Urbanism and Planning in Johannesburg: A Northern Perspective

October 2016

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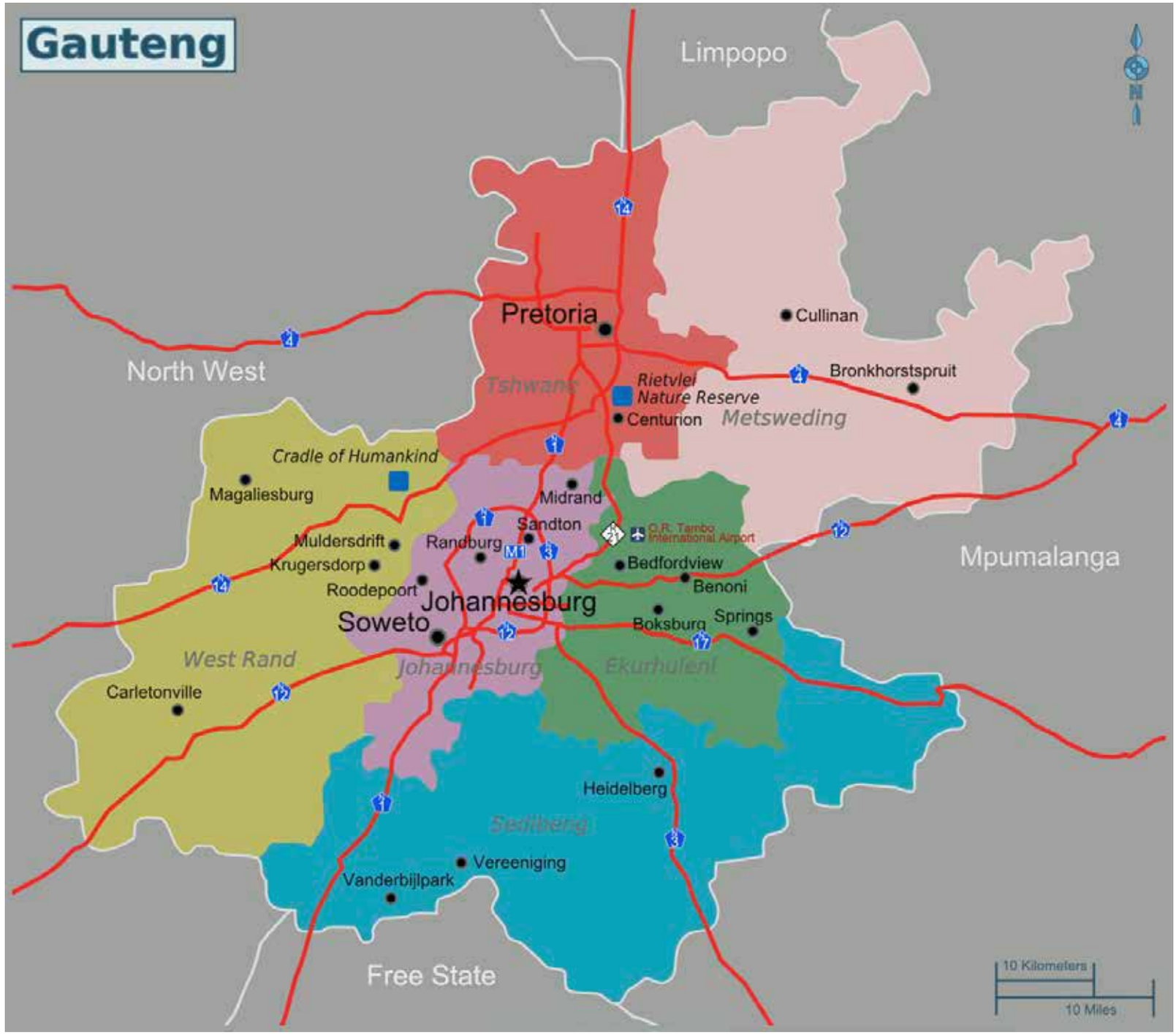
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Magaliesburg
Midrand
Sandton
O.R. Tambo
International Airport
Muldersdrift
Randburg
Krugersdorp
Bedfordview
Benoni
Roodepoort
Johannesburg
Soweto
Boksburg
Springs
Mpumalanga
West Rand
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Free State
10 Kilometers
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inkScape

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Foreward

By: Orli Schwartz and Ying Gu

In October 2016, eleven Master in Environmental Studies (MES) students travelled to Johannesburg, South Africa with Professor Ute Lehrer for a Critical Urban Planning Workshop. This field experience course was offered to students through the Faculty of Environmental Studies as part of the Global Suburbanisms Project, a research endeavour led by York University Professor Roger Keil and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The course was taught by Professor Ute Lehrer, one of the major collaborators on the research project and a professor at York University.

Before heading to South Africa, students prepared for the trip by researching and reading about the major themes of the workshop. The students gave presentations on land use, housing and growth boundaries to prepare them for what they would be observing and experiencing in Johannesburg. The trip began in Johannesburg with a three-day conference, which included a full day bus tour of various suburbs surrounding Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province such as New Town, Rosebank, Tamboville and Cosmo City. This was followed by a two-day conference entitled Africa's New Suburbanisms at the Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study, where various experts presented their research on African suburbanisms, addressing addressing a large number of topics such as land use, housing and growth boundaries.

The York University students contributed to the conference with a presentation about urban planning issues in the Greater Toronto Area, which shed light on Canadian housing, transportation equity and growth boundary policies and concerns. The remainder of the trip was spent studying a range of settlements, from townships such as Soweto, to high-income gated communities such as Eagle Canyon, speaking with academics, practitioners and city councillors. Students travelled from each neighbourhood by bus and received a well informed presentation on each location. Lectures and meetings with government employees also took place around Johannesburg - in City Hall, the GCRO office and the Plan Act office. Students interacted with each space they visited, engaged with the landscape and heard from multiple perspectives on the land use, housing, and growth boundaries, along with other social, political and economic factors that impact the space.

Upon returning to York University, students compiled their research and experience into a report documenting what they learned during their field experience in Johannesburg. This report combines the views and experiences of the York University students during their time spent in Johannesburg, South Africa with secondary research from experts on urban planning issues in Johannesburg and other sources.

