 the South African government established the first of the Bantustans, the Transkei, as the homeland of the Xhosa people, and granted it limited self-government in 1963, later becoming "independent." Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, and Venda were also granted "independence," but no nation other than South Africa acknowledged them. Lebowa, Kangwane, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu, and KwaNdebele were declared "self-governing" in the 1970s. This was made possible by the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act no 46 of 1959. This was ideal of the South African government to acquire their utopian dreams of a South Africa for whites, yet there needed to be blacks to work in the mines.

The Black Land Act, the Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act collectively barred black entrepreneurs and farmers from becoming economically active in South Africa. This was accomplished by denying them not only ownership of land for trading and farming purposes, but denying them permission to lease the land as well. In the trust areas and homelands, no private ownership was allowed and the deed of grant that could be acquired for trading sites permitted very few types of businesses. Deeds of

grant for residential sites placed stringent controls over the occupant (Tager. 1998:4). This was done in fear that the blacks would become economically powerful and resist the actions of the state.

In the townships, a permit system similar to the residential permit system applied to trading sites. Robinson (2000) states that township managers were assigned to townships and there received the power to identify sites for trading purposes and then allocate those sites to fortunate applicants at their discretion, but yet again trading permits did not establish ownership of the site.

Initially, the law empowered township managers to identify a site and specify the particular trade that could be conducted on it. Later, the law was partially amended and the nature of the trade was specified in the license issued to the applicant. There were a limited number of retail trades in which black persons could engage, but manufacturing was absolutely prohibited until 1979, and people were criminally prosecuted for attempting to do so (Tager. 1998:5).

Few trading sites were assigned and the process of acquiring a site was in many cases unsuccessful. Out of frustration

people started to set up informal businesses at home, in their back yards and in the streets. According to Tager (1998:5) all of this business activity was illegal, and thus unlicensed and unrecorded. The term spaza, which means to camouflage, was used to describe "house shops." House shops were hidden from the officials who shut them down, and criminally charged the "offenders" and confiscated their stocks.

During the 1970s an "unofficial" view of reconstruction began to surface (Meyer & Oranje. 2000:7). The negative views of the apartheid city, neighbourhood idea and the car-bias views to planning were discredited for the effects it had on the poor.

In the 1975s the South African government was requested to reconsider the whole 'apartheid' ideal. According to Geyer (1994:379) pressure from disenfranchised people, more sanctions and the financial burden of the Bantustans had become a reality.

In 1975 the National Physical Development Plan was introduced by the South African government. This plan was the result of extensive study and research, and was an attempt to regulate

the settlement pattern in the Republic to the maximum benefit of all population groups and communities, and the country as a whole (Tapscott.1998:15). The plan laid down broad guidelines for both the public and private sectors to channel their actions and make their contribution towards the optimum utilisation of resources (de Lange, et al., 2001: 5).

The objectives of the National Physical Development Plan boils down to these four growth factors:

- " a good agricultural hinterland which contributes to an initial concentration of people in an otherwise homogeneous and sparsely distributed population;
- the availability of physical resources which, in turn, readily leads to industrialization and diversification;
- an infrastructure including railways, roads and power supply which creates further opportunities for concentration at focal points on growth axes; and
- momentum generated by the concentration of markets and labour at these points" (N.P.D.P. 1975:14).

Unions, churches and students organized protests throughout the 1970s and 80s. Amongst these were the demonstrations led by Steve Biko in 1976 in Soweto and Sharpeville where 67 students died.

In December 1976 the Urban Foundation was established for the purpose of facilitation of the private sector's involvement in urban reconstruction. It enabled private organisations to be involved in township development and through that address issues such as the provision for infrastructure.

The Good Hope Plan (GHP) was announced in 1981 and it was aimed to provide guidelines for industrial development for South Africa and to implement the plan (Geyer. 1989:258).

Through the 1970s and early 1980s urbanisation was seen as a major problem for urban areas in South Africa. As a result of this, the White Paper on Urbanisation was released, that dealt with urbanisation in a positive manner to enhance the quality of all South Africans (Mabin & Smit. 1997:212). Formal influx control was also abolished and special areas were set aside for development. People could settle on land in urban areas which was earmarked and properly

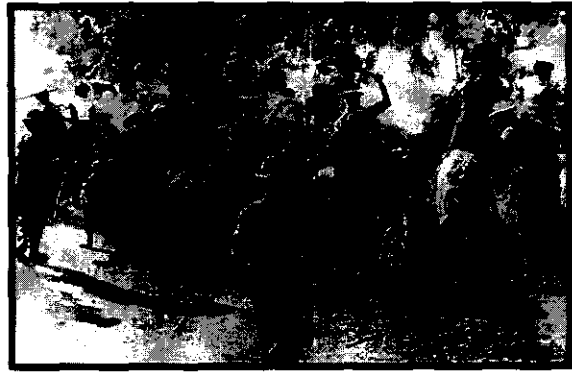


Figure 9: the South African Police force was controlling the demanding crowds forcefully. During the Sharpeville riots 67 students died.

zoned for that purpose. However, by means of careful restricting urban land for housing and supported by the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, no 52 of 1951, influx control was basically the same as in the past (Geyer. 1994:383).

Beginning in the late 1970s, increasing political pressure to end apartheid from both inside South Africa and abroad started a process of political change, but these changes had hardly begun to affect the overall dynamics of land ownership in the country. The permanence of blacks in so-called white South Africa was recognised by law when the government began granting 99-year leaseholds to blacks in black urban areas (Tager. 1998:6). These leaseholds later became titles in perpetuity, so that when transferred to another lessee the 99 years began over again. This concession at least provided a form of tenure over which a mortgage could be raised,

enabling blacks to begin to build a capital base. It also introduced security of tenure for many thousands who acquired leasehold titles.

The government policy of apartheid in South Africa was one of the most discussed issues of the twentieth century. Few people realize that not only was apartheid an example of political injustice, it was also one of the most glaring examples of environmental injustice the world had seen (Durning. 1999).

In the Ciskei, fertile ground was either eroded or overgrazed. This is just one example of many. The cause for degradation in the ecology could be ascribed to the following reasons. Firstly, the homelands are situated in questionable environments and secondly the forced overpopulation in the homelands instigated by apartheid. Thirdly labour shortage or the lack of knowledge and the final cause is poverty itself. This completed the cycle of people that simply could not afford to buy fencing to control grazing, hire labourers to help terrace sloping fields, or invest in tree planting to conserve soil and water (Durning. 1999).

After the 1982 general election, the South African government announced its plan of reintegrating Asians and Coloureds. Previous legislation that controlled race in South Africa were repealed such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, no 55 of 1949.

The apartheid legacy that still haunts South Africa to date was probably one of the most controversial spatial planning initiatives, and it also disabled South Africa's cities to give a decent urban life to the majority of their citizens today (Mabin & Smit. 1997: 193).

In 1986, the legal restrictions on a black person's right to own property in black urban areas were repealed. In that same year, the restrictions on freedom of movement and the pass laws were repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act. Although the restoration of one of the most fundamental human rights denied to black persons (the freedom of movement) represented a significant change, the removal of the restriction on the right to own property was really just a symbolic gesture (Tager. 1998:5).

Holders of 99-year leases could in theory obtain full ownership but in reality it took more than six years for the process to

unfold. According to Tager (1998:3) one reason for the delay was a clear lack of commitment among government officials to accelerate the process.

The Conversion of Certain Rights to Leasehold Act of 1989 entitled all permit holders who had bought or built their houses to acquire the land on which their houses were built (Robinson, 2000). This Act also repealed the regulations governing urban areas, including the prohibition against trading on residential property. Overnight, one of the most serious legal barriers to black entrepreneurship, the zoning restrictions affecting spazas, was removed (Tager, 1998:6).

To put it simply, for a long time the Afrikaner leadership attempted to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. The post-war situation, however, posed this dilemma: how to suppress the emerging challenge posed by black political and economic power, while at the same time return legitimately internationally apartheid in its instrumental aspects was an attempted key to this dilemma. It was a way to have white supremacy under the historical circumstances that characterized the decades after the war. Dr. Verwoerd, chief architect of apartheid and Prime



Figure 10: Graffiti showing the crying of a depressed nation to stop Apartheid.

Minister from 1958 to 1966, justified apartheid policy to his followers by noting that government should take into account the trends in the world and Africa.

As anti-apartheid pressure mounted within and outside South Africa, the South African government, led by President F. W. de Klerk, began to dismantle the apartheid system in the early 1990s. 1990 Brought a National Party government dedicated to reform and also saw the legalization of formerly banned political organizations and the release of imprisoned black leaders.

2.2.4] RECONSTRUCTION OF A NATION

As a result of these pressures, many other apartheid laws—such as those banning interracial marriages and segregating facilities—were repealed or fell into disuse by 1990. In 1991 President de Klerk obtained the repeal of

the remaining apartheid laws and called for the drafting of a new constitution.

On February 2, 1990 President F.W. de Klerk launched South Africa into an era of democracy; various acts involving the apartheid ideal were removed. Acts such as the Black Land Act and the Group Areas Actⁱⁱ were repealed. With the changes taking place, sanctions were lifted and many international institutions gave their support to South Africa. One of these institutions was the World Bank. Returning after many years of absence because of apartheid, they argued that South African cities were amongst the most inefficient cities in the world.

The Conversion of Certain Rights to Leasehold Act of 1989 combined with the elimination of the licensing requirement under the Businesses Act of 1991 produced a dramatic, almost immediate result: spaza shops emerged from hiding and expanded and new businesses of all kinds are mushrooming daily in townships throughout South Africa.

In 1991, the Land Act and the Group Areas Act were repealed. The repeal of the Land Act has really only had symbolic value and the ten homelands (four of which were considered independent and six of which was self-governing) had not

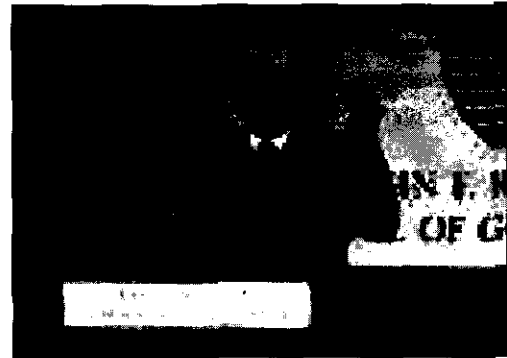


Figure 11: F.W. de Klerk's election called for the abolishment of apartheid policies. He won the Nobel price for peace in 1991 together with N. Mandela.

been affected by the repeal. Long before its repeal, the Group Areas Act was already being eroded throughout South Africa (Tager. 1998:6). There were virtually no pure white group areas, because almost every white household employed black domestic workers that slept in a room outside the house. Certain urban areas, known as grey areas, such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg with its dozens upon dozens of high-rise buildings, were occupied by South Africans of all races who deliberately flouted the law. Other laws were also abolished. These include the:

- 1986 - Legal restrictions on blacks' right to own property in black urban areas repealed.
- Conversion of Certain Rights to Leasehold Act (1989) - Granted the right to purchase land to certain types of permit holders

and repealed prohibitions against trading on residential property, removing some major legal barriers to black entrepreneurship.

- Businesses Act (1991) – Eliminated the requirement for trading licenses for all businesses except those preparing meals and places of entertainment.
- 1991 - Land Act and Group Areas Act abolished.
- 1993 - National Party and African National Congress reach agreement on interim Constitution that grants blacks right to vote in the parliamentary elections (Tager. 1998:7).

In 1993 a multiracial, multiparty transitional government was approved, and free elections were held in 1994, which gave majority representation to the African National Congress.

The Reconstruction and Development Programmeⁱⁱⁱ was written as a manifesto for the 1994 non-racial elections. This programme was later transformed into policy and various aspects touched upon

the urban environment and its surroundings. In 1997 the Urban Development Framework was produced by the Department of Housing and together with the RDP it spelled out what the 'future' of South African cities would be like (Figure 5^{iv}). A RDP budget was approved and through goals such as the remaking of urban space and the rebuilding of houses that were destroyed during the apartheid years were begun. The RDP also defined reconstruction for the whole country and all its institutions.

There was a sharp focus on higher densities and infill development in South Africa to compensate for the higher cost of infrastructure and to bring the previously 'banned' residents of the homelands closer to the urban areas.

Since the mid-nineties, there have been planned attempts to change the existing inefficient urban patterns. Two of the main policy documents regarding planning and development, the Green Paper on Development and Planning (2000) and the Development Facilitation Act (1995) both advocate an integrated and holistic approach to planning and development in South Africa (CSIR 2002).

One, however, cannot expect to change large cities and towns overnight. Scarce resources, existing infrastructure and well-established mindsets are but a few aspects that are providing difficulties towards achieving integrated cities.

Under the old constitution, courts were not permitted to test the validity of acts of Parliament, except those dealing with the dual language clause. That is why South African courts could never pronounce on the validity of apartheid legislation and could not prevent forced removals or the prohibition on the right to own land (Tager. 1998:3).

In the new Constitution there is a fundamentally important change, section 28 of the Bill of Rights establishes property rights, in terms of which every person is entitled to acquire and dispose of rights in property. No-one may be "deprived of their property rights other than in accordance with a law" (Constitution. 1996:24).

As a result of the divisions of local authorities caused by apartheid, new planning departments were created. Nine provinces were established in which concerns about planning for housing,

land use, towns and townships, cities and Bantustans could be addressed (Mabin & Smit. 1997:217). In 1995 the Development Facilitation Act was passed. This was a major piece of planning legislation that allowed for old planning mechanisms to be bypassed and also called for the speeding up of the delivery of land.^v

2.3] TOOLS OF DESTRUCTION

Alvin Toffler (1972) wrote about three large waves or revolutions that had deeply changed humanity. The first of these three waves was placed by Toffler ten thousand years ago with the discovery of agriculture, which brought a whole social revolution went from being hunters and gathers to becoming farmers and cattle dealers. "The greater sociological consequence of this change was the consolidation of settled populations to harvesting and tending the cattle"(Toffler. 1972:15). This is seen as the initial stages of the development of cities as they are known today.

The second wave coincides with the discovery of the steam engine; thus the industrial revolution, dated three hundred years ago (Toffler. 1972:13). The machine made it possible for man to produce a greater variety of goods and acquire the capacity of more modern modes of travel. The greater productivity needed more extensive markets,

and that could be achieved by having greater mobility. The most immediate socio-political consequence was that the United States and other colonies appeared as a new entity of greater spaces of socialisation to promote and guarantee a greater development of the technological potentials that they had (Toffler. 1972:15).

Finally, the third wave, according to Toffler (1972:16), would be recognised by the failure of industrialisation and the

revolution of information technologies. The third wave had created a significant change in knowledge, production and mobility, giving way to a new civilisation, and to a globalisation phenomenon. Agreements among different countries to adapt to the new era (example NAFTA.), shows the age of globalisation has dawned. There is also an advance in total relations through multilateral organisations such as the United Nations. The internet changed the world into a global village and changed the way of doing business dramatically. Moreover,

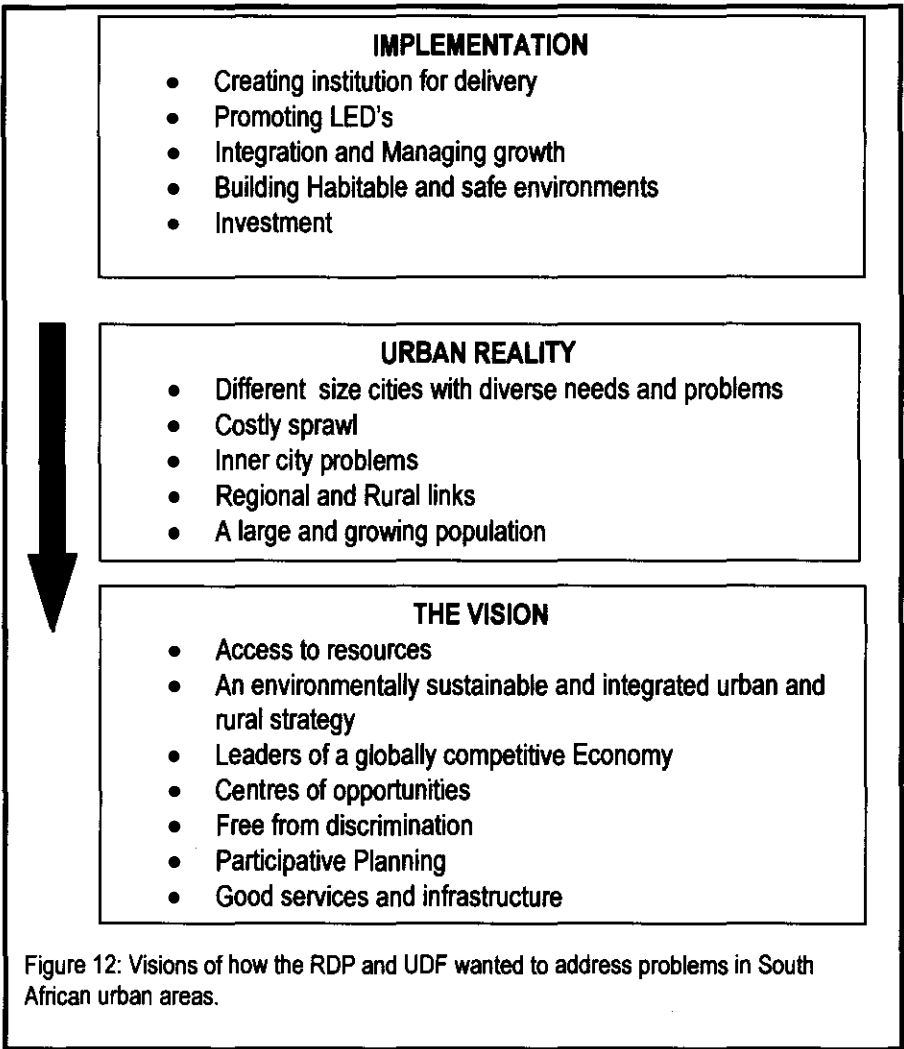


Figure 12: Visions of how the RDP and UDF wanted to address problems in South African urban areas.

all of these changes also have consequences for the cities that have to adapt to that overall nature of interdependency and total mobility.

Even though globalisation is one of the most discussed topics in the contemporary world, Sen (2002:2) believes that it is not altogether a well-defined concept. A multitude of global interactions are put under the broad heading of globalisation, varying from the expansion of cultural influences across borders to the enlargement of economic and business relations throughout the world. Debates on the merits and demerits of globalisation have been active in recent years, examples of which are the protests in Seattle, Prague and Genoa.

With the world rapidly becoming a global village through free trade pressures, many are raising questions about what will happen to Africa's rich and diverse culture and people heritage (Sithole. 2001: 1). Globalisation is a phenomenon that seems to be based on the success of trans-national corporations to promote a "new economic order" (Sen. 2002:2). It is a concept that has occurred across much of the world. Although its tentacles reach

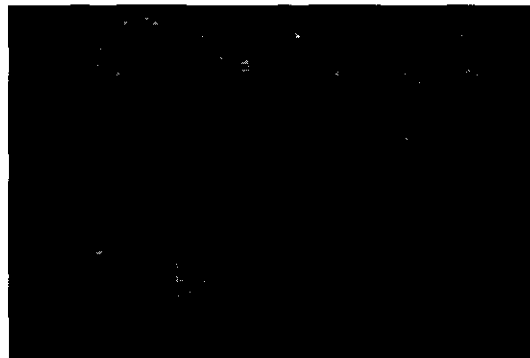


Figure 13: An example of a squatter camp located in Port Elizabeth. These areas are usually inhabited by a diversity of cultures living together.

far and wide, globalisation has been more visible in terms of trade and the information highway.

With all this changes taking place, urban areas are being targeted by various tools of destruction such as poverty, crime, low public participation, urban decay, migration, poor transport, sprawl, dumping, low investment, urban landscape, lack of diversity and unemployment. Fifty-three percent (Statistics South Africa. 2002: 7) of the South African population live in urban areas, which are not much more than rural, but one should be reminded that there is more space in rural areas than in urban areas (there are, however, other tools that impact on rural areas and not on urban areas). These tools make South Africa's urban areas very inequitable, inefficient, unsustainable and expensive to manage and maintain. They also exacerbate poverty and unemployment.

South Africa is a melting pot of unique cultures and people. According to the CSIR (2002) some of these particular South African urban characteristics include:

- A unique diversity of urban residents living together in South African urban areas;
- A specific political and socio-economic environment present in urban environments that is based on the history of South Africa;
- Particular crime patterns (hijacking, farm killings, urban violence) and a rather high crime rate;
- Proportionately high levels of fear of crime with relation to developed countries;
- Low levels of trust in the police in many communities and the forming of gangs or security companies for protection;
- A unique heritage of fragmented and separated urban environments, resulting from previous planning sectors;
- Large differences in existing facilities and services accessible to particular sectors;

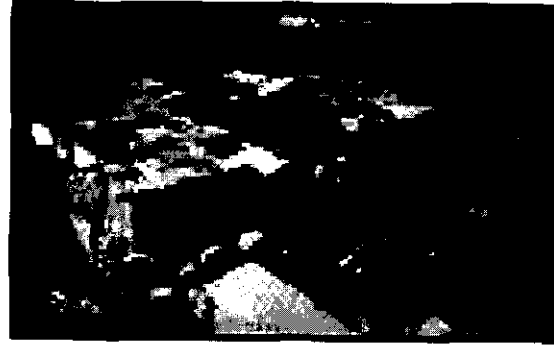


Figure 14: Unemployment in squatter camps is one of the reasons for poverty and high crime rates. This camp is located in Alexandra that is notorious for high crime rates and unemployment.

- A suspicion towards the capacity and delivery of local governments in South Africa; and
- Notorious extremes between the rich and the poor.

2.3.1] POVERTY

Poverty is one of South Africa's main problems. Various poverty alleviation projects have been implemented in urban areas. These include local economic development projects but these only have short term benefits. The high poverty rate is a result of too few work opportunities for a too large population. Poverty is usually differentiated between absolute and relative poverty. Absolute poverty refers to a lack of the basic resources needed to maintain health and effective bodily functioning. According to Geddes (1996:249) relative poverty refers to the "gaps between the living conditions of some groups and those enjoyed by the

majority of a population". In South Africa attention is given to poverty since it can lead to crime. Because of poverty many people will stay in slums, since it is a cheaper way of living. This usually includes horrific living conditions. Women make up the majority of the poor, mostly earning money from informal trading.

Unemployment in South Africa is remarkably high. In 1998 it was officially measured at 39 per cent on the broad definition and 26 per cent on the narrow definition (Statistics South Africa, 2000: 7). Moreover, it had risen steadily in the subsequent years. Unemployment is potentially a matter of serious concern - for its effects on economic welfare, production, erosion of human capital, social exclusion, crime and social instability. It is important to note that the poverty characteristics to race only differ slightly from before 1994, thus the poor remain poor.

2.3.2] CRIME

The urban areas of South Africa are facing high and rising crime rates (Farr: 2002).

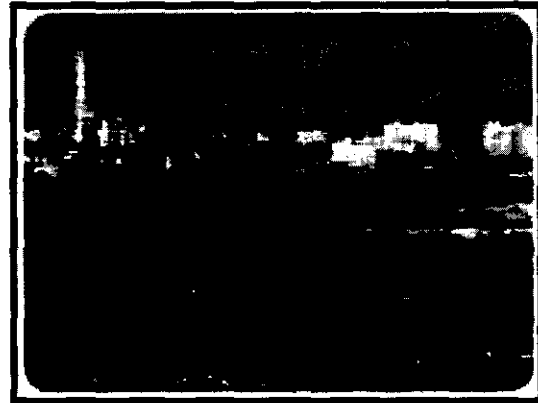


Figure 15: Poor housing areas growing on the edge of Malaysia's urban centers as migrants move to take new advantage of the new job opportunities.

Urban-based violence occurs on a wide scale and is emerging as one of the challenges for urban landscapes (Louw & Bekker. 1996:4). Many people believe that the urban drain that is taking place to the suburbs is because of crime. Once crime is tackled more people would come back to the urban areas. Targets of crime include appropriation of property, which includes theft and destruction of property. Vandalism and complete destruction are pervasive, sometimes as a result of wars.

Since the general elections in 1994 the crime situation has been described as 'stabilising' (Louw. 2002). Available police data for the period 1994 to 1999 suggest less comforting trends. Between 1994 and 1997 there was little change in what amounted to very high crime levels. In 1998 and 1999 there have been increases in several categories of serious crime (SAPD. 2002). Overall, recorded

crime increased by fifth-teen percent between 1994 and 1999. During this time the country's population increased by eleven percent. In 2002 crime in South Africa was fifty two times higher than in Britain, mainly due to economic changes leading to poverty.

The geography of the South African cities contributes to crime patterns (Louw. 2002). The apartheid policies of separate development that aimed to divide the population and control movement in the city achieved disproportionate levels of safety (white) in some areas while fostering insecurity (non-white) in others. In townships and informal settlements, infrastructure was either absent or poorly maintained and formal urban planning was inappropriate. According to Louw (2002) poor street lighting, no electricity, vast open spaces and recreational spaces, increase vulnerability to crime. This, along with the fact that rich and poor often live side by side, interspersed by tracts of unused land and highways that provide opportunities for committing crime and rapid escape routes, provide an enabling environment for offending.

Crime levels in the South Africa's metropolitan areas tend to be higher than

in the country as a whole (Schonteich. 2002). Most factors associated with high crime rates characterise cities to a greater extent than small towns. Population density, for example, is thought to be associated with crime, in that greater concentrations of people lead to competition for limited resources, greater stress and increased conflict. Other factors which characterise urbanisation, such as overcrowding and high levels of gang activity are mainly evident in urban areas and are known to be related to criminal activity (Schonteich. 2002).

Recorded crime levels vary between cities. Because the boundaries of city governments do not match those of the South African Police Service (SAPS), this city analysis is based on a selection of 'police areas' that best represent the cities discussed (Lattin. 2002).

In urban areas crime can occur due to continuing high rates of urbanisation and inefficient mechanisms of urban integration. Many people flock to urban areas to find the rare commodity in South Africa: employment.

The entry of Sub-Saharan Africa into the modern economy simultaneously initiated

active rural-urban migration. For Lewis (1954), and Fei and Ranis (1961), rural-urban migration is a response to the high demand of labour by an industrial sector which assures greater levels of productivity for workers, and positive profits for investors. Rural regions are over-populated relative to their ability to feed themselves. Labour productivity is low, approaching zero, resulting in a subsistence level of production and providing incentives for migration to the cities (Ndarishhikanye, et al. 1999:2).

However, in many African countries significant rural-urban migration flows have coincided with limited industrialization, high unemployment and poverty rates in urban areas.

Todaro (1969:138) postulated an "economic behavioural model of rural-urban migration" to serve as a skeleton in the analysis of the employment effects of alternative economic policies. While Todaro and John Harris have elaborated upon and expanded the model (1970), the basic model originally developed by Todaro remains essentially unaltered.

Central to the labour migration model formulated by Todaro is the comparison by the potential migrant of the present

value of expected income streams from employment in the rural and urban areas. When the present value of the expected urban real income stream exceeds that of the rural income stream (or vice versa), migration occurs (Frankman. 1998:4).

For Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970), rural-urban migration in less developed countries depends on the difference of the expected wage from migration (urban wage) versus the agricultural wage. That expected wage is equivalent to the actual industrial wage weighted by the probability for a migrant obtaining a job in the modern urban sector. Hence, rural-urban migration can coexist with high levels of urban unemployment. Rural workers interpreted them as signals of higher probabilities of obtaining urban jobs (Todaro 1969:140).

Todaro based his theory on the fact that people are drawn to urban areas through 'city lights' and other urban ideals.

One may be able in some measure to bring city lights to the countryside, but it can hardly be expected to substitute for the diversity found in urban areas. It is as unlikely that the desire for urban living can be overcome as it is that the desire for economic development itself can be

overcome. Rather than recommending the reversal of historical trends, it would seem more fruitful were economists to concentrate on policies by which these trends could be turned to developmental advantage.

In Hillbrow, Johannesburg crime is a way of living. According to a police captain in the SAPD the first step to ensure a lower crime rate is to deal with corruption in the police force since it is at the root of all problems (Lattin. 2002).

Local government's role in the provision of security and the prevention of crime became clear in mid-1990 when two important policy documents on Safety and Security were introduced:

- The 1996 National Crime Prevention Strategy suggested that local government would be a prime implementation agency for new approaches to crime prevention;
- The 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security outlined two main roles for local authorities – law enforcement (through municipal/metro policing), and the co-ordination of social crime

prevention strategies in the local or metro area.

However, neither of these policy documents provide detailed guidelines to local authorities, nor do they differentiate significantly between local, rural and metropolitan areas. The funding issue came again since, there were not enough funds to develop innovative ways for the 'fight against crime'. This has led many local authorities to view the policy as an "unfunded mandate" and to take no action (Memeza & Rauch. 2000:1).

2.3.3] SPRAWL

"The cities will be part of the country, I shall live 30 miles from my office in one direction, under a pine tree, and my secretary will live another 30 miles away from it too, in the other direction, under another pine tree. We shall both have our own car. We shall use up tyres, wear out road surfaces and gears, consume oil and gasoline. All of which necessitate a great deal of work...enough for all." Le Corbusier 1967^{vi}

The dysfunctional form of South Africa's urban areas is a legacy of past policies, planning approaches and economic forces which have influenced the town, city and township development for

decades. As a result of this, South African urban settlements are characterised by spatial separation based on class and race and also the concentration of the poor in relatively high density areas. This also leads to low infrastructure provision since it gets more costly to extend the infrastructure lines further.

Sprawl also leads to poor transport between the previous apartheid cities. To overcome the fragmented nature of our cities and towns the need for efficient urban transport should be answered. Urban areas in South Africa are characterised by poor transport in urban areas.

It is estimated that 15 per cent of the urban population rely on water which is untreated and not reticulated and that 32 per cent do not have access to electricity (UDF. 1997:19). Urban decay is one of the major problems to be faced by authorities. Urban decay is normally associated with run-down buildings and streets. Services to the area declined. As soon as all these processes take place decay starts to develop and it can end up in slums.

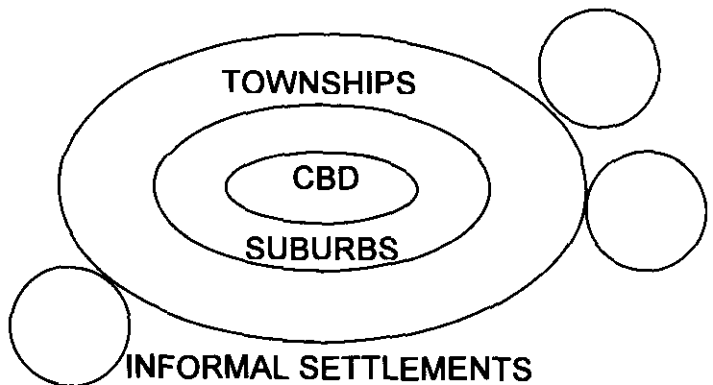


Figure 16: Typical development pattern of South African cities in the late 20th century.

Urban decay can be a result of the following factors:

- "Physical decaying of buildings. Pollution can contribute to the decay;
- Social decay such as the development of slums;
- Economic decay because of the demand for low cost housing, thus leading to slums;
- Functional decay which is the cause of a large industry closing down; and
- Irrational decisions taken by government" (Nieuwoudt.1993:6).

Other reasons that would also lead to urban decay is that of 'brain drain' to suburbs and developments not being approved.

2.3.4] URBAN ECONOMICS

Effective urban areas are a prerequisite for attracting investment and to generate economic growth (UDF. 1997:34). Currently South Africa is faced with few investment opportunities since the 'picture' to the outside world is not good. To promote urban economic development, means to promote growth, that will then tackle the high unemployment South Africa is facing.

Although many policies called for higher public participation, it was not answered. Many development initiatives taking place, failed because the public was not involved in the whole process. According to Mills (1992:2) public participation is essentially a managed procedure or set of procedures, most commonly co-ordinated by planning staff. An effective public participation process is characterised by the following aspects:

- Meetings must be representative of all members of the area;
- Information must reach everyone affected by the project; and
- Conflict must be avoided at all times (CSIR. DCD & GTZ. 1998:46)

In South Africa, however, the chant of public participation can be seen as a funeral song. During planning processes the public is either ignored or the involvement in the process is ignored. Although conflict should be reduced at all times, meetings are usually characterised by conflict. Another problem is that of illiteracy. People attending the meeting do not necessarily understand the process that is taking place. This could lead to confusion and lack of interest.

2.3.5] URBAN LANDSCAPE

Dumping is one of the major problems facing South Africa's urban landscape and to ensure sustainable human settlements, environmental management must form an integral part of the urban planning process. In order to make South African cities more 'liveable' urban systems need to be responsible for the requirements of their inhabitants. As noted earlier, 30 per cent of the urban population have access to electricity.

Brownfield sites are typically associated with distressed urban areas, particularly central cities and inner suburbs that once were heavily industrialised but have since been vacated. These sites are usually seen as problem areas because they are

empty and lure unwanted people. These sites also have the problem of poor inner city access (Hospital Development, 2001).

2.3.6] SOCIAL/ COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Housing Department (1997:31) states that "social development is central to sustainable development." To acquire decent living conditions attention must be given to health, educational and recreational facilities. South Africa is marked for its diversity, and there are many different people living in urban areas. The problem, however, is that there is a lack of diversity in urban areas.