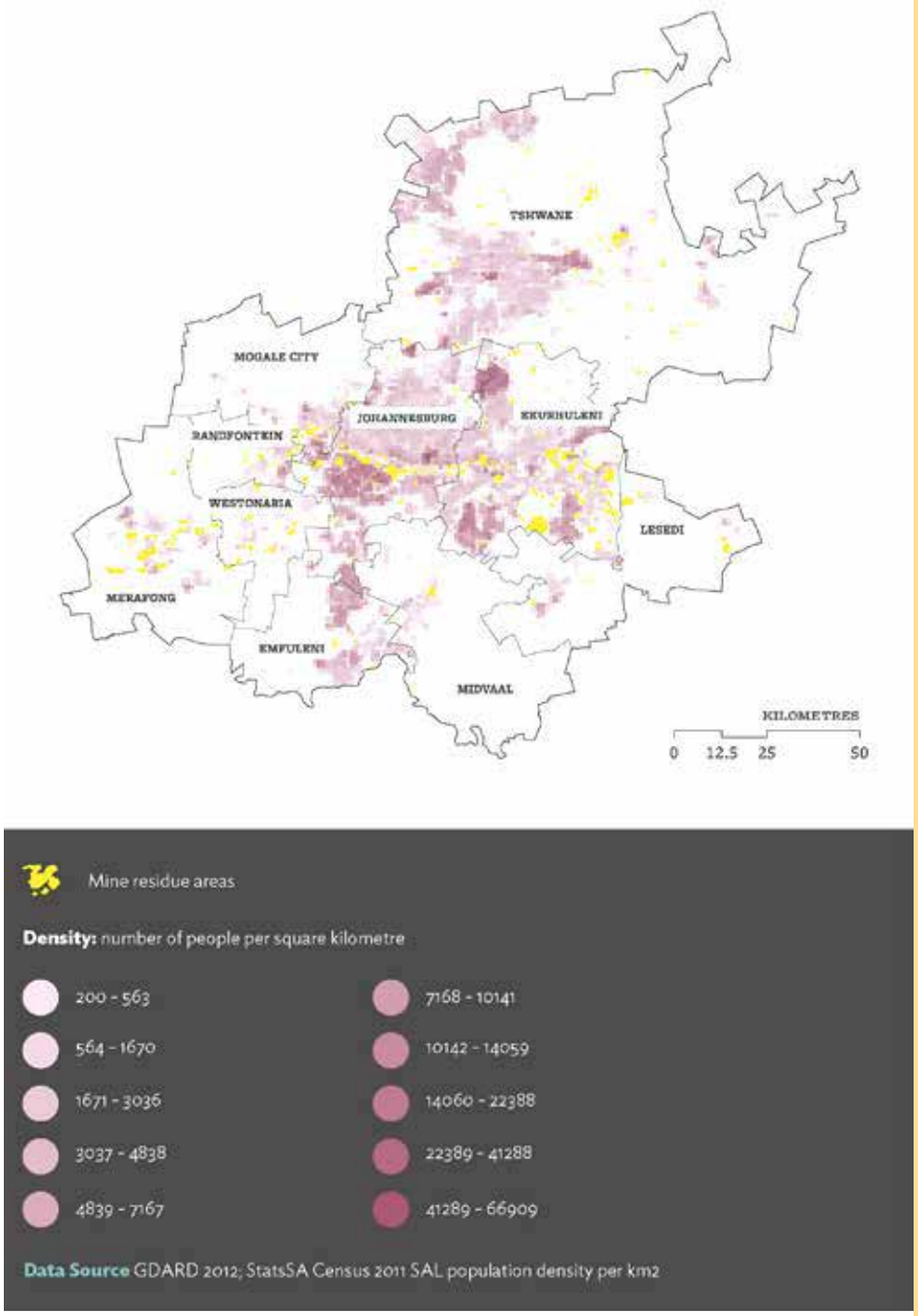
Introduction

The mining industry played a major role in shaping Johannesburg into the city it is today - economically, physically and socially. Johannesburg has the world's richest deposits of gold (Beaven, 1997). The discovery of gold in Johannesburg was a precursor to Apartheid. The discovery of diamonds in Johannesburg in the 1860s and the discovery of gold in the 1870s and 1880s radically transformed South Africa. In 1886, Johannesburg was proclaimed as a mining settlement (Harrison & Zack, 2012). In the 1890s, the city became a significant center of mining capital and many people flooded in from around the world to seek fortune in the mining industry (Louw, 2004). A complex new racially stratified urbanism soon arose in Johannesburg. The mine owners, artisans, engineers, shopkeepers, clerks and managers were comprised of Anglos or other Europeans assimilated into Anglo South Africa, while the unskilled labour force was made up of black migrant workers (Louw, 2004).

Gold mining was extremely costly, requiring expensive technologies for deep-level mining extraction (Harrison & Zack, 2012). Consequently, the gold field was dominated by a small number of "Randlords" (a mine owner with significant fortune) supported with international investment capital (Harrison & Zack, 2012). This resulted in the inception of racial oligarchy that still dominates South Africa today. Gold precipitated growth and development of towns along the east-west line of the gold-reef (Beaven, 1997). Today, they are all part of Witwatersrand, an urban industrial region (Beaven, 1997). Figure 1 shows the geographical location of the mining belt in relation to the Gauteng province. As depicted, the belt runs across Johannesburg as a physical divider of the north and south.

By 1904, a pattern of wealthy suburban developments were located in the high-lying ridges north of the mining belt, away from the noise and dust of the mines, were occupied by the white wealthy elite, including the "Randlords" (Harrison & Zack, 2012). At the end of the 1930s, Johannesburg was a highly segregated city, as the mining workforce was extremely segmented, and most of the racially mixed neighborhoods were cleared as a decision of city council. Although the apartheid government formalized segregation, racially classified spatial segregation was already taking place at this time, driven in large part by the mining industry. Actual mining activity had become less significant by the 1990s in the regional economy of Johannesburg's Metropolitan Area (Beaven, 1997). Manufacturing was pushed out to the metropolitan peripheries in search of lower costs. Meanwhile, both the finance and business services sector, and the trade and catering sector both grew. Office buildings and operations concentrated in the Central Business District (CBD). Southern Suburbs, south of the mining land, became home to high densities of mining and working-class residents, while the more affluent English-speaking class opted for the central northern sector (Beaven, 1997).

Figure 1. Mining Reside Areas



Melville by: Orli Schwartz

Melville is a suburb of Johannesburg, slightly northwest of the CBD. Founded on October 5, 1896, by Edward Harken Vincent Melville, a land surveyor, Melville is roughly 1.72km2, with a recorded population of 3355 residents ("Stats SA", 2011). The demographic makeup of Melville is categorized as such: 55.62% White, 33.38% Black African, 5.16% Indian or Asian, 3.19% Coloured, and 2.68% Other ("Stats SA", 2011).

Melville is a popular tourist destination. The neighbourhood contains many guest houses and bed and breakfast services. Tourists are drawn to the bohemian style of the neighbourhood and the nightlife. Students also frequent Melville, as the University of the Witwatersrand is located within close proximity. Most streets are labelled in numeric order. Many restaurants, bars and shops are located on Main Street and 7th Street, making them very popular areas. Melville's "Main Street" retail model contrasts many surrounding neighbourhoods, which contain enclosed shopping centers. Melville does have a semi-enclosed shopping centre, called 27 Boxes, made entirely out of shipping containers. The Melville Koppies is another popular attraction within Melville. The Koppies is a nature reserve and heritage site. It has long been one of the last conserved remnants of the Johannesburg ridges dating as far back as 1886. These ridges, along with their indigenous vegetation have been preserved for hundreds of years ("Melville Koppies Nature Reserve", 2016).

Nabeel Ahmed

History and Legacy of Apartheid

Apartheid can be defined as the segregation of different groups of people based on race. In 1948, when the National party formed the government of South Africa, an era of policy driven apartheid began (Beavon, 1997). Apartheid was used to identify and separate racial groups such as "Whites", "Blacks", "Indians", and "Coloured". These classifications were legitimized through legislation. Social services were also racially segregated by the National Party, including medical care, education and public spaces, where better accessibility and quality of services were concentrated in defined white areas. In declared white group areas, forced removal and eviction of Black residents took place. Neighbourhood restructuring took place, which left the landscape with a mono-culture of inhabitants. Black only townships, many built informally, housed the "forgotten" population (Baldwin-Ragaven, 1999, p. 18).

The history of apartheid significantly impacted the function and composition of South Africa's towns and cities. In 1994, South Africa became a fully democratic country, yet the racially and physically divided towns and cities created by the planned segregation of apartheid still remained ("Introduction," 2016). The special design was incredibly inefficient, as many townships were placed in peripheral locations both deliberately underserved and economically undesirable. The physical layout of the constructed apartheid South African townships were built on a model of semi-detached and detached yards and houses, a long distance from the city (Mabin, Butcher & Bloch, 2013). Urban residents resorted to "squatting" adjacent to planned settlements if they could not secure housing.