A country's ability to produce depends on whether it has a healthy workforce. If half the people of a country were sick at a given time, the country would not produce effectively. South Africa spends 6,4 per cent of its Gross National Product on health care. This is higher than the 5,5 per cent stipulated by the World Health Organisation (WHO 1990). However, millions of South Africans are still in need of better health care. The influence of HIV/AIDS must be noted since it consumes a huge portion of the health budget. HIV/AIDS should, however, be seen as a problem of its own, since it has

a bigger impact than any other sickness. People who live in rural areas find health care services to be more inaccessible than those who live in urban areas.

Former President Nelson Mandela attended the Social Development Summit in March 1995, in Copenhagen, Denmark. The summit dealt with key issues surrounding community and social development, the creation of employment, the ending of poverty and social unity. The summit also looked at ways in which countries could increase development across nations, thus competing globally. Various community development programmes such as the Urban Foundation, the Foundation of Rural Development and the Development Bank of South Africa have initial projects that aim to create conducive environments to live in work at the problem of creating liveable environments. Lund (1987:1) states that community development "does not take place in a vacuum - since it is always situated in a concrete social, economic and political context". He further states that community development is about deliberate, purposive intervention in social change.

A community must be seen, as a social part (group) in which there is passing on of common life among the people composing the unit. It functions with rational balance in promoting the common interest inherent in society. Healy et al (1993) believe that if the community is 'healthy' it can survive the onslaughts threatening urban areas.

"Health can be defined as the state of comprehensive bodily, psychic, and social well being, and not merely the lack of disease or injury (Cockerham 1998:2)". According to Anderson (1964:19) there are various factors that have an impact on the health of a community. These factors are as follows:

- "human Biology- these are for example ageing and growth. This is a direct focus on the human body (How the body is treated);
- environment- includes all those factors related to health that are external to the body and over which the individual has little control yet over which the community may have a large degree of control. Examples include safe, uncontaminated food, air, water and medication;

- life style - this covers decisions by individuals that may affect their health, including self-imposed risk such as smoking, overeating and alcoholism; and
- health care organisation- elements of these are medical practices, hospitals and nursing homes.

The health goal that the community health programme seeks for every citizen in its area is not only an absence of disabling defects and disorders. But also vitality, buoyancy, and an abundance of energy that enables the individual to do the things that he or she wants to do and reasonably expect to do, with a corresponding enjoyment and gratification in living. Not perfect health, but a high level of well-being in which an individual finds life stimulating, is a realistic goal for inhabitants of every community (Anderson. 1964:26).

Services to the communities can also be provided via non-governmental organisations. These organisations depend largely on finance through the public or business sector.

The international community can now play a role in South Africa and the region by expanding the economic base to meet the needs of over 100 million people. People need skills to be able to do the jobs that investment creates.

2.4] CONCLUSION

'A city is like a cat, it have 9 lives, but be careful not to use them all up' – Gruen.

Poverty, crime and pollution are the destruction agents for urban decay in South Africa. Past policies did not help to alleviate these tools and soon this started to develop a snowball effect. A new era of reconstruction was introduced since the democratic elections in 1994. The rainbow-nation was born and everybody waited for delivery. Some of the promises made were delivered, some not (some people are still waiting for microwaves to fall out of the sky). South Africa's urban areas are in need for some kind of revitalization, due to the problems created by past actions of the public and private institutes.

There is a debate on whether you live in your past and build on it or if you start a new day at a time. The latter will not work

in South Africa. People died fighting for their freedom. Families were ripped apart. Although the scars can still be seen, there is no use to peel the sore open every time something bad happens. It is time to heal the scars. A way of doing that is to attack it to its face. Reduce crime and reduce poverty through urban renewal.

In the following chapter the core of urban renewal and the tools used for urban regeneration will be investigated.



CHAPTER 3

3.] URBAN REGENERATION DEFINED

3.1) INTRODUCTION

Eduardo Manet's, 'Rue Monsieur with flags' (Figure 17), was painted to celebrate the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 – 1871. The painting reflects new buildings, windows and the patriotic harmony of the red, white and blues. The painting announces the new-found prosperity of Paris that developed after the war. As stated in the previous chapter, urban regeneration was usually used as a method to reconstruct the areas affected by wars, an example of which is the Marshall Plan.

Jones (2000:3) states that urban regeneration is 'a widely experienced but little understood phenomenon'. In South Africa little attention is paid to urban regeneration since the initial impact is not understood to its full extent. It is widely stated that South Africa, and to a further extent Africa, are in need of a Marshall Plan similar to the one that was used in Europe after the Second World War.



Figure 17: The Rue Mosnier with flags, painted by Edouard Manet. Paris 1878.

Urban regeneration as an idea encapsulates the perception of city decline in the environment, the quality of our buildings, the hope of regeneration to reverse the existing trends and the hope for changes in economic growth and social well-being (Parkinson. 1992:422). The positive and negative sides of urban regeneration are to be investigated in this chapter. Urban regeneration is a controversial issue, leading to a variety of views about the importance and effect of urban renewal. Thus in this chapter the definition and reason for and tools of urban renewal will be discussed.

According to Mumford (1968:1) the city is a place for 'multiplying chances and making the most of unplanned experiences.' Urban regeneration deals with the 'unplanned experiences' that a city offers such as slums and making it into 'multiplying experiences' where

economic or social benefits can be extracted from the urban environment.

Over the past 20 years, more cities have become dysfunctional and poorly integrated (Cox. 2000:1) because of the increase in population. Cities have therefore become overpopulated with few work opportunities. This lead to most cities responding negatively to change. In South Africa the majority of local authorities are ill equipped to handle issues such as increased urbanisation and informal urban use, increased crime and the negative financial implications of decentralisation (Cox. 2001:2). The fact remains that, however degraded, cities remain the centre of culture, of ambition, dynamism, economic virtue and creativity and the crucibles for the advance of civilization. They have always acted as magnets (according to Howard's Garden City ideal) for people, ideas, culture and entrepreneurial activity. They have also been places of conflict and problems, and have therefore been at the edge of innovation to address problems and issues.

Cox (2001:2) argues that in South Africa, the rapid growth of South African cities has, along with inappropriate apartheid planning models, created inefficient

structures (such as the settlements on the outskirts of urban areas) with ever growing demands for better infrastructure and services on the countryside and in urban places.

With the African Renaissance dawning (supported by the African Union) South Africa's cities are now moving towards a rebirth or there is a need for that and one needs to understand their dynamics. Given that successful cities (utopia) may be the most sustainable form of human settlement thus far, urban regeneration is widely accepted within the sustainability debate for reaching the desired utopia.

3.2] DEFINING URBAN REGENERATION

Regeneration involves the rebuilding of the city, i.e. clearing away dysfunctional buildings, finding appropriate uses for vacant sites and producing new building forms and designs. According to Goodall (1988:490), "urban regeneration is a continuing process of remodelling urban areas by means of rehabilitation and conservation as well as redevelopment. Urban renewal programmes are generally undertaken by public authorities (often through public private partnerships) because of the need to amalgamate

many small property ownerships in order to redefine plot boundaries and realign streets and public utility services. The emphasis of urban regeneration is on those parts of the city which have fallen below current standards of public acceptability such as slums. These are commonly to be found in the residential parts of the inner city, as well as in the central business district itself. The inner city faces problems of inadequate housing, environmental deprivation, social malaise and presence of non-conforming uses".

Robinson (2000) adds that urban regeneration is a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.

The underlying purpose of urban regeneration can be according to Johnson (2000:1) is to improve specific areas of a city that are poorly developed or underdeveloped. These areas can lack of the basic infrastructure thus causing bad streets and bad areas. Urban regeneration can be seen as the reaction of changes in the physical city where

dysfunctional buildings, facilities and over time whole areas are being changed or reconstructed because of economic and social changes. Nieuwoudt (1993:1) states that urban regeneration gained more popularity in urban areas after the Second World War with a good example being the Marshall Plan. Batey (2000:1) adds that urban regeneration is a term which has come to describe a comprehensive and coordinated approach to solving urban problems.

Urban regeneration, much for the same reason as it is done in South Africa is a reaction to problems within the urban context. Roberts (2000) argues that "the regeneration of urban areas is a stem process of economic, environmental, social and cultural decline that bring with it accompanying decay of the physical built environment." This will then lead to programmes such as resettlement to be implemented in an area of need.

Stohr (1989) and Lichfield (1992) believed that through the years urban regeneration has taken various forms, with different goals. The following chronology serves as a summary:

- During the 1950s urban regeneration concentrated on

physical changes with reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns / cities based on the 'masterplan' concepts;

- The 1960s brought with it the 1950s theme of urban regeneration but began to have some social objectives;
- Urban regeneration in the 1970s focused on *in situ* renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still development at the periphery;
- The 1980s included many major projects with flagship schemes and *in situ* social objectives incorporated; and
- Urban regeneration in the 1990s focused on a comprehensive form of policy and practice with more emphasis on integrated treatments.

Urban regeneration involves:

- Prevention of urban decay;
- Working against the rotten-apple syndrome, by renewing the parts of the city that are not functional; and
- Readjusting the urban environment to deliver the

demand from economic and social changes.

Urban regeneration is the revitalisation of established urban areas to provide for a greater and improved range of activities relating to housing, employment and social activities. The principle focus of urban regeneration is to transform old and neglected suburbs into vibrant communities with viable investment opportunities through infrastructure improvements, effective planning and partnerships between government, community and private enterprises (Brisbane City Council, 2002).

Urban regeneration can also take place through redevelopment, rehabilitation and preservation. Redevelopment involves the clean-up of existing buildings and the re-use of the area. This also involves the use of existing infrastructure. Rehabilitation includes the renovation of buildings and areas that have fallen under the pressure of decay. Preservation of the urban environment includes the safeguarding of buildings that are in a good condition, while redevelopment takes place.

3.2.1] TEN PRINCIPLES OF URBAN REGENERATION

According to Roberts (2000:9) principles of 21st century urban regeneration should:

- be based on a detailed analysis of the urban area;
- be aimed at simultaneous adaptation of
 - physical fabric
 - social structures
 - economic base
 - environmental condition of the urban area;
- be based on a comprehensive and integrated strategy;
- be based on aims of sustainability;
- employ quantifiable operational objectives;
- make best use of natural, human, economic resources;
- seek to ensure consensus through full participation and co-operation of stakeholders through a partnership;
- recognise the importance of measuring progress and monitoring change;

- accept the likelihood initial implementation programmes will need to be revised; and
- recognise that various elements of strategy will make progress at different speeds, requiring redirection of resources or additional resources.

3.3] REASONS FOR URBAN REGENERATION

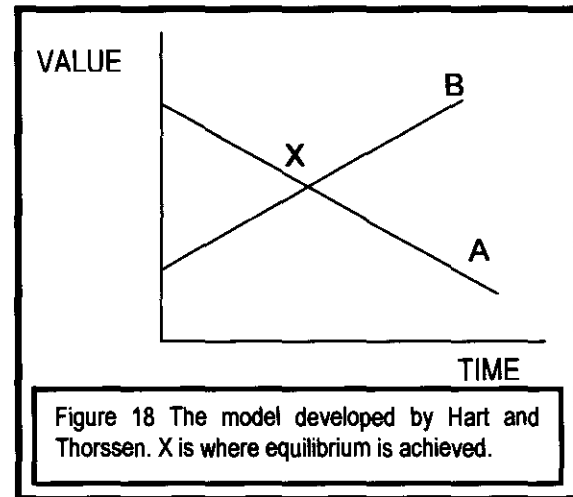
A city can be seen as a big house (based on Le Corbusier's view that a home must be seen as a machine). Social, cultural, institutional and economic functions take place in the house and if the house fails to establish these functions adequately in an effective manner the house (city) fails to function. It is believed that if the majority of cities no longer fulfil these functions, they are ineffective; they use up the green environment, depress individuals and the lack of order undermines the citizen's well being. Yet, Sachs-Jeanet (1998:15) notes that cities are not for people and that cities are for change, however this statement is contradictory. Why would cities change? Because of the dealings of its inhabitants, thus leading to the idea that cities are for people because without its inhabitants

there would be no change, being a ghost town and thus not being a city.

The need that exists for urban regeneration is to decongest our cities or to increase the green lungs of the cities such as parks and open spaces. As stated in chapter 2, there is a need for urban regeneration because of the tools of deconstruction such as crime or pollution. Other reasons for urban renewal can be the massive 'brain drain' into suburbs (because of technology making it possible to work at home, due to the internet) not to mention it leading to a money drain out of the central business district.

Thorssen and Hart (1979:38) developed a model for urban renewal (Figure 18). Line A represents the value of the specific site. Line B represents the value of the alternative use for the site, including clearance. As 'A' falls overtime and 'B' rises, an equilibrium point is achieved at X. At this time, the inquiry into alternative usage should be investigated. This is when urban regeneration is considered.

Yet, the methods of urban regeneration were not always viewed positively. According to Jones (2000:3) 20th century



politicians across Europe tried to address slum areas with 'building schemes' but they did not take into account the depression in 1930s and that the wars left many low-quality housing districts and derelict buildings. There are usually many reasons for why urban regeneration needs to take place. Roberts (2000) suggests four conditions that create the need/ demand for urban regeneration:

- Negative economic transition and employment change:
 - Economic processes within the urban environment create an urban problem because of crime or pollution;
 - Inherent weaknesses of the urban economic base and inability to adapt to new trading and

- infrastructural requirements; and
 - 'Locked-in' decline - e.g. old buildings, leading to inappropriate skills that do not create a market for new economic development.
- Social and community issues
 - More people migrate to the urban areas, creating fewer job opportunities in the cities;
 -
 - Breakdown of the traditional family unit to extended families as relatives stay together in order to save money. This then usually leads to slums since there is not enough space to accommodate all the people;
 - Decline of community structures for example health services;
 - Changing of the nature of urban policies and outcomes that impact on the family unit such as health policies;
- Changing social values thus making crime a way of life; and
- Concentration of lagging communities in the urban core.
- Physical obsolescence
 - Functional obsolescence of buildings;
 - Dereliction of buildings;
 - Outdated infrastructure and changing needs of urban users; and
 - Environmentally contaminated land.
- Poor environmental Quality and Sustainability
 - Growing awareness of 'unsustainable urbanisation' – origins / impacts of cities developed to serve economic goals;
 - Cities that continue to generate environmental costs that outweigh benefits;
 - excessive energy consumption;
 - inefficient use of raw materials;

- neglect of open space; and
 - pollution of land, water and atmosphere.
- the desirability of encouraging vertical co-operation (local, regional, national) will depend on the process being successful;
- the importance of private sector involvement and;
- the need to involve local voluntary and residents' groups

3.4] OBJECTIVES OF URBAN REGENERATION

Objectives of urban renewal can be to encourage enterprise and new businesses and help existing businesses to grow stronger. Other objects can also be to improve people's prospects (their motivation and skills) and to make areas attractive to residents and businesses to attract various actors such as residents, investors and tourists. Crime can be seen as the 'killer' of urban areas. One of the main objectives therefore will be to make urban areas safe and attractive places in which to live and work.

The objective of any urban renewal project is to be successful. However, Drewe (1999) suggests that:

- the extent and quality of horizontal co-operation – how stakeholders work together is important to make sure that the regeneration process is joined by all groups of citizens;

3.5] TOOLS OF URBAN REGENERATION

3.5.1] ACTORS INVOLVED

Urban renewal tends to happen incrementally (Gurwitt. 2000). That is partly because economic situations do not always allow much public funds to be allocated for large scale regeneration projects and partly because there has not been private money for it either, until recently, where planners, architects, developers and neighbourhood leaders saw the benefits in letting communities undergo more organic change, thus allowing them to take the first initial steps.

In order for urban renewal to be sustainable government's role should be active and the following requirements should be met:

- Local level: Real long term partnerships need to be started between the public and the local government;
- Regional level: Need to develop strategies to which local level could relate and need to build a bridge between national and local level; and
- National level: Develop strategies that promote broader long term development.
- The South African Constitution of 1996;
- Development Facilitation Act (Act 96 of 1995); and
- Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994).

Other policies that can be used are Integrated Development Plans and Spatial Development Initiatives, which are now widely used in South Africa. Another policy in terms of which regeneration can take place is special financial incentives to facilitate private sector property development. This can be done through enterprise zones and urban development grants (Healy et al. 1992:16). In England the Urban Renewal Tasks force was established to tackle the relevant issues of urban improvement.

3.5.2] LEGISLATION AND POLICIES

Legislation and enough investment are necessary to have successful urban regeneration. South Africa does not have a regeneration act but there are some acts and ordinances that provide the backbone and that can be used. They are:

- The Slums Act (Act 76 of 1979);
- Nation Health Act (Act 36 of 1919);
- Housing Act (Act 107 of 1997);
- Municipal Powers to Expropriate Act (Ord 64 of 1903 (Tvl));
- The Ordinance on Township establishment 1986 (Ordinance 15 of 1986);

In the past, urban planning was governed by the idea that it would be possible to resolve urban problems through a "rational process of comprehensive city planning" (Bourassa. 1989). To do that, land use control was rationalised through zoning and slums through urban clearance. However, South Africa is using more normative planning instruments such as the Green Paper on Planning and thus moving away from

prescribed control orientated policies such as the Structure plans.

3.5.3] IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS

Improvement Districts are tools/platforms used to fund additional services, which improve the vitality of urban areas. According to Cox (2000:3) an improvement district is a geographic area in which property owners and/or tenants agree to pay for certain services which are supplementary to those supplied by local government and which enhance the physical, economic and social environment of the area. This, however, only includes a small portion of the population of the city and usually excludes the lower class.

Property owners or tenants determine the type and scope of services that are required based on the needs of the area under consideration. These typically include security, cleaning, maintenance, marketing, physical improvements and special programmes to address aspects such as transportation, access, parking, greening and homelessness (Cox. 2000:3).

Improvement Districts create a self-sustaining instrument to maintain, manage and market investment in the Inner City. Basic factors presently addressed through Improvement Districts are physical, social, economic and environmental imbalances leading to urban decay as well as facilitating change management and promoting creativity in problem solving.

Through adding value in terms of sustainability, (unlike local government where all services are provided), (Cox. 2000:3) supplementary services provided by the Improvement District are tailored to the specific needs of the area. Sustainable benefits include:

- “creating cleaner, safer and more attractive urban places;
- ensuring a stable and predictable resource base to fund supplemental services and programmes;
- providing non-bureaucratic and innovative management of Urban areas;
- responding quickly to market changes and community needs;
- helping to maintain and increase property values;

- helping to stabilise rentals and improve occupancy rates; and
- providing an identity which can make the area more competitive than surrounding or even suburban areas”.

Farr (2002:4) adds that Improvement Districts also have sustainable benefits from the perspective of the local government:

- They create a self sustaining mechanism to maintain, manage and market new investments in civic infrastructure such as street-scaping or environmental upgrade projects;
- The Improvement District serves as a unified private sector voice for the area;
- The Improvement District leverages supplemental services to mitigate declining municipal budgets; and
- The Improvement District advances revitalisation strategies that lead to increases in sales revenue and property values and thus ultimately to an increased rates base.



Figure 19: The improvement district in Cape Town. Improvement to the area was done by cleaning up the area and planting trees.

In South Africa the Cape Town Partnership is an excellent example of Improvement Districts. Although it is in a relatively young phase, positive remarks have come from it. According to Farr (2002:3) there was a drop in urban crime and more businesses were attracted back to the central business district.

3.6] URBAN REGENERATION TERMINOLOGY

3.6.1] FLAGSHIPS

Flagships are large-scale urban renewal projects, and it is suggested that every city should have one or more flagship projects in order to break the cycle of inner-city decline (Healy et al. 1992:245). Flagships can fulfil many functions such as to serve as magnets and attracting further development, or they can promote

tourism, new land uses and transform the image of the city.

Flagships can be seen as urban boosters that are raising competitiveness and establish a global identity that is necessary for the modern age, on the negative side the development will mainly be concentrated on a number of non-local hands (Kleinman. 2000:6).

The negative side of flagships includes further the risk of cultural standardisation and issues of access (for example the casino complexes that are found in Johannesburg and surrounding areas, a non African theme). The question of active public participation also plays an important role. Flagships can also contribute to social and political diversion because they can cater for the middle and upper classes to the exclusion of the lower class.

3.7] EFFECT OF URBAN REGENERATION

"The form and layout of our town and cities is more than a backdrop of urban life. The way in which the design of buildings, neighbourhoods and districts is

planned has a direct impact on the urban experience" (UTF. 1999:83).

The economic benefits of urban renewal will filter down to all groups, but it is hard to find it in the poorest groups. This then leads to the poor grouping together since they feel threatened and thus create the rotten-apple. The whole cycle is then started again.

"In a democracy people can do as they wish and (may) do not get what they want" (Santayana. 1963). The belief that urban regeneration will save cities is wrong. In certain places urban renewal can lead to more decay, if it is done in an ineffective manner.

The doughnut effect started to develop around the inner city areas that were developed. This is the price to pay since the people moved back to the suburbs and left the city centres empty.

The world is moving towards an entertainment economy. If inner cities are to become places where people want to be, they should offer positive rather than negative urban experiences. Being self-sustaining, improvement districts create the perfect platform from which regeneration for the "Experimental City"


can take place. The idea that “The City is not a Tree” (Christopher Alexander) – illustrates the myriad of overlapping activities and contact points – the more complexity a city displays, the more its social and economic opportunities are maximised (Cox. 2000:5).

There is a worldwide tendency to change the nature of civic relationships from dependency to leverage, as this is more productive and sustainable. In Johannesburg, resources are few and conflicting needs many – city decision-making and governance is extremely complex and conflictual (Cox. 2000:5). Middleton suggests that South African cities tend to be made up of ‘Rich City / Poor City’ scenarios – “Rich City is rich in infrastructure, urban facilities, services, management resources, business networks and property rates base. Poor City is poor in all the foregoing factors, but rich in character. ‘Poor City’ is made up of an area which was considered transitional. “‘Poor City’ was not intended to be permanent and therefore, property markets and institutional structures have to be developed from scratch. As a result there is a small rate base from which restructuring can occur” (Middleton, 2000) Poor City has to be improved. In the absence of both national and regional

grants, Rich City has to bear the cost of this. If not, ‘Rich City’ is in danger of going down with ‘Poor City’ – a fragile relationship.

To see that behaviour rooted in this attitude contributes to why the city does not work” (Middleton, 2000). The system is to be blamed for a malfunctioning urban environment. It is difficult to identify problems and find solutions in such an environment. Rich City, whilst subsidising Poor City, still needs urban management and service delivery. This, together with the approach of ‘sharing’ described above, can be achieved and facilitated through Improvement Districts, providing an interface between local government and the private sector – there is enough for all (Cox. 2000:5). Cities need common goals and visions. Improvement Districts are a way of overcoming the “us and them” approach and enabling stakeholders to take responsibility for their environment thereby fostering sustainability and enhancing a feeling of ‘ownership’.

It is thus important that cities do not work alone in reaching their goals, but must work together as the one has an impact on the cities around them. The Blue IQ project in Gauteng is an excellent



example of where two cities (Pretoria and Johannesburg) work together in order to meet their goals and promote South Africa as a whole.

3.8] SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

One of the most important challenges facing countries is how to ensure that towns and cities remain both economically and environmentally sustainable. Aderinto et al (2002:1) states that over time, the failure of public management and scarcity of financial and technical capacity, especially in the developing countries such as Nigeria resulted in widespread deficiencies, causing environmental problems such as pollution, urban sprawl and inadequate infrastructure. This then impacts on the health of citizens and the economy resulting in a downward trend of the sustainability of the environment.

3.9] CONCLUSION

When looking at the urban setting, our engineered cars are seen against a background of slums. Black rivers flow through the streets and spreading suburbs with no evidence of life. Tall

buildings stand close to vacant lots and highways are strung out by billboards.

Nevertheless, South African cities must be regenerated; for if they are not, decay and 'tools of destruction' will work against the efficiency of the city and may eventually render it unable to carry out its functions. The attitude towards urban renewal is that buildings should be rebuilt. In fact it is communities that have to be rebuilt.

The role of the public must also not be underestimated since they are an important factor in attracting renewed market interest.

Sustainable development is a reaction towards the ideal of the human race in achieving an utopia. In the following chapter, the theory surrounding utopian thought will be investigated.



CHAPTER 4

4.] UTOPIA/ PRAC-TOPIA

4.1] INTRODUCTION

The movie *Chicken Run* is about chickens laying eggs for the farmer. They soon realise that they are fed up with the circumstances surrounding them and decide to do something to find their utopia, their nirvana. The following scene takes place:

Ginger: "Fences aren't around the farm, they are around up here in your head. There is a better place out there, somewhere beyond that hill and wide open spaces with lots of trees and grass. Can you imagine that cool, green grass?"

Babs: "Who feeds us?"

Ginger: "We will feed ourselves."

Babs: "Where is the farm?"

Ginger: "There is no farm."

Babs: "Where does the farmer live?"

Ginger: "There is no farmer."

Babs: "Is he on holiday?"

Ginger: "He isn't anywhere, don't you get it? Nobody that counts, no farmers, no dogs, no trees and no fences."

Old Chicken: "In all my life I've never heard such a load of tripe. Oh, face the



Figure 20: Characters of the movie *Chicken Run*. In front. Ginger the chicken.

facts, ducks. The chances of us getting out of here are a million to one".

Ginger: "There is still a chance."

At the end of the movie, the chickens escape from the farm, and find their utopia, where they could live a normal life where they can have families and work together for a goal in achieving happiness and security, away from the threat of death.

South Africa's history plays a similar part where blacks during the apartheid era can be seen as the chickens kept inside their cage, in the backyard and never seeing the results of their work. In this chapter the views surrounding different utopians and the influence they had on planning and the areas surrounding it will be investigated.

4.2] PHILOSOPHER'S UTOPIA

The Bible depicts the first Utopia, the Garden of Eden. This must be one of the first references that were made to a perfect living environment surrounded by perfect conditions. However, the utopian ideal could not or cannot exist. The first reason is that when a utopia is achieved there is nothing more for. The utopian situation would mean the virtual end of the human endeavour (Meisner 1982:4-8). The second reason is that if such a place does exist it must not be allowed to change in any way for this would only destroy the utopia (Tod & Wheeler. 1978:22).

Plato created a myth that there were three classes based on the normal capabilities. According to his myth people are born with either gold, silver or iron in their hearts. It is this that determines what class the person would be and no one could change or should dare to change this.

In the Bible we find that Adam and Eve did in fact strive for something better and because this changed the conditions of the utopia they were banned from the Garden of Eden (Bible). Since this first

example and maybe the only utopia that will ever exist, people have always tried to create some sort of utopia. There are further Biblical references to the 'New Jerusalem', but this will only be achieved through an act of God.

Octagon, Kansas, USA

In the American settlement era during the nineteenth century a community was established at Octagon. You could get land there if you vowed to be a vegetarian. This was to be their 'no meat-eating' utopia.^{vii}

People always had a desire to live in a good place. Aldous Huxley explored this desire through his book, Brave New World. In the book he admits that the utopia he desires would never be attained. Although he describes the utopian world he develops a character that is not happy with his surroundings and strives for a better world.

Utopia is generally an expression of a place where most people would like to live. Both desirable and impossible, it has long remained an imaginary place. Ever since Sir Thomas Moore introduced the word 'utopia' in 1516 with his book by that name, it had many interpretations and

incarnations. Moore was influenced by Plato's work, *Republic*, and although there were some differences in their beliefs, Moore's book shows some similarities to that of Plato so much so that they are both written in the form of a dialogue. Plato recognised that in cities it is the new generations that change the order of society and make the progress of society possible.

Constantine Doxiadis (1966:25) in his analysis of utopia observes that some see it as a happy, ideal place, while others consider it as an impractical place, its existence impossible. Often it is given both meanings simultaneously, making room for more confusion. Doxiadis notes Patrick Geddes's observation that utopia could have originated in either two Greek words: u-topia, meaning no place, or eutopia, meaning good place, considering both meanings valid and necessary. Doxiadis proposes a diagram in which the two meanings are positioned on different axes (Figure 21). On one axis he plots degree of zeal which progress from place (topia) to no-place (u-topia). This is a measure of the possibility of realisation, or perhaps of place-ness. On the other axis he maps degree of quality, which progresses from dystopia (bad place) to eutopia (good place). While this

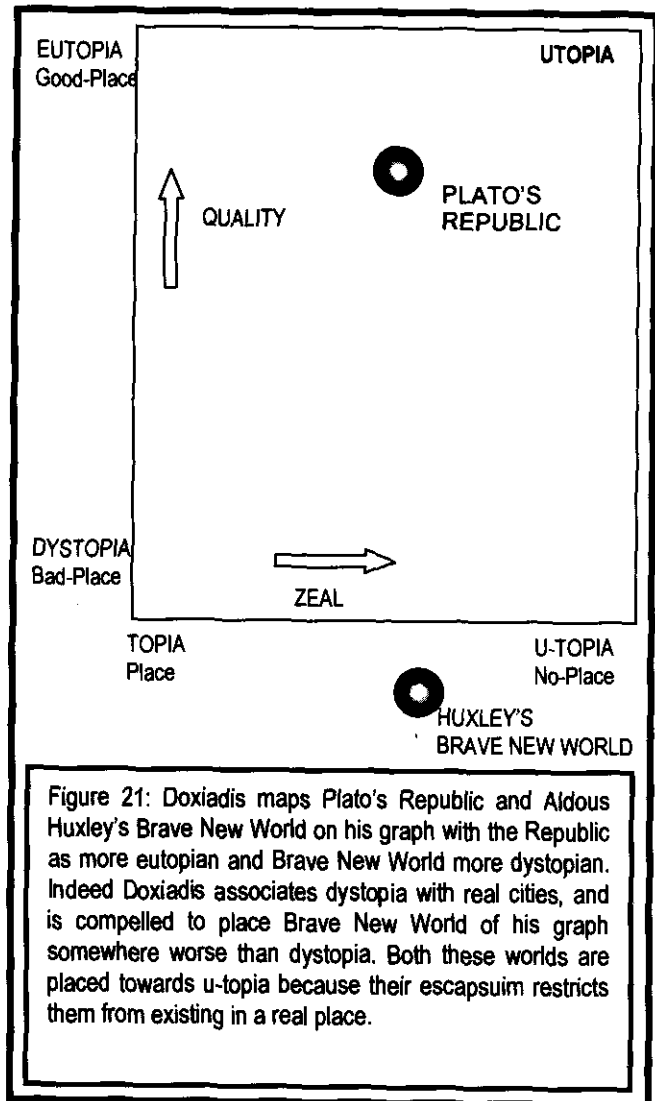


diagram is subjective, which Doxiadis admits, it is useful for considering the utopias that had an effect on the shape of cities in the twentieth century.

The ambiguity of utopias – once describes as striving to reach 'the good place' and the futility of searching for no place – reflects the ambiguity inherent in utopian modes of thought and their ambiguous relationship in history. Utopia, the perfect world that many wish for, and in history, the imperfect future that man is

in the process of creating, does not correspond. It is this consciousness of the lack of correspondence, which gives utopian thought its scene of moral pathos and its historical ambiguity. Morally, utopia may be 'the good place' but historically it is 'no place' (Meisner, 1982:4-8).

Utopias can therefore not be achieved, but it does allow an image of what the perfect state of the urban environment can resemble. This image was also addressed throughout the history, and allowed for some diverse opinions on how exactly the urban environment should look, and how this was to be achieved or what attempts were to be made. The following section describes some of these images that were created throughout history.

4.3] THE MASTERS OF UTOPIAN THOUGHT

Several utopians and their utopias are addressed in this section. The aim is to create a perspective from history on what utopia was believed to look like and to identify some strategies that were proposed.

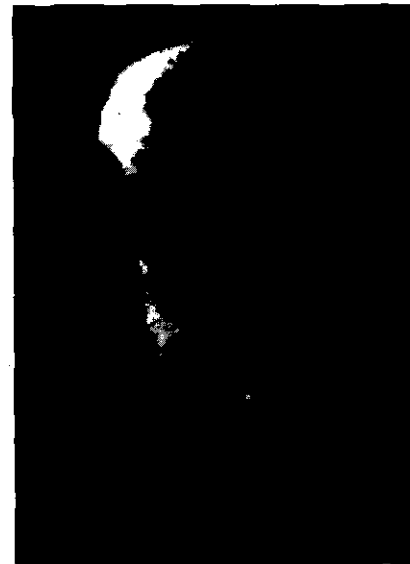


Figure 22: Constantine Doxiades observed that the utopian ideal can be impracticable.

4.3.1] PLATO

Plato wrote his book *The Republic* ten years after the Peloponnesian war, in which Sparta overpowered Athens. His 'Republic' is based on the success of Sparta at the time and can be seen as the foundation of fascism. Fascism in the context of Plato relates to a dictatorship ruling of the masses to allow a precise and effective functioning society.

In order to understand the work of Plato on utopias the manner in which he depicted the Republic must be underlined. According to Manuel (1966:33) he pictures the city as a self-contained unit and to ensure this self-sufficiency it must have enough land to

feed its inhabitants and make it independent of any other community.

In this city, there are three groups or classes in the community: the husbandmen and the craftsmen, the military or protectors and the guardians. The guardians were in fact nothing else than ideal commonwealths, where Plato argued for kingship. Plato also argued that once the structure was set, it must not be tampered with. This meant that once you were made part of a "class you must take orders from the top without questioning and that you would never be able to change your own situation" (Mumford. 1966:3-24).

4.3.2] ARISTOTLE

Aristotle was more focused on the physical or actual structure of the city (Schonfeldt. 2000:17). Aristotle saw the polis as a work of art, which meant that the physical structure could be changed. However, the medium and the capability of the artist limited the expression. This implies that there were shortcomings in the cities. Aristotle was not in fact concerned with these shortcomings, but the idea that there was a possibility for improvement supported his utopian thoughts. He might, for this reason, be



Figure 23: Plato's work, Republic is seen as the starting point for utopian thought.

seen as the first deterministic utopian (Mumford. 1966:3).

Aristotle in his second book makes his purpose clear in the words: ... to consider what form of political community is best of all those who are most able to realise their ideal of life (Mumford. 1966:4).

However when the early Greek philosophers' work on utopias are examined, it is striking how limited it was. None of them addressed utopia as anything more than the perfect city. In other words they did not see utopia as being a commonwealth or that it could include more than one city. Furthermore the class system as well as slavery and war were not to be discarded at any cost (Mumford. 1966:4).

4.3.3] THOMAS MOORE

Just after the first phase of the Renaissance was completed (1515-1516) Thomas Moore published his book: Utopia. Moore wrote the book to seem like fiction, in order to protect himself against possible 'consequences for being too outspoken' (Todd and Wheeler. 1978:30). This book, however, was not to describe an utopian myth, but was in fact a critique on the society of the time.

He criticised, firstly, the fact that people were starving because of the feudal system that allowed the rich to become richer, but keep the poor hungry and starving. This according to Moore, forced the poor to steal in order to survive. During the specific time period the punishment for theft was often the death penalty. This was an unacceptable aspect of social life and Moore identified two solutions for this: the first entailed a true revolution in the form of bloodshed and unrests cutting out the rich and allowing the poor access to the land; the second was to be a change in the agricultural economy, in other words something to replace the feudal system (Todd and Wheeler. 1979:30).



Figure 24: Thomas Moore, writer of the book Utopia.

According to Todd and Wheeler (1978:30), Moore wanted this to be enforced by laws that forced someone who destroyed a farm to rebuild it or to give the land to someone who would. Furthermore, the rich had to be stopped from creating monopolies in the market, and the agriculture and wool industry should be divided to allow more employment (Todd & Wheeler. 1978:30).

Moore described utopia as an island that was about 10 000 square miles in extent. On this island physical structures such as the capital city being fortified, with wide straight streets, three storey flat roof houses, and a communal building for each thirty houses were also to form part of this utopia. Moore even placed a population restriction onto utopia by only

allowing 80 000 people to live here. He also wanted the island to host 54 towns in which each had to be self-sufficient by using the 1 600 square miles of agricultural land that surrounded it (Tod and Wheeler. 1978:20).

4.3.4] CHARLES FOURIER

Meisner (1982:14) explains that Fourier's famed 'phalansteries' were to be voluntary associations of 1600 persons cultivating 5000 acres of land. Fourier was generally hostile towards modern large-scale industry and technology. Fourierists (individuals who believe in Fourier's work) believed that agriculture was the natural occupation of man and celebrated the virtues of agrarian simplicity. The people of Fourier's ideal 'phalansteries' were to engage in various occupations and activities, and had to be switched every two hours. The ideal was the well-rounded individual, a person who would combine many different kinds of physical labour with a wide variety of cultural and intellectual pursuits, thus satisfying the natural human desire for diversity and self-fulfillment.

In his ideal society there was no need for formal institutions of education, for the

young would educate themselves spontaneously in a natural social setting based on the



Figure 25: Charles Fourier stated that to look back into the past was the best way of solving present problems.

unity of living and working. There would also not be any place for university-educated intellectuals, whose specialised training necessarily created sharp separation between mental and manual labour incongruous with the new order (Taylor. 1982:100). Fourier believed that by giving the children a free choice, they would pick up enough knowledge towards which they had natural instincts. Fourier called this 'harmonic education'. As can be seen he proposed this utopia in order to eradicate class differentiation, and establish a community geared towards cooperation and improvement of life in general. This can be seen against the backdrop of industrialisation poverty and class distribution (Taylor. 1982: 100).

4.3.5] ROBERT OWEN

According to Meisner (1982:15), Robert Owen was a wealthy industrialist with a

profound faith in the powers of science and industry to yield unlimited economic abundance. He



Figure 26: Robert Owen believed that the establishment of an agrarian society would reconstruct the society as it has been before.

eventually proposed that the establishment of an agrarian-based model should bring about the restructuring of society. Communities were to function more or less in a self sufficient manner in what he called 'Villages of Cooperation'.

Like Saint Simon, Owen believed that communal land ownership was the way forward and that private land ownership should be abolished in order to reach a better community. He proposed the restructuring of the educational system as a prerequisite to the implementation of the democratic system. He believed that the democratic system would eradicate all forms of evil thus leading to an establishment where courts, prisons and poverty would not exist (Taylor. 1982:69).

He further believed that marriage as well as private property and religion were the

major causes of pain and suffering and proposed means to replace them. Owen believed that religion destroys the rational faculties of the human race, private property creates poverty amongst the masses, and marriage generates jealousy, revenge, envy and anger. He did, however, not propose the abolishment of marriage and religion all together, but proposed them to take on a new form, which dictates rational thinking (Taylor. 1982:69).

'By going back to nature, men will go back to their own nature' (Taylor. 1082:72). This fore-going clearly illustrates Owen's attachment and contribution to utopian thought. When viewing Owen's work one comes to the conclusion that he actually criticised the whole relationship between the state, the church and society as it prevailed in the nineteenth century.

4.3.6) HENRI SAINT-SIMON

St Simon belonged to a distinguished aristocratic family, but always believed that he had a role to play in the socialist sphere. He also believed that land ownership is the cause of class differentiation, and by the removal of land ownership privileges and rewriting the



Figure 27: Henri Saint-Simon believed that every citizen must be treated as equal.

laws that govern land-ownership, one could move to an egalitarian state where there is unity in terms of production.

According to Taylor (1982:40) Saint-Simon believed in class differentiation in the sense that different 'production classes' should exist, for example, farmers, bankers, merchants and manufacturers, but not in any social class differentiation, this will mean that there would be no bourgeoisie and proletariat. Thus everybody will be treated as equals.

4.3.7] KARL MARX AND FREDRICH ENGELS

Marx and Engels authored the Communist Manifesto in 1848, wherein they described Owen, Fourier and Saint Simon as being utopian socialists. They believed that utopians did not understand history correctly and that all attempts to



Figure 28 and 29: Karl Marx (right) and Fredrich Engels (left) believed that more drastic measures should be taken in the society to reach the desired utopia.

better society were only based on the society of that time. Marx and Engels believed that they had the 'correct' understanding of history and that the history of utopian thought only exists because of the history of class struggles. According to them the only way that the rivalry between proletariat and bourgeoisie would end was through political revolution, which must lead to fully communist society.

According to Engels the "crude conditions of capitalistic production and the crude class conditions correspond to crude theories. The solution to social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the utopians (i.e. St Simon, Fourier and Owen) attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and impose this upon society from without by

propaganda, and wherever it was possible, by the example of model experiments. These new systems were formed as utopian; the more complete they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure fantasies" (Meisner. 1982:58).

From this foregoing it is clear that Engels and Marx thought the utopians simply imply solutions for the era they found themselves in.

4.3.8] EBENEZER HOWARD

Howard's idea was that industries had to resettle outside the city centre (be decentralised); this meant that new towns had to be created in order to allow labour to be nearby.

Howard's idea was derived from Alfred Marshall's argument that industries would settle wherever, where labour is available (these are also the thoughts of Todaro), but that the community would later pay the price of poor health and living conditions (Hall. 1985:44).

Howard used the diagram of three magnets in order to justify the use of garden cities or new towns in an



Figure 30: Letchworth located in England was an attempt by Ebenezer Howard for building his utopian city. The city was laid out by R. Unwin and B. Barker in 1904.

economic sense. The diagram was basically a comparison between communities and threats in the city and those found in the third magnet would most likely have more opportunities than the city itself, but fewer threats, and it would have more opportunities than the countryside and almost as little threads due to the design (Hall. 1985:45).



Figure 32: A diagram of the three magnets as proposed by Howard.

When mass production of cars first started Howard could hardly be expected to predict what the consequences might be. However, he argued that the Garden City or town-country could be able to combine the advantages found in the cities with those found in the country. This would leave out the disadvantages of both. Decentralising both workers and their employment to new settlements, which would be within normal commuter range of the inner city became the new approach. He suggested a settlement of on 6000 acres, of which not less than 5000 acres were to serve as a green belt. All these new settlements were to be linked up with each other as well as with the inner city; this is also indicated in his diagram of the Social City. Furthermore the settlements would be dense for he suggested 15 houses per acre that at that time would mean about 80 – 90 persons per acre. Today it would be around 40 per acre. The towns were also not to be isolated, but would stop growing when they reached a certain size. The spill-over need then is accommodated in other towns close by (Hall. 1985:47).

Howard developed the garden city idea so that urban growth would be directed into suburban areas that would surround

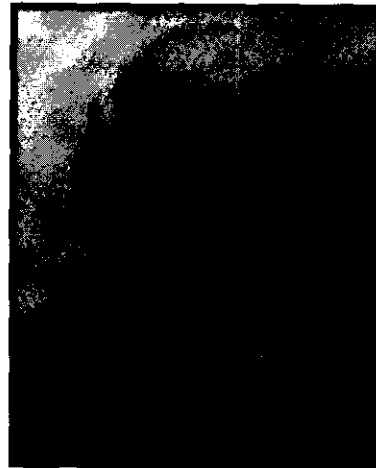


Figure 32: Although Ebenezer Howard ideas for the Garden City were never implemented in reality; some of his ideas played a major role in developments, such as Letchworth.

existing cities. Each 'city' would have its own centrality, but would be connected by transportation to the original (mother) city. All land was also communally owned, thus requiring collective decisions upon its use.

This idea of Howard was to be implemented in a few cities. The concept was, however, expensive and did not allow private companies to invest in the development. However, it is still a good

example of urban utopian

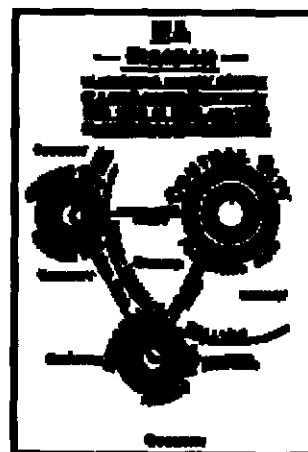


Figure 33: A diagram of Howard's proposal for his Garden cities that are dependent on one central city.

thought in the sense that this was supposed to lead to ideal living, health and economic conditions.

4.3.9] LE CORBUSIER

According to Le Corbusier, when asked to prepare a town planning exhibit for the Salon d'Automne in Paris in 1922, he inquired, "What is town planning"? In response he was told by the head of the section, "Well, it is a sort of street art – for shops, shop signs and so on; it includes such things as the glass knobs on the stair ramps of houses". Le Corbusier replied, "All right. I will do you a monumental fountain, and behind it I will put a town of three million inhabitants (Evenson. 1917)." The resulting exhibit was greeted with shock.

Le Corbusier made a number of propositions on how he believed the city should be designed. According to his first proposition the traditional city's function became obsolete because of the increase in size and congestion in the city centre. Because of this growth and increase in congestion the strain on other services in the inner city like communications became very high (Hall. 1985:57).

His second proposition was a paradox in itself, saying that congestion would be dealt with by higher density. The key to the paradox was that density was increased at one level, but decreased at another. This was to be established through huge skyscrapers that were surrounded by large areas of open space. Le Corbusier wanted 95% of the available land to be left open (Hall. 1985:59).

The third proposition was concerned with the density distribution across the city. Before mass urban transport the density was concentrated in the inner city or city centre but later it was the outskirts that become dense. Le Corbusier wanted to rid the city of all this by allowing equal densities across the city. Hall (1985:59) states that this would reduce the pressure on the city centre and would allow for a more even flow.

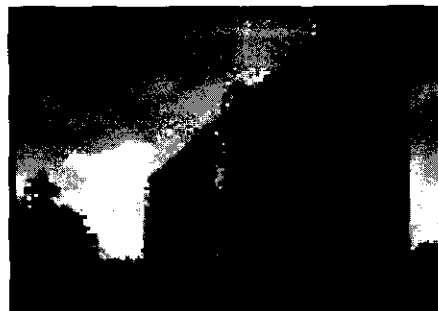


Figure 34: Le Corbusier's Unite de Habitation is an example of Le Corbusier's ideas of high density living.

Lastly, Le Corbusier argued that this new urban form would allow a more efficient mass urban transport system combining fast rail systems with a highway system that would run above ground level. This would be done with a multi-level free-flow highway interchange system, which at that stage was not yet properly designed or prevalent anywhere in the world (Hall. 1985:59).

To Le Corbusier, as to many others, the modern city represented a problem to be solved. Le Corbusier postulated that a town is a tool which no longer fulfil functions. They are ineffectual; they use human bodies and they thwart human souls. The lack of order to be found everywhere in them offends humans; their degradation wounds self esteem and humiliates one's sense of dignity. They are not worthy of the age; they are no longer worthy of humans (Evenson. 1918)."

"By our immense step in evolution, so brutal and so overwhelming, we burn our bridges and break with the past. There will be no more congested streets and sidewalks, no more bustling public squares, no more untidy neighbourhoods. People would live in hygienic, regimented high rise towers, set far apart in a park-



Figure 35: Le Corbusier also tried to achieve the utopian city through his Radiant City proposal, but it was never implemented to such an extent as Howard's.



Figure 36: Model of the Radiant city, 1930 as proposed by Le Corbusier.

like landscape. This rational city would be separated into discrete zones for working, living and leisure. Above all, everything should be done on a big scale—big buildings, big open spaces, big urban highways". (Le Corbusier. Radiant City)

Le Corbusier's Radiant city, as with the Broadacre city, is based on technological advances. The radiant city is one of skyscrapers and freeways, arranged

diagrammatically into zones, each separated by plazas and parks. The centre comprises a multi-level traffic interchange. Le Corbusier also believed that only a dictatorial government was equipped to handle the city. Le Corbusier was not planning only a physical environment. He was planning for a social utopia too. "Maximum individual liberty by which Le Corbusier seems to have meant not liberty to do anything much, but liberty from ordinary responsibility (Jacobs. 1977:32).

Le Corbusier was not only important for the intuitive ideas which he brought forward, but his use of scale is very important to planners, even today. It shows how scale can be used to create high-rise buildings to allow higher density, but with lower levels of congestion because of lower scale in density in relation with the buildings to each other. His ideas like some others show urban utopianism in the sense that it tries not only to better the living conditions, but also to almost perfect them within easily accessible economic and other opportunities (Schonfeldt. 2000:25).

4.3.10] FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

Wright proposed a more thoroughly decentralised city. The Broadacre city is semi-rural, with the homestead considered the conceptual centre. Natural and agricultural environments separated urban facilities and are connected through the use of motor vehicles and personal helicopters.



Figure 37: Frank Lloyd Wright envisioned the Broadacre city as a solution to the problems existing in urban areas at that time.

4.3.11] LEWIS MUMFORD

Mumford (1966) argues that utopia is not a Hellenic fantasy, but a derivation from a historic event, and that the first utopia was the city itself. The utopian city did however not

last long and soon became a dystopia. Mumford (1966) explains that there should be a move towards



Figure 38: Lewis Mumford believed that utopias are ideals never realized.

embracing the utopian idea once more. He argues that utopian views are neglected and that the time had arrived for using the existing literature, learning from it, and thus building a new utopia. He also argues that utopias are ideals never realised in the full sense, but views it as essential for human development.

4.3.12] NORTHROP FRYE

Frye (1966) argues that the utopian writer looks at the ritual habits of his own society and tries to see what society would be like if these ritual habits were made more consistent and more inclusive. Some social habits express the needs of society, and others, for example, its anxieties. He also argues that society attaches more emotional importance to anxieties than to needs



Figure 39: Northrop Frye believed that if there is any revival of utopian thought, it cannot be based on passed utopias.

and/or genuine beliefs, and many anxieties are seen as entirely unreal. Every utopian writer has to struggle with the anxieties presented to him by his own society, trying to distinguish the moral from the conventional, would really be disastrous from what merely inspires a vague feeling of panic, uneasiness, or ridicule. This forms the basis of the utopian outlook according to Frye (1966).

Frye (1966) further argues that classical utopias derived their form from city states and, though imaginary, were thought of as being, like the city state, exactly locatable in space. Modern utopias are seen as deriving their form from a uniform pattern of civilization spread over the whole globe, and so are thought of as world states, taking up all the available space. He also argues that if there are to be any revival of utopian imagination in the future, it cannot return to the old style spatial utopias, such as the Garden City. New utopias would have to derive their form from the shifting and dissolving movement of society that is gradually replacing the fixed position of life. Frye argues that they would not be rational cities evolved by a philosopher's dialectic; they would have to be rooted in the conscious, in forests and deserts as well as in highways and buildings and in bed

as well as in the symposium (Schonfeldt. 2000:26).

Frye (1966) concludes with the following: 'A fixed position in space is 'there' and 'there' is the only answer to the spatial question 'where'? utopia in fact and etymology, is not place; and when the society it seeks to transcend is everywhere, it can only fit into what is left, the invincible non-spatial point in the centre of space. The question 'where is utopia?' is the same as the question 'where is nowhere?' and the only answer to that question is 'here" (Manuel. 1966:49).

4.3.12] PAUL TILLICH

Tillich (1966) argues that the analysis of utopia is rooted in the nature of man himself, because it is impossible to understand what it means for man to have an utopia, if one does not understand the nature of man.

Tillich (1966) also argues that it is impossible to understand history without utopia, for he says that neither historical consciousness nor action can be meaningful unless utopia is envisaged both at the beginning and at the end of



Figure 40: Paul Tillich believed in the positive truth of a utopia and the advantage a society can get from it.

history. Thirdly, he emphasises the fact that it is the negative in man that makes the idea of utopia necessary.

Tillich analyses utopian thought through three steps:

- The positive views;
- The negative views; and
- The transcendence of utopia

The positive views of utopia are that of utopia as a truth, its fruitfulness and its power. Utopia as truth expresses man's essence, his inner aim of existence. Every utopia is one's manifestation of what man has as inner aim what he must have for fulfilment as a person. He says that a society defined utopia as a mislay of truth if it does not at the same time fulfil the person, just as the individually defined utopia loses its truth if it does not

at the same time bring fulfilment to society (Schonfeldt. 2000:28). The fruitfulness of utopia means that utopia opens up possibilities, which would have remained lost if not seen by utopian anticipation. According to Tillich (1966) every utopia is seen as an anticipation of human fulfilment, and anything anticipated can be seen as real possibilities. The power of utopia is anchored in those who bear utopias (Tillich. 1966). A utopia is capable of transforming the given, and that the bearers of utopia are those who are able to transform reality.

4.3.13) THE EXTREMES

Although the following persons have not directly contributed to utopian thoughts their reasoning had an influence on the history of the world.

4.3.13.1) ADOLPH HITLER

Killing more than one million people Hitler's ideal utopian idea was probably one of the most

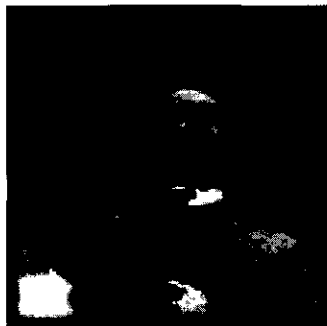


Figure 41: Hitler's idea of an racial cleansing resulted in the killing of more than a million people.

controversial ever. His approach was that of 'racial cleansing' and 'breeding' the uber (chosen) race. However, he did not succeed in his ideal since he was stopped by international pressaure.

4.3.13.2) TED KACZYNSKI

Kaczynski, aka the Unabomber, terrorised the American postal services in 1997, sending letter bombs to various people and



Figure 42: Ted Kaczynski beliefs drove him to post letter bombs to people and killing them.

establishments. His absurd act should not be praised but in his manifesto 'Industrial society and its future' he creates the world he believes that human beings are 'made' for living in the modern era. 'The industrial revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race (Kaczynski. 1998:1). He argues that for primitive people the natural world (which usually changes only slowly) provided a stable framework and therefore a sense of security, and in a modern society there is no stable

framework resulting on social problems (Kaczynski. 1998:14).

In order for the human race to live in a sustainable manner with peace; humanity needs to go back to the primitive world. He thus sees the utopia as one of freedom without violence.

4.3.13.3) HENDRIK VERWOERD

Known as the father of separate development (implementer of apartheid), Hendrik Verwoerd implemented a plan that resulted in the desegregation of a racially divided South Africa. The struggle from the black population of South Africa is one of the reactions against his utopian ideal of a white dominated state (boerestaat).

4.4) THE THREE CITIES

Although each of Howard's, le Corbusier's and Wright's utopias represented a different set of values, within their own logic each was eutopian. Wright's city supports American notions of mobility and space, and the value of individuality. All three cities were decentralised, fully planned and embraced the comfort and security of

their citizens. They shared an internal perfection borne from the single-minded attention of their authors. The goal of each utopia was to present a better place to live in, than the cities of the day. But these utopias were unrealisable. Early implementations of Howard's Garden Cities in Letchworth and Welwyn resulted in neighbourhoods that appeared similar to Howard's utopia, but politically or economically differed never attained his co-operative ideal. Le Corbusier's vision could not muster the political support, particularly in democratic countries. Wright's city has been attempted by North America, but in brutally condensed form: suburban houses cramped together without untouched nature between them. Howard's, Wright's and Le Corbusier's ideal cities shared the qualities of a pure utopia, yet only some were built. Their ideas however became the cornerstones for planning in the 20th century. If the ideas of these authors were to be graphed on Doxiades graph Howard's Garden City would be near eutopia and Le Corbusier's Radiant city nearer to utopia (Figure 5).

The ideas of the three utopias were turned into a practical utopia that continues to define our cities today. The practical utopia reproduced many aspects

idealism might thrive. Such an environment might meet the requirements of Alvin Toffler (1972:113) who wrote, "we need ... a revolution in the production of utopias: collaborative utopianism. We need to construct utopia factories".

Cacotopia: Sad and fearful scenarios of doom and despair descriptions of horrifying worlds to come. This is portrayed in the movies such as Blade Runner, 5th Element and Gattaca.

4.6] CONCLUSION

Theory is not always practical. In most cases, it explains. To achieve a theoretical utopia can sometimes lead to not being pursued, thus only resulting as a u-topia.

There are countless ways of achieving prac-topias. Established ideals can be seen as ways of realizing the prac-topia which are (1) life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; (2) reciprocity, (3) democracy, (4) equal opportunity, (5) justice, and (6) the beautiful city. In the following section six prac-topias are discussed by using theories and/or case studies.

From the above sections the image of a utopia is different for several people (utopia is in the eye of the beholder). These images reflect the differences in living conditions that dominated during time the specific utopian models were formulated.

Moore's model was formed around the early phase of the Renaissance. This era was known for its feudal system and the poverty it entailed. The ideas of Moore were thus aimed at bettering the conditions through the abolishment of the feudal system. The system that was proposed was later viewed to include the fundamentalism of socialism.

Owen, Fourier and St Simon were influenced by the start of the industrial revolution. They concerned themselves with the enlightenment of the working class. Their models aim to achieve the eradication of class differentiation and a move towards an agrarian based model with communal land ownership. These men were in fact humanist and philanthropists.

Marx and Engels later describe Owen, Fourier and St Simon as utopian socialists. According to them utopia would not be achieved without a

revolution in the dominating system. The full communist society of Marx and Engels can be seen as the utopian model that they set out in the communist manifesto.

The poor living conditions caused by the industrial revolution that took place during the 19th century led to Howard's, Le Corbusier's, Wright's and other utopian proposals. Their utopian ideals/proposals were in fact focused on the implementation of new structures that could allow better living conditions. Most of utopian thought of this time was deterministic in the sense that a healthy social life was to follow from sound environmental conditions. All three utopias (Le Corbusier, Wright and Howard) were a reaction to the unplanned and uncontrolled development that took place. Each participated in a movement away from eutopia of future cities. Frank and the others each participated in a movement away from dis-utopia towards the potential eutopia of future cities. By investigating these attempts to eutopia with respect to Doxiades' understanding of the eutopian/dystopian and toposian/u-topian dimensions of utopia and reality have come to coexist, and the nature of the compromise that allows this to happen.

Since the industrial revolution there were few original utopias formulated. The works of Tillich, Manheim and Frey are only some examples of more modern utopians. Although they are not original they extracted their ideas from previous utopians. They can be seen as analysers rather than hardcore utopians.

From all of the above we find that social disorders, reformation and poor living conditions as were found after the Peloponnesian War, prior to the Renaissance, and during the industrial revolution, initiated utopian thought. Apartheid established a way for South Africa to go through a transformation. This led to the dawning of a new era wherein previous disadvantages can be paralleled to the class problems as depicted by Owen amongst others (Badenhorst. 1992:2).

The following chapter will consider the fragmented city concept in South Africa, since it is one of the characteristics of South African cities.

CHAPTER 5

5.] THE FRAGMENTED CITY

"A Procession of perhaps a hundred toddlers marched by, many of them not older than four and five carrying placards reading 'stop child abuse'. They sang protest songs and waved their fists in the air – they start young here" (Rostron. 2002).

5.1] INTRODUCTION

"A tale of two cities, the Apartheid and Renaissance City. One is characterised by uneven, skewed development and commercial and industrial regression that typified the dying years of the isolation era, the other a vision of opportunity for new growth and development." ^{viii} It is well-known that South Africa is in a unique situation because of the apartheid legacy. The idea of separate development is, however, not unique to South Africa, since there are various forms of segregation. Governments have not developed segregated policies as in the case of South Africa, but in many



Figure 44: Demonstrating has become one of the ways of 'getting what the masses want'.

countries of the world you find 'divided' cities.

Acts of government in the past had several effects on cities. The building of the Berlin Wall in 1968 seemed like a good idea, at the time. After the breaking down of the wall in 1989, several problems arose. People moved from the east to the west for better job opportunities and left the 'panel' apartments empty. Since the unification of Germany, Schwedt had lost one-fifth of its population and in 20 years it is projected that it will lose another twenty per cent (Kim. 2000:3). As a result of this, Germany had made many attempts to revive their city centres. Infrastructure had been upgraded and the areas were made 'liveable' again.

This chapter deals with the problem created by the past (policies) of a country, which in the case of South Africa was apartheid. As discussed in chapter 2,

apartheid was implemented by the South African government to promote segregation and reach the utopia of a racially separated South Africa. The scars of apartheid are visible in our daily lives. South African urban areas are characterised by skewed development, low housing provision that results in squatting, segregated areas and low infrastructure provision in townships.

The utopia that the post-apartheid city wants to achieve is to eradicate the scars of apartheid. Although this may take time, it has to start somewhere.

5.2] SKEWED DEVELOPMENT

The South African renewal problem is that government offers housing subsidies where land is cheap but where there are few job opportunities for example the Wintervold area in Gauteng. The upgrading of townships is also taking place at a slow pace (although government cannot afford a faster pace) and demands for housing are met to a limited extent. As with other cities in the world, South African cities were mainly dominated by policies. Although the apartheid policies are not active anymore, the unsustainable form of these urban areas is still being continued. Legislation

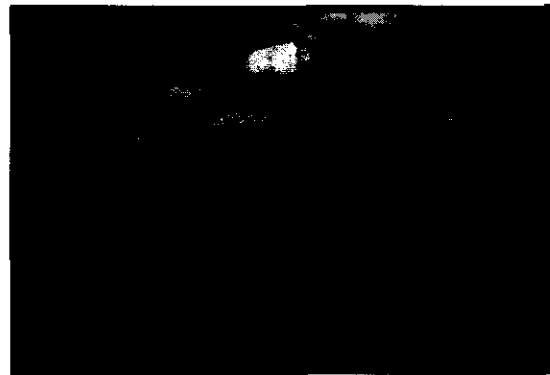


Figure 45: A view of the Brandenburg gate from the West.

was introduced in 1994 to work against the fragmented and racially locked urban areas, such as the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), Development and Facilitation Act (DFA) and White Paper on Housing.

Apartheid left a foot print on the urban areas of South Africa. As stated earlier the policies of economic and political discrimination were formalised under National Party rule after 1948. Two significant pieces of legislation were promulgated in 1950. First was the Population Registration Act (mandated classification of population into discrete racial groups: white, black, and coloured). Second, the Group Areas Act whose goal was to divide cities into sections that was to be inhabited only by members of one population group. These were seen as important components of the apartheid state. Effects of the two acts were that downtown areas were reserved for

whites. Areas for non-whites were peripheral, restricted, and often without urban services such as transportation or shopping facilities. Large numbers of non-whites were displaced with little or no compensation and buffer zones were created between residential areas and curtail contact.

The Marabastad regeneration programme

Marabastad the backyard of the city of Pretoria: It has a long and painful history of social injustice, political agendas, neglect and physical decay. It is located approximately ten minutes walking distance from the CBD of Pretoria. 180 000 people are daily streaming through the Belle Ombre Railway station and two official, but informal taxi ranks. There are also numerous unofficial and informal taxi assembly points and two bus terminals between home and work opportunities (Jordaan & Loots. 2000:3).

There are also a huge number of squatters living in unhealthy and unsafe conditions. They generally occupy vacant land, street reserves and parking lots. Informal trading takes place on a large scale with informal traders operating in Marabastad being more than in the rest

of the CBD – in an area smaller than the rest of the CBD. On the other hand formal traders sell all types of household items at the most affordable prices in the city,

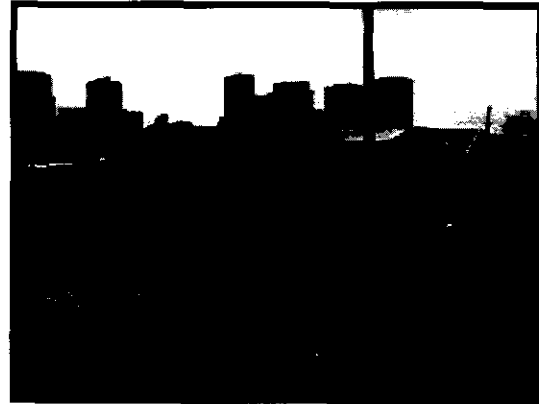


Figure 46: Marabastad, with the buildings of the Pretoria CBD at the back.

providing a treasure-trove for bargain hunters.

In the early years Marabastad was the hub for "alternative entertainment" in Pretoria (the "Marabi culture") (Jordaan & Loots. 2000:4). It was a vibrant area where living, trading and socialising were at the order of the day. The vibrancy that also existed in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, that characterised those days, still resounds in the hearts and minds of the elderly in the community. Stories of a multi-cultural, closely knit community are often told with a tear in the eye.

In the early 1960s Marabastad excelled as the exhibition platform for engineering skills. The majority of built structures were

demolished to make way for grand plans to build highways and other infrastructure such as sewage works.

In the late 1960s Marabastad became the playground of politicians (Jordaan & Loots. 2000:4). During those years, Marabastad had mainly three groupings, namely Indians, Blacks and Coloureds. However, in the apartheid era, the inhabitants were forced to move out of the area, to newly-established Indian, Black and Coloured townships on the periphery of the city. In the 1970s and 1980s Marabastad became virtually desolate, exposed and abandoned – “the step child of all authorities (national, provincial and local)” (Jordaan & Loots. 2000:4). In the 1990s, new interest was shown in Marabastad – neglect became inexcusable. A Local Agenda 21 Programme and Integrated Strategic Development Framework were compiled. Marabastad is referred to as Pretoria's District Six (A suburb in Cape Town where coloured people were forcefully moved out in order to provide new housing opportunities for the whites). In the apartheid years little or no money was given to the Marabastad area for maintenance. This ‘small city’ soon started to fall apart, creating horrible circumstances for its residents.

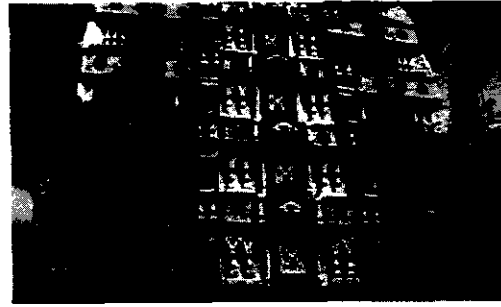


Figure 47: The temple found in Marabastad is a tourist attraction.

Holm, Jordaan and associates were requested to undertake an urban design project for Marabastad, in order to bring some form of improvement to the area. Together with a public participation programme they were tasked to redevelop areas in Marabastad with the public and private support backing them. Since Marabastad is situated on the boundary of the Pretoria CBD, undertaking a regeneration programme would be ideal for the community of Marabastad. In 2000 there were 2000 squatters in the area, living in appalling circumstances that resulted in an area of degradation of social injustice, neglect and physical decay of Marabastad. The fact that it is only ten minutes walk from the city centre means that improving these factors could lead to an integrated city with great potential.

In the present case study, it was of great importance that the community itself

chose representatives (these were treated as actors in the process, not as beneficiaries). This was possible to achieve for the community, since the inhabitants of Marabastad had resided in the area for many years, and have already clear established leaders from various associations such as churches and other sectors of civil society.

Holm, Jordaan and associates held four initial meetings in the area, to establish set social structures in the region, so that the respective leaders could be contacted to participate in the urban design process (Jordaan & Loots. 2004:5). This led to the adoption of a 'getting to know' method. Holm, Jordaan and associates undertook various formal and informal meetings with the leaders of the area to establish the needs that arose in the region. This was of vital importance for the urban design of Marabastad, as in this manner they got to know the community, as well as the opportunity to 'get to know' the positive and weak points of the environment. Many informal meetings were arranged, since this made the leaders more comfortable and confident in the process.