The democratic elections of 1994 commenced a new era of planning in reconstruction (Mabin & Smit, 1997). The creation of nine new provinces and the unification of local authorities divided by apartheid initiated the creation of new planning departments (Mabin & Smit, 1997). Policies of restitution were created in attempts to repair the damage caused by forced removals in the past. Upon coming into power in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) implemented a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a "state-led investment in infrastructure and basic services to address the backlogs and inequalities of the past". (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2007, p. 58). The RDP addressed and redressed the social, economic and spatial inequalities of the apartheid era. Urban renewal and housing policy reform were two major focuses of the RDP ("South Africa's Key," 2014). The aim of this policy was to strengthen democracy for South Africans as well as establish more equality in society through development and reconstruction ("South Africa's Key," 2014).

Remnants of Apartheid can still be observed in South Africa today, specifically when analysing the built and social environment through the lens of urban planning. This report summarizes the experiences and learned events of the York University students. The themes of this report include visioning, governance, sprawl and growth boundaries, transportation oriented development, economic development, spatial transformation, and housing. Regional spotlights profile each neighbourhood that students have visited, to give the reader a brief history and summary of the area. The goal of this report is to comprehensively document and share the students' experiences and impressions of Johannesburg.

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Chapter 1: Visioning a 'World Class African City'

by: Ryan Adamson

Patrycja Jankowski

Johannesburg is a World Class African City – at least, it is marketed as such in many of its advertising campaigns and policy documents. The World Class African City (WCAC) initiative is representative of the city's efforts to orient itself towards the global economy and attract international investment. The goal is to make Johannesburg an important African hub of global finance. The city believes that if achieved, all citizens will benefit from improved livelihoods. However, many have questioned the legitimacy of neoliberal free-market economic policies and worry that Johannesburg has forgotten about its most vulnerable citizens. WCAC driven policies have significant planning implications as they determine the way in which the city is shaped and formed by both political motivations and development interests. This section of the report focuses on Johannesburg's efforts to market itself as a World Class African City and how such efforts have manifested in planning policies. Three central topics will be discussed. First, the lineage of the WCAC initiative will be outlined. An analysis of some of the planning mechanisms that have been directly influenced by WCAC-centric policies will follow. Finally, the criticisms, contradictions, and problematic nature of the city's push to be "world class" will be addressed. The purpose of this section is to expose how the WCAC political discourse has had significant implications for both Johannesburg's planning department and, ultimately, many of the city's most vulnerable residents.

Rhetoric regarding Johannesburg's desire to become a "world class" city began to appear shortly after the victory of the African National Congress (ANC) party in 1995. Sihlongonyane (2016)

argues that the newly elected administration faced considerable pressure to demonstrate its competence in spite of many of its members holding office for the first time, an inherited declining urban economy, and the prevalence of afro-pessimism in the media (p. 1610). In 1998, the City engaged in the drafting of a visioning policy document titled iGoli 2002, which brought together various business interests, communities, and unions to develop a plan to recreate Johannesburg's image as a place for investment. Within this document, the city was referred to itself as "The Pulse of Africa" (Sihlongonyane, 2016). However, due to concerns related to the lack of public participation in the creation of iGoli 2002, a new visioning document, iGoli 2010, was started with the purpose of increasing Johannesburg's competitiveness in the global economy. iGoli 2010 emerged as the first document to describe Johannesburg as a world class African city (Sihlongonyane, 2016). The completion of the document was interrupted by municipal elections in 2002. The new council, instead of working with iGoli 2010, proceeded to develop a new document, Joburg 2030, which focused on the similar ideals. It is with this document that the "World Class African City" (WCAC) mantra came to fruition (Parnell & Robinson, 2006).

Joburg 2030 emphasizes a focus on strengthening the value-added manufacturing sector and service economy in order to integrate the city more closely to the global economy. The importance of trade, transport, information, communications and technology, finance, business services and tourism are also stressed (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2015, p. 258). Borrowing from Ronald Robertson's work on "glocalization", Sihlongonyane (2016) asserts that WCAC initiatives play heavily into images of the global city amenities that Johannesburg offers while simultaneously emphasizing its local character. With this, Johannesburg becomes a brand that is marketable and can be oriented towards the free-market economy in order to attract investment (p. 1614). Evidence of this drive to operate on the global scale is found within the Joburg 2030 document itself. It can be summarized by the following quote, "In 2030 Johannesburg will be a world-class city… Its economy and labour force will specialise in the service sector and will be strongly outward oriented such that the City economy operates at the global scale. The result… will drive up City tax revenues, private sector profits and individual disposable income levels" (Joburg 2030, 2002, p. 115). As Johannesburg marches towards its vision of becoming a World Class African City, several policies have been implemented to turn this vision into a reality.

Johannesburg's CBD

by: Ryan Adamson

Johannesburg's Central Business District (CBD) is the city's epicentre and the original site of the development boom that occurred when gold was discovered in the region. Inner-city Johannesburg is now home to functions of Johannesburg's service-based economy. The CBD has the city's highest concentration of high rise towers comprising of both commercial and residential uses. Johannesburg's CBD, however, has suffered from the sprawling nature of development in the city. As communities like Rosebank and Sandton have thrived, due in part to white flight, the inner city has been left with high vacancy rates and deteriorating infrastructure (Pezzano, 2016). Several abandoned office towers and residential buildings have been hijacked by gangs who extort tenants for rent monies. Such buildings have earned the title of "bad buildings" (Steyn, 2015). Despite these factors, Johannesburg's CBD is still considered the city's core.

Over recent decades Johannesburg has made concerted efforts to revitalize its Central Business District. In 2007, the city launched the Inner City Regeneration Charter aimed at attracting private investment back into the city. The Charter provided significant tax breaks and other incentives in an effort to have the private market capital drive the redevelopment of the CBD. The CBD has seen some uptake from the private market, but much of the work has been done in pockets of the core such as Maboneng and Newtown (Winkler, 2013). The City has not given up as revitalizing the CBD remains one of the central goals of the most recent Spatial Development Framework published in 2011 (City of Johannesburg, 2011).

Johannesburg's World Class African City initiatives have very specific planning implications. Many of the City's planning related globalization strategies have been centered on the regeneration of the city's traditional central business district (CBD). The Joburg 2030 visioning document laid the groundwork for the city's first Inner City Regeneration Strategy (2003) which was designed with the purpose of driving private investment in the city centre (Winkler, 2009). Tanja Winkler (2012) asserts that the 2003 Inner City Regeneration Strategy represented a shift in the city's role as an administrator of urban regeneration to an active agent of development and growth. She points the use of an Urban Development Zone, a planning tool, which granted tax breaks to encourage investors to develop within a designated eighteen square kilometer zone of the inner city. The City also offered municipal bonds to increase investor confidence in the inner-city and wrote off the debts of "bad buildings" in order to transfer ownership to the private sector (p. 170).