From the process of 'getting to know' via the informal meetings, the community issues that were raised were put on the

agenda. This agenda was then discussed with the various role-players in the formal meetings, and formulated minutes were then sent to the community via the community representatives. Therefore it is clear that community input was abundant in the regeneration programme. The ideas of 'getting to know' realised the community's perception and visa-versa, so that equal levels of understanding of the community and the future potential of Marabastad could be realised together.

Undertaking urban design and regeneration with community participation can lead to the formation of ideal living space. However, not utilising the community demands and desires can be disastrous to urban design, and can ultimately lead to failure of regeneration attempt. Surely, whether land use management is undertaken (as in the last statement), or whether housing provision and township establishment is undertaken, Kenyon's statement holds true. He stated that the ideal for planning and provision for a community is to have community participation from the initial point of process (1983:21). However, it must be noted that the forms of participation between community development and urban design or regeneration differ substantially. It

remains true however, that whatever the process, the affected community needs to be given a chance to give their propositions and actions that will affect them in the future.

The final project that Holm, Jordaan and associates conducted for the region has thus far taken up a period of more than three years, and is currently still not completed. Their plan was to raise awareness on the Local Agenda 21 in Marabastad and to compile a technical report. This has been accomplished, however in 2002 more detailed projects were undertaken to implement sustainable cleaning up campaigns in the region. This resulted in a variety of chain reaction activities that were initiated in the area.

The outcome of this project is not yet fully determined. The reason for this is that several factors had influenced the process. Land claims were lodged against certain sites in Marabastad, thus making it difficult for the developers to go ahead with a project.

Progress is being made on addressing the land claims. However, Marabastad is still characterised by derelict built structures and vacant land, with power

plays between various group leaders occurring daily and impacting on processes. Yet, it still has a vibrancy brought about by formal and informal, legal and illegal, positive and negative activities competing for attention.

One of the projects that received attention in the finalisation stage is the upgrading of informal trading stands. In the past there was no political backing for Marabastad, but since the political game changed, it received more backing. With this backing more funds were allocated and since then the pavements have been upgraded. "This gave the residents a sense of belonging and pride, one of the cornerstones of stabilising a community".^{ix}

Many national governments are attempting to suppress or eradicate the informal sector such as street trading. South Africa is constantly faced with street traders that are unwillingly moved to 'modernised' stalls. These stalls are rented to traders. After a few weeks the traders are back again at their old spots since there is no clientele where they were located. As with the Marabastad case study one of the projects that was planned was the building of formal trade stalls. These worked since they were

located on the same spot were trading used to take place.

The modernist thoughts of Le Corbusier and Gropuis had a major influence on Rex 'Martienssen, (Meyer & Oranje. 2000:3), who studied Town Planning at the University of Witwatersrand. He also met Le Corbusier in 1934 that influenced him to believe that reconstruction was the solution to urban problems. Le Corbusier's Voisin Plan (sponsored by a Voisin Aircraft manufacturer) was developed for Paris and included the demolition of various historic buildings. He believed that the centres of cities must be decongested by increasing their density, the circulation must be improved and the amount of open space must be increased. Although Martienssen and his followers asked for intensive redevelopment, nothing really took place. Under the influence of modernism, Martienssen and his followers believed that there was no solution for the existing problems and that cities had to be completely redesigned in the form of 'machines' for the age they lived in. Although nothing happened it left a mark on South African planning.

Cities can be segregated through various aspects such as race, religion and

control. The layout of South African cities shows the policies of the previous white



Figure 48: Walter Gropuis was the starter of the Bauhaus movement, which based art and architecture on practicality.

government to express and perpetuate racial inequality. The zoning of Durban into physically distinct, segregated racial areas and the establishment of Soweto for the 'armed' relocation of the non-white population from Johannesburg were all attempts to implement the commodity of apartheid (Mazurder. 2000). The segregation of race, class and religion can also be seen in the Hindu caste system and the city of Kerman.

5.3] NATURAL BOUNDARIES

"The disastrous convergence of class and racial segregation transformed America's urban landscape into 'the dual' city. "At the top are the most educated and affluent white and bottom poorest black. The next social agenda should not be to build a great society, but merely to build this one together" (Harrington. 2000:8).

Railways are the classic examples of borders, so much so that became known as social borders and develop the other-side-of-the-track syndrome. The place that is next to the railroads is worst of all. The Berlin Wall is probably one of the most classic examples of borders. As mentioned earlier the effect of the wall was tremendous on the urban environment, but projects are taking place in order to work against these problems.

Some borders serve some advantages since they intensify the city and give a clear sharp city form. The water barriers of San Francisco and Manhattan have both had this effect (Jacobs. 1979:276). However, because of barriers a vacuum is created on the edge of a 'dark earie' place, this starts to grow and businesses move away into the opposite direction (Jacobs. 1979:273-274). The solution to this is that pollution concentration is to be made deliberately high near to the borders and the blocks close to the borders should be short. This will introduce new street and feature old and new buildings (Jacobs. 1979:283). This would however only introduce more streets to be patrolled and more corners to smuggle something.

5.4] THE PRESENCE OF SLUMS

5.4.1] SLUMS

According to Jacobs (1977:286) a "slum is defined as an area, which because of the nature of its social environment, can be proved to create problems and pathologies". Slums are considered to be one of the problems of the modern urban world and are normally associated with high crime rates and low income among its residents. These problems seem to reinforce each other since they repeat themselves.

Le Corbusier's aims for the Radiant city were that the city centres had to be decongested (Relph. 1989:71). He believed this since high congestion results in high unemployment, low income housing and crime. If migration happens over a long time the city can adapt to the changes, but migration in South Africa is and was rapid. With reference to Nigeria, in particular, the declining economic circumstances in the rural areas have continued to push people (mostly unskilled and unemployable) to urban centres which themselves are already overburdened (Aderinto et al. 2002:1). Maintaining the basic standard of services will pose a

great challenge for conventional service delivery methods. According to Sandercock (1999:56) migration also changes economic, demographic and social structure, thus reshaping the city. It should be emphasised, however, that urban growth is not bad: it is inevitable. Aberinto et al state (2002:1) that it is the inability to manage the growth that makes the city unsustainable.

The link that must be broken in slums is that between cause and effect. Too many people move out of slums too fast and too many people think of doing so. The reason for wanting to leave is that people do not want to live in horrible circumstances, hence they leave for a better environment.

5.5) CRIME AND PLACE

One of the aims of urban regeneration strategies is to reduce crime. Local authorities consequently introduce policies to reduce crime. Coulson et al (2002:2) note that evidence of local crime prevention strategies in South Africa is rarely noted and how this role is fulfilled is not spelt out in current local development plans. The issue of crime is thus being ignored. The police are assumed as being the implementers of anti-crime

policies, since it is their area; however, it is possible to intervene through physical change.

Research carried out in several major South African cities found that crime affects different people and parts of the city differently. This finding has important implications both for the planning and the prioritisation of design interventions (Coulson et al. 2002:3). Analysis of crime statistics as well as qualitative interviews found that 'the poorer inhabitants of the city are generally most at risk of violent crime although they also experience a significant proportion of property crimes. Suburban residents are more likely to be victimised by property crime and experience comparatively low levels of violence (Ibid: 14).

New Haven's Oak Street

In 1957 Oak Street was considered as Connecticut's worst slum. It included the commercial stretch known as Legion Avenue and residential areas. It was considered as 'hard core cancer', that had to be removed (Gurwitt. 2000). The area was also characterised by segregation through race and has thus turned into Ground Zero for urban renewal to take place. The building of a

highway through urban centres and the creation of inadequate retail centres made urban regeneration negative since the regeneration programme scattered the residents to an unfamiliar world. The renewal that took place was not up to the standards of the urban regeneration



Figure 49: The Oak street neighbourhood was demolished in the late 1950s.

process stated by the members and gave urban regeneration negative connections. Due to this and many other disasters in urban regeneration, the belief that demolishing large tracts of old buildings and relocating massive numbers of the working class and poor urban residents has been discredited as an approach to build sustainable cities.

The changes that took place in New Haven were masterful, but not thoughtful. The 'grand plans' that were developed (highway connection, company buildings, high-rise market apartments and some

expansion for Yale University) were not developed for the community, but for political gain. The result of the regeneration programme was that New Haven is losing valuable investment opportunities. Being a catch-22 situation, the community was living in horrible conditions, with no basic services. The local authority felt obliged to do something about the circumstances and announced an urban regeneration project. The 'vibrant' community, however, believes that as long as they live in their community they will survive? This creates a tense situation, because if the renewal project fails, (as was the case) the blame is put on the local authority. Until today, reunions are held to remember the past of Oak Street's community. It is then a question of what makes a community, the buildings or the people.

Ironically, a (good) thing that happened due to the urban regeneration project was that of Wooster Square. A highway was planned to be built through Wooster Square, but the residents resisted this attempt. The community rehabilitated buildings, planted trees, created parks and is today a catalyst for further development in New Haven. The lessons learnt from the Oak Street renewal

programme is that what seemed as a good suitable project at present but may not be that way in the future. Before projects are to be implemented the sustainability of the desired project must be investigated upon and Jacobs (1977: 300-301) adds that successful unslumming means that the people who live there would have an attachment to the slum to stay there, if it is practical for them to do so.

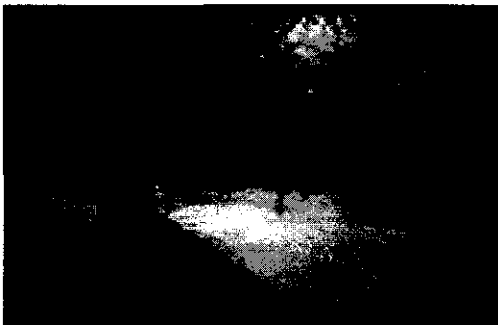


Figure 50: Wooster Square in the winter.

be 'unslummed', but problems will arise in trying to accommodate the existing inhabitants of that area.

There is an urban myth that if we had enough money to spend we could wipe out all the slums, reverse decay, solve all the urban problems and even find a solution to traffic problems. But look at what we build; did we not build the slums with the 'wish-money'?

One of the most important aspects in urban areas is that of an environmentally sustainable environment. The following chapter will investigate the ideal of a green utopia.

5.6] CONCLUSION

South Africa used apartheid as a way of achieving its utopias. South Africa is now trying to reach a practical utopia where these problems that were created in the past are being corrected. Many people will argue that the problem of cities started since the city's establishment, hence the argument that these cities need to be demolished, as is suggested by Le Corbusier's Voisin plan. Others will argue that certain parts of the city need to

CHAPTER 6

6.] THE GREEN CITY

6.1] INTRODUCTION

Dereliction, eyesores, underused and contaminated land are both the symptoms and causes of problems in urban areas. These problems usually arise as a consequence of inadequate policies, population loss, loss of employment and economic deprivation. They in turn complete the circle by contributing to low levels of investment from the private sector.

The environment has different meanings to different people. A dam may be seen as a symbol of tranquillity and to others it may invoke fear. Various factors therefore influence one's attitude towards one's environment. The image of the environment is a result of a two-way process between the observer and the environment. According to Lynch (1975:6) "the environment suggests distinction and relation, and the observer – with great flexibility and in the light of his own purposes – selects, organises and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and

emphasises what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process. Thus the image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers".

The environmental image can be explained through the following components: identity, structure and meaning. Individuality is one of the key components of the environment, where as image require identity from other components, thus it must have its own image. The meaning of an environment is important to the observer, whether practical or emotional. The structure of an environment is that the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. In an adequate environment these components all connect.

In the following sections the role of urban regeneration in urban sprawl, open spaces and the environment is investigated.

6.2] THE ENVIRONMENT

People are dependent on the natural environment for meeting all their basic needs (e.g. air), and therefore the

interactions between people and the environment cannot be separated (Department of Environment Affairs 1999)^x.

According to Fulton (1996:20) New Urbanism is seeking to redefine the nature of the metropolis by reintroducing 'traditional notions' of neighbourhood design and fitting those ideas into a variety and suburban settings. New Urbanism also comes as a reaction to conventional suburban planning as it had been practised during the 1940s. The New Urbanists also blame the suburbs for increasing congestion on roads, lack of meaningful civic life, loss of open space, limited opportunities and few options for the individual without a car.

Wright's idea of a green utopia (such as the Broadacre city) was neighbourhoods surrounded by green belts. Usonia (USA) is an example of the proposed ideal city. It is characterised by low density and a wide democratic landscape (Relph. 1989). Access to the nature would be everywhere and would be maintained. Relph's whole approach was based on this fore-going assumption. Years later the ozone layer is getting thinner, pollution happens daily and more frequently. Urban areas are inundated by

air, noise and water pollution, causing people to move out.

6.2.1] POLLUTION IN URBAN AREAS

South Africa faces enormous challenges in addressing these issues. Not only is there a need to solve the environmental problems created by previous generations, such as pollution, but the future needs of all the people in the country need to be met through a system that will be economically and environmentally sustainable.

In South African cities and urban areas, water pollution problems are particularly severe because urban rivers have been built and engineered for the purpose of carrying storm water away quickly from developed areas. According to Douglas (1998) it is common practise to canalise

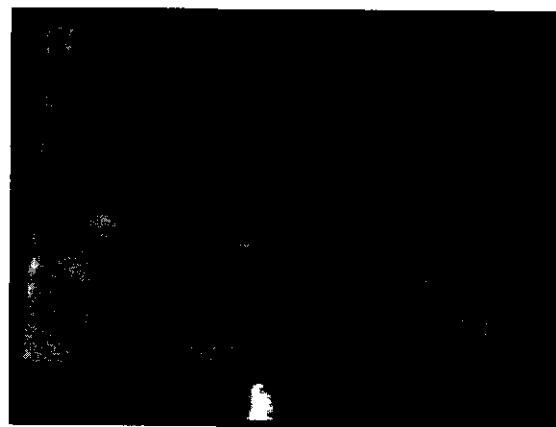


Figure 51: Notice boards like these are becoming regularity by rivers in South Africa.

urban rivers. This removes the river's natural capacity for self-purification, the water quality deteriorates, and problems accumulate along the whole length of the river. The receiving water body downstream, which could be the sea, a lake, or another river, therefore has to absorb the entire pollution load from the urban area.

Storm water is also one of the polluting agents that damage the urban environment physically. Storm water drains collect and channel the water from all non-porous surfaces, such as pavements and tarred roads, within a catchment. Storm water flow depends on rainfall, and the first flows following a dry spell often contain high levels of pollutants, such as heavy metals (particularly lead), oil residues, nutrients, and pathogenic (disease-causing) micro-organisms, such as viruses, bacteria and protozoa, from faecal material (Department of Environmental Affairs: Durban)^{xi}. The latter is a problem particularly with water coming from informal settlements lacking adequate sanitation.

Overall, Africa, formerly regarded as the rural continent, is urbanizing at a rate of

about 5 percent per annum, the fastest rate in the world and accordingly Africa's urban population will jump from 138 million in 1990 to 500 million in 2020, when African cities with a population of more than one million will accommodate almost 200 million people (Sen. 2002:15). Water management and pollution are the most critical issues affecting water access today. This is affirmed by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan during World Water Day, 22 May, 2002, when he stated that: "Even where supplies are plentiful, they are increasingly at risk from pollution and rising demand"^{xii}. There is thus a continuous threat on water supply, whether through illegal dumping or erosion.

Sustainability in this new millennium will be largely defined in cities, which are the centres of political power, public opinion and the engines of economic growth and technological innovation.

Air pollution is an increasingly vital environmental problem in Africa. Emissions of sulphur dioxide have been rising steadily as industrialisation occurs. Projections indicate that potentially outsized increases in emissions may occur during the next twenty to fifty years if current development patterns persist. If

incineration of waste and vehicle emissions (Zindi. 2002). Causes from dust from cement-manufacturing companies, base mineral grinding, tobacco processing, concrete premixing and detergent manufacturing as well as smells from abattoirs and the municipal dumpsites was the reason for the implementation of the programme.

Routine monitoring of ambient levels of suspended particulate matter, sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide was carried out but a lack of transport resulted in a delay for follow ups. Although the city health department raised objections against the high pollution rates, the ministry did not respond, resulting in the situation remaining uncorrected (Zindi. 2002).

However, Danida, launched an environmental support project. The project focused on air pollution control, institutional capacity building for data collection and analysis, assessment of the ambient air quality situation in the city, impact assessment of the public health situation and the associated economic and social costs and public awareness to change the residents' air pollution perception and behaviour.

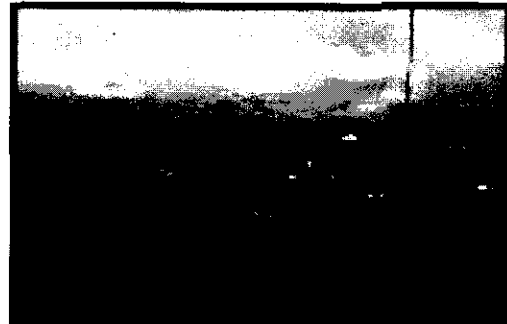


Figure 52: Harare, Zimbabwe



Figure 53: First street in Harare. Urban areas in Zimbabwe needed to work against the pollution of fuel and fires.

The project was started and 'some air-monitoring equipment has also been bought, but is yet to be handed over pending staff training on how to use it' (Zindi. 2002).

Kiambiu, Kenya

Kiambiu is a relatively new slum on the outskirts of Nairobi, Kenya. Most residents have lived here for less than ten years. The majority are young, in their twenties and thirties, and most, arrived with only one thing in mind: to find a job in the city (Sen. 2002:16). By Nairobi standards, Kiambiu is a relatively

"healthy" slum and its 15,000 residents live in small houses with potted plants that adorn almost every doorway. It is also one of the few slums in Nairobi which has community-managed toilets and showers, thanks to a non governmental organisation (NGO) called Maji na Ufanisi.



Figure 54: An aerial photograph of Kiambiu, Kenya.

Sen (2002:16) explained that the water and sanitation was used as a concentration point of community development activities in the area. Once people organised around an essential need such as water, they would organise around for other important reasons (e.g. crime) as well. The community not only manages and maintains the facilities, but is also working on improving other basic services in the slum.

Public toilets and showers were built that are rented out. Because of the project's popularity, additional toilets and showers were built on the other side of the slum.

This should ease congestion experienced and improve water and sanitation facilities in the area.

Johannesburg, South Africa

Johannesburg is a city constantly in a stage of attempting a rebirth – first from gold mining then apartheid and now from its own transformation. According to Paton (2002) the city even has its own demolition man - a council official who is responsible for bringing down bad buildings, bad public toilets, and bad places in bad parks. The demolition man takes inner-city buildings whose owners have been dispossessed by tenants who live illegally and dangerously, in squalid conditions. He also 'reclaimed' the city's parks by imploding public toilets that have become criminal headquarters.

Hillbrow, the high-density flatland in the centre of the city, of Johannesburg, is a shocking example of environmental degradation. Hillbrow stands astride a continental divide: the rocky ridge that runs from east to west through the city. Rain that falls on the north side of the ridge flows into the Jukskei River and ends up in the Indian Ocean, while rain that falls to its south, flows into the Klip River, and ends up on the other side of

the continent, in the Atlantic (Paton. 2002).

The city's rivers are in bad shape. There are unacceptable levels of bacteria because sewage is constantly spilling into the rivers as a result of damaged sewerage pipes. Two of Johannesburg's best-known outdoor recreation spaces, Zoo Lake and Bruma Lake, which feed into the Jukskei, have been found to have 'unacceptable' levels of bacteria.

Bruma Lake, built as a scenic backdrop to a restaurant complex in the early 1990s and fed by storm water, has become an environmental disaster. Clogged with silt and devoid of natural fauna and flora, the water smells and council officials are puzzling over how to revive it (Beeld. 2002).

Adding to the problem is the demand for housing that is not met leading to people squatting anywhere, even on the banks of rivers. Klipspruit in Soweto river bed is clogged with 3m-high reeds, unnaturally tall because of the high nutrient content of the water. The banks are covered with refuse washed down from Soweto's streets into the storm water drains. The drain is clogged with debris and, perhaps because it already looks like a dump, people have started an informal rubbish

dump nearby - one of many around Soweto. Adding to the problem of sewage spillage is that people here have chemical toilets which fill up quickly and bush toileting is common. 'It is here that the link between poverty and the environment is so obvious' (Paton. 2002).

The plan to rehabilitate the Klipspruit will mean moving communities like these to safer ground, a R50-million upgrade of the sewerage system, restoring the river banks for recreation purposes, and the harvesting of reeds, which will be used for craft production (Paton. 2002). The people who live nearby hate the reeds which crowd the wet areas as they are notorious havens for criminals. But the reeds help purify the water as it flows out of the city.

Johannesburg's history as a mining town has also had a disastrous effect on the rivers - 200 mine dumps scar the city in a band from east to west across its middle. The chemicals from these dumps and the "slimes dams" which are now mostly dry, leak downwards when it rains, polluting underground water and rivers.

In spite of its contaminated rivers, Johannesburg's tap water is acknowledged to be excellent - better than that in many European capitals. The

raw water requires only conventional purification.

Emissions from coal burning pose a serious environmental threat, but not directly to most areas of Johannesburg. The quality of the air in the metropole depends on where you live. Despite a vast number of new electricity connections in townships, the preferred form of energy for heating and cooking in homes is still coal. During winter, Soweto and areas like it lie under a blanket of grey smoke (Paton. 2002).

As the clean-up begins, there is a sense that, after a period of uncertainty, and perhaps even crisis, Johannesburg has a recovery plan. The city council has an array of new policies. Urban sprawl will be contained; cheap, bad housing will no longer be built; rivers will be cleaned; bad buildings will be knocked down and playgrounds re-established.

6.3] SPRAWL

A sprained ankle results from sudden overstretching of an ankle ligament.

The growth of the population in the future is one that can have an influence on the urban setting and its growth. Although

Thomas Maltus believed that there will not be enough food for the world to eat



Figure 55: Traffic is considered as one of the problems created by urban sprawl.

but he did not take into account what the effect of technology would be (i.e. genetically modified food). Bongaarts (1994:18) is of the opinion that due to the fast growth of the population two camps have emerged. The environmentalists believe that there is a catastrophe in the making and their solution is to intensify agriculture. Urban sprawl borders that cannot be developed beyond consequently result. If this is not done there will be a collapse under the weight of future demand. Optimists believe that enough food can already be produced and technology will further increase food production.

6.3.1] URBAN SPRAWL DEFINED

The history of urban sprawl is, as some thinkers argue, the result of the industrial revolution that resulted in people living

more than 10km out of the nearest city. The motorcar also enabled people to live more than the usual walking distance away from their work (Kaczynski. 1998:45).

Traditional neighbourhoods that consisted of diverse communities built on a foundation of needs, developed as self-sufficient towns, villages or cities. Urban sprawl, on the other hand, is an 'outgrowth' of distribution, and critics believe that sprawl produces traffic problems, heightens and promotes environmental damage and promotes social inequality and isolation (Bridghan. 2002)^{xvi}. However, Jacobs (1979:352) states that traffic arteries, along with parking lots, filling stations and drive-in theatres are instruments of 'city destruction'.

6.3.2] THE COST OF SPRAWL: A MULTIFACTOR PROBLEM

Suburban sprawl can have negative effects on suburbs, cities, the economy and the environment and is seen as a multifactor problem, which could extend beyond the borders of a country. Sprawl, also draws taxes and people and money away from the inner city, resulting in cities declining. The low density housing in the suburbs drain the infrastructure. Roads

and utilities must be stretched much further to serve the same number of people than they do in the city. Behrens et al (1992:3) adds that the great distances over which public services must be conducted results in excessive operating costs.

To increase population density could lead to more traffic congestion, exacerbating air pollution levels and potentially causing more areas to fail to meet prescribed clean air goals. Another important environmental objection to suburbanization, the potential loss of open space, overlooks the fact that limiting development often accelerates the loss of open space *inside* urban areas. To overcome the shortage of land, developers eventually do projects on odd-shaped parcels and other land that would ordinarily have remained vacant lots and the equivalent of mini-parks.

Behrens et al (1992:3) note that in both quantitative and qualitative terms the growth outward is unnecessary and causes excessive costs.

6.3.3) REACTIONS TO URBAN SPRAWL

Although the cost of urban sprawl is still an open book there are ways of working against the effect of urban sprawl, whether positive or negative. Staley (1999) believes that the following actions can prevent urban sprawl:

- Educate others: talk to family members, co-workers, neighbours, and members of religious groups about urban sprawl and the effects thereof.
- Support conservation areas: Demand that your local politicians cease granting building permits and start conserving vacant or farm land. Demand that the state set up conservation areas in the suburbs to prevent further sprawl (and which may not yet have any groups organised to fight the sprawl).
- Work for charter schools, home rule, and community policing. It seems as if the bureaucracies of large city governments oftentimes do not respond to

these fears in the local neighbourhoods.

Behrens, et al, (1992:4) state that it has been argued locally, as in other parts of the world, that one of the actions necessary to reduce these costs is to direct future urban growth inward. The track record of attempts to compact cities reveals that the process is highly complex and will cause a structureless environment.

Buffalo, USA

As Buffalo's suburbs have grown, Buffalo has become more and more racially segregated - creating the 4th most segregated metropolitan area in America. As of the 1990 US Census, 85 per cent of minorities (92 per cent of them Blacks) and 71 per cent of low-income families in Erie County resided in the city (Wright. Undated). Advocates of urban sprawl state that where people live, there will be impacts on their everyday lives such as access to schools or employment opportunities.

"If steps are not taken now to curb sprawl, urbanisation will consume so much farmland that the United States may run out of enough agricultural land to

feed itself in the 21st century and, for the first time in the nation's history, become a net importer of food"xvii.

As in the case of urban areas in South Africa (such as the Pretoria east – west situation) communities have become more and more polarized between the haves and have-nots that resulted in an increasing level of socio-economic and racial segregation.

Portland, USA

Portland has become a city that many use as the highest model of proactive sprawl-reduction. Efforts there began in 1973 with Oregon's landmark urban growth boundary law (Ball. 2002). This law requires each municipality in the state to establish a line beyond which urbanisation could not extend. Urban development is encouraged within the boundary, but only rural-type development is allowed outside. "It sometimes seems as if the whole country is looking to Portland as a role model for 21st century urban development" (Carlisle. 1999), because of the success of its urban sprawl projects.

A regional planning agency in Portland, called Metro, has been given the authority to regulate growth in cities. The aim of Metro is to accommodate 700,000

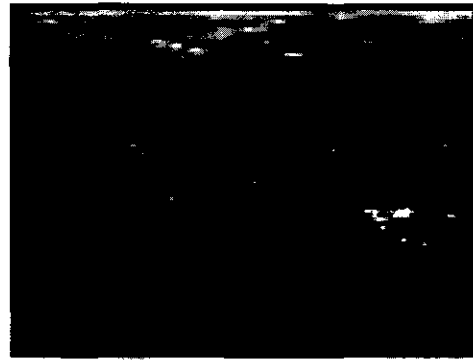


Figure 56 and 57: Buffalo is known for its racial segregation and development, however, preventive are taken against it.



Figure 58 and 59: Portland, USA is one of the cities with the highest proactive sprawl reduction.

to 1.1 million new residents within its existing Urban Growth Boundary by radically increasing the residential densities in existing neighbourhoods. Metro's anti-sprawl campaign includes the following initiatives:

- Establishing an Urban Growth Boundary beyond which little or no development will be allowed;
- Imposing highly restrictive zoning within the Urban Growth Boundary which requires landowners who are allowed to build at all to only construct buildings with high residential densities that increase congestion;
- Increasing highway capacity by no more than 13 per cent, even as the region's population grows by 75 per cent, in the 40-year period;
- Spending most of the region's federal and local transportation money not on roads but on a light-rail mass transit system even though the system will carry no more than two per cent of the area's daily commuters;
- Requiring owners of shopping and office complexes to reduce parking space by ten per cent and eventually charge for parking;
- Banning new shopping malls and stores;
- Subsidising small shops in mixed-use areas and ;
- Instituting "traffic calming" measures, such as reducing the number of lanes on major streets, to reduce roadway capacities (Carlisle. 1999).

In a reaction of the anti-sprawl controls, housing prices have soared in Portland. The city went from being one of the nation's most affordable cities to one of the five or six least affordable. Proponents of Portland blame these rising costs on Portland's booming economy (Carlisle. 1999).

Many of the anti-sprawl regulations imposed to improve environmental quality actually had the opposite results. Such congestion is not only inconvenient because it increases commuters' time on the road, but it is also unhealthy for the environment. The more time that is spent on the road, the more automobile

emissions there will be (O'Toole. 1999)^{xviii}. Indeed, cities with the highest densities also have the highest smog ratings (Ridenour. 1999).

Durbanville, South Africa

An influx of residents and new businesses to Durbanville has forced municipal officials to take strict measures so that the central business district can cope better with the growing demand for houses and basic services from the public (Lund. 2001)^{xx}. Over the last 10 years hundreds of families have moved to Durbanville because of inadequate housing and crime in the Cape Town CBD, causing problems with roads and services. Already residents complain that on Saturdays, and particularly at the end of each month, the Cape Town CBD has turned into a "nightmare" scene, with hordes of people crowding the sidewalks and traffic backing up for hours (Lund. 2001)^{xx}.

People had been moving to the Northern Suburbs, such as Durbanville, to be closer to their place of work, since more work is available there.

6.4] SMART GROWTH

South African landscapes are rapidly being absorbed by urban growth, and there seems to be a tendency/ movement to work against these developments that grow into the surrounding landscapes. There are various forms of these movements such as establishing an urban edge (Tunnard & Pushkarev. 1963). People throughout South Africa are choosing to live away from commercial areas, enjoying the private spaces afforded by single-family homes set back from streets and the mobility and accessibility offered by the private motor vehicle (Tucille. 2002)^{xxi}. Behrens, et al, (1992:4) state that an appropriate form of urban growth should provide people with access to income opportunities and facilities, as well as shelter and services. It is also critical that urban growth is sustainable and derives the maximum benefits from public and private investments.

New Urbanists believe that neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population, communities should be designed for the pedestrian as well as for cars, cities and towns should be shaped by universally accessible public spaces, and existing urban centres and towns

should be restored instead of abandoned (Bridgham. 2002)^{xxii}. Farr (2002) states that Smart Growth is not just about economic expansion and city marketing, but it rather seeks to bring together sustainable environmental practises, accessible public transport provision, investment in jobs and equitable housing policies. This is an integrated strategy for post-apartheid urban reconstruction.

According to Ball (2002) the three major goals of the Smart Growth Initiative are:

- to determine how and where to grow;
- to improve the quality of life for all citizens - smart Growth programmes focus on improving quality of life by preserving and enhancing neighbourhoods, protecting environmental quality, improving accessibility and mobility, and strengthening the economy; and
- to enhance the tax base - Smart Growth seeks to build and enhance the tax base through strategic investments, efficient use of public funds, and regional partnerships.

In essence New Urbanism strives for a kind of utopian social ideal that focuses

on a community's physical infrastructure in the belief community design can create or influence of particular social patterns (Fulton. 1996:20). New Urbanists (Fulton. 1996:5) also believe that the following actions need to be taken in order to ensure a more sustainable environment:

- Scale – replicate compactness, small scale, diversity, but difficult economic conditions require large scale production;
- Transportation – reduce dependence on motors; and
- Planning and codes – state codes that perpetuate suburbia's car orientated nature.

What is most disturbing about the crusade against urban sprawl is that anti-sprawl activists portray their agenda of "smart-growth" initiatives as "pro-suburban" to receptive voters concerned about improving the quality of life in their communities. In reality, anti-sprawl policies are profoundly anti-suburban. In cities such as Portland and Buffalo, where aggressive anti-sprawl policies have been implemented, government planners have deliberately tried to increase traffic congestion, not diminish it, and have tried to force people to live in smaller houses in more crowded urban-

like neighbourhoods. To these activists, suburbs are the cause of sprawl, and the only way to stop sprawl is to dissuade people from moving to the suburbs. The campaign against urban sprawl is perilously close to a campaign against the American Dream.

6.5) OPEN SPACES

Open spaces, irrespective of their origin or function are scattered throughout most urban areas generally without the benefit of pre-planning (Yates. 1979:4). They are in fact the result of pressure created by demands of the urban population, higher densities and the absence of open space policies. Open space according to Young (HNRE. 1997:20) is space, which is closely connected with the total urban environment and the daily life of its users. Open space will now be dealt with in terms of its history, needs, functions, classification, standards, typical problems and management.

6.5.1) HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF OPEN SPACES

According to Yates (1979:6), the Town Square (which started as a space among buildings) fulfilled one of the first functions of a public meeting place, which

was present in Assyrian settlements. Public open spaces played an important role in the life of classical Greece, for instance the agora (marketplace), which was the heart of the urban activity (Yates. 1979:6). In Roman times, gardens were merely for the privilege of nobles, whereas most medieval towns had an agriculture base with cultivated lands enclosed within the city walls, which also formed important public spaces (Yates. 1979:9). Evidentially, parks were developed for aesthetic and social purposes.

According to Hough (1984:14) parks originated in the late seventeenth century as private residential squares at a time when some cities in Britain were becoming attractive places to live in for the upper class. Examples are the famous Bloomsbury garden squares of London and the crescents of Bath. These were all created in the conviction that nature should be brought to the city to improve the health of the people. Then with the introduction of the Royal Parks in London, Olmsteads Central Park in New York, the Boston Commons and Mount Royal Park in Montreal the notion that parks would improve the appearance of cities were realised (Hough. 1984:15). In this period, the social function of parks

was replaced, and parks became useful only for their image.

According to Chadwick, the Renaissance Park of the 1600s (prevalent in France), was followed in the 1700s by the English Park landscape, whereas public parks in Victorian England were only established in the 1800s (as in Yates. 1979:9). According to Yates (1979:9) parks only became abundant in American cities by the middle of the 18th century, following the park movement. Sitte (1889:26) referred to inner parks of the city as sanitary greens and saw them as a way of ensuring health within a city.

In the early 1900s Howard proposed a highly integrated and comprehensive theoretical open space system and both Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright believed open space to be the remedy for all that was wrong in the modern city (Yates. 1979:15) By 1960 planners in Britain adopted a green belt policy, which entailed the search for amenity, the protection of agricultural land and the regulation of urban growth (Yates. 1979:15).

Nunn (2001)^{xxiii} believes that the history of planning is rooted in efforts to control sanitary conditions, human behaviour,

physical appearance and economic development. The quest for control over elements of urban life, its disorder and chaos imprinted upon the major 'tentacles' of urban planning, from Garden City to the City Beautiful to the City Efficient and then Modernistic City, followed by post modernist New Urbanism. The Garden city was an attempt to physically eradicate slums. Nunn (2001) further adds that its aim was to relocate the poor to an unspoilt landscape, and to control regional land use and economic development.

In 1963 there was much controversy over a book, 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' written by Jane Jacobs. Jacobs made an onslaught on town planners and naming them the worst of all people in the world. In the book she made some valid points, such as the presence of diversity within the city. She based her 'theory' on that fact that people must have pride within their neighbourhood. People will get pride if their neighbourhood is safe and environmentally clean.

Howard was called an advocate for low density, when in fact his Garden City was denser than London (at that time), and that he wanted to move the people to the

Garden City in order for his idea to work when in fact he dreamed of voluntary self-governing. According to Jacobs (1979:7) Howard managed to build two such garden cities, Letchworth and Welwyn, and many satellite towns based on the principles of garden cities were built. Many of the modernist thinkers such as Sir Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright and Catherine Bauer soon adopted these ideas of parks to be a requirement for healthy living.

Historically, Chicago's expanding metropolis grew within a natural garden; its citizens built vertically while chiselling away at existing green spaces. At the turn of the last century however new ideas began emerging about the relationship between the venerated country and the tolerated cities. Planners who faced an increasingly industrial and mercantile world began thinking of ways to bring the country to the city, in the form of parks.

Ironically, the mother of urban parks is Boston's Mt. Auburn Cemetery, founded in 1831 by members of the newly-organised Massachusetts Horticultural Society. The "tranquil, natural setting for the burial and commemoration of the

dead and for the consolation of the living" gave birth to the "rural" cemetery movement. It also inspired the Garden City Movement's visionary and revolutionary notion that municipalities provide the space and create park environments in the city.

In South Africa, the value of "green belts" or large areas of protected countryside which are preserved in the form of areas of outstanding natural beauty and national parks, have only recently been realised. This was due to the fact that South Africa, felt it did not have land shortage problems and hence did not require permanent green belt restrictions (Yates. 1979:15).

It is evident that there has always been a future vision for more open spaces. But, people do not use city space just because it is there and because city planners and designers wish they could. There is, however, a need for open spaces.

6.5.2] NEED FOR OPEN SPACES

Many people (especially in developed countries) believe that parks are places of relaxation and recreation. In the third world (and most developing countries)

that is not always the case. Many view it as an unsafe area, others view it as home (for the homeless), and many view it as being there merely for aesthetical reasons.

According to the Human Resource programme (1997:20) the value of open space is fourfold:

- As a structuring element within the urban environment, creating an urban image;
- As a common ground, public space for urban communities;
- As an ecological conservation zone; and
- As an extension of private open space, as well as an extension of a personal resource base (especially of value in high-density, resource inefficient settlements).

Urban spaces form an essential part of urban infrastructure with benefits such as reducing pollution, precipitation run-off; and providing educational, recreational, aesthetic and physiological benefits; as well as absorbing noise; and providing conservation areas for local indigenous flora and fauna. Thus soft open spaces address far more than just the aesthetic

and recreational needs of the community. In town non-built spaces are as important as buildings.

6.5.3] FUNCTIONS OF OPEN SPACE

Lynch states "urban parks should offer opportunities for choice, stimulus contrast, social experimentation, orientation and environmental education (Kepes. 1972:109). However, according to Hough (1984:1) the city's open spaces have key environmental functions too. For instance, the importance of environmental education in the city, so that biophysical systems that influence it (and are influenced by it) are understood. Cooper (1990: 6-10) postulates that open spaces also have socio-economic benefits, in that they provide for the satisfaction of people:

- Social needs;
- Security needs;
- Pedestrian and cyclist safety;
- The pursuit of individuality;
- The improvement of residential areas; and
- The enhancement of commercial land values.

Furthermore, according to Jacobs (1990:10) parks and open spaces have an ecological function in that the life essential for natural bio-chemical cycles is maintained within them. Open spaces are also zoned as public space in order to conserve the natural fauna and flora of the area, in which case it has a conservational function. In line with the conservational function, open spaces also have a protective function. Open spaces can also serve as collection points for floodwater as well as areas of instability not ideal for development (Jacobs. 1990:10). Cooper (1990:4) is of the opinion that open spaces, if correctly positioned, can serve as drainage corridors which aid in the removal of polluted water and air. Furthermore, open space can be used for gardens and nurseries as well as for agricultural functions (Jacobs. 1990:10).

Parks serve as 'lungs' for cities, places for social concourse, where people could relax and breathe air that had been cleansed and refreshed by trees (Carlisle. 1999). Jacobs (1990:10) also contends that public open spaces serve as a source of clean air, which replaces polluted air from the city. Parks can therefore be seen as the 'green lungs' of the city. Hough (1984:17) states that a

fine mesh of open spaces, distributed evenly over the whole city, is more effective in climatic control than reliance on a few large ones. Linked networks of small parks are therefore more effective in climatic control than reliance on a few large ones. Thus linked networks of small parks are more effective. Open spaces also create an environment of high quality as well as individuality, which characterises a city aesthetically (Jacobs. 1990:10). Greening the urban environment is yet another function close to the aesthetic function and Cooper (1990:2) states that parks are increasingly becoming important for providing a stopgap against the diverse effects which modern industry and technology have on the environment. Yet, open spaces can also be used as play parks, parks for picnics, camping, botanical gardens, as well as sociological and historical areas adding to cultural value and leisure values of open spaces (Jacobs. 1990:10). Lastly, public spaces structure the city, and can link the city elements with one another (Jacobs. 1990:10), such as spaces between buildings.

Jordaan (Department of Environmental Affairs. 1994:1), is of the opinion that

urban open spaces can, via productive utilisation, be seen as sources of:

- Income and nutrition;
- Energy;
- Community development;
- Land use management; and
- Therapeutic relaxation.

Having provided the various functions of open spaces, the problems concerning open spaces will follow.

6.5.4] OPEN SPACE PROBLEMS

According to Spirm (1984:1), many of the problems with open space lie simply in the form of growth, which is then followed by other problems such as maintenance and management. Urbanisation proceeds by increasing the density within and extending the periphery, always at the expense of open space. As a result – unlike other facilities, open space is most abundant where people are few.

Spirm (1984:1) furthermore states that, “nature pervades the city, forging bonds between the city and the air, earth, water and living organisms within and around it”. However such bond seldom exists, since many cities have neglected and rarely exploited the natural forces within

them. Even though a vast amount of knowledge about nature in the city exists, little has been applied to moulding parks within the city. Spirm (1984:x) views the earth as a planet of life, and when viewed from space, it is a sphere of blues and greens. However, when viewed closer up, the city is a granite garden, largely unrecognised and neglected (Spirm. 1984:x). Parks in the city must be cultivated, like a garden, rather than ignored or subdued. However, city dwellers have cherished isolated natural features and have sought to incorporate those features into their physical surroundings. It thus appears as if those, who introduced nature into the civic landscape in the form of parks, merely sought to create a small piece of utopia where they lived (Spirm. 1984:2). Unfortunately, when trying to create this utopia, the focus was on creating delight, and often the underlying natural process was ignored. Hence, modern technology has alienated humans from the natural world, and created the perception that the city existed separately from nature rather than within it.

Young (1994:3) states that in South African cities, the traditional balance between public and private open space has been rendered to be insignificant.

The cost of maintaining parks is increasingly beyond the means of many city administrators particularly in South Africa (a developing country). Rather than being socially beneficial these spaces frequently become unsightly, unpleasant and dangerous barriers to be avoided.

It is, however, important to supply parks not on the basis of quantity but on the basis of quality to ensure that sustainability and flexibility are taken into consideration, so that problems and potential problems can be eliminated. Perhaps many of the problems with open spaces lie within the management of open spaces, and having provided a review on open spaces, further investigation into the management of sustainable open spaces will now be dealt with.

6.5.5] SUSTAINABLE OPEN SPACE MANAGEMENT

The idea that quantity and quality of the earth's resources are scarce relative to demand is not new. Nor is the notion that people ought to be involved in solutions for the planning and management of parks. Traditionally management of open spaces was done by the state or local authority; however, it is increasingly

becoming clear that overall strategy for our cities that brings social and environmental objectives together with horticulture and economics is urgently needed if the concept of sustainability is to be realized.

Thus the importance of sustainable open space management should not be neglected. According to Spies, et al, (1994: 4) the problems regarding urban open space need to be addressed by a responsible management hierarchy, operating in collaboration with urban communities to develop strategies and implement programmes to the benefit of all communities. However, the challenge does not end here. Open space areas and facilities must be managed in a manner that ensures the most effective utilisation of resources. This implies the dual responsibility of developing and protecting open spaces to address current and future needs with close integration between government and respective communities in this process.

Town Centre Park, Sunderland

Dirty dark, dangerous, noisy, nasty and noxious. That is the "nature" of a city, right? And Nature – with a capital "N" - is something else and somewhere else. Or

can a city be clean, fresh, green, quiet, and healthy? Can urban citizens find nature and a healthy natural environment close to home? What is and where is nature in a city?

This park, also known as the 'Green' is one of the most enjoyable areas in Town Centre Park. On the site there were first houses followed by a parking lot. It seemed more sustainable to develop the area into a park. Being centrally located this attractive park became popular and busy. Visually this site compliments its surroundings.

People benefit from the park all year and the pedestrians make use of the park's walkways as through the nearby car parks and shops to the leisure centre, bus station and main shopping areas (Jurue. 1990:33). The overall response to the project has been good, with everyone agreeing that the visual enhancement has been secured. The low cost of the quality and its location is clearly appropriate and commensurate with the benefits derived by people living and working in Sunderland (Jurue. 1990:34). The park was also successful due to the uses on the site, such as the church and houses. This leads to a continuous pedestrian flow that ensures the park for

not being empty and the surroundings of the park also allow other uses to be incorporated into the park such as the pedestrians flow to the shopping mall and leisure centre. It is thus important to place a park or green area in a location suitable for it and not just anywhere where there is open space.

The role that design can play in (safer) parks is usually underestimated. The Protection of Public Space (PPS)^{xxiv} foundation believes that in order to create safer parks for the public to enjoy the following criteria must be met:

- The park must not be isolated from other uses or pedestrian activity;
- The layout must be legible;
- Create an active edge and visibility should be taken into account;
- Ample access;
- The park should be well lit; and
- The park should have its own character, that fits in with the surrounding area.

6.5] CONCLUSION

Anti-sprawl initiatives are inaccurately portrayed as efforts to improve the quality of suburban living by reducing congestion. Yet, the deliberate goal of anti-sprawl activists, such as New Urbanist planners, is to deliberately promote policies that prevent traffic congestion and force people to live in crowded cities. Since high density urban areas almost always have the worst air pollution, the likely result of a federally-financed campaign to restrict growth to less healthy urban areas in the name of protecting undeveloped open space would be to worsen the quality of the nation's environment.

During the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg, 2002, it was interesting to note that nobody mentioned the population problem and how that could attribute to unsustainable development.

The form of the modern city is market-driven. Architects do not decide: developers do. The role of the public as a whole in determining the configuration of urban development is the central issue in the current World Trade Centre redevelopment controversy. Although

sprawl might be seen as anti-establishment, the impact needs to be investigated before any attempts are made of rectifying the situation.

As part of the image of a city, whether green or dangerous, a city can improve its image by 'decorating' it. The following chapter will investigate the concept of decorating.

CHAPTER 7

7.] THE PRETTY CITY

7.1] INTRODUCTION

Picasso was asked by Major Richard Daley to design a larger than life sculpture for the new Civic Centre Plaza in Chicago, United States of America (USA). In 1963, the first major construction of the building began at this site in the heart of Chicago's Loop; two years later, the first occupants moved into the 31-story Civic Centre.

Just as the Daley Centre anchors the Loop, the plaza itself is anchored by the famous 162-ton Pablo Picasso statue. Art scholars have suggested that the statue is either a portrait of Picasso's wife at the time or his Afghan dog from different angles.

Picasso, who refused to accept payment for his work, designed a 42-inch model of the sculpture that he presented as a "gift to the people of Chicago" (Walters. 1980:4). Mayor Richard J. Daley and City Council members honoured Picasso during a council meeting one month after

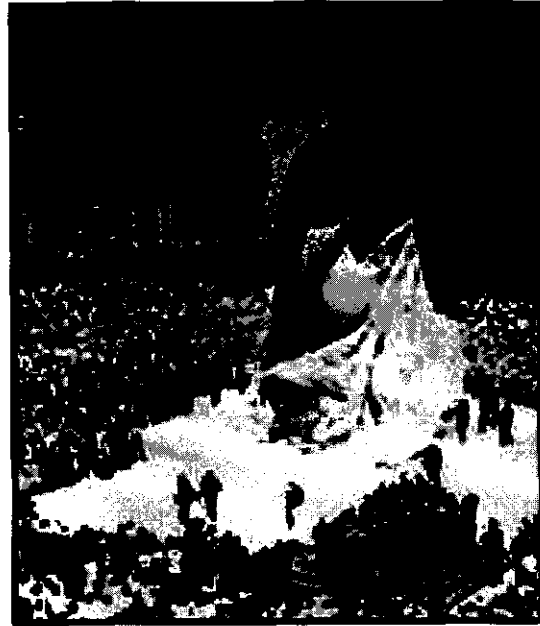


Figure 60: Dedication of the Picasso sculpture, August 1967.

the artist's death on April 8, 1973. The resolution read: "Pablo Picasso became a permanent part of Chicago, forever tied to the city he admired but never saw, in a country he never visited, on August 15, 1967. It was on that day that the Picasso sculpture in the Civic Centre Plaza was unveiled; it has become a part of Chicago, and so has its creator Picasso" (Walters. 1980:4).

A city is a work of art, fitted to human purposes – Lynch.

The idea of art as a solution for urban problems is not always seen as a solution and is in many cases overlooked or just merely seen as a decorating tool. This Chapter will introduce the role that public art and other art forms that can contribute

to urban regeneration. The influence of ancient cities on today's form as well as art movements such as the City Beautiful movement is drawn upon. Those days nobody was concerned with city planning as an art; they only saw it as a technical process (Sitte. 1889:85).

It must be mentioned that this chapter deals with art in its true form, something for the eye to see. Art in this chapter should be viewed as decorative. Although this is against the basic principles of art, a difference should be established between chapter 7 and chapter 8 that deal with culture in urban areas.

7.2] PUBLIC ART

Public art has been increasingly advocated on the basis of a series of supposed contributions to urban regeneration since the 1980s. A wide range of advocates claimed that public art can help people develop a sense of individual identity, develop senses of place, contribute to civic identity, promote community needs, tackle social exclusion, possess educational value and promote social change (Andrews. 2001:10). Gaston Bachelard (in Bourassa. 1989:290) in his poetics of

space (1969) suggests that human mental structure is used as a model for aesthetic analysis. Bachelard refers to Jung who divided the mind into three levels namely the conscious, personal unconscious that is uniquely human and collective. The other level is collective unconscious that contains archetypes which are analogous to instincts and serve as the biological underpinnings for aesthetic behaviour. "Cities are the abyss of human species", wrote Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1762, expressing a well-developed hatred toward urban environments that many people today still feel. But cities have equally inspired delight and a deep nostalgia over the centuries.

The traditional urban form surrounded by its buildings is no longer as it was. Scott (1996) notes that old civic monuments seem to be camouflaged by city grit, pigeon droppings, and graffiti. Yet, now and again they are brought back to life, through restoration efforts, physical relocation... and public controversy.

There are various reasons why public art is important such as to introduce it into the built environment accordingly. Works of art can make a positive contribution to the built environment by giving new or

refurbished buildings a unique identity. This will help to create a sense of place, add to the character of a neighbourhood and promote the image of the city (Sheffield City Council. 1992:1). It also gives an opportunity to developers to 'put something back' into the community and for local people to become involved in the design of their city. It is also a means of providing commissions for local professional artists and craftspeople whose skills are underused and it is particularly important to give vigorous encouragement to providing works of art when considerable development is taking place (Sheffield City Council. 1992:1).

Aston (1986) states that public art is important to any urban area for the following reasons:

- "art as part of the environment spells environmental improvement. It means revitalisation that in turn creates interest. It provides a human touch and engages people in conversation;
- art helps investment since it is a sign of a place being alive and not barren; and
- art content in cities and environments help produce more

relaxed spaces, and promotes a more public tourist atmosphere".

Public art is no longer defined simply as murals, monuments, or memorials (Wilcox. 1982). The definition of public art addresses the field as both a product and a process. Public art includes events, performances, temporary installations, projected images and interactive street theatres. These are often "place-specific" activities or installations responding to elements or characteristics found in the surrounding location, such as its history, physical environment, audiences, or current social concerns. Public art is also a creative exercise or experiment, exploring relationships among various audiences and various disciplines. Artists, designers, community organisers, arts administrators, and site stakeholders work toward shared goals pertaining to broad (or specific) themes or subjects. According to Wilcox (1982) public art has the potential to reach audiences and engage partners in ways that traditional art forms simply cannot.

Public art has a range of interlocking benefits to the community and the surrounding areas:

- Improvement to the urban fabric - Art content will humanise,

imaginatively stimulate, enhance, invite participation, and promote creative involvement with the environment, providing a medium of expression by the community in relation to its own identity. It will also improve the role of the public in the urban context since art works let people identify themselves in the surrounding environment;

- Increase appreciation - Public art increases the opportunity for the appreciation of public places, enhances civic awareness and community identity;
- Tapping Resources - There are increased employment opportunities, new challenges for artists and crafts people, but also for the young and/or unemployed in community schemes. It should be recognised within the City that a great number of artists have a potential contribution to make; and
- Improving the Area of Cultural Debate - Art becomes an area of interaction. It becomes less of a separate area of people's lives, more integral to everyday

concerns and environment
(Alston. 1986)

7.3) THE HISTORY IN THE CITY

Figure 61: Camillo Sitte studied historical plans of cities to introduce his artistic ideas for cities.



Camillo Sitte (1889) proposed urban design based on analysis of historic plans. His favourite models were medieval and Baroque cities whose streets were broken up by monuments, squares and other visual obstacles. In his book, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, he investigated the idea of reintroducing art as in earlier cities into then modern day cities. He views aesthetics of cities as embracing heterogeneity over the reductive planning systems like the grid, triangle and the radial plan and campaigns organic instead of ordered arrangement of buildings, landmarks and monuments. The significance of an open place in the middle of the city has become different in today's views of plazas. Sitte (1889:5) notes that plaza's, years ago, seldom had

great festivities and they see less and less daily use.

"In the field of city planning the limitation on artistry of arrangement have, to be sure, narrowed greatly in our day. Today such a masterpiece of city planning as the Acropolis of Athens is simply unthinkable. That is, at the moment impossible. "It is above all the enormous size to which our larger cities are growing that has shattered the framework of traditional artistic forms at every point. Everything tends towards the constant repetition of identical motifs is enough to dull our senses to such an extent that only the most powerful effects can still make an impression . This cannot be altered, the city planner must, like the architect, invent a scale appropriate for the modern city of millions" (Le Corbusier. 1947:106).

Sitte (1889:160) believes that many attempts have been made to revive ancient city planning with its forum-like public squares. Painters and architects relish the idea of restoring ancient plazas and the numerous beautiful vistas. Sitte (1889:6) looked back to ancient cities for aesthetic answers to the problems of contemporary planning. He attempted to extract universals of city design from

existing precedents. He looked at plazas, streets and monuments:

- Plaza – the centre should be kept free and the shape should relate to surrounding buildings and landmarks to create views;
- Public squares – should have clear boundaries and distinct uses;
- Streets – should not be seen as a means from one end to another but a place in themselves. Sitte (1889:45) believes that it should not continue infinitely but should be well defined and have clear monumental terminations and that the continuity of streets must be kept to ensure that the street is desirable; and
- Monuments – can take the form of statues and landmarks or they can be interesting or important buildings. It is also advocated that the shape and size should properly relate to the buildings.

Jane Jacobs (1979:396) believes that if a street is a long repetition nothing can be done and see it as a pitfall. Jacobs (1961:396) further adds that it will become boring if all city streets are to have visual interruptions and that there

should be a way around or through interruptions. Streets provide the principal visual scenes in cities. However too many streets present a profound and confusing contradiction. They make a visual announcement that this is an intense life and that into its composition go many different things. But if one gets a street that goes on and on one cannot get the idea of a visual announcement saying endless (Jacobs. 1979:392). Impersonal city streets made space for anonymous people, and this is not a matter of aesthetic quality not of a mystical emotional effect in architectural scale (Jacobs. 1979:67). When talking about a beautiful city, we can presume that the street is interesting, if the streets are dull most likely the city will be dull. Streets are the way to a city's soul and they are importance.

Johannesburg

Johannesburg is a city that has always had bad press. Boer leader and president, Paul Kruger referred to Johannesburg as the 'great whore of Babylon' (Chirpkin). Olive Schreiner (Chirpkin) felt the whole city was a hell. A correspondent of the Daily Mail said that he saw cities abandonment in war, but Johannesburg was the first city he had

ever seen abandonment to the 'barbarians' in time of peace (Rostron. 2002:33) – 'the skyscrapers are still there, but the people who gave them life and prosperity have gone, driven out by hordes of squatters, beggars and illegal traders'. In a recent article Ann Bernstein (2002:11) notes that Johannesburg or Jozeys must be a national priority. It is not a normal old South African town anymore but a metropolis with two CBDs. She also states that Jozeys is playing the cards, which are dealt to her, great. There is high population and crime and the budget, to improve on this, is being cut year after year. The Bank City development that was initiated to revive the CBD in Johannesburg was seen as the answer to the demanding problems. However, according to Clive Chirpkin, writer of Johannesburg Style, no thought was given to the surrounding buildings. Plaza's seems to be the answer to many open spaces in South Africa, where there is a space open it will be developed into a plaza. This was also the case with Bank City. However, in the winter the enormous pools do not contribute to a warmer climate, this then is against the purpose of the plaza of attracting people. Jacobs (1979:399) states that buildings should rather be put in an existing city, than to develop cultural or civic projects.

As an example she pleaded that Bank Cities should not be developed since they are dead and do not create enough diversity.

7.4] CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT

The City Beautiful Movement developed in response to conditions in American cities at the turn of the 20th century. Inspired by the radiating boulevards, public squares and plazas, and neoclassical architecture of European cities during the Renaissance, the movement was conceived as an antidote to crowded housing conditions, traffic congestion, the lack of open space, and inadequate infrastructure. It may promote personal mobility and negatively affect accessibility, its effects are at least localised. "The view of community held by proponents of City Beautiful was not the local, organic one shared by most of the other planners. It was a grand scale view which had more in common with the philosophies of totalitarian leaders" (Anon 2001:108).

Canberra can be seen as a successful example of the City Beautiful movement. Its new government half buried into the

hill suggesting low-key government. An impressive art gallery, "the national library and the courts of justice make up one side of the grand triangle. Under Hitler, Nazi Berlin was destined to become the ultimate City Beautiful. Planning was concerned with triumphant monumental buildings". Stalin brought it to Moscow and the 'wedding cake' architecture and wide boulevard seen today reflect his phalansteries. As an urban planning movement, City Beautiful concentrated on grand beauty and ignored community housing, schools and sanitation.

Daniel Burnham's aim was to establish a beauty that would be present to do its pure and noble work among people forever. "Make no little plans for they have no power to stir men's blood" (Relph. 1989). Zoning was used as a means of excluding unwanted groups from a neighbourhood and while the long, straight, right avenues may have connected distant points for the mobile, crossing from one side to the other on foot or even by motor vehicle was so hazardous that it would serve as an effective barrier (Mumford. 1968). Some people viewed the movement as a way to make the rich more elite through legibility.

The aim of the movement was city monumental and the schemes were drawn up for systems of Baroque boulevards, which came to nothing. The result of this was 'centre monumental' – the city builds its civic centre along boulevards, thus creating empty spaces (Jacobs. 1979:34). The grand boulevards, originally introduced by Ebenezer Howard, was one of the major characteristics of the movement.

On the other side of the coin the attitude towards public art is not that 'pretty'. Jacobs (1979:56) believes that the City Beautiful movement is irrelevant. Jacobs (1979:56) states that from the beginning to the end, from Howard to Burnham to the latest amendment on urban renewal law, the entire concoction is irrelevant to the workings of the city. Unstudied, unexpected cities have served as sacrificial victims (1979:35). Peterson (1976:415) states that The City Beautiful Movement embraced Classical/Renaissance architecture and monumental planning, but it was also a complex cultural movement that went beyond building arts and urban design. It had 3 concepts: municipal art, civic improvement and outdoor art.

7.4.1] MUNICIPAL ART

The municipal art movement was comprised of decorative art and small-scale adornment and included sculpture, murals, stained glass used on building facades and interiors and required cooperation between artists and architects. The state of the urban fabric was a major contributor to the quality of the art.

7.4.2] CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

In 1848, Andrew Jackson Downing, an English landscape gardening aficionado, called upon urbanites to improve their domiciles by establishing rural improvements, such as tree plantings and flower beds (Peterson. 1976:416). Village improvements societies resulted after Downing published several books and magazine articles promoting his ideal. Stockbridge had been a neglected Berkshire mountain town with rutted streets, treeless roadsides, an untended cemetery and an unkempt commons. But after the 'Downing treatment' Stockbridge became, by the 1870s, a showplace with neat, well-shaded gravel sidewalks running between graded and paved streets and manicured lawns. It became a summer mountain vacation spot for

wealthy urbanites. The success story spread throughout and by the 1900s there were dozens of community associations aimed at improving their environment.

7.4.3] OUTDOOR ART

The American Park and Outdoor Art Association begun in 1897 championed the third neglected element of the City Beautiful, outdoor art and the cultivation of beautiful landscapes in great city parks (Peterson. 1976:416). Landscape architects, park superintendents and commissioners and laymen were inspired by Frederick Law Olmsted's park designs. These men met annually and encouraged "proper" principles of park development, landscaping of factory grounds, school yards, railroad-station sites, and city streets. They rallied against billboards and pleaded for state parks and forest preservation. They emphasised piecemeal, practical projects.

The City Beautiful Movement grew out of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted's graceful designs in the late nineteenth century, for example, New York's Central Park. It was also a reaction to the pell-mell, unplanned growth of American cities. The movement reached its peak in the first decade of the

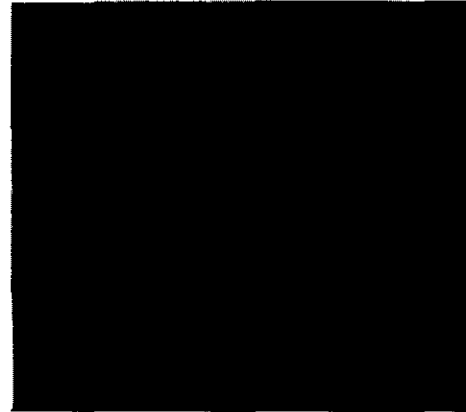


Figure 62: Olmsted designed various outdoor areas which were actively implemented during the City Beautiful movement.

20th century. Its impact was felt throughout urban America. Its major elements included wide, tree-lined boulevards, emerald parks, monumental buildings, winding roadways, attractive lampposts, well paved streets, and, in some cities, dazzling civic centres. Neoclassical or the flamboyant Beaux Arts architecture was the preferred style for buildings of the City Beautiful Movement. Generally stated, City Beautiful advocates sought to improve their city through beautification, which would have a number of effects:

- 1) Social ills would be swept away, as the beauty of the city would inspire civic loyalty and moral rectitude in the impoverished;
- 2) American cities would be brought to cultural parity with their European

competitors through the use of the European Beaux-Arts idiom; and

3) a more inviting city centre still would not bring the upper classes back to live, but certainly to work and spend money in the urban areas (University of Virginia, 2000).

The City Beautiful Movement fell short of its lofty goals, never transforming any city on a truly grand scale. It was nonetheless an important aesthetic force in American cities during the early decades of the 20th century—one that influenced the creation of civic plazas, monuments, and public art that are now recognisable as characteristic of their time.

7.5] URBAN DESIGN

Good urban design involves two major activities. According to Hegvold (1995:191) the stewardship of the urban fabric, in particular those parts of the urban environment on which the community places value and the sensitive intervention in this environment with the development of new works. In order for people to move back to the inner-cities, safe and pleasant cities must be created and they need to be marketed properly to sophisticated consumers. The way in

which buildings, neighbourhoods and districts are designed has a direct impact on the urban experience. Design principles will improve the basis for successful development; these in turn impact upon the urban form by promoting more compact, mixed and integrated neighbourhoods (Oc. 2000: 364).

Philip Cox (1995:20-25) makes the following argument: "in the feverish rebuilding of our cities during the last 50 years and in particular the last 20, little has happened in terms of creating urban spaces reinforcing our cities through the kinds of architectural expression that would make them better. In fact the reverse is true: ...where there was consciousness of streetscape, vista and space, landscape and civic treatment, we now has a refusal to acknowledge the very principles which are the basic ingredients of cities". As with many other cities world-wide, change has taken place. This can raise the question of the reuse of fine heritage but also offer new opportunities; it is whether it is done in that manner that asks the questions. Urban design is thus important because cities are the greatest expression of the inhabitants' culture and they communicate their values and aspirations.

Brisbane

The Powerhouse was the first power station to be built in Brisbane. The renewal that took place created a vibrant new culture hub, public access link to the riverside promenade.

Community consultation and promotion is the cornerstone of the Brisbane City Council (BCC. 2002). "This programme allows the local community to have a say in the planning process and promotes the benefits of inner-city living to the wider community. It is crucial in this type of project to ensure that the local community are kept informed and have direct input not only during the planning stage, but on an ongoing basis. To ensure that this took place the Brisbane City Council developed a Community Action Network. (CAN) Community Action Network also ensured that urban renewal and redevelopment processes underway in New Farm and the surrounding suburbs take into account social issues and concerns. The New farm development entails a park for the people and place names that tell a suburban tale".

Urban landscape is the result of a social representation in which meaning is constructed or 'mapped' by individuals

and groups to create a shared commonsense or mutually accepted framework for experiencing a place. Such maps of meaning are not limited to purely spatial information but incorporate many different experiences and personal perceptions gathered from many different sources. This results in the creation of a hierarchy of social representations, which together make up the characteristics of an environment and ultimately help to provide the identity of a place (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000:181). Oc (2000:364) states that successful urban renewal is design-led and adds that promoting sustainable lifestyles and social inclusion in our towns and cities depends on design of the physical environment. The ecological significance of urban design is to modify the natural environment quality of the built environment so that aspects of the natural environment are still visible. Urban design is also making it possible for urban areas to have a 'social and cultural' identity (Velibeyogly. 1999).

The natural landscape must be taken into account. Imagine what Venice would be without water? In modern city planning the relationship between the built-up and the open spaces is exactly reversed. Formerly the empty spaces (street

plazas) were a unified entity of shape calculated for their impact; today building lots are laid out as regularly-shaped closed forms, and what is left between them become streets and plazas (Sitte. 1889:56).

The post modern approach to urban design allows for a greater appreciation of traditional urban processes and the context for new development. It is about the restoration of the spatial discipline of the traditional city through such things as streets and squares. In conjunction with the ethos of conservation, this has resulted in an increase in the importance of local and historic context, with a greater respect for uniqueness of particular places and concern for the continuity of their particular traditions. Post modernism is about sense and place, the local and the particular (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000:181).

The aesthetic object of architecture and planning is neither environment (broadly) nor building (narrow). Building is unsuitable because it ignores the important relationship between structure and context. Landscape is a much better word. Philosophers have tended to focus on discrete objects of areas. This excludes landscapes as aesthetical

objects because landscapes contain elements of both art and nature and they are also inextricably bound up with everyday experience. The problem is then to extend the scope of aesthetics to include landscapes (Bourassa. 1989:291). The discourses of post modernism in planning can be divided into aesthetic, philosophical and social-historical assertions.

Organic architecture is a reinterpretation of nature's principles as they had been filtered through the intelligent minds of men and women who could then build forms which are more natural than nature itself. There must be respect for the harmonious relationship between the design and the function of the building (Elman. 2001). Urban landscapes do not themselves generate violence; everything depends on how they are seen and how they are mentally represented to the people who live in them (Louw & Bekker. 1996:15). Urban design according to Lynch (1975:511) is the imaginable creation of possible form intended to achieve some human purpose whether social, economical, aesthetic or technical.