The Joburg 2030 document; however, faced legal action from groups concerned with the City of Johannesburg's eviction policies. The document was eventually replaced with the City's 2006 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), which was coupled with a new Human Development Strategy (HDS) in 2007. With these new documents, the City's tagline shifted from a "World Class African City" to a "World Class African City for All". The change in rhetoric was deemed a response to City's commitment to Johannesburg's urban poor and redressing the inequalities of apartheid planning (Winkler, 2009). The City's Inner City Regeneration Strategy was also replaced with the Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Charter (2007). The reworked policies were intended to address the missing elements of the previous plans. Specifically, the GDS, HDS, and Charter were intended to work together to address poverty, inequality and social exclusion on a city-wide scale (Didier, Morange & Peyroux, 2013). Throughout the various iterations of visioning policies and regeneration strategies, the World Class African City tagline has remained central to Johannesburg's growth and development goals. The most recent Growth and Development Strategy 2040, produced in 2011, states the following, "Johannesburg – a World Class African City of the Future – a Vibrant, equitable African City, strengthened through its diversity; a city that provides real quality of life; a city that provides sustainability for all its citizens" (City of Johannesburg, 2011, p.3). The document's change in message seems to respond to concerns about the City's priorities. However, whether or not Johannesburg has been able to balance its aspirations of becoming a global economic hub versus its responsibilities to its citizens is questionable.

Victoria Moore

Johannesburg's World Class African City campaign has faced several critiques from the public, the media and academia. Many are concerned that the city has prioritized its efforts to attract international investment over the needs of the City's disadvantaged and disenfranchised. Didier, Morange and Peyroux (2013) argue that the World Class African City vision adopted by the City is

based on ideals of trickle-down economics where those of lower-income are said to benefit. Increased international investment into the local economy has been sold as a solution to address poverty, inequality and social exclusion (p. 126-127). Despite this message, the City has repeatedly engaged in behaviour that contradicts the message of its own visioning documents. The City's Big Building Programme (BBP) demonstrates its unwillingness to properly address the needs of its urban poor. The BBP was responsible for the eviction and displacement of thousands of people from two hundred and fifty "bad buildings" in the inner city between 2002 and 2005. In 2005, the City was taken to court after serving over four hundred additional eviction notices and was eventually ordered to provide alternative accommodations. The City proceeded to appeal this decision and won the right to evict the roughly four hundred and fifty tenants without the provision of alternative housing. Although the decision was overturned by the Constitutional Court (the highest court in South Africa), it is important to note that the responsibility to rehouse evicted peoples was forced onto Johannesburg as a mandatory requirement (Winkler, 2012). The solution is also imperfect. Although the city is required to relocate evicted tenants, many are often relocated to the periphery, far away from economic opportunity.

Operation Clean Sweep is another pertinent example. The campaign resulted in the violent removal of thousands of informal street vendors and traders from the city's CBD in 2013 and is also steeped in "world class city" rhetoric. Mayor Parks Tau was quoted as saying that Clean Sweep represented an effort to improve livability in the inner-city in order to boost the residential property market (Nicolson & Lekgowa, 2013). Hidden in this statement is who a "safer city" and bolstered property market is actually intended to serve. Anthony Pezzano (2016) argues that the City works on a "double agenda", which in recent years has sought to embrace some forms of the informal economy, while criminalizing the majority as illegal. This contradiction is most present when analysing the City's GDS 2040 (2011), which advocates for the inclusion of the informal economy, yet a large-scale militant removal operation occurs a few years later (p. 506-508). These clear contradictions between the City's policy language and implementation methods demonstrate the its true priorities. Although Johannesburg's municipal government has sought to include more progressive ideals in its varying iterations of visioning documents, the economic motivations of the World Class African City initiative seems to take priority.

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Johannesburg's drive to vision itself as a "World Class African City" has had significant planning implications. The shift towards neoliberal economic policies aimed at the global markets first emerged with the election of the ANC in the mid-1990s. With pressure to perform, Johannesburg's ANC-led municipal government moved towards developing a strategy to attract investment back into the city. This eventually led to the "World Class African City" discourse that we see today. Although WCAC policies have faced various contestations and challenges, the central message of the initiative has remained intact. WCAC policies are perhaps most visible in the city's CBD where inner-city regeneration programs have been put in place. These programs have granted tax incentives for developers and assisted in overturning "bad buildings" to the private market in designated sites within the city centre. The goal of these programs is to "clean up" the inner-city, make it safe for investment and present an appropriate image of what a "world city" offers. Despite contestation, the various reinventions of Johannesburg's visioning documents and the social policies, designed to address the shortcomings of documents like Joburg 2030 and the GDS 2040, still serve to propel the world class city initiative. The City's continued efforts to "clean out" the city demonstrate this reality and are best evidenced by programs like BBP and Operation Clean Sweep. As of this year, the City of Johannesburg has produced its most recent planning document, the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2040. This new planning document stresses the importance of polycentric development in order to provide greater economic opportunities for residents living in all places in the city. The document's goal is stated in bold, "the core objective of the SDF 2040 is to create a spatially just world class African City" (City of Johannesburg, 2016, p. 12). It remains to be seen whether or not the new "spatially just" element of the WCAC model will be effective at addressing the city's impoverished population or if this new rhetoric is another empty promise. Through an analysis of the various planning documents governing the growth and spatial development of Johannesburg, the implications of the City's WCAC discourse become clear. Moving forward, it will be important to determine whether or not the new planning policies seek to address the City's "double agenda" of economic growth oriented towards the global economy, and if they support the city's historically disadvantaged and disenfranchised.

Wemmer Pan

by: Ying Gu

Wemmer Pan, commonly referred to as "The Pan", is a lake and recreational space with a boardwalk and vibrant entertainment. It also functions as stormwater management facility.Wemmer Pan is a city funded capital project and is located in La Rochelle, a traditionally working class suburb. It began as an English working class neighbourhood, however, from the late 1960s to early 1970s; a large number of migrants came from the Island of Madeira and Mainland Portugal (Moyo & Cossa, 2015). The migrants tended to live in rental homes upon first arrival, but were eventually able to own homes when they had the financial capability. By the 1970s, one third of the houses in the region were owned by white Portuguese immigrants (Moyo & Cossa, 2015). English speaking Africans were moving out because they were against the Roman Catholic religion, which was an integral part of Portuguese culture. In the 1970s, ex-colonial refugees were also migrating into La Rochelle as there was less discrimination in this area than in other parts of Johannesburg. Today, many of the Portuguese residents have departed for newer southern suburbs, while wealthier residents have moved north. However, a number of those who have left still own homes in La Rochelle, and maintain them as rental properties.

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Chapter 2: Infrastructure and Municipal Governance

by: Joyce Chan

Infrastructure deterioration, infrastructure deficit and governance gridlock are a few of the issues that Toronto and Johannesburg have in common. Issues surrounding infrastructure and municipal governance in Johannesburg will be explored in detail in this section.

Infrastructure Then and Now

From the late 1980s into the 1990s, the fear of a possible civil war led to "white flight" - the fleeing of white residents from Johannesburg's Central Business District (CBD) to the northern suburbs due to the shift and uncertainty of government. White flight in Johannesburg resulted in many vacant buildings in the CBD that have since become neglected and deteriorated. The need for city, spatial, and development planning as tools to address inequalities of the past and to balance and drive future growth has never been more pronounced. Inner-city decay is one of the most pervasive urban problems in Johannesburg. For over a decade, the desegregation of the inner city, from a once white-dominated space to one now almost entirely populated by blacks, has been at the forefront of Johannesburg's public consciousness. Inner-city regeneration has gained political prominence on the post-apartheid metropolitan agenda.