Barnett (1986) believes that the problem with city design is that there is only a focus on the work of an individual artist,

as though they are artefacts when one instead must look at it as a whole. An example is the Chrysler-building, which does not seem to fit in with its surroundings.

Design must be based on a wider field than that of architecture of office buildings and schools, if one is to create a man-made landscape that one can be proud of. The problem with the Chrysler-building is that it is the architect's taste which may go out of fashion fast or that the taste of the surrounding areas does not fit with the building (Tunnard & Pushkarev. 1963:x).

7.6] THE ARTIST IN THE CITY

According to Fleming (1995:18) artists represent their world as they themselves see it. The artist's work becomes a reflection of this time from a particular point of view. Sitte (1889:105) states that regardless of how painful this may be to sensitive souls, the practical artist should not let himself be guided by sentimental impulses, because no artistic (*malerisch*) planning could be a thorough or lasting success unless it complied with living conditions. This ideal is however difficult to reach since there is no universally acceptable style of art. In Windsor,



Figure 64: A public art sculpture done by JT Young. Title Pegs. Washington.

England the riverfront was revitalised with parklands, playgrounds and sculptures, but some of the residents believed that this space could be used for something else like housing and that the downtown (that is in need of regeneration) had to be renewed (Deziel. 1999:26). Le-an is the concept based on seeing through feeling. Modernist planning is the child of enlightenment a point in history when humanity puts its own reason to use without subjecting itself to any authority, it is humanity's passage to adult status (Sandercock. 1998:61)

When one deals with cities, one is not dealing with life at its most complex and intense. Because this is so, there is a basic aesthetic limitation on what can be done with cities: a 'city cannot be a work of art' (Jacobs. 1979:387).

SODO Urban art corridor

The art corridor is located in SODO business district, Seattle. It is recognised by low-rise warehouses and several landmarks. A corridor filled with colour and creativity. The vacant spaces are replaced by trees, mini parks contribute to the public art canvas. This is the beacon of community pride and an opportunity for artists and the youth. It is also a positive example for creating a sense of place by transforming urban blight into urban art.

Former industrial cities with contracting economies and decreasing populations, such as Sheffield and Birmingham are increasingly being forced to look towards the national tourist and international conference markets. It is here that some of the most interesting alliances between urban renewal, place promotion and public art emerge. In urban design terms, most of these schemes involve the making or re-making of urban place. They are a positive re-statement by the face of decentralised industrial activity and services (Hall. 1996:56).

The development of a public art strategy was seen as a way to improve the environment and to raise public



Figure 65 and 66: Proposed SODO Urban Art corridor's southern gateway.

consciousness, as a way to improve the environment and to raise public consciousness; as a way to reinforce local identity and enhance civic pride (Hall. 1996:57). Image has proven to be a precious commodity in the post-industrial economy where capital, in the form of business and tourist investment, is ever more discerning and footloose (Hall. 1996:57).

Blue Carpet

"Blue Carpet is an innovative project to create a new public square in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. It has been designed and is being realised by Thomas Heatherwick working in collaboration with a team of the City Council's design professionals. His concept unifies the disparate architectural elements of the square with a shimmering cobalt blue carpet which has apparently dropped from the sky over the existing surface of the city. The project integrates street furniture, fibre optic lighting, a new public staircase and mature trees. The artist's original approach to the design of the square, emphasising function and materials, has demanded new solutions. Partnerships have been formed with manufacturers, craftspeople and academics to create new materials and new technical solutions for the paving surface and other elements (New Castle Upon Tyne. 2002). The carpet unifies an area of disparate architecture and visual clutter and will appear to float on a sea of light which is visible where bollards and other street furniture pierce the carpet surface. The project was conceived from the outset as a collaborative enterprise with local businesses, and the City Council drew together a consortium of



Figure 67 and 68: A conceptual drawing of the Blue carpet project and figure 123 is the end result.

public and private sector organisations with a presence or interest in the New Bridge Street area to take forward the idea.

The true connoisseurs of art feel at once that great art as a source of experience not essentially different from the experience of everyday life...is to miss the very essence of it, the thing that makes art as important as science or

even religion, yet sets it apart as an autonomous creative function of a typically human mind. It is however correct to emphasise the uniquely human creative aspects of art, but the concept excludes the everyday landscape as an aesthetic object (Bourassa. 1989:291). No art is independent of its companion art. According to Fleming (1995:20) architecture finds its natural ally in sculpture as embellishment that relieves that strict functionalism of a structure. Structures can also provide focal points of interest and give meaning to a building.

Louis Sullivan's slogan: form follows function, became the mantra of modern architecture. Wright changed this phrase to form and function are one – using nature as his integration (Elman. 2001). Aesthetic failures are not in the 'pure' design problems, but rather in those areas which are generally considered 'non-design' and hence are left to decision makers who fail to take aesthetic values into account (Tunnard & Pushkarev. 1963:x).

Although art is used as a tool to work against decay it is limited by the material used. Jacobs (1979:386) believes that the conclusion of life and art can be seen as taxidermy, stuffed dead cities. Jacobs

(1979:386) states that art is needed in the arrangements of cities as well as in the other realms of life, to help explain life, to show meaning, to illuminate the relationship between the life that teach of us and the life outside us. Art is needed most, perhaps, to reassure us of our own humanity. Although art and life are interwoven, they are not the same thing. Confusion between them is, in part, why efforts at city design are so disappointing. It is important in arriving at better design strategies and tactics to clear up confusion.

According to the New Castle upon Tyre (2002) Council the following must be there to ensure sustainable public art:

- Ambience - light, sound, conceal, reveal.
- Spirit - character, movement, sense of place, integration and intersection with existing and proposed urban fabric.
- Elements - wind, rain, light, shadow.
- Landscape - indigenous to introduced.
- Features - vistas, pathways, gateways, bridges and transition.

- Function - walkways, shelters, seating, platforms, arcades.
- Detail - surfaces, patterns, textures. Historical, social, ideological references.
- Artwork sites - intimate to large scale individual works: environmental/site specific works: features, fixture and fittings, ironwork, paving.
- Functional criteria - provide pedestrian priority while accommodating cycle paths and service or emergency vehicle access.
- Weather conditions - removal of snow, steps. Maintenance; allowance for ease of maintenance, repair, cleaning.

Statues, temples and pieces of music are according to Fleming (1995:19) indicators of the way sensitive members of a society imagine, dream, think, feel and communicate. Thus a building is not a mere pile of sticks and stones, steel and glass, no matter how interesting the shapes these buildings may assume. It is a created environment, a form of action for some social activity.

Eduardo Villa is a well known sculpter in South Africa. One of his projects was the Knot, a 10m high cylinder sculpture (von Maltritz. 1986:11). It was made for the Civic Centre Plaza in Cape Town. The Knot takes into account the surrounding buildings, the civic centre and the Nico Malan theatre, and unites them through the symbol of the knot. Completed in 1981 this is one of the most brutal sculpture works in South Africa.

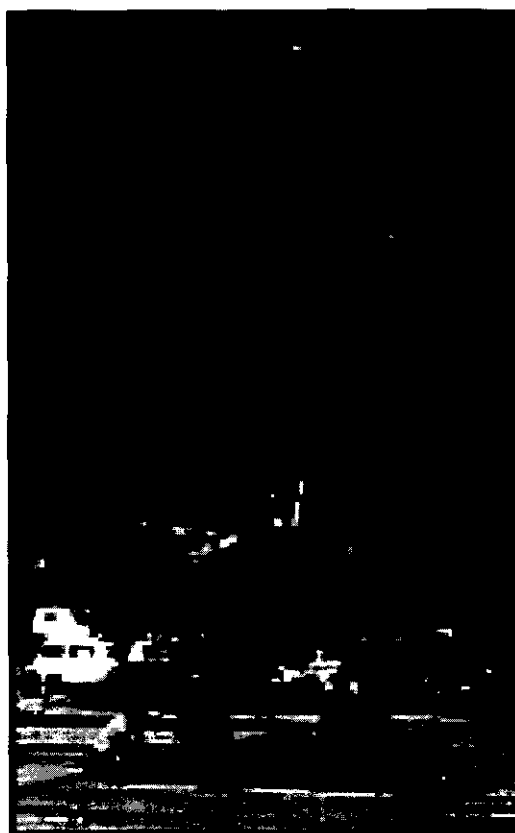


Figure 69: The Knot by E. Villa.

7.6.1] GRAFFITI

Graffiti is usually seen as the medium through which the oppressed youth can voice their message. The true art of

graffiti is not a statement of love for another person but a political, health or crime message. Presented as "vandalism" and "anti-social" by the mainstream media, graffiti is associated with clichéd ideas about social decay, troubled teens and general "immorality."

Steyn (2002) believes that today, the most important factor influencing the production of graffiti is that its creators - the modern graffiti artists - are conscious of the wall as a medium. The public street is arguably the most democratic of forums. It is one that is open as a media tool for all the groups oppressed and marginalised by capitalist society.

Authorities are opposed to graffiti since they believe that graffiti is extremely difficult to censor, police or control and is therefore one of the most honest of media, unpolluted by the standard contingencies of capitalism: funding, markets, state approval and the like. Graffiti as a form recognizes no constraints is free from both censorship and authorial control. Yet graffiti can give colour to a brown, over-exposed wall. Although it is believed that graffiti has no meaning, it usually means for the artist something.



Figure 70: Artist unknown. Location: Louis Botha Ave, Orange Grove

7.6.2] HISTORICAL BUILDINGS

Architectural preservation began as an expression of liberal conscience. Some people think that it is heroic to save historic buildings and thereby also solve the problems of decaying cities. From this one can see preservationists are being accused of being 'elitist' who use the excuse of histrionic preservation as a way to hold out the unwanted poor. But a back-lash to this is that today most preservationist groups are focused on buildings located in poorer neighbourhoods (Schneider. 2001:257 and Jacobs. 1979). Historic preservation is then seen as one of the many legal techniques to restrict bulk housing zones (Tunnard & Pushkarev. 1963: 427).

Preservationists need to be more aware of their impact on low income communities in the future. Schneider (2001:257) argues that through monumentalism (that neglects the

histories of the low income), aestheticism (government by the taste of the dominant socio-economic class) and revitalisation (affordable housing and local economic development) they can focus on low communities, then the community can be proud and create awareness also among the lower income groups in the community.

Fener and Balat in Istanbul's faith district are among the Turkish city's oldest neighbourhoods. Under the surface there is a unique and potentially beautiful urban landscape. The aim of the regeneration is to recreate a viable community while protecting the district's cultural heritage. Buildings will be refurbished and restored to provide residents with decent accommodation. The view of the public towards the regeneration is positive, but the process is not up to date (Williams. 2000:22). A problem exists that the gentrification of historical centres is a well-known phenomenon: a neighbourhood is restored to its former glory, becomes a chic address and prices soar, forcing low income earners out. It is thus essential to encourage the permanent use of buildings since their abandonment is the main cause for decay (Alho. 1995:385).

7.7] CONCLUSION

Three little pigs, the story we are told from an early age. They went out and built themselves houses, like humans do. They built twice, but did not feel safe. Finally, the third time they felt safe, and they stayed. The lesson learned from this is that it was not the material used to build the house but their surroundings and the way it fits in with the surroundings. An igloo would not be sustainable in the Kalahari Desert, just as a hut would not be sustainable in Antarctica. This forced them to build stronger, beautiful cities.

We live in a geometrical world; can we go back to the donkey's way to achieve better aesthetic beauty? (Le Corbusier. 1947). Projects that can be patched on the city, that will be woven in, and strengthen the surrounding areas are needed.

Whether historic or contemporary, figurative or abstract, monumental or human-scale, permanent or temporary, urban or rural, useful or useless, public art is a metaphor for our time and place.

The view towards art as a strategy for urban renewal is still not receiving the

attention it requires in South Africa. If something is worth protecting, it will be protected, depending on the view of the individual. The question of crime being reduced through 'making things beautiful' does not always give the correct answer. The essence of urban regeneration is to revive something, giving it a facelift and in that sense art in urban places will draw on that. However, the problem with art in South Africa is vandalism, as stated earlier, many art works were either stolen or sprayed on. It is then the duty of the community or the municipality to strike back and repair or replace it.

CHAPTER 8

8.] THE CULTURE CITY

8.1] INTRODUCTION

School in chaos over 'witch' – Riot Hlatshwayo, Sunday Sun. 1 April 2003.

Concerned parents in a rural Limpopo village are raising money to hire a specialist sangoma from Swaziland to sniff out a 'witch' accused of cursing local high school pupils. Families in Justica village in Bushbuckridge are paying five rand towards the fund and pupils at Madlala High School are boycotting classes until the 'witch' is found. "We have vowed not to return to class unless the witch is pointed out and removed from the school or the village", said Madlala student representatives' council president Moses Mashele. The boycott began on Monday after the latest in a series of "mysterious" deaths at the school. Ntobeni Sibuyi, 16, was allegedly stabbed by a classmate about a week ago after he refused to buy a mango from the suspect's sister. "The girl insisted that Sibuyi buy the fruit because he had bruised it when he squeezed it to see if it

was ripe," said Mashele. Sibuyi refused and got into a fistfight with the girl's brother. While they were fighting the girl's father arrived and allegedly gave his son a homemade knife. Sibuyi was stabbed in the chest and died. Most villagers only heard about the stabbing the following day when they gathered to bury a 14-year old pupil, Shady Mabunda, who hanged himself with an electric cord on February 17. Another pupil also died after suffering from swollen genitals for two months.

After months another fight flared up at the school – this time between two girls.

Pupils and teachers then marched to a local induna, Joseph Ngonyama, to ask what should be done. He confirmed that about 200 families had to contribute five rand each to appoint a female Swazi sangoma. Meanwhile the provincial education department is to launch an investigation at the school – and a police probe is underway. In reference to the newspaper article is a reminder of the different cultures that exist in South Africa and throughout the world. Readers of the article may view this as a real problem concerning the pupils of the schools, others may just laugh it off, depending on which side of the spectrum one is. It depends on one's culture. Just as this

article may be laughed off, so are other people's cultures ignored and downplayed. In this chapter the importance of culture and its effect on urban regeneration will be investigated.

8.2] DEFINING CULTURE

Culture is negotiated and contested between different social groups; therefore it follows that the nature of the built environment is a result of many different forces and cannot be ascribed to a single cause (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000). The importance of studying urban life lies not only in the many cities and urban societies that exist today, but also in their increasing significance for the future (Cousins & Nagpaul. 1979:4). A "cosmopolis is a journey of coming to terms with difference and connection with the cultural" and is thus important for future development (Sandercock. 1995. 4). There are various reasons for reshaping the city. The age of migration in the 1980s brought new people to the urban scene, they who are looking for work, and thus bringing new culture to the city (Sandercock. 1995:4). Culture is also based upon "people's ideas and values". According to Schaefer and Lamm (1995:62) culture is the totality of learned,

socially transmitted behaviour and it includes the ideas, values, and customs of groups of people. Giddens (1996:31) adds further that "culture consists of the values the members of a given group hold, the norms they follow and the material goods they create. Values are abstract ideas while norms are definite principles or rules which people are expected to observe".

According to Hugo (2002) culture can be defined as "the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, behavioural norms, expectations and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialisation. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group." Giddens (1996:31) also adds that culture refers to the ways of life of the members of a society, or of groups within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage, customs and family life, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits. It also covers the goods they create and which become meaningful for them – bows and arrows, plough factories and machines, computers, books and dwellings. Multiculturalism refers to "different cultural patterns found among different groups of

people in a particular country or region. The difference between multiculturalism and cultural diversity must be distinguished". Although "cultural diversity" is often used as a synonym for multiculturalism; it actually refers to differences between different cultural groups in a specific environment, for example, multiple groups within a defined environment, such as a workplace or township (Hugo. 2002:3).

8.2.1] UNIVERSIAL CULTURES

Through the diversity of different cultures there are some common features. Where these are found in many societies, they are called cultural universals. Overall there is no culture without a language or a form of communication (Giddens. 1996:43).

8.3] THE SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL ORIENTATION

In his address at the African Renaissance conference (Address at the African Renaissance conference in London, November 1999), Mazrui emphasised that culture is relevant for development in all spheres of society because of seven key functions:

"Culture functions as lenses of perception - it influences how people view themselves and their environment.

- Culture serves as motivation - what people respond to as incentives or disincentives for certain patterns of behaviour is a phenomenon which is greatly influenced by culture.
- Culture provides a standard of judgment. What is right or wrong, what is virtuous or evil, what is beautiful or ugly are all greatly conditioned by culture.
- Culture forms the basis of socio-economic stratification. Rank, caste, and class are all profoundly conditioned, if not created, by culture.
- Culture is a means of communication - it provides all sorts of nuances in communication and intimation. But above all culture provides language in the literal sense of the legacy of words and lexicon.
- Culture defines and influences production and consumption. Cultures differ widely in productivity, not only in Africa but the world as a whole.

- Culture is a basis of identity - it is crucial in defining the "we" and "they" and marking the frontiers of solidarity".

Ministers call for investment and not handouts. African culture is central to this process of reducing dependency in the dialectic of modernisation. In any multicultural society learning about culture can be an exciting and creative process involving different people from different cultures. But South Africa's history can provoke anxiety because of the painful realities and the ongoing interactions with the content that there are diverse cultural realities (Hugo. 2002:5). It is thus important, especially in urban areas where there is a concentration of culture, to promote and investigate the different cultures and build on them.

When one faces the developmental challenges of the future, one must understand that for South Africa "development" inevitably means "modernisation", but without dependency on a legacy of foreign aid, resources and products. As Mazrui points out, "modernisation is change that is compatible with the present stage of human knowledge, which seeks to

comprehend the legacy of the past, which is sensitive to the needs of the future, and which is increasingly aware of its global context". This is the positive interpretation of modernisation. Development of indigenous skills and values are at the core of the African Renaissance.

It is now widely accepted that "diversity" is an appropriate goal for society. But what does this dictum actually mean? Racial integration is a valid objective, but that is something very different from what the advocates of "diversity" seek.

8.4] THE CITY AND URBAN LIFE

The city is a home to a diversity of people, and it should therefore provide a 'service' to its inhabitants. Sandercock (1995:15) identified three roles that the city can portray to its inhabitants. The city of memory proclaims that the loss of memory leads to the loss of identity. Thus urban landscapes are seen as 'storehouses' for individual and collective soul memories. Another role that the city should play is to provide pleasure to its inhabitants. The city must also provide for the diversity that exists between people.

The poor quality of the public realm and the built environment is directly related to the poor quality of the social life of a city and so should provide the moral, social, psychological and economic stimulus for an attempt to revive the social life of cities (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000). According to Castells (1977:83) 'urban culture'...is neither a concept nor a theory. It is...a myth...(which)...provides the key-words of an ideology of modernity, assimilated, in an ethnocentric way, to the social forms of liberal capitalism ... it suggests the hypothesis of a production of social content (the urban) by a trans-historical form (the city) ...(but) the city creates nothing...The link between space, the urban and a certain system of behaviour regarded as typical of 'urban culture' has no other foundation than an ideological one ...From this point of view, the problem of the definition (or redefinition) of the urban does not even arise....Such a tendency helps to reinforce the strategic role of urbanism as a political ideology and as a professional practice (Castells. 1977: 83, 89, 90, 431, 441, 463).

'Ideological' in this context has to be understood as a system of ideas, which justifies or legitimates the subordination of one group by another, i.e. knowledge

and representations characteristic of or in the interest of a class.

8.5] POST MODERNISM

A characteristic of a post modern city is that there is a shift away from comprehensive redevelopment projects. According Healy, et al, (1992:177) urban renewal is planning of urban fragments, flagship schemes, self contained waterfront development and cultural quarters. These are flagships known as 'islands' of renewal and they act as highly visible symbols of urban renewal and are thus regarded as vital ingredients for the place-making process. The cultural context places flagships in the arena of 'post modern culture'. According to Smyth (1994:6) flagships can be seen as both an important expression of that culture, even more so when the planning and architecture is post modern and an important contributor to that fragment. "The post modern city is much more image-conscious and culturally self conscious, it is both a centre of cultural consumption and general consumption" (Healy et al. 1992:177). A trend that had an influence on restructuring was that of post modernist differentiation of lifestyles. People seek diversities in cultural groups.

"These is a demand for diversity in cities"
(Healy et al. 1992:6-7).

8.6] CULTURAL REGENERATION

During the past years cultural policies have become an important component of economic and physical regeneration strategies (Bianchini. 1993:1). Cultural regeneration is seen as a means of restoring and improving the quality of urban life through the enhancement and development of the unique characteristics of a place and its people (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000). There has been a growth in different cultures in the world. Globalisation certainly contributed to the fact that people are open to more issues and cultural activities. Wansborough & Mageean (2000) believe that it is also due to the change in countries allowing for more borders to be crossed and to be discovered. For example, South Africa, where political views have changed. Culture should be seen as a process as well as a product, a way of life as well as a mode of consumption. Culture is an expression of certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in ordinary and institutional behaviour (Williams 1981 in Wansborough & Mageean. 2000).

Culture should provide city governors with the necessary impetus and inspiration for urban renewal by linking it to urban design, the sense of place can be developed in the built environment. Culture can be used to express the individual identities, character and uniqueness of its people and is able to contribute to the development of a sense of place. The Guggenheim-Bilbao museum is one of the major focal points of the redevelopment programme and architectural renaissance currently underway in Bilbao. The image is improving but it is questionable whether the city is attracting more money (Plaza. 1999:589). The use of culture in the regeneration of post-industrial cities is linked to urban design through the process of creating what is known as the entrepreneurial city. The major economic restructuring that occurred with the shift from Fordist to post-fordist modes of production has resulted in changes in the way cities are being governed with the new urban politics being characterised by a concern with the extent to which a city is able to attract jobs and investment in an increasingly competing global market (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000).

8.6.1] THE CONTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL REGENERATION

Cultural regeneration can help generate other activities attracting people into an area. Art programmes have been shown to contribute to enhance social cohesion and local image; reducing offending behaviour; building private/public sector partnerships; promoting interest in the local environment; developing self-confidence; enhancing organisational capacity; supporting independence and exploring visions of the future (Landry, Green, Natarasso & Bianchin. 1996).

Cultural regeneration:

- can be used as a basis for evening economy;
- can be a critical mass which makes an area work, both socially and economy;
- can help to create urban living place; and
- create identity of the city (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000).

New Farm, Brisbane

Powerhouse projects is a \$17 million conversion of the Powerhouse in Brisbane into a major arts and leisure precinct that will further boost the area's

cultural life (Brisbane City Council. 2002).

The benefits of urban regeneration as seen from this project are:

- Sustainable and responsible development;
- Diverse residential environment;
- A revitalised economic environment;
- Enhanced environment; and
- Improvement of transport and other mobility options.

Growing awareness of these limitations has recently encouraged people to look more closely at the connection between urban regeneration and cultural activity and begin to change the focus of their response.

Artists and cultural organisations have always contributed to the vitality and character of cities such as The Knot by E da Villa. In the United States, since the late 1960s, it has been shown that artists can contribute to urban regeneration, often through the creation of studios and 'cultural quarters' in run-down central districts (Landry et al. 1996). The use of cultural activity to fuel urban regeneration in Britain was principally economic in conception and purpose. Its credibility was given a significant boost by a Policy

Studies Institute survey, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988), which presented the arts as employer of 500,000 people and the fourth biggest invisible export earner (Landry et al. 1996). The redevelopment of Liverpool docks, which included the 'Tate of the North', a maritime museum and television studio, was a high-profile cultural regeneration initiative which set the tone for the 1980s. Major cities like Glasgow, Manchester and Birmingham put in place cultural development strategies and committed millions of pounds to them (Tate. 2002).

Culture programmes that have been effective in Britain showed certain advantages towards the community. Landry et al (1996) state that culture programmes enhance social cohesion through festivals that brings the people together. It also improved the local image of the area since the promotion of arts events has changed the way places are perceived—or caused them to be perceived in the first place. Offending behaviour has also been reduced since a number of agencies were able to show change in the young people as a result of the work, and cost-effective results when set against the cost of car crime and burglary. Interest in the local environment

was also promoted where arts organisations have taken a lead in developing people's interest in the local environment. Investment in the area was also promoted because of the building of private and public sector partnerships.

8.7] SPORT RENEWAL

Cities around the world are renewing themselves by constructing huge multi-purpose stadiums with adjacent athletic facilities. Work has begun on one such complex. Sport city in Manchester, England serves as a catalyst for urban regeneration (Manchester City Council. 2000:178).

According to the Leicester City Council (2001), leisure can contribute significantly to urban regeneration projects by:

- "attracting and facilitating public and private investment in new leisure facilities to satisfy demand for increased participation;
- enabling or implementing schemes that provide new facilities for public participation in Leisure either directly or indirectly in partnership with other providers;

- ensuring that the local communities are engaged with the development and management of facilities;
- ensuring that local people have the skills and experience to compete for the jobs that such investment creates;
- increasing educational attainment; and
- attracting international, national or regional events which have visitor potential and which will contribute directly to the growth in the tourism economy”.

Leisure is also a significant provider of employment opportunities and is particularly attractive to the younger population. Employment in the leisure sector generally is currently growing whilst more traditional employment sectors are in decline. It therefore offers significant potential to reduce unemployment rates, particularly amongst young people.

8.7.1] INCLUDING THE YOUTH

In a study by Fitzpatrick et al (1998:45) they found that youth forums were the most common mechanism used to facilitate youth involvement in

regeneration initiatives. There were, however, a range of difficulties with the way these forums operated, including: lacking a sense of purpose; not being integrated into decision-making structures; and a lack of accountability.

Youth involvement in urban regeneration initiatives has largely been promoted by professionals and politicians rather than community activists (Fitzpatrick, et al., 1998:45). The explicit rationale for youth involvement was usually to give young people a 'voice' in the regeneration process. However, objectives relating to the self-development of young people and the sustainability of regeneration were also apparent. Community representatives were often supportive of youth involvement on the basis that young people were 'the next generation' of community leaders. There was a range of mechanisms for involving young people in regeneration initiatives, but by far the most common structure for securing their participation was youth forums (see below). Fitzpatrick, et al, (1998:45) proposed other methods. They are:

- Consultation techniques, e.g. youth surveys, youth

conferences and focus group discussions;

- Joint management initiatives, e.g. youth involvement in the management of specific projects, or youth delegates on partnership boards and community forums; and
- Youth controlled projects, e.g. young people were given delegated power over a project or budget, or developed a project on their own initiative.

These fore-going mechanisms have both strengths and weaknesses and youth involvement seemed to be most effectively achieved by a combination of methods, so that young people had a range of channels through which to influence the regeneration process.

The acknowledged salience of sports for many young people (especially males) has meant that provision of sporting opportunities has become an important element in many urban regeneration projects, largely aimed at reducing youth crime (in some case studies part of a 'community safety' programme). More generally young people are targeted in urban regeneration schemes because of what Fitzpatrick, et al, (1998) refer to as

their "double disadvantage". Young people are more likely to be affected by, unemployment, lower wages, reduced benefit entitlement, higher levels of homelessness, increased health risks (drugs and mental health), lower rates of educational attainment, greater risks of being a victim of crime and political marginalisation (Coalter. 2000:37). In such circumstances Fitzpatrick, (et al. 1998:7), who examined how six United Kingdom urban regeneration initiatives dealt with youth, found that: "leisure was central to the quality of life of young people, as a key source of friendship, networks and self-identity, particularly in the absence of work, full-time education or family responsibilities".

However, according to Coalter, et al, (2000:40) for those living in deprived areas, access to 'leisure' was regarded as expensive, too far away from their locality, or not open at weekends (youth clubs) or did not appeal to young women (youth clubs). The importance of leisure is illustrated by the fact that relevant leisure opportunities were easily the most frequently mentioned requirement among young people, compared to training and qualifications which were the highest priority for adult policy makers and providers (Fitzpatrick, et al., 1998).

Coalter, et al, (2000) notes that although some provision is made in the belief that young people (and others) in deprived areas have the same right to sporting opportunities as other sections of the community, Fitzpatrick, et al, (1998:9) suggest that the underlying motivations were usually instrumental - "sports and arts projects provided 'something to do', but were largely driven by concerns over improving young people's skills and orientation towards work", or were provided because they were diversionary and aimed at young people at risk of offending. From this perspective the salience of sport for many young people permits it to be used as a medium to reach at-risk youth (Crompton and Witt, 1997).

Fitzpatrick, et al, (1988:8) also emphasise the importance of an integrated, developmental approach. In their analysis of urban regeneration projects they found that some of the projects most attractive to young people were those which were: "designed to increase young people's self-confidence and improve their skills through sport, arts and culture... these were highly attractive to young people and had the advantage of developing transferable as well as specialist skills".

8.8] CONCLUSION

"The cornerstone of all modern urbanisation is absolute respect for the freedom of the individual" – Le Corbusier
8 June 1930.

Should a landmark or historic building be destroyed in the name of renewal? (Wansborough & Mageean. 2000). It would be necessary to rethink what the regenerative potential of cultural policy can be. Urban regeneration is a composite concept, surrounding economic, environmental, social, cultural, symbolic and political dimensions. Cultural policies, in order to be truly regenerative, should have a positive impact on all of them. City marketing in the future could be a carnival of cultural production and of its applications to the development of a modern economy.

In conclusion, a cultural planning *perspective rooted in an understanding of local cultural resources and of cities as cultural entities – as places where people talk, meet and share ideas – could help planners access the needs of the community and certify cultural pluralism.* The following chapter will investigate what the role of landmarks in a city is and how urban regeneration can be

implemented through city marketing strategies.

CHAPTER 9

9.] THE LANDMARK CITY

but in the future no-one can afford not to build it' (Lefcowitz. 2001).

The purpose of skyscrapers, according to Le Corbusier's writings about the radiant city (Ville Radieuse) is:

9.1] INTRODUCTION

Once upon a time a zoo was located next to a large farm. It came to pass one day that an ostrich in the zoo laid an egg, only to see it roll beneath the fence and into the chicken yard next door. When the rooster saw the monstrous egg he called his hens together. "Ladies, he said, I do not mean to complain, but I thought you ought to see what the competition is doing"^{xxv} ...

9.2] LANDMARKING THE CITY

"Monuments – why always the biggest? I do this to restore to each individual German his self-respect. Adolph Hitler 1939"^{xxvi}.

Le Corbusier's fantasy, a 'radiant city' filled with rows of glass-and-steel skyscrapers built on a symmetrical grid of streets, was matched in sheerchutzpah by F.L. Wright's proposal to build a 528 storey building called 'Mile-High' in Illinois. 'No-one can afford to build it now,

- "To decongest the centre of traffic in the city by increasing the population density in order to diminish internal distances. A contradictory postulate, though now imperative, and at least made miraculously possible by the advent of the skyscraper; and
- To bring better living conditions and a light-filled atmosphere to places where everything at the moment is rottenness, filth, milling crowds, decay and demoralization; and
- To provide a sublime expression of this century's strength, thus to bring back to the sky".

These were however the ideals of Le Corbusier and for a time it would work. One of the reasons for people leaving urban areas is to own their own piece of land and to have privacy. Thus it is important to note that the demand for 'skyscrapers' is not that big. Skyscrapers was originally an American phenomenon,

it has become an international symbol of prestige. Currently the tallest building is the 1 454 feet tall Petronas Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (Lefcowitz: 2001). Skyscrapers are in fact so tied up with business that they have become a demonstration of the meaning of progress and the foremost symbol of capitalism (Ralph. 1989: 34). However, there are several myths surrounding skyscrapers. These are:

- Higher densities equal skyscrapers. Although Le Corbusier's radiant city was a clear example of this myth, Warshaw (2001) believes that the American illusion of high density comes from their skyscrapers. In reality the average densities of most American cities are low, taking account of the sprawling suburbs where most Americans live. An example of this is the Manhattan area where the highest population densities are in the areas where there are no skyscrapers;
- Modern cities cannot do without skyscrapers. The Paris skyline is one of the oldest in the world, and yet there are very few skyscrapers;

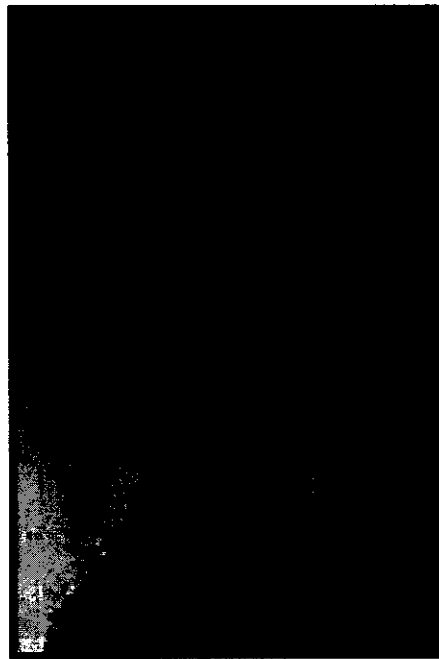


Figure 71: The Eiffel Tower is one of the most known landmarks throughout the world.

- Technology can fix it. With the invention of the lift, buildings higher than three storeys seemed reasonable but this could lead to other unwanted actions. Hall (1975) states that humans must learn to think the unthinkable about how we build, plan and live. Washington DC, a planned modern city has little or few skyscrapers (Warshaw. 2001);
- Skyscrapers are acceptable if they look attractive. To build a building that will be acknowledged through the years to come is difficult. Some buildings may seem right at that

time, but they would not necessarily be so for the years to come; and

- Regeneration means bigger buildings. Warshaw (2001) states that previous efforts at post-war regeneration produced many of the large scale mistakes we now revile or are seeking to rectify or redevelop. Some made the error of replacing solid, street oriented urban buildings with compounds and cul-de-sacs that turned their backs on the city, fragmenting it, making it more impermeable and dangerous. This did, however, not work since the integration with the surroundings was not investigated, and they protruded like a sore thumb. The Chrysler building is a good example.