As early as the 1970s, the movement of corporate premises to the city's periphery had already begun, even while the legislation associated with the segregationist Group Areas Act was still firmly entrenched. (Beall, Cranshaw & Parnell 2002). Landlords, or their appointed lessors, neglected the most decayed buildings and allowed services to deteriorate (Beall et al., 2002). Inner-city decline was hastened by the change in racial composition as well as the dynamics of landlord-tenant relationships. Today, in downtown Johannesburg, efforts are dedicated towards revitalizing decayed infrastructure, but the streets continue to be lamented as sites of crime and grime (Todes, 2016).

The Rise and Fall of Central Business Districts (CBDs) in Johannesburg

While the Johannesburg CBD was previously a common ground of activity for the affluent residents of the city, this had changed by the beginning of the 1990s. As inner city residents vacated the CBDs the once-prosperous band of interstitial apartment and office building areas quickly lost both commercial and residential tenants at the upper, and then middle range of the market. In the shift to the city's suburbs - especially northward - "new and/or enlarged shopping/leisure mall complexes (especially in the Rosebank, Hyde Park, and Sandton areas), along with a variety of office building developments, began to anchor a more dispersed form of private

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sector investment" (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner & Mangcu, 2003, p. 27-28). This shift, along with the relative lack of municipal support for the urban core, can be understood in the context of a time when new political priorities focused attention on the transfer of societal power rather than on the maintenance of a socially tainted built environment. Today, most people living outside of the inner city consider the CBDs as a virtual "no-go" zone.

The CBD of Johannesburg has come to symbolize the rise and fall and rise again of South Africa's commercial capital. Areas and infrastructure such as Hillbrow and Ponte Tower, which will be further discussed later, reflect the epitome of apartheid and its repercussions of infrastructure deterioration and deficits, as well as municipal governance gridlock. The CBD can be regarded as a metaphor for the South African society, with the inner-city renaissance beginning as a showy fortress of sorts for a racist ruling class, then descending into violence and destruction, only to realize its consequences after, enough to provoke the desperate need to mend and plan towards more modest and sustainable communities.

The Tensions of Strategic Spatial Planning and Infrastructure

Within the practice of town planning, strategic spatial plans are recognised internationally as a tool to guide and locate development outcomes within a given jurisdiction, particularly at the local government level (Magni, 2013). A significant consideration of strategic spatial plans is public infrastructure (e.g. roads, water, electricity, waste removal, transport, and community facilities). The City of Johannesburg implemented processes and mechanisms to strengthen the effect of strategic spatial plans to guide infrastructure provision. However, tensions between future visions and the reality of existing infrastructure networks and municipal financing systems remain conspicuous.

Strategic spatial planning in the post-apartheid era attempts to promote more compact and integrated cities, to address the racially divided city developed under apartheid, as well as urban sprawl. Though Johannesburg's strategic spatial planning is grounded strongly in infrastructure development, current government policy structures are ill-suited to the complex and escalating regional issues. Infrastructure acts as the enabler for economic development to attract investment to certain areas and assist in social uplift. This becomes a challenge as the city continues to suffer from uncoordinated spending on infrastructure, misalignment in government coordination between metropolitan and provincial levels, and a lack of infrastructure funds. These are all intertwined with economic vitality as the failure to effectively accommodate population growth limits economic growth.

Originally, under apartheid, the fragmentation of local government and planning at the time was poorly linked to infrastructure development. Main infrastructure departments - water, electricity and roads - were autonomous entities following their own individual agendas (Todes, 2011). "Townships" reserved for black South Africans had almost no economic base and had predominantly low incomes in which they inevitably suffered from low levels of infrastructure (Todes, 2011). Local-government transformation in Johannesburg has been difficult due to considerable unpaid debt driving from the rent and services boycotts in the African townships. In the late 1990s, government fragility was further exacerbated by weak metropolitan structures, inexperienced councillors, and laissez-faire decision-making (Todes, 2016). Today, people are drawn to the promise of financial security and jobs that Johannesburg has to offer, but as population continues to rise, infrastructure such as water, sanitation, electricity and roads struggle to keep up.

With regard to the principles of the Development Facilitation Act set forth to inform all land development, the significance of integrated development planning is twofold (Tomlinson et al., 2003). Both spatial and social integration is involved, "where development should occur in such a manner that people's social and economic needs are taken into account, for instance, by ensuring that clinics, schools, and other amenities are available, that transportation is accessible, and that people's overall well-being is considered"

Hillbrow

by: Joyce Chan

On many fronts, Hillbrow encapsulates the story of apartheid. Hillbrow is an inner city CBD residential neighbourhood notorious for its dense population, unemployment, poverty, and crime. In the 1970s, it was an apartheid-designated "whites only" neighbourhood that soon became a "grey area", when interracial mixing became common even under the tight rule of apartheid. Hillbrow was known as a progressive, upscale, and cosmopolitan urban area, full of artists and intellectuals living in a multicultural hub. However, at the end of apartheid, the middle class was fleeing to the suburbs. As buildings became vacant, infrastructure investment plummeted, and infrastructural decay compounded, Hillbrow soon transformed to a home for immigrants, rife with drugs, poverty, prostitution, gun crime, and urban degradation, leaving in its wake an urban slum by the 1990s.

Ponte City

At the center of Hillbrow lies Ponte Tower the tallest and most celebrated residential building that has come to symbolize the rise and fall and rise again of South Africa. This tower was dragged down along with Hillbrow and like many other buildings, Ponte was hijacked and became home to drug dealers and gangs. Ponte Tower eventually became a hub for criminal activity and was designated as a "no-go" zone. Today, however, the building is reportedly occupied again and reigns over the Johannesburg skyline, no longer in luxury, but no longer in apocalyptic chaos either. It is, rather, mixed-income, mixed-race (to a degree), and relatively safe (Benfield, 2013).

Urban Acupuncture - The War on Urban Blight in Hillbrow

Hillbrow was the first site of desegregation and its highrise rental accommodation has housed the poorest and most transient sections of the inner-city population (Beall et al., 2002). On a positive note, contemporary urban regeneration projects, are being implemented to gradually shake off Johannesburg's notoriety for danger and violence. These projects are viewed as efforts of "urban acupuncture" – small-scale interventions to transform the larger urban context. Acupuncture projects include Hillbrow's surrounding neighbourhoods - Braamfontein, the Maboneng Precinct, and Newtown, with light industrial buildings and warehouses converted to apartments, art galleries, cinemas, hotels, restaurants, theatres, and markets featuring organic foods, craft beers, and local artisanship (Smith, 2015). Another active program has also been put in place. Rooftops Canada, a non-profit development organization has been active in reviving among Hillbrow's numerous high-rise apartment blocks: the rescue of parks and other shared spots from neglect and abuse, and the encouragement of what is called "a culture of using public space" (Mays, 2016). For areas as controversial as Hillbrow, there is a piercing need for these "urban acupuncture" efforts to fuel and revive the neighbourhood back to its greatest urban potential.

Photo by Stephen Closs

(Tomlinson et al., 2003, p. 226). The second aspect of integrated development planning is that it must be driven and implemented by local authorities (Tomlinson et al., 2003). This is significant progress from the past when there used to be much less emphasis on the role of local authorities in respect to development.

Local Government under Apartheid

Until the end of apartheid in 1994, South African cities were run by whites for whites in much the same way as colonial cities elsewhere had been run for colonial settlers or expatriates. From its beginnings as a mining town in 1886, Africans were not formally recognized as citizens of Johannesburg. It is important to realize that, in Johannesburg, "racial spatial segregation was not just about physical partition, but also about administrative division" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 68). In terms of the quality of urban space and government resources, vast inequalities and aftermath effects of apartheid are still intact today. In addition to their political illegitimacy, black areas had no revenue base. The colonial or segregation model of urban finance rested on racially separate municipal accounts, maintained by the apartheid regime.

The infamous "Durban System", adopted throughout South Africa under the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act, ensured that African urban areas had to be self-financing (Beall et al., 2002). Following the Durban model closely, since 1928 when the law was applied in Johannesburg, "revenue for African township development was generated by a municipal monopoly on the brewing and sale of beer in the townships" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 68). For six decades, Africans who worked, travelled, and shopped in Johannesburg did not receive any benefits from the revenue paid through commercial rates and taxes on city properties (Beall et al., 2002). Nor did they receive any cross-subsidy from affluent white residential areas. On the contrary, white areas were developed on the proceeds of black investment in the city (Beall et al., 2002). Therefore, it is little wonder, that residents of white suburbs enjoyed among the highest living standards in the world, while black areas of the city experienced extreme poverty and neglect (Beavon, 1997). It was both the scale and proximity of these injustices that mobilized the opposition to apartheid at local government level.

The Deracialization and Decolonization of Local Government

Democratic local government did not emerge instantly in the wake of the abolition of racial discrimination. It had to be created. The debate over the form, structure, and content of post-apartheid local government is critical. Since apartheid rested on the tradition of excluding black Africans from structures of urban government, the poorly structured municipal constitutions by its quasi-colonial masters, needed to undergo a massive reform in order to dismantle the aftermath of apartheid. "The success of apartheid rested, at least in part, on the fact that the system of racial privilege was embedded in every aspect of municipal practice – from zoning and housing provision, to staffing and the composition of the electoral roll" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 73). An entirely new structure and modus operandi had to be put in its place. To overcome apartheid, designing a system of local government meant "a fundamental reconceptualization of municipal law, boundaries, finances, and institutional practices – everything, including the politicians, had to be changed" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 73).

Given that local government did not exist in most rural areas and was dysfunctional in almost all urban areas, the scale of the challenge of upholding the constitution cannot be overstated. Planning and implementing urban development has long been accepted as the purview of local authorities. However, in South Africa, "the institutional architecture of local government that was inherited from the past was incomplete" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 85). In Johannesburg, this had entailed a tedious integration of disparate administrative regimes into a single metropolitan authority. Since democracy at the local scale was an essential precondition of success, South Africa was hindered at the very beginning as the South African experience was mainly focused on the struggle to end racial oppression (Manor, 1999).

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Chapter 3: Urban Sprawl and Growth Boundaries in Johannesburg

by: Victoria Moore

Johannesburg is very much a polycentric city, with the majority of its urban development and economic activity occurring in the northern periphery of the city in suburbs such as Sandton and Rosebank (Todes, 2012). This is in large part a result of the decentralized spatial and economic development that has characterized the city since the 1970s. In order to understand the decentralized spatiality of Johannesburg it is important to understand the history of spatial and economic development in the city and the Gauteng Province as a whole.

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History of Spatial Development in Johannesburg and the Gauteng Province

The City of Johannesburg, and the Gauteng Province more broadly, has a long history of sprawling, fragmented development that can be traced back and attributed partly to the discovery of gold in the region in the 1880s (Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014). Development at this time centered on mining sites that were spread throughout the region's mining belt. Eventually, industrial development concentrated around the nodes of the region-wide railway lines that were established to serve the mining industry (Gotz et al., 2014). These early mining developments laid the framework for future urban development in Johannesburg.

Beginning in the 1940s under the new apartheid regime, the spatial layout of the Johannesburg city-region was shaped largely around racial classifications. Areas of the city and the peripheries were racially defined, and in many cases the spatial segregation of the apartheid city promoted horizontal development, otherwise known as urban sprawl (Mabin, 2013: Horn, 2010). The lack of formal restrictions on widespread and expansive horizontal development, and the high availability of large parcels of cheap land on the peripheries promoted sprawl at this time (Gotz et al., 2014). The high availability of land in the peripheries, which was much cheaper than the central city, made this type of sprawling peripheral development a popular trend for both public and private housing developments (Todes, 2012). For example, the apartheid government developed large areas of segregated public housing developments, known as African townships, outside the city center. Native black populations were forced under apartheid to settle in the townships and away from the urban amenities that central Johannesburg offered, thus promoting sprawl (Mabin, 2013). In addition, vast areas of land in the northern peripheries of Johannesburg were developed into residential suburbs exclusively for the ownership of white populations, who wished to live farther from the urban problems associated with the inner city, which further promoted sprawl (Horn, 2010).

Cosmo City

by: Victoria Moore

Cosmo City is the name given to a relatively new suburban development northwest of Central Johannesburg. This area, which was formerly an agricultural greenfield, was developed into a pilot project for an integrated housing model in 2004. The goals of this integrated housing project were to house people of multiple economic classes in the same area by providing various types of housing including fully subsidized RDP housing, credit linked and fully bonded houses, and by relocating people from former black townships and informal settlements into this new community ("Cosmo City is a Thriving Suburb", 2008).

Since 2012, when the last group of people were relocated and settled into Cosmo City, the area has become a fully functional community, complete with retail amenities, schools, a community centre, water infrastructure and health care facilities. Upon visiting this suburb, one can see and feel the sense of community that has formed here: people gathering in the streets and children playing soccer and other games at the community centre.

Cosmo City's former and current ward councilors claim that this neighbourhood provides an intricate mix of people from various economic classes who function together as a community and use the same services and amenities. The community prides itself on the adequate housing that this neighbourhood provides, where even the fully subsidized housing is considered an improvement from the former shacks and informal settlements where many residents lived prior ("Cosmo City is a Thriving Suburb", 2008: "Cosmo City: A Place to Call Home").

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While those living in black townships were forced into these settlements under apartheid, the sprawling white suburbs of the north were created out of a desire among white populations to escape the crime, overcrowding and slums in the inner city (Horn, 2010). Suburbanization north of Johannesburg was made possible by the rising incomes of certain populations (ie: white population) and the affordability of the car for certain groups of people, which made mobility to and from urban amenities attainable despite the distance of the suburbs from the central city (Horn, 2010). Eventually, as those living in the northern suburbs got used to the comfort of their neighborhoods, they preferred not to travel into the city at all. Businesses, development and other services and amenities began moving to the suburbs, leaving the city in even worse conditions than before (Todes, 2012: Horn, 2010). These two trends of spatial development under apartheid – sprawling white suburbs in the north and black townships concentrated

mostly in the south – created quite a unique urban form that is still visible today. Johannesburg is characterized by unique high-density developments on the urban edge, particularly in former townships or informal settlements such as Soweto (Gotz et al., 2014). Additionally, the development of important economic nodes in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, such as Rosebank, can be attributed to this early white-flight to the suburbs under apartheid (Gotz et al., 2014).

The mining belt was used as a formal tool of spatial segregation under apartheid, acting as a "buffer zone" between racially segregated residential districts, with the intention of pushing black townships farther from distinctly white areas and, thus, from urban amenities (Gotz et al., 2014). The use of this mining belt as a "buffer zone" promoted sprawl by spreading development more thinly across the urban fabric on either side of the belt (Gotz et al., 2014). The mining belt has played a continuous role in separating or acting as a buffer between the "wealthier and greener north, and a much poorer and dustier south where townships like Soweto and more informal settlements such as Orange Farm are located" (Gotz et al., 2014, p. 47). These two forms of sprawl on either side of the mining buffer continued to spread through both planned and unplanned development into the 1990s. At this time, the density of the inner city was approximately 40 persons per hectare, and increased to around 140 and 150 persons per hectare at a distance of about 25-30 kilometers from the central city (Gotz et al., 2014, p. 49).