9.3] THE MEANING OF A LANDMARK

The Eiffel Tower can be seen as the quintessential tourist landmark, as it belongs to the universal language of travel (Wirth-Nesher. 1998: 112). Different things can serve as landmarks, provided that they are special in their own context and that the surrounding

buildings can also contribute to a building being a landmark (Jacobs. 1979: 400). The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town would not be that popular if it were not for Table Mountain and the cosmopolitan surroundings of different cultures. The image of the city is conceptual more than it is purely perceptual and landmarks tend to be collaborative constructions of architects and urbanites, the products of collective memory and personal experience (Wirth-Nesher. 1998:112). Imageability is the quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image to any given observer (Lynch. 1975:9). For many people the Voortrekker museum is an example of freedom, while for others it is an element of oppression. Landmarks can provide some advantages to urban areas:

- Landmarks are prime orientation clues – some buildings depend on size for their distinction to provide good orientation service and visual interest for people at a distance (Jacobs. 1979: 399). Jacobs (1979:401) also states that the sight of the activity and the intensity of land use stay important while the absence of any visual climax or dignifying

object says unimportance. "The labelling of an object in the cityscape as a landmark is itself a 'reading', an imparting of value and meaning to a sign within an ideological framework" (Wirth-Nesher. 1998:113);

- Emphasise diversity – for intimate landmarks, distinction of use and a statement about the importance of differences are of the essence (Jacobs. 1979: 400);
- Make areas important and invite the newcomer to the city (Jacobs. 1979:397). Wirth-Nesher (1998:112) states that landscapes are read against the knowledge of more familiar places, as tourist and the immigrant attempt to familiarise themselves with a new place by translating it into their own terms.

The city is made up of different elements that contribute to the form of that city. Jacobs (1979:390) states that a city's structure consists of uses, secrets and diversities. Physical elements of city images that contribute to physical form include:

1. "Paths – channels among which the observer customarily or

occasionally moves (streets, walkways). For many people these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related";

2. Edges – linear element, not used/considered as paths by the observer. They are boundaries between two phases, shores maybe barriers;
3. Districts – Medium to large sections of the city, recognised as having two dimensional extents, having a common identifying character. Exterior reference visible from the outside;
4. Nodes – are strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter and which are the foci to and from which a person is travelling. These may be junctions, crossings, concentrations which will gain their importance from being the condensation of some use or physical character. Concentration nodes are thus the focus of a district; and

5. Landmarks – buildings, attracting the visitor's eye. It can also be mountains such as the case with Table Mountain in Cape Town (Lynch. 1975: 47-48).

The Renaissance Centre, Detroit.

"The environment is an assembly of natural and built features, many of which have become rich in symbolic importance. The 'icons' are features invested with values that confirm our sense of order and identity. The 'aliens' threaten the icons and hence our investment in the icons values. The threats may take the form of extinction, as when landmark buildings are demolished to make way for office towers, or contamination as billboards are strewn along scene vistas" – John Castonis^{xxvii} (1989). Detroit has suffered more than most American cities. The central business district has been deserted for the suburbs. The Renaissance centre was built in the downtown area to bring back life. It was built for the Ford Motor Company next to the river. This created a landmark, but did nothing to the area; or to genuine renewal, partly due to the design (Hunt. 2001:28). According to Lynch (1977)

successful city's legibilities is determined by the relative ease with which city dwellers acquire a mental map, primarily through the availability of visual landmarks, whether accepted or not.

An ugly landmark

The El Borg Hotel in Cairo has received many negative reviews. 'It is an intellectual insult and it destroys the dignity of Cairo's skyline' (Raafat. 2001:10). But this hotel, though it may be ugly, succeeded in becoming a landmark, and people can orientate themselves with the landmark and the legibility is clear to the citizen. Legibility is defined by the Brisbane City Council (2002) as the visual clarity of a city scape, thus the ease with which city's parts can be recognised and be organised into a



Figure 72: The El Borg hotel in Cairo. Many residents believe that this building destroys the dignity of Cairo's skyline.

coherent environment. Lynch (1975:2) states that the “visual quality of a city is determined by the apparent clarity of the urban scope. This means how easily the parts can be read and organized”. Because of legibility it is important that one must not just consider the city as a thing itself but the perception of the city by their inhabitants. Hollywood would, for example, be nothing without the actors. Thus a clear image is a useful basis for individual growth.

9.4] WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENTS

Urban waterfronts have undergone cycles of change over the decades, where the latest pattern is to convert major areas of industrial, shipping and transportation uses to more public endeavours. Breen, et al, (1994:10) note that waterfronts represent the water’s edge in cities and towns of all sizes. The water body may be a river, lake, ocean or canal. A number of factors led cities to begin to discover and seize the opportunities presented by water tracts. It serves as an environmental cleanup, due to various environmental movements and policies, thus introducing of the culture of preservation and the post-modernistic

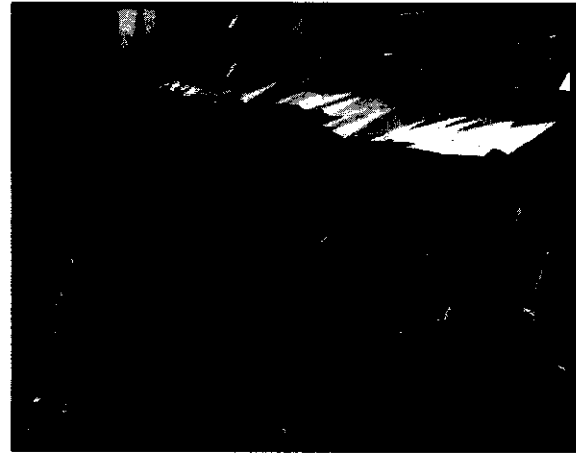


Figure 73: A popular waterfront destination in Australia with a strong mix of leisure activities.

idea of recreating the past. Breen, et al, (1994:17) states that tourism also gets boosted by it because of the new-found attraction of waterfronts.

Today almost any city with a water frontage is doing something about revitalising its waterfront. This process does not include only port cities but also lakes (Hoyle. 2000:395), rivers, dams and in some cases swimming pools (the failed Zambezi Waterfront in Pretoria).

The Albert Dock

The Albert Dock opened in 1846 it soon became a treasure house of precious cargoes from all over the world, which is a truly stunning architectural triumph.. Today redevelopment, costing in excess of £100 million, has transformed it into one of Liverpool's busiest and most cosmopolitan centres and a top heritage

attraction (The Albert Dock Company, 2001).

The redevelopment scheme has created new galleries, provides more space for education activities and events and has improved visitor facilities. There is a new auditorium, seminar rooms, hospitality rooms and corporate entertainment facilities. There are also dedicated information areas for visitors to learn more about the work and artists on show (Tate, 2003)

uShaka Island Project

A new waterfront development project is being built in South Africa. This time it is in Durban. This is the second time, since the previous one was just an attraction for crime and shady businesses. The aims of the uShaka project, according to the Durban Metro Council (2003) is:

- To increase tourist arrivals to Durban;
- To inject additional revenue into the local economy;
- To rejuvenate the Point, which has become a neglected precinct;
- To explore the linkages between the theme park and Durban's

beachfront, particularly along the southern stretches which are in a state of deterioration as a public amenity; and

- To serve as a primary catalyst to urban regeneration.

Another waterfront is also to be built, claiming that they are the first to be situated near the docks and is known as Wilson's Wharf development (Durban Metropolitan Council, 2003). This all seems to be too much for one place since waterfronts require a huge catchment area. Maybe the success of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront is the catalyst for other wanting-to-be waterfronts. But what must be remembered is that Cape Town has a global landmark, Table Mountain, Durban does not.

9.5] CITY MARKETING

While the marketing of urban places has been practiced since the nineteenth century (Ward, 1998), the "importance and intensity of this activity has increased in the last thirty years as urban places have found themselves in an increasingly competitive environment" (Warnaby et al. 2001). Competition for residents, inward investment and tourism revenues at

various spatial scales has intensified (e.g. Kotler, *et al.*, 1993,1999; Ward, 1998; van den Berg and Braun. 1999). This has led to a number of significant implications for the organisation and management of urban places as public sector administrations have had to modify their traditional *modus operandi* and share responsibility for the management of the urban place with a wider range of (especially private sector) stakeholders. Another significant implication is the application of marketing principles to urban places as they seek to develop some form of competitive advantage that is as sustainable as possible in order to compete more effectively in these new conditions. This expansion of activities has been mirrored by academic interest in the marketing of urban places, particularly in the disciplines of geography, political theory and sociology, where there is a consensus that marketing principles are applicable (with modification) to urban places (e.g. Ashworth and Voogd. 1990; Kotler *et al.*, 1993). Van den Berg and Braun state that, 'cities can learn from the marketing experiences of the business community, but at the same time need to find their own strategies and develop a tailor-made approach that suits their purposes' (1999: 998)."...cities have entered the realm of

this commodified culture and are being produced as commodities to be marketed rather than as vessels for society" - (Holcomb. 1999). The objectives of marketing the city according to Holcomb (1999) are to:

- Raise the competitive position of city;
- Attract inward investment; and
- Improve image and well-being of the population

Hall (1996) believes that to "ensure any level of sustained investment, and hence economic survival, it has become essential that individual cities assert themselves through the creation of unique urban identities". South African cities have been introduced to this ideal. Great examples are Cape Town promoting itself as the Mother City or Johannesburg as the City of Gold. The purpose of marketing a city, according to Smyth (1994:2) is to create strategies to promote an area or the entire city for certain activities and in some cases to sell parts of the city for living, consuming and productive activities. The process of city marketing begs the question of what do we want to see, in other words what concepts or ideas would involve the public to make the marketing process

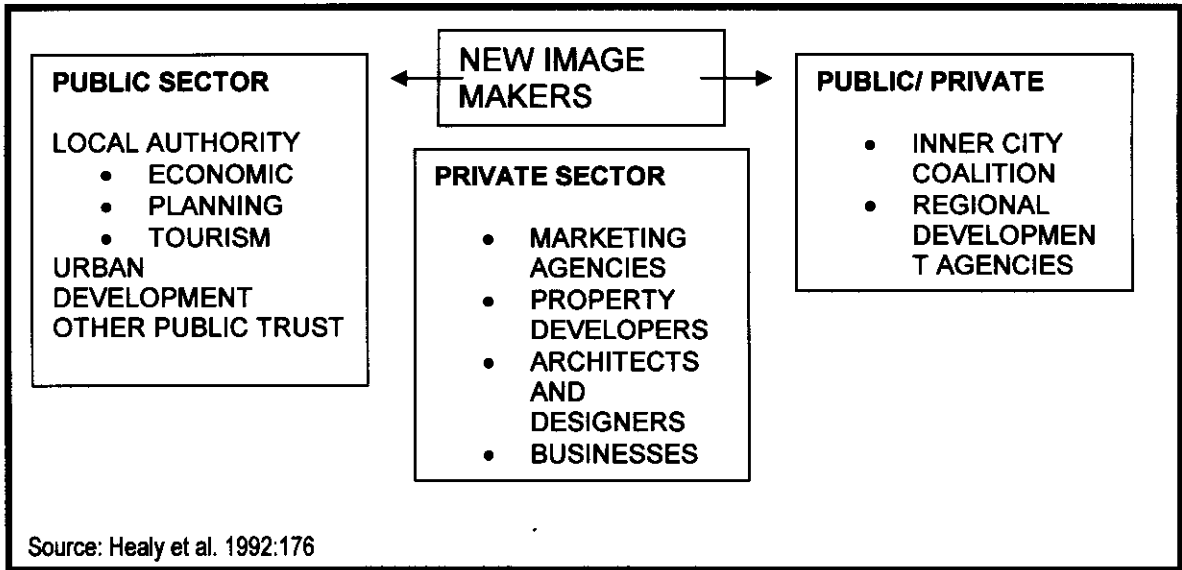


Figure 74: Public and Private sector involvement in city marketing.

successful. City marketing is a process while in its early stages it has no clear end in sight and the form that it will take will be influenced by events happening in the future.

9.5.1] THE IMPORTANCE OF MARKETING

"Marketing plays a particularly important role in urban tourism" (Holcomb, 1999). Since the beginning of time cities have competed for resources, activities and residents. In South Africa that can be seen in for example, Pretoria versus Johannesburg over the issue of whose city is the most liveable. Cities compete not just locally but globally, and they therefore need a comparative advantage over the others.

There are several agencies involved in marketing the city. The partnerships between public and private are of great importance. (See figure 74). The public sector should promote the city through their various departments of which tourism is the most important. The private sector should also create public private partnerships and should thus involve businessmen and designers. Holcomb (1999) notes that tourism's role in urban regeneration: creates a 'virtuous circle of growth': additional visitors + improved image = economic development + increased confidence, environmental improvement, more visitors, a further enhanced image, inter alia.

'The very name "Johannesburg" paints a dark picture. A dry industrial city flagged by ugly mine dumps, a legacy from when

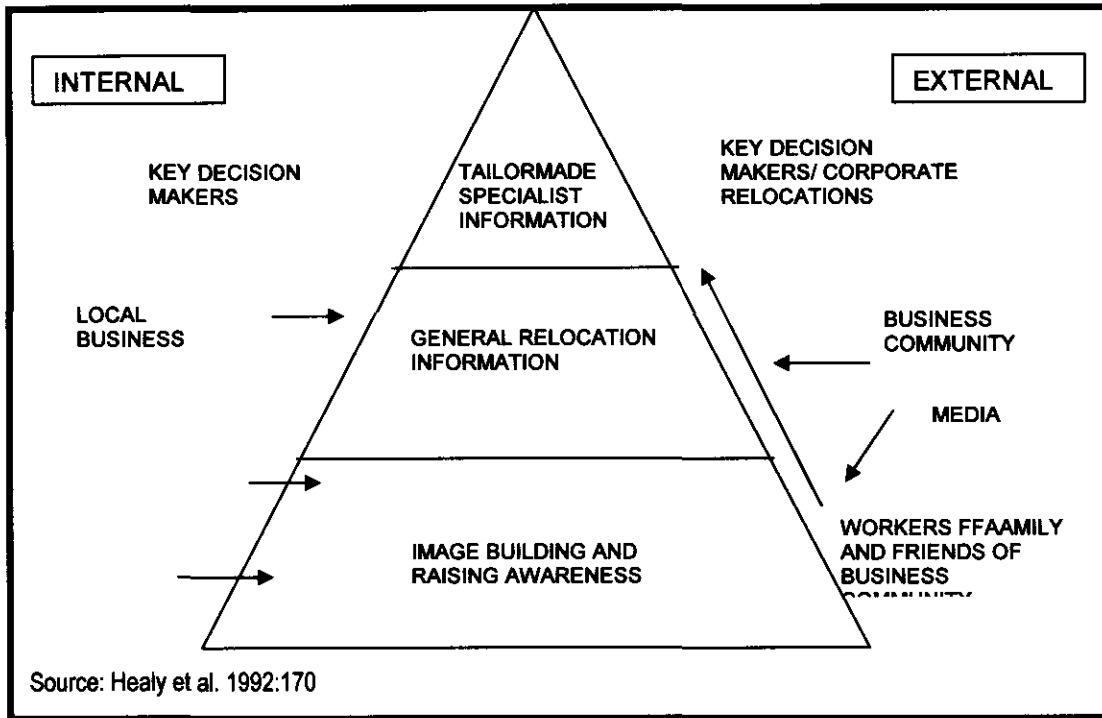


Figure 75: Internal and external involvement in city marketing.

the gold-diggers swept into town and plundered the earth for its riches. A city with an unhappy history of segregation and brutality, of injustice and strife. A city notorious for one of the highest crime rates in the world. So feeling like lambs to the slaughter we arrived with our small son expecting the worst, but got the best' – Claire Norrish 2003.

The connection between image and marketing is one of the most important in the city marketing field. What would Paris be without the Eiffel Tower, or London without the Big Ben? Environmental psychology is one of the key factors. According to Gold, et al, (1994) "environmental psychology is the conceptual basis of place imagery, how

we perceive the external environment and react to it". Holcomb (1999) adds that 'mental processing' of the information that the world emits our senses can only take on board a small amount of information and through cognitive processes create a mental image of a place, including key significant objects used to signify feelings/a state of mind. Images are transmitted through the communication process, e.g. by advertising, direct marketing (mail), personal selling, public relationships (visits, e.g. gymnasts and ballet from Russia, visiting musicians from Vienna).

Gold, et al, (1994) state that cities should promote their 'enduring images': Some cities have greater comparative

advantage and a clear image, e.g. Paris: romance; Venice: culture; Las Vegas: night life; Sydney: sports, Barcelona: architecture. Others are less fortunate, or even have a negative image to overcome.

The word image can mean many things. An image can be a physical likeness, and it can be a mental representation, or even a symbolic and metaphorical embodiment. The term imaging as it is understood here involves actors and actions concerned with transforming all of these kinds of meanings. City imaging, in this sense, is the process of constructing visually-based narratives about the potential of places. This media-enriched image-building process involves not only place-based and form-based visions but also strategies for economic opportunity and environmental stewardship. Place promotion transcends economic-grounded efforts to attract new investment; it is also a strategy for reinforcing (or reconstructing) city image (King, 1996). As such, it always matters who builds these images, for which reasons, and for whom. Image-building efforts encompass not only changes to the built environment but also encode broad conceptual orientations; image-making is about finding new ways (and

new technologies) to represent and promote cleaner environments, better communities, and socio-economic progress, yet images may also serve to mask or perpetuate existing inequalities. Images may be promoted in service of some broad "public good," but they are also subject to extreme manipulation by market forces that resist any such wider efforts to plan (King, 1996). As Ward and Gold put it, Economical instability, restructuring and an acceleration of the international mobility of capital have caused many regions to lose the traditional sources of employment that gave them their primary identity. At the same time, individual national governments have retreated from their former interventionist strategies. Taken together, these forces have fragmented the traditional planning approach as the main agency shaping and managing the processes of spatial change and left a vacant policy niche within which local promotional activity has flowered (Ward and Gold, 1994: 8).

In the marketing process there should be several groups that play an important role, targeted (figure 75). The internal group represent the community, or the small town. The external group represent the city close to the area. The two groups

are dependent on each other, without the big city the 'rumours' of the small town's treasures nobody would know of their existence. The media must help to raise awareness of the town in the town and the bigger city. The aim of marketing a city according to Smyth (1994:21) is to advertise the city as having a competitive edge for inward investment; to create the demand therefore and to offer the surrounding areas as one of the potential locations within the city itself.

Flagship development has been cited as something significant. They are high profile developments that play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration, which can be justified if they attract other investments (Bianchini, et al., 1992). According to Smyth (1994:5) flagship developments comprise the following elements: first it is a "development in its own right, which may or may not be self-sustaining; secondly, a marshalling point for future development/investment and lastly, marketing tools for an area or city". Another role that flagships invest in is the exploration and development of marketing concepts for a project and thus for a city.

Los Angeles

"The Los Angeles city officials are increasingly turning to marketing consultants to assist them in repackaging and selling a city's image. This resulted in a marketing-led approach to city promotion, embracing techniques and strategies adapted from the world of product marketing, rather than merely promoting a location. The new wave of image campaigns are characterised by complex marketing strategies based on an audit of the city's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and competitions linked into a comprehensive economic development programme" (Healy, et al., 1992:175).

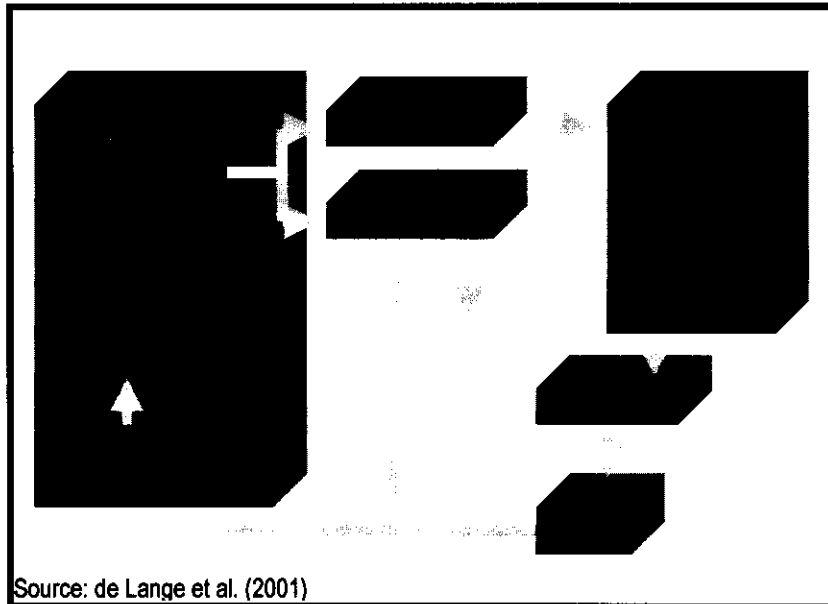
City officials and several business owners are dedicated to the regeneration of the Cape Town central city by developing, managing and promoting it as a premier international destination for business, investment, retail, entertainment and leisure. Their aim is the improvement of the urban environment, while marketing the central city of Cape Town as a globally competitive city with a truly world-class product offering (Relph, 1989:2).

When designing the marketing process (figure 76) it is important to weigh the

pros and constraints with each other. Those will be determined by the demand and the strategy to be followed. Cape Town Global competitiveness is about:

in which the company is headquartered); and

- Focus on cities rather than countries (Farr. 2002:5)



Source: de Lange et al. (2001)

Figure 76: The marketing process

- International and national perception about the Central business district;
- Increase in safety and cleaning services;
- Establishing central improvement districts, thus the taking of product to water;
- Changing in trends such as desegregation (major multinational companies deciding that certain core functions could be conducted in cities there than

According to a recent survey, undertaken by Researches Market Decisions, more Capetonians than ever are shopping, banking and wanting to live in the Cape central business district. This is mainly due to an improved environment for retail trade by increasing both security and cleansing through the City Improvement Districts and marketing initiatives (Weaver. 2002).

9.6] GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

The shared vision that many seek but rarely find belongs not only to the local area of a specific port city or a familiar urban waterfront but to the global environment we all share (Hoyle. 2000:395). Cities prosper not by copying imported schematic models, but by playing to their own historical strengths... today's policy-makers would do far better to learn some lessons in fostering civic pride from what one Victorian author termed 'the age of great cities' (Hunt. 2000:33). A city should be like itself. Every city has differences, from its history, to its site and so on. These are important. One of the most dismal things is when you go to a city and it is like twelve other you have seen (Steigerwald. 2001:48). Cities are made up of a complex mix of physical, economic and social resources. A successful business sector is only one element, thus a viable business community in a city does not mean that everybody is provided for.

9.7] CONCLUSION

As stated previously, there is a degree of consensus that a 'special type of

marketing' is needed to accentuate the specific characteristics of urban places.

The characteristics of urban places (as a 'product' comprising a holistic entity developed from a set of contributory elements), and their management, mean that marketing is conducted through a complex, interlocking web of formal and informal relationships between various agencies responsible for these individual product elements (e.g. retail provision, tourism, inward investment etc.). The involvement of both public and private sector urban stakeholders is crucial. Indeed, such joint working may be a precondition for marketing agencies' ability to attract funding for their activities from various national and supranational funding regimes. However, the building of consensus between stakeholders with potentially very different outlooks, organisational cultures, *modus operandi*, and methods of evaluating performance in order to plan and implement marketing activities is a factor that most for-profit organisations would not have to contend with. The potential for tension and conflict is very real, and various examples of tensions were provided by respondents. Another crucial factor is the financial imperative. This impacts critically on the ability of agencies to plan and implement

marketing programmes. Investigation of these implications is an area that has been unduly neglected by management, yet the potential scope for research is huge, and is set to grow as place marketing continues to become an increasingly important activity for many urban places.

CHAPTER 10



10.] THE ECONOMIC CITY

targeted to sites/zones and expressed via projects/enterprises (Healy et al. 1992:18)

10.1] INTRODUCTION

People believe that if they solve the 'problem' of traffic, the city problems would be solved, but there are many more economic and social concerns to a city than just the traffic (Jacobs. 1979). One of the most important factors in 'keeping the city alive' is that of money. Money makes the world go round. The instruments involved in economic regeneration are those that of local economic development, urban agriculture and enterprise zones. Cities do not automatically generate diversity just by existing; they generate it because of the various efficient economic pools of use that they form (Jacobs. 1979:160).

10.2] ECONOMIC REGENERATION

The urban regeneration strategies that exist throughout the world is targeted to local/urban economies, via property development, through private enterprises

Wilheim (2002) states that South Africa is a place and a "context in which it is possible to make or remake a living, to grow both economically and socially". The Mayivuka project was one of the pilot projects to 'resuscitate' Johannesburg (Radebe. 1999). Radebe (1999) added that the economy impacts on every aspect of human life and is thus having a major impact on urban regeneration. Flagships are seen as one of the projects to commit economic regeneration. This however is only mirages. The dream of flagships in the centre of town, where all the money goes, but when you get there, there is nothing going on, as was seen in the case of the proposed Pretoria lake development. "The economic activity level is influenced by the changing patterns of demands from occupiers in a region (user demand), thus developing new demands or different demands" (Healy et al. 1992:6).

Galeshewe, Kimberly

Galeshewe is one of the 'labour reservoirs' created by the apartheid regime. This area is located within the area of the Sol Plaatje Municipality

(Kimberley) and has the common traits of 'townships' in South Africa. The principles for the development summed up by the Galeshewe regeneration force is to:

- "Create effective participation and integration into the urban fabric and society of Sol Plaatje, to ensure economic and social activities for the upliftment of society;
- To create economic areas that allow for wealth creation, employment and skilled occupations;
- To create social and psychological characteristics includes privacy, a sense of place, ownership and pride; and
- To create an environment that allows society to be caught within a 'future time orientation' or an ability to plan for the future in the knowledge that their present day living conditions will improve" (van der Molen, et al., 2002).

Van der Molen et al (2002) further add that no implementation would be possible if the local community were not involved. To achieve any level of success in

renewing Galeshewe, the implementation process has to be people-driven. The community can contribute in ensuring the sustainability of their urban environment, the policing of their streets and in the provision of labour during construction of specific projects. A sense of ownership and pride need to fostered, through involvement of the community in establishing a pleasant urban environment.

Creating sustainable local districts increases levels of safety such as local people active in their daily lives that keep streets safe. Local districts promote safety through community and not safety through isolation. This is a much more sustainable method of achieving the goal of a secure living environment. This security promotes confidence to developers to invest, making Galeshewe more sustainable. A contribution to the quality and safety of the environment can be made by facing buildings towards the street. A vital component of public safety is the level of activity on the street as well as directly adjacent to where people walk.

Streets are vibrant when they are interesting and safe. They are safer when people inside can watch over those outside. They are more safe when those outside feel some contact with people in



the adjacent building. The ground floors of buildings should be active with entrances and windows opening directly onto the street. If buildings have a positive relationship with the street, with activity at ground floor, the public realm is made active and therefore safer.

10.3] CRIME AND ECONOMIES

"City centres need more than shoppers and leisure visitors, they need residents to make them safe, vibrant areas, and this can be achieved if people can be persuaded that central inner cities are attractive places in which to live and work. This is the challenge" (Oc. 2000:364). Many social scientists have thought that alleviating poverty will alleviate crime. However, in the early 21st century, this thesis stands on shaky ground since it is a controversial issue and many people do not acknowledge the link between poverty and crime (Lehrer. 2000:91). Lehrer states that nearly half of inner-city entrepreneurs believed perceptions of crime kept business out of the inner city, while around a quarter cited crime itself as a major consideration. From this one can assume that if crime falls, the new profit seeking businesses would come back to

the inner-city, attracting other business to come as well, thus filling the gap.

It is believed that crime is a reaction to unemployment, this is however the start of a cycle because crime creates unemployment. In the 1980s Miami suffered a sharp decline in investment when the crime rate caused many residents to relocate outside the city. This called for something to be done (Lewis. 1999:62). Today, due to the success of the economic regeneration programme, people are flocking back.

Less crime means safer evening hours and, as a result more time for activities ranging from summer camps to sewing classes or just the traditional shopping and thus contributing to the economy (Lehrer. 2000:91). Lehrer (2000:91) also believes that in neighbourhoods community organizations provide more services when crime decreases. Safer neighbourhoods enable residents to spend more time participating in community activities to focus on issues other than crime. In addition people with middle-class values feel their position strengthened when crime rates fall.

Alexandra, Gauteng

The Alexandra Renewal Project seeks to fundamentally upgrade living conditions and human development potential within Alexandra by substantially reducing levels of unemployment through local economic development initiatives. The project will also create a clean and healthy environment through service provision (Mkhalali, 2000). The Alexandra Renewal Project seeks to stimulate income-generating opportunities for the economically active population of Alexandra, so as to reduce unemployment by 20 per cent or more within 7 years. In this way it is envisaged that poverty in the area will be substantially reduced through local economic development initiatives such as adult training classes and better community involvement in improvement projects. It is also the aim of the project to work against the crime in the area through funds generated through the economic projects.

The Alexandra Renewal Project seeks to create a safe and secure environment with sufficient policing, criminal justice and emergency services equipment and capacity, so that rates of serious crime and violence are at least 50% below the

current levels at the end of the 7 year period. According to Mkhalali (2002) it will be achieved through:

- “Increasing operational equipment and human resource capacity for the police and emergency services;
- Supporting the establishment of an effective metropolitan policing presence in the Alexandra area;
- Reviewing and if necessary supporting the upgrading of the criminal justice system’s capacities in relation to the Alexandra area;
- Reviewing and upgrading the disaster management plan;
- Enhancing community involvement in safety and security;
- Undertaking an education campaign to encourage a respect for life and support of the policing services and emergency services; and

- Providing sensitive and sufficient victim support services”

Dome Village, Los Angeles

Initiated by Ted Hayes, Justiceville was born in January 1985 during the time of a conservative controlled Federal government. It began as a shantytown in the heart of Central City East, (Skid Row) that was kept tidy and organised by 74 or 75 residents of men, women, children, of ethnic diversity. The Dome Village resulted because of the difficulties of finding appropriate housing and not sleeping on the streets.

The architectural structure of Dome Village is a powerful visual statement forcing all who see it to confront inhumanity. Dome Village offers a structural alternative for homeless people. The domes, built with funds donated by the public are used as a stabilizing tool to provide affordable transitional housing which is non-threatening to the chronic homeless person or to the neighbouring community. The domes are maintained by a team of people living there, they also serve as a selection panel that approves new residents. The residents must work

in and around the domes, for example plant vegetables. They always try to create a positive and innovative approach to housing homeless people.

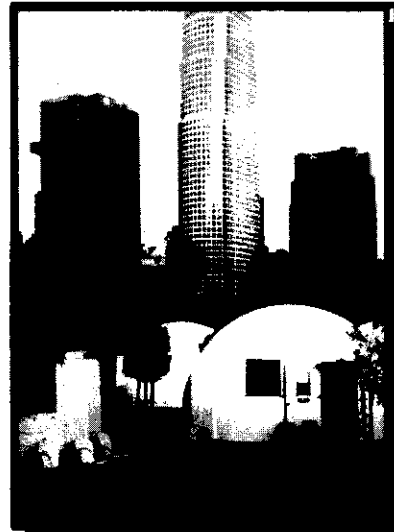


Figure 77: The Dome Village is built on an unused parking lot with temporary house structures on it.

Blue IQ

The Blue IQ is a multi-billion rand initiative of the Gauteng provincial government to invest in “economic infrastructure development in identified mega-projects in the areas of tourism, technology, transport and high value-added manufacturing” (Johannesburg City Council. 2003). The majority of these projects are located in Johannesburg, and the rest in Midrand and Pretoria.

The result of the strategies of the Blue IQ project is to promote the Gauteng province as a true technology haven. The strategies are aimed at:

- creating high value-added manufacturing – a shift away from heavy industries to smart industries;
- enabling Gauteng to be the smart province of South Africa – thus creating an environment where businesses can thrive; and
- developing Gauteng's service sector – uplifting the financial establishments.

Several projects are proposed and some have already started. The upgrading of Kliptown and the Johannesburg International Airport are just two of them. In seeking to attract private sector business partners for its projects, Blue IQ is especially aware of the need to recruit empowerment business entities for participation. Blue IQ recognises that the success of the programme as a whole and of the individual projects will to a large extent be determined by the level of commitment to small and medium enterprises managed and controlled by

formerly disadvantaged South Africans (Johannesburg City Council. 2003)

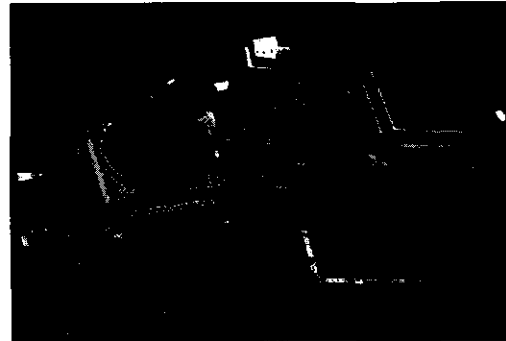


Figure 78: Battery Park is seen as an example of waterfront developments. This well planned development served as a safe haven for businesses during the 9-11 attacks.