Limiting Growth – Urban Growth Boundaries

Since the apartheid government was eradicated in the mid-1990s, the Gauteng province and Johannesburg municipality have recognized the need to restructure the spatiality of the city in order to redirect growth, control sprawl, and rebalance the spatial inequalities that were formed under apartheid. One of the primary strategies for achieving these goals was the development of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (2000) under which the growth management strategy termed the Gauteng Urban Edge was formed.

Gauteng Urban Edge

The Gauteng Urban Edge is an urban containment strategy that was implemented by the Gauteng Provincial Government in the early 2000s with the goal of containing urban development within the identified boundaries and promoting densification and more compact and sustainable development than was previously the case in Gauteng. The Gauteng Urban Edge was enforced under the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (2000) that was created to address and reverse the spatial imbalances that arose out of the apartheid era (Horn, 2010). In 2002 the Gauteng Urban Edge was put in place as a legal municipal policy that was aimed at reducing sprawl and promoting certain types of development centered on

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the concepts of densification, brownfield redevelopment (on mining and other industrial sites), service delivery within the Urban Edge and development around transit corridors (Horn, 2010). Since its inception, however, the Gauteng Urban Edge has been largely ineffective at containing growth, particularly when faced with pressures from municipalities and private interests to develop outside the Urban Edge boundaries (OECD, 2011).

Johnny Miller, Source: unequalscenes.com

While the Gauteng Urban Edge was initiated as a legal municipal policy, municipalities were later given the power to propose amendments to the edge in situations where proposed development had the potential to provide revenue for smaller municipalities (Gotz et al., 2014: Horn, 2010). Municipalities have since begun creating their own boundaries, different from the urban edge, thus creating a great deal of confusion, and in many cases rendering the Gauteng Urban Edge irrelevant. Horn (2014), argues that "the urban edge approach, like so many other policy matters in the country at large, has in the meantime been reduced to 'only a guideline' and is moving closer to becoming 'just-a-line-on-a-map' since its announcement and inception in 2001-2002" (p. 49). While the Gauteng Urban Edge policies are still in place today, they fail to adequately contain growth within the delineated boundaries.

The failure of the Gauteng Urban Edge can be attributed to many factors. The most obvious reason for its failure is the question of its legal standing or the lack of implementation that has allowed development to continue outside the Urban Edge, despite the boundaries put in place by the province (Horn, 2010). The second main problem is that, despite the fact that development outside the urban edge was being discouraged, land prices within the boundaries were expensive. Because there were few alternative options for development within the boundaries, both public and private developers elected to acquire cheaper land on the periphery and outside the boundaries (Horn, 2010).

Informal Growth Management and Densification

In addition to the Gauteng Urban Edge and other municipal and provincial attempts at establishing growth boundaries and promoting infill and densification, Johannesburg has experienced a great deal of informal or unintentional densification.

Reclamation of Inner-City Land

As mentioned earlier, as businesses from the CBD followed white populations fleeing to the suburbs, the central city fell into disrepair as a result of losing its main economic anchors. More recently however, densities in the inner city have increased as a result of the reclamation of inner city land. The former building height restrictions that prevented high-rise development in central Johannesburg were eliminated, leading to the creation of high-rise housing in places such as Hillbrow (Gotz et al., 2014). In addition, former office buildings that were abandoned as businesses moved to the suburbs have been transformed into residential buildings both formally with public intervention, and informally as residents made their own claims to the buildings (Gotz et al., 2014). This reclamation of inner city buildings as residential units, and the development of new high-rise residential buildings such as Ponte, has caused a significant increase in inner city densities over the past several years (Gotz et al., 2014).

Backyard Dwellings

A second common form of informal densification in Johannesburg has been through the subdivision of homes and properties in the suburbs to house multiple families. The most popular form of informal subdivision of homes is through the development of backyard dwellings. Backyard dwellings fill an important gap in the City of Johannesburg's affordable housing market, and "involve the co-habitation of landlord and tenant on the same plot, albeit in different dwellings" (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013, p. 655). Backyard dwellings typically occur when a property owner rents out their property to another family, who develops a dwelling and pays rent to the owner, thus providing a secondary income for the property owner and an affordable living space for the renters (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013). This type of development promotes densification by providing low-income families an alternative form of housing to the sprawling informal settlements on the peripheries of Johannesburg. It allows people to set up dwellings on land in already built up areas and is thus considered an informal method of densification (Gotz et al., 2014).

Conclusion

Much of the history of development in Johannesburg and the Gauteng Province has been characterized by sprawl through the spreading of black townships under apartheid and the rise of exclusive white suburbs and gated communities on the edge, making the implementation of growth boundaries a clear necessity. The city-region has struggled since the end of apartheid to address the spatial imbalances and uncontrolled sprawl that arose out of apartheid. While the Gauteng Province's main containment strategy, a growth boundary termed the Gauteng Urban Edge, had only limited success in containing growth and preventing sprawl, density is still improving in Johannesburg, largely as a result of informal densification.

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Chapter 4: Transit Oriented Development in Gauteng

by: Patrycja Jankowski

Johannesburg's current transportation network relies heavily on cars for everyday travel, with most using a private car, MiniBus, or taxi to travel in the city (Wray & Gotz, 2014). Many commuters in Johannesburg use these services as they are relatively inexpensive. The MiniBus system is an informal method of transit, which consists of marked and unmarked vehicles that pick up passengers who indicate their destination with hand signals at the side of the road. This method does not provide door-to-door service, but prices can be negotiated with the driver, which could be more ideal for travellers, as one of the largest barriers between the public and public transit is the cost of a ticket. The collection of private vehicle travel and informal MiniBus system has led planners to create a strategy to address the growing congestion in Johannesburg.

Floyd Heath

The investment in Transit Oriented Development (TOD) is prevalent in current planning practices in Johannesburg. During the apartheid years, transportation planning called for investment of public transit to bring in African residents from the outskirts of Johannesburg to work in the city. The reminder of apartheid planning is one reason why transit has not been more readily invested in (Weakley, 2016). In 2006, TOD was the focus of the city strategy for growth. It was to create more pedestrian friendly, compact living close to the node of a transit station. This was meant to effectively reduce car dependency, and create new parking measures (Wray & Gotz, 2014). However, some transit investment was rushed to completion for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, while other projects are currently waiting to be started (Wray & Gotz, 2014).

South Africa's rail system has been a continuous project since the 1850s. It was one tool that colonialists could use to control land, especially after the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, then gold in the north of South Africa ("Commuter Rail History", 2007). Metrorail was largely fought over by British interest and Portuguese interest when gold was discovered ("Commuter Rail History", 2007). The Metrorail system spans to several major cities such as Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg. Currently the system is largely underfunded and faces troubles with available rolling stock of trains to service passengers ("Commuter Rail History", 2007). The Metrorail does have stations in Johannesburg but these have limited destinations. Trains as a viable method of travel were limited to the Metrorail until the Gautrain.