Battery Park, New York

The land was originally an open area reserved for the batteries of cannon used to protect the city – first by the Dutch, later by the English and eventually by Americans, thus the name Battery Park. Unusually, and significantly, the master plan focuses on public places. “The aim has been to ‘create’ another neighbourhood in the New York vernacular, and after the collapse of the World Trade Centre, this was even more substantiated” (Hunt. 2001). Battery Park was developed on a cleared site and also creating a waterfront. The once run down area was successfully regenerated, and also served as a haven for businesses during the 9-11 attacks. The rubble from

the Twin Towers was also used to complete the Battery City Project.

10.4] URBAN AGRICULTURE

'Urban agriculture' is often viewed as an oxymoron. The city displaces agricultural land; it does not create it or so conventional wisdom would suggest. Yet, in cities around the world, "urban agriculture and a city's role in supporting it, has gained new prominence" (Wekerle. 2002:17). Urban agriculture, in one form or another is a fairly common feature in urban areas around the world. It fulfils a variety of roles, being a basic "element of survival in some cities and an important form of recreation in others" (Greenhow. 1994)

International bodies are advocating bringing agriculture back into towns and cities, because urban agriculture can improve food security, regenerate the environment and strengthen the urban economies. Urban farming in modern African cities is largely unrecognised and unassisted and in some places banned because of hygiene (Fao. 2003). Several factors have brought attention to the existence of urban and peri-urban agriculture in recent years: the persistent

problems of the poor, and especially the worsening conditions of the urban poor; increasing urbanisation, (Fao. 2003) especially in the developing world; recognition of non-market values produced by enjoyment of gardening and attractive surroundings; and concerns about environmental pollution and health risks posed by food production in the cities. "Peri-urban agriculture has also been the focus of distinct interests: those concerned with preserving farmland, especially in the developed world; and also those interested in community self-sufficiency and sustainable agriculture" (Nugent. 1997:1).

"Urban" agriculture, as used here, refers to small areas (e.g. vacant plots, gardens, verges, balconies, containers) within the city for growing crops and raising small livestock or milk cows for own-consumption or sale in neighbourhood markets. "Peri-urban"



Figure 78: A rooftop Garden in Toronto. Awareness is created by the public through community education and media awareness.

agriculture, as used here, refers to farm units close to town which operate intensive semi- or fully commercial farms to grow vegetables and other horticulture, raise chickens and other livestock, and produce milk and eggs (Fao. 2003).

Rooftop Garden Toronto

This organisation aims to create a rooftop gardening culture in Metropolitan Toronto through public, education, community action and media awareness. The group is made up of landscape architects, designers, engineers and urban planners (Fao. 2003). The group are committed to making Toronto's environment a greener and healthier place to live through supporting urban food production improving air quality increasing bird habitats and promoting diverse use of space. To this end they partner with community groups such as schools food security organisations, fledging enterprises and public housing initiatives to help design build and maintain rooftop gardens. The group involve the public by producing a map of rooftop gardens in Toronto and then conduct tours of the urban rooftop landscape and maintain a list of professionals with expertise in building rooftop gardens (Fairholm. J. 1998).

The negative views of urban agriculture are that the environment steadily degrades owing to the waste which is not managed efficiently. Constraints of waste reuse urban farming is that health is critical and the official attitudes (Okpala. 1999:21). In Dar-es-Salaam urban farming is the largest employer in the city. In Lusaka, Zambia, urban farming is so effective that the city has been described as the 'world capital of urban cultivation' (Okpala. 1999:21).

Contributions of urban agriculture are that it has the potential to provide many benefits to cities such as income generation and environmental enhancement (Greenhow. 1994). Thus the ecosystem benefits from "hydrologic systems, biodiversity and air quality that can replace some of what the urban systems destroy" (Nugent. 1997:4). Urban agriculture also promotes sustainable development by reducing the vulnerability of the world's urban populations to global ecological change (Rees. 1997). City farming improves the aesthetics of the city by increasing the 'green spaces' in an otherwise concrete landscape and also provides recreational opportunities for those who work the land (Nugent. 1997). The youth are involved in

the process and many unemployment issues can be solved, the youth will see a better quality of life and not turn to the streets. The solution to youth problems is **W O R K**. They acquire self-esteem, stay busy, feel useful, learn self-discipline and earn money. Gardening has been found by San Antonio, Texas to be the most effective solution to the youth gang problem. It is much more effective than sports. Records show that after students are involved in gardening that their school attendance, morale and grades improve. Gang activity decreases sharply in neighbourhoods where the youth are engaged in gardening. Mini-ranching will be even more effective with some youth and it can be done in the city (Hargesheimer. 2000). It is possible, through urban agriculture, to restore organic nutrients to the soil and continue to utilize them to produce the food needed for urban consumption. By reusing waste to increase local food production, cities move towards a measure of sustainability (Nelson, 1996: 14). Other contributions of urban agriculture can be income to the producers and the employment of low-skilled or unemployed residents.

Urban Agriculture has inherent health risks in that drinking water become

contaminated. There is also ecological degradation (soil depletion, potential groundwater contamination). Financial issues such as the infrastructure requirements or retooling of existing systems (Fao. 2003).

10.5] LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the early 1980s, in response to growing problems of unemployment caused by economic restructuring and industrial decline in old industrial areas, a number of United Kingdom local authorities, in London, the West Midlands and Yorkshire especially, began to initiate new Local Economic Development initiatives (Geddes. 1999).

In many poor areas, the promotion of community economic development has assumed increasing importance as a complementary strategy to mainstream Local Economic Development policies (Macfarlane, 1997). "The promotion of co-operatives and community enterprise, credit unions, intermediate labour market schemes, local exchange and trading systems and support for informal economic activity are seen by some as steps towards a more significant 'third sector' or 'social economy' distinct from either the public or private sectors"

(Bauhaus Dessau Foundation. 1996). In particular, community businesses have been established to provide services such as housing renovation and environmental improvements in depressed neighbourhoods, thus creating local employment while meeting needs.

Shearman (1998:5) states "that in the context of globalisation and international markets, locality and 'place' are assuming increasing not diminishing significance. The following key factors must be achieved in realising competitiveness: Concepts, Competences, Connections, Community, Creativity, Culture, Content, Capital, Capacity and Courtesy" (the 12 Cs as stated by Shearman. 1998). Communities are important but they must be open to new people and ideas, and find a way too of reconciling differing interests, needs, values and lifestyles. This is a point which will be explored when looking at the 10 'Cs'. "The economic activity of land and property development is ultimately locked into this contemporary dialectic between globalising and localising forces" (Healy, et al., 1992:6).

In her book 'World Class: Thriving Locally in the Global Economy', Harvard Professor Moss Kantor (12) notes how:

"..increasingly, the daily skirmishes of globalisation are being played out not at international summit conferences or in conglomerate boardrooms, but in local town halls and small business conference rooms. A new wave of social concerns and a growing desire for community spirit have come in the wake of economic change. Once focused primarily on the competitiveness of large business corporations, leaders are more and more concerned about the strength of communities and the competitiveness of cities, states and regions."

Globalisation, Kanter suggests, offers unprecedented opportunities on the local level - to rejuvenate old businesses and grow new ones, to create new jobs-to revitalise communities and to develop the cosmopolitan towns and cities of the future. This process though is a two-way street. At the very least, businesses must become more actively involved in their communities, and communities must actively develop those amenities and resources that will encourage global businesses to feel at home - and to stay there. South Africa's return to the global economy in the 1990s has exposed its

society and space economy to the twin forces of globalism and localism. The simultaneous democratisation of our society has sanctioned previously unknown levels of public participation in planning and development. One of the most obvious manifestations of these changes is the rise in prominence of the concept known as 'local economic development' or Local Economic Development (Nel, 2000:148). Although Local Economic Development is a difficult concept to define, Local Economic Development - type ideas are now enshrined in the national Constitution and various important policy documents in South Africa, including the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Local Government White Paper. Hence Local Economic Development is progressively featuring in the actions of community and non-governmental organizations and in the sanctioning and support of Local Economic Development by provincial and national.

Globalisation has been relentlessly on the march, particularly after the 'historical divide' of the 1970s (Martin, 1988). Together with the associated ever expanding hold of multi-national

corporations, Americanisation and gradual cultural homogenisation, globalisation has come to affect all nations on earth to a greater or lesser degree. However, whilst the notion of national borders has become more fluid, in many instances the notion of the 'localness' of social, class and employment issues and conflicts has drawn increased support (Massey, 1991).

Local Economic Development is mediated in South Africa and elsewhere by local crises and opportunities. In cities, according to Rogerson (1997), Local Economic Development can develop along four distinctive lines:

- cities as centres of production, i.e. the promotion of business and manufacturing,
- cities as centres of consumption, i.e. the promotion of leisure, tourism and recreation activities,
- cities as centres of information processing and decision making, i.e. corporate headquarters, high-technology and information industry, and
- cities as centres for government surplus, i.e. centres which seek government investment and

functions to drive their local economies.

catalyse and support local initiatives.

Four variants of Local Economic Development currently feature in South Africa (Nel, 1998):

- Formal local government initiatives, which parallel traditional western thinking and, to a large degree, overlap with government thinking on the topic as detailed in its Local Government White Paper.
- Community-based/small town initiatives which often develop as a result of non-governmental organisation facilitation and support. Overlap with the government's Rural Development Framework (Republic of South AfricaSA, 1997) is evident.
- Section 21 development corporations, i.e. companies that promote local development within a selected spatial area, but 'not for gain'.
- 'Top-down' Local Economic Development in which government, usually at the provincial level, and/or various national organisations attempt to

It is, however, important not to focus only at one end of the spectrum. People do not have to be poor or unemployed to aim projects at them. There is a huge advantage that can be taken from the technology and industrial sector. The money that is generated from them can then be ploughed back in the community, thus making it more sustainable over the long run.

Eastern Belfast

Many government-inspired initiatives and fiscal incentives aimed at encouraging urban regeneration have resulted in 'top down' imposed solutions. These include Urban Development Corporations which, in spite of being successful in many respects, can be criticised for failing to provide local residents with the types of employment and facilities which they require (Syms, 2000). Another example may be seen as Enterprise Zones. Some of these, for example London Docklands, produced an over supply of office accommodation which could only be filled through the developers agreeing to accept responsibility for the existing lease

of the tenants they tempted out of existing office locations.

Community led regeneration, on the other hand, seeks to identify the needs of the local community and to involve the community in the regeneration process, adopting a 'bottom-up' approach. This is of particular importance in areas which are unattractive to conventional developers, perhaps because they suffer from extreme social deprivation or, in the case of Belfast, sectarian violence. In such situations private sector developers may be unwilling to become involved in regeneration even with government subsidies.

10.6] CONCLUSION

If one wants to improve the regional environments we must also improve ourselves, that is, we must change our minds and alter our objectives, advancing from a money economy to a life economy: in many matters we must acquire new values, new sensitivities and new interests (Mumford. 1968:13).

Improvement Districts provide a chance to find local solutions by making places safer, cleaner and more vibrant, empowering people and improving

linkages, important functions in our urban environments which require a redefinition of responsibility and urban quality. Currently, we are in a destructive cycle – infrastructure does not evolve due to inadequate/mismanagement of funds, congestion increases, the public environment visibly declines, illegal activity proliferates in this decayed environment, local government has insufficient resources to tackle these issues, private sector tries but gives up because of delays. Nothing but slow erosion and degradation takes place, threatening values and the cities' rates base. All this ultimately ends up as Poor City.

CHAPTER 11

11.] CONCLUSIONS

Through the case studies it was shown that:

11.1] INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study was to investigate possible strategies for urban regeneration by using theory and case studies to determine how they could be implemented in South Africa. Several factors that affect the sustainability of urban areas have been identified and the relevance on South African urban areas was investigated. It is within the context of this study that the following strategies are recommended for urban regeneration in South Africa.

11.2] SUMMARY OF ISSUES IDENTIFIED

The results of the literature study, case study reviews and investigation into South African urban areas were drawn together in a series of key issues to be addressed by the strategies. These are set out below, firstly as contextual issues, followed by strengths, weaknesses and constraints.

- Several negative changes have been occurring in South Africa in recent years;
- due to a lack of South African identity, it was found that there needs to be to be a coherent identity and image for city centres;
- there is a need for development that insures a positive impact on important public sites, as public places were found to be the catalyst for urban social and economic life;
- South Africa's urban areas need to retain its position as a major focus of the regional economy and invite the global arena of technology into its urban areas;
- it was identified that the marketing influence of other cities and non-urban areas has become increasingly competitive;
- the city must maintain the ability to offer a high quality of life to its residents and sustain it without urban decay taking place;
- city centres lack social and cultural activities and therefore

need to develop a sense of place; and

- development should be based on sustainable principles.

11.3] THEMES IN URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES

11.3.1] ACKNOWLEDGING THE CITY

Often when travelling into South African urban areas no notification is given to the effect that a viewer may be entering an urban area. Although it can be seen by the change of the landscape, it is not widely celebrated. By recognising where gateways into the central area exist or should be created, development and physical re-structuring can be encouraged. Gateway components such as celebrated entrances, landmarks such as waterfalls should aim to: provide identity and meaning to the arrival experience (clearly crossing a threshold of scale), exhibit an intensity of the desired activity and exploit the role of bridges, structures and architecture to provide a distinctive focus or transition that reinforces the identity of the city.

11.3.2] THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The idea behind public participation is that it creates the feeling of working together for the good of the community thus a feeling of "ubuntu". It is based on a bottom up approach that includes all spheres of government and the public. In Europe and America the process is implemented with great success. In South Africa the process has not yet been what it should be. Although public participation has been introduced to the public, not much awareness is created among the publics and where there should be participation, there is little.

The problem in South Africa is that the idea behind public participation is noble, but taking into account its history and status quo, it is not working. Due to the current educational differences between people in the South African society, communication gaps often develop between the public and the developer/government. The academic view on public participation is that it is a necessity, and the answer to public integration, yet due to cultural differences in South Africa it is not always practical

because of the conflicting issues adding to the problems of illiteracy.

The goals of the people involved (government and public) are also not always the same and can cause conflict. The government may see something that is necessary and consider it to be the right initiative, whilst, the public may not necessarily buy in to that process. This can delay the process or even cause it to fall apart resulting in the developer/government doing what they originally wanted to do in any case, or just abandoning the proposed project or idea. It must, however, be noted that this can also take place the other way around because the government is not always right.

An effort should be made to implement public participation in the process of urban regeneration, but only to an extent. It should be remembered that illiteracy is an important fact in the South African society, especially at grassroots levels and that it has to be taken into account when projects and ideas are implemented in such communities.

11.3.3] TARGETING THE CULTURAL MARKET

Culture is the shared values of a community as manifested by its lifestyle, habits and activities, which evolved over generations. South Africa, as with any other country in the world, has a variety of cultures. Various attempts have been made to introduce the public to other cultures and to respect them. However, to combine different cultures and enforce them on people is a route less taken. As stated earlier, culture is passed from one generation to another. Culture cannot be changed overnight. Yet, there is no need for separate development strategies, rather develop places that cater for each individual. This may be a difficult process, but South Africa needs to develop a South African identity, with which everybody can identify because at this stage there is no common identity.

Plato argued that there are three classes (bronze, silver and gold) in a society and that this cannot be changed. It has been argued throughout this study that a change in the urban environment or on the factors affecting it, creates problems such as urban decay or violence in the urban environment. South Africa must

accept the fact that there are classes and that the phenomenon will be with us for a long time to come. All efforts should be made to improve the situation. However, it is the role of planners to identify the different cultures that exist in our society and promotes each and everyone's identity to develop a framework in which every citizen's culture is identified and respected. It is part of the planner's duty to include these different identities in the entire urban fabric.

Community development is one of the duties of the planner in South Africa because it is important for sustainable development. Due to the country's history the education and social structures were not up to the required standard for all communities which caused the widening of the gap between rich and poor. It is up to every citizen of South Africa to strive to close this gap by standing with their communities and thus promoting community development.

11.3.4] RESCUE INFRASTRUCTURE

The legacy of apartheid left a physical mark on South Africa's towns and cities. Townships are placed on the outskirts of cities that usually house the poor and where employment is hard to find. Better

transportation links need to be established between areas that provide employment and areas that offer employment. The city must be viewed as a house and all its rooms need to be developed. It does not help if it is cold outside and one room's window cannot close. To improve the low-income areas' infrastructure or its transportation links to the other areas of the house is vital. Nothing can be gained by ignoring certain areas. Rather improve conditions in such areas and improve accessibility to them in order to improve their inhabitants' general living conditions.

11.3.5] ENRICHING THE PUBLIC REALM

High quality development has the potential to add value to its surrounding areas by virtue of views, openness and general amenities they provide (added value). However, in South Africa this does not get the full attention it deserves. This 'added value' from such an important townscape development relationship is underplayed in urban parks, for example, where buildings turn their backs on the areas. The building should invite the park as well as its

visitors to broaden their urban experience.

11.3.6] LANDMARKING URBAN AREAS



Figure 79: Table Mountain is one of South Africa's most exploited landmarks.

As already mentioned, landmarks are an important component of a **city's identity** and provide a means of recognition, orientation and navigation to the visitor and inhabitant alike. This is sometimes referred to as the city's 'legibility' (how the city is read by people on the ground) and forms an important part of what determines its legibility. The recognition and enhancement of landmarks or buildings should be explored to reflect both their historic role and perceptual importance within the city. In South Africa, landmarks are especially in need of attention. Examples of these are the Union Building, Voortrekker Monument, University of South Africa, Pontil Tower,

The Reserve Bank, Table Mountain and the Durban Golden Mile.

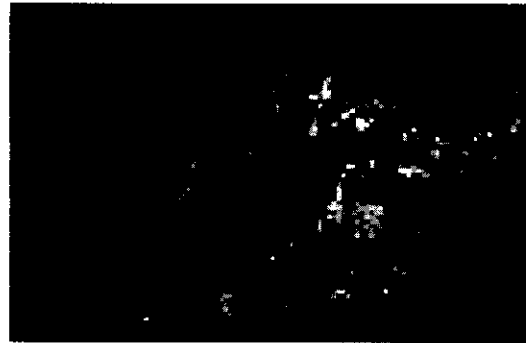


Figure 80: Durban's Golden Mile is not to the standard it is set to be. New developments around the mile will, however contribute to the scenic beauty of the area.



Figure 81: The Union Buildings is one of Pretoria's best assets, however, high crime is a threat to the possible tourist. The SAPD plays an active role in securing that the area is safe.

11.3.7] DECORATE!

The role of art (decoration) should be seen as a major attribute to any urban area. Art should not be seen as something that certain classes enjoy and it should be used as way to integrate different cultures. By and large, public art has never really enjoyed a special significance amongst South Africans. Public art is very often vandalised. The

public needs to be sensitised to appreciate the role that art can play in civic improvement and the creation of an identity for the city. In essence, public art must be made public. Developments should be more focused in including art as a vital element in any regeneration process. Artists of the surrounding areas should be involved in public art processes since the money given for their work is ploughed back into the area. When applying art elements to urban areas it is thus important that it is universal to the area and not making the urban area foreign to its inhabitants.

11.4] UTOPIAN STRATEGIES

To reach the ideal modern South African prac-topia is not as simple as it seems, since the desired utopia for the individual citizen will never be completely achieved in the collective domain. However, it was an important objective of this study to identify those strategic elements of the urban regeneration process that could help creating economically, socially, environmentally and institutionally sustainable urban areas in South Africa.

This study is based on several achievable utopias such as the fragmented city, the green city and the culture city. Several

case studies were identified in these chapters to distinguish possible strategies to assist the urban regeneration process in South Africa. Through the use of several strategies a prac-topia can be reached. It must be mentioned that a utopia will in essence never be achieved, but strategies can be used in climbing the steps towards an utopian society. There are six elements to a complete prac-topia.

11.4.1] THE FRAGMENTED CITY

To forget about the past and move onto the future is one of the most difficult goals to achieve in the process in reconciliation under all circumstances even, more so in South Africa. South Africa is a country trying to find its own identity while trying to gain international recognition. Proposed strategies for urban regeneration include:

- promoting the establishment of a true culturally acceptable South African identity by integrating the attributes of all the cultures into one;
- developing a comprehensive urban regeneration plan for all urban areas in South Africa by

not considering some areas more important than others;

- establishing an Urban Task Force network, similar to those found in England and Australia;
- placing more emphasis on urban regeneration policies and legislation;
- investigating the potential of urban regeneration legislation and its potential outcome; and
- developing set regulations for slum areas and setting up preventive measures such as economic and social programs to prevent further decay in urban areas.

The positive impact of urban regeneration is not widely acknowledged in South Africa and more investigation is needed in this area. In 1999 at a conference at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg, Jeff Radebe, Minister of Public Enterprises in South Africa spoke of the positive effects of urban regeneration and reasons for it. Two years later, decay set in in this centre which was taken over by drug lords. Possible action is currently being considered to restore the centre to its former glory. This is, however, a clear example of South Africa's dilemma, solving urban problems through words

without sufficient action. To solve the problems action must be taken.

11.4.2] THE GREEN CITY

Green areas are the lungs of urban areas. They are the communication facilitator of social networks – or so they should be. In South Africa this is not the case. Green areas are often not well maintained, usually frequented by prostitutes, drug pushers and other dangerous elements. Strategies for urban regeneration include:

- re-implementing the boulevard idea of Howard wherever possible in urban areas surrounded by concrete towers to bring life (green) back to the city;
- implementing park regeneration programmes to focus on parks in urban areas and identifying their needs and advertising their usefulness;
- establish a 'park police' force to patrol parks;
- reinforcing connections to existing open spaces in urban areas;
- making people understand that safety is one of the most important aspects of sustainable

open spaces and that attention should be given to this aspect by at all levels of government;

- treating parks as ecological conservation zones; and
- identifying valuable open spaces and establishing an natural edge around them, ensuring that no potentially degrading development takes place on them.

The potential positive influence of open spaces in urban areas has yet to be discovered in South Africa. At the moment, parks are often regarded as potential development sites. The romanticism of green areas that had existed in the past is gone. Parks seem to have become areas of concern and places of money wasting for the government. It is important that the usefulness of green areas in the city needs to be re-discovered.

11.4.3] THE PRETTY CITY

Beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Generally there are only a few cities in the world that are regarded as beautiful. They are often promoted as tourist destinations and are widely frequented by

visitors during holiday seasons. However, many inhabitants may see their city as being pretty, although outsiders may not share similar sentiments. Inhabitants of a city must feel that their surrounding areas are as they want it. Strategies for urban regeneration include:

- applying the South African identities to art features;
- developing urban design criteria that will promote the social and cultural well-being of the area and thus promoting it as a destination as well;
- establishing projects that will assist up-coming artists to explore the urban fabric;
- setting measures in implementing a sustainable historic preservation of buildings;
- promoting the graffiti landscape;
- improving the image of art in public places; and
- implementing sustainable programmes for art that include the feelings and values of its inhabitants.

Good design is difficult to achieve, but achieving sustainable good design is even more difficult. It is up to authorities

to acknowledge that design can help regenerate urban areas and that art can play an influential role in the process.

11.4.4] THE CULTURAL CITY

The diversity of South Africa's cultures hold both positive and negative potential consequences. It is however, important, that more emphasis is placed on the positive side of the diversity. Strategies for urban regeneration include:

- acknowledging all cultures in South Africa and implementing programmes in promoting these cultures;
- establishing universal cultures for South Africa;
- developing youth controlled projects such as art projects or educational fares;
- reinventing the icons of the past to include the new generation of South Africa;
- attracting investment in new leisure facilities to satisfy demand for increased participation;
- enabling schemes that provide new facilities for public participation in leisure activities;

- ensuring that the local communities are engaged with the development and management of facilities;
- defining a hierarchy and network of public spaces;
- promoting improved connections with potential flagships;
- ensuring that local people have the skills and experience to compete for the jobs that such investments create; and
- attracting international, national or regional events which have visitor potential and which will contribute directly to growth in tourism.

To identify the South African universal culture is not easy, but it is attainable. The influence of the improvement of urban culture can contribute to an evening urban economy thus bringing back life to the city after dark, by creating cultural zones or using existing areas such as parks.

11.4.5] THE LANDMARK CITY

Marketing the city is one of the most important activities that can happen in a city. The result of marketing can influence other aspects of the city

positively too. Effective marketing could create better investment opportunities that can improve the vitality of the city and create employment opportunities. Cities, in many instances contain symbols of historic importance. Such symbols should serve as reminders of past mistakes and as encouragement for future achievements. It is thus important to market these places in the most effective manner possible. Strategies for urban regeneration include:

- building confidence in urban areas through marketing strategies;
- developing physical landmarks (art or open spaces) that will attract investment opportunities and tourism;
- promoting the skyline of urban areas to attract investment and tourism;
- developing programmes to enhance the image and legibility of urban areas and its citizens;
- searching for appropriate locations for new landmark features or buildings. These could include main points of arrival or orientation, areas which generate or contribute to street level activity, sites which assist

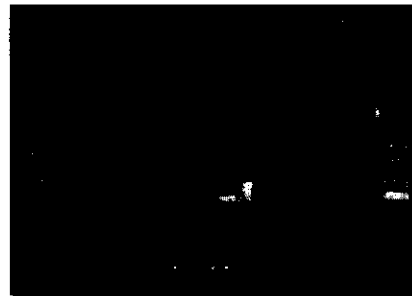
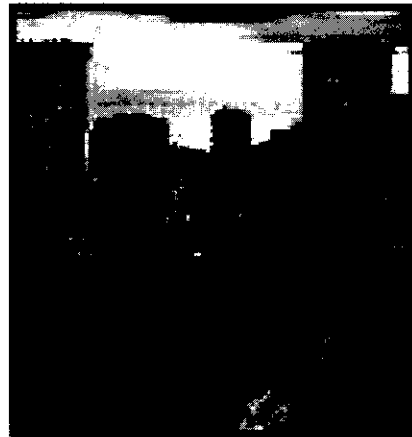


Figure 82, 83 & 84: The different skylines of Johannesburg needs to be promoted to tourist, since it is a asset that is not used that much.

of the city (e.g. main routes and skyline impacts), potential high value locations, such as waterfronts and areas overlooking the parks and locations which provide or reinforce local character and identity;

- establishing sustainable flagship projects in all urban areas; and

- raising the competitiveness position of the city through several awareness programs such as city marketing through different media types.

Several agencies could be involved in marketing the city. Public/private partnerships are of great importance in this regard. It must be realised that the city is stationary and is dependent on moving elements such as moving vehicles and people. The public sector should promote the city through their various departments of which tourism is the most important in this regard. The private sector should also create public/private partnerships and should thus involve businessmen and designers.

11.4.6] THE ECONOMIC CITY

Money makes the world go round. With the presence of programmes aimed at improving economic conditions it can be used to solve the problems of urban areas. However, money will not help if it is not spent wisely. The spending culture of South Africa's government needs to be straightened and revisited. Strategies for urban regeneration include:

- improving existing educational programs to increase the

possibility of better employment for urban residents;

- enhancing community involvement in safety and security;
- creating incentives for technology companies to work in urban areas;
- focus on all areas for possible development such as technology;
- creating effective participation and integration into the urban fabric and society to ensure economic and social activities for the upliftment of society; and
- creating economic areas that allow for wealth creation, employment, skilled occupations and opportunities.

City centres need more than shoppers and leisure visitors, they need residents to make them safe and vibrant. This can be achieved if people could be persuaded that city centres are attractive places in which to live and work. This seems to be one of the most important challenges planners are facing in South Africa today.

11.5] CONCLUSION

Yes, a city has nine lives, and it reinvents itself constantly. But when will the nine lives of South Africa be finished? Are there enough lives left, whilst there are no promises that the urban utopia would ever be achieved?

One can plan for a better future. Whilst the lessons that are learned in our urban areas serve as stark reminders of mistakes and achievements in the past, one should use whatever good there is to dispel the bad. Placing more emphasis on urban regeneration is part of this challenge.

Flying over an urban area is probably one of the best experiences there is. The urban area is like an ant colony, working to survive. Only then does one realise what a complex situation an urban area is. Roads forming networks, creating areas of wealth or areas of social exclusion. Roads going out of the cities to connect with other cities, followed by a picturesque landscape of rural areas. Cars on the roads moving from one place to another. People inside their cars or busses commuting to work. Only then one understands that a city is one of the most complex phenomena that exists. To

manage it requires the dedication of every inhabitant.

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FIGURE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURE: SOURCE:

Figure 2: Website: fsinfo.cs.uni-sb.de/~mlangen/batman.html

Figure 3: Unknown

Figure 4: Website: www.ces.clemson.edu/~jshea/africatrip/soweto.jpg

Figure 5: Website: www.albany.edu/jmmh/vollno/ww1.html

Figure 6: Unknown

Figure 7: Website: anthio.palomar.edu/ethnicity/ethnic_4.htm

Figure 10: Website: www.cs.ctudents.stanford.edu

Figure 12: Website: www.news.harvard.edu/gazette2001/02.15-de_klerk.html

Figure 13: Reconstruction and Development Programme 1995.

Figure 14: Website: www.indigodev.com/sustain

Figure 15: Website: www.globaleye.org.uk

Figure 17: Unknown

Figure 19: Unknown

Figure 20: Unknown

- Figure 22: Website: thesaurus.dutch.gr
- Figure 23: Website: www.philosophy-religion.org/perennial/main.htm
- Figure 24: Website: www.columbia.edu/cu/philosophy/admissions/text/process.html
- Figure 25: Website: www.geocities.com/~spanoudi/poemsmoore.jpg
- Figure 26: Website: www.b25000.net/images/history/natal/fourier_g.jpg
- Figure 27: Website: www.infed.org/thinkers/etowen.htm
- Figure 28: Website: www.nku.edu/~noyd/saint-simon.gif
- Figure 29: Website: www.marxists.org
- Figure 33: Website: www.lib.umd.edu/ntl/gardencities.html
- Figure 34: Cities of To-morrow, by E. Howard
- Figure 35: Website: www.chatlotteburg-wilmersdorf.de
- Figure 37: Website: www.scottfinckler.com
- Figure 38: Website: www.probert.enclopaedia.com/c5.htm
- Figure 39: Website: www.multies.com/bio/people/mumford.html
- Figure 40: Website: www.rbc.com/community/award/1978frye.html
- Figure 41: Website: theology.co.kr/image/photo/Tillich_.jpg

- Figure 42: Website: www.pbs.org
- Figure 44: Unknown
- Figure 45: Unknown
- Figure 46: Unknown
- Figure 47: Unknown
- Figure 48: Website: www.wggself.de/walter.gropuis.htm
- Figure 49: Unknown
- Figure 50: Website: www.geology.yale.edu
- Figure 51: Unknown
- Figure 52: Website: www.fiedonia.edu
- Figure 53: Website: internet.co.zw/lzifem/Harare%20tour.htm
- Figure 54: Website: web.mit.edu/upgrading.html
- Figure 55: www.pritchettcartoons.com
- Figure 56: Website: www.oktec.com
- Figure 58: Website: www.abag.ca.gov/planning

- Figure 60: Unknown
- Figure 61: Unknown
- Figure 62: Website: www.aeiou.af/aeiuo.jpg
- Figure 63: Unknown
- Figure 64: Website: www.publicart.com
- Figure 65: Unknown
- Figure 67: Unknown
- Figure 69: www.vgallery.co.za/2000article22/vizine.htm
- Figure 70: Website: www.archtecafrica.com/bin0/heew20020907.html
- Figure 71: Website: offices.colgate.edu
- Figure 72: Unknown
- Figure 73: Unknown
- Figure 74: Healy et al. 1993.
- Figure 75: Healy et al. 1993.
- Figure 76: De Lange et al. 2001.
- Figure 79: Unknown

Figure 80: Unknown

Figure 81: Unknown

Figure 82: www.stoessel.ch/southernnafrica.htm

END NOTES

ⁱ As in Cronje 2002

ⁱⁱ Group Areas Act

ⁱⁱⁱ Here after known as the RDP

^{iv} Mabin & Smit. 1997:216 and UDF 1997

^v Development Facilitation Act 107 of 1995

^{vi} Source: Discussion of The Radiant City by A.C
Bridgham

^{vii} (Hickman. 1933)

^{viii} Jeff Radebe. 1999.

^{ix} G. Jordaan. 2002

x

[www.ngo.grida.no/soesa/nsoer/issues/social/index
.htm](http://www.ngo.grida.no/soesa/nsoer/issues/social/index.htm)

^{xi} [www.sacoast.uwz.ac.za/education/resources/env
ironmentalfacts](http://www.sacoast.uwz.ac.za/education/resources/environmentalfacts)

^{xii} in Sen. 2002:15

^{xiii} www.york.ac.uk/inst/sei

^{xiv} www.york.ac.uk/inst/sei

xv

[www.ngo.grida.no/soesa/nsoer/issues/social/index
.htm](http://www.ngo.grida.no/soesa/nsoer/issues/social/index.htm)

^{xvi} www.sirs.org.com

^{xvii} Statement by Al Gore (then Vice President) in
Wright, undated

^{xviii} www.ti.org/autowar.html

^{xix} 4 Nov 2001. Sunday Times

^{xx} 4 Nov 2001. Sunday Times

^{xxi} www.free-market.net

^{xxii} www.sirs.org.com

^{xxiii} www.ctheory.net/text_file?pick292

^{xxiv} www.pps.org

^{xxv} Story extracted from Parker (1999:12]

^{xxvi} In Hall. (1990).

^{xxvii} As in Schneider (2001: 257]