The Gautrain was announced in 2000: a train system funded by the province of Gauteng. The 80 kilometre track with 10 stations is one of Johannesburg's newest transit infrastructure projects and is one of the region's largest investments in public transit infrastructure (Wray & Gotz, 2014). It was built as an alternative for

those traveling from Pretoria to Johannesburg for work, to reduce congestion (Wray & Gotz, 2014). The link between OR Tambo airport and Sandton was completed before the 2010 FIFA World Cup. There are plans to extend the Gautrain south to Soweto and the West Rand. However, it is unclear how this will be funded (Wray & Gotz, 2014). The Gautrain is a modern mode of transit that moves people quickly, and is funded by the province: a symbol of progress compared to the Metrorail, built on tracks that were laid with colonialist intentions.

The Corridors of Freedom Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system in Johannesburg is a project that began in 2013. It was seen as a way to remedy post-apartheid planning and car centrality by trying to densify and use inclusionary zoning (Wray & Gotz, 2014). The city initiated the plan for the BRT network but continues to rely on private sector for funds (Wray & Gotz, 2014). The 2010 FIFA World Cup prompted TOD planning, using the BRT and Gautrain as a priority to accommodate new tourism. Phase 1A of the new BRT was completed in time to accommodate the World Cup. However, the following phases to expand the BRT network have seen very slow progress. Another factor that has slowed the BRT system expansion is the slow implementation of tolls on Johannesburg's major highways (Wray & Gotz, 2014). The revenue from these tolls could help with the infrastructure costs and the discouragement from using a car could encourage better ridership.

The implementation of new TOD projects has created revenue tools for the City of Johannesburg, through ticket sales and the increased tax revenue near Gautrain stations such as Sandton and Rosebank (Weakley, 2016). However, public transit still faces major struggles in the Gauteng region; the network is not expansive enough to cover a large city with the population constantly increasing. TOD is a strategy now used in planning practice as housing costs rise in the core, where jobs are also located. In a survey by the GCRO (Gauteng City Region Observatory), most residents still expressed that their main method of transit was to take a car or taxi (Wray & Gotz, 2014).

Gautrain Flickr, Taken on February 18, 2010 (https://www.flickr.com/photos/gautrain/4367831976/)

Despite the development of the above-mentioned transit systems, there are still several major challenges that must be overcome to improve Johannesburg's transit. When surveyed by the GCRO, respondents indicated that the cost of transit was too high, and that this was one of the major barriers to using it (Wray, & Gotz, 2014). Another major challenge is the lack of access to the stations because of the poor public realm surrounding

Rosettenville

by: Patrycja Jankowski

Nabeel Ahmed

One of Johannesburg's oldest suburbs, established in 1889, Rosettenville is an English inspired suburb in the south of the city. The area contains large trees, which are difficult to grow in such a climate. Residents in this area are primarily renters, with 80% of properties being rentals. As with many other areas south of the mining belt, Rosettenville is stigmatized by the wealthy elite, and known for housing many foreign nationals. Rotunda Park, located within Rosettenville, is a central public open space linking major streets to the suburbs. Rosettenville is also located near a Corridor of Freedom BRT stop, and is therefore prioritized for medium to high density. The City of Johannesburg seeks to provide housing that is safe and clean, as many residents in this area live in informal backyard houses. During Queen Elizabeth II's visit, a road through the centre of the neighbourhood was widened so that the Queen's caravan could ride down it, and there would be room for hundreds of spectators to stand by and watch. The street retains this layout today. The infrastructure is aging and rental units could be revitalized. However, changing the neighbourhood could bring in higher rental costs, and may displace those who rely on the neighbourhood's low rental prices to live in Johannesburg (Butcher, 2016).

them. Many high fences, used to protect properties, act as barriers to pedestrian access to public transit (Wray & Gotz, 2014). Transit stations and their surrounding areas would benefit from better design and architecture, which could turn them into gathering spots, as is the case in some other cities. However, Johannesburg is faced with many huge challenges in creating safe public spaces, and this could be why the train stations were not designed to encourage public gatherings. Despite having a generally positive impact on mobility in Gauteng, the Gautrain is flawed in that it only operates at limited times between 5:30am to 8:30pm, therefore limiting the type of trip that can be taken by its users. This assumes that users are working exclusively within the hours between the beginning and end of service. Therefore individual working irregular hours do not benefit from the Gautrain. The train network also covers a limited area, with stops located almost exclusively in areas of affluence, such as Rosebank, Sandton and OR Tambo Airport, among others. The locations of stations and price of a trip remove a large part of the Johannesburg population from participating in using the Gautrain (Weakley, 2016).

Apartheid planning has left a staggering difference between the commute times of African and white residents in the Gauteng region. Many African residents live far from employment opportunities, which are primarily located near more affluent neighbourhoods (Wray & Gotz, 2014). As a result of the lack of public transit, these African workers rely on taxis or informal MiniBus systems. These methods do not have a formal time schedule, are subject to traffic jams, and MiniBuses do not bring residents from door-to-door from home to work. These factors result in longer travel times for residents. Unable to afford a home

close to work because of rising land values, African populations face much longer commute times. According to GCRO data, African residents must start their commute much earlier to reach their destinations on time (Wray & Gotz, 2014).

Johannesburg and the Gauteng region face many challenges when planning for populations that were intentionally separated from one another. Apartheid policies continue to impact the built form and landscape of Johannesburg. The need to create a transit system accessible to everyone of every income will be a huge challenge for city. Through future plans of Transit Oriented Development, the Gauteng region hopes to create a more equal method of travel amongst all racial populations. According to TOD strategies, this requires the planning of future communities to be of mixed income and to be located around transit nodes (Weakley, 2016).

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Chapter 5: Spatial Inequality and Economic Development in Johannesburg

by: Nabeel Ahmed

Introduction

The spatial inequality produced by apartheid continues to persist today in Johannesburg, in yet another example of apartheid's lasting influence. The concentration of wealth in just a handful of pockets across the city, particularly north of the mining ridge, allied with growing populations in the disadvantaged peripheries, represents a deep and ongoing challenge for city planners. The government's efforts to redress the inequities inflicted by apartheid have made progress (albeit halting) in the areas of providing housing and services such as transit to Johannesburg's residents, but poverty and inequality remain defining features of the city's landscape. A key issue is the growth of housing developments that are far from the city's economic opportunities, exacerbating existing segregation (City of Johannesburg, 2015: City of Johannesburg, 2016).

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Over recent decades, the government has implemented a multitude of policies targeted at urban regeneration, economic development and poverty alleviation, reflecting shifting national and provincial priorities (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2007). These policies include but are not limited to transit-oriented development, sustainable tourism, and other urban regeneration initiatives. These exist alongside a significant degree of underground economic activity already underway in Johannesburg, including informal entrepreneurship and illegal mining (City of Johannesburg, 2015).

Spatial inequality in Johannesburg

Seventeen percent of Johannesburg's citizens report no income at all. Approximately 47% of the 15-64 workforce is unemployed or classified as either "not economically active" or "discouraged work seekers" and only about a third of adults have completed high school (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Research shows that the incidence of poverty is highest in areas of low economic activity and is concentrated in apartheid-era townships such as Soweto and Tembisa (Mushongera, 2015). While poverty has slightly reduced in certain areas, inequality remains high due to wealth being concentrated in a few areas (Gotz & Mushongera, 2014).

These economic patterns are linked to racial patterns; the townships, for example, are almost completely inhabited by black Africans, while the richer areas such as Rosebank and Pretoria tend to be white (GCRO, 2013; Mushongera, 2015). While racial integration is on the rise, especially in upper middle class areas as more black and colored residents come in, the divide remains stark and reflects Johannesburg's unique urban sprawl. An interesting piece of research from GCRO highlights the effects of this segregation: on average, Africans commuted far greater distances and for far greater

periods of time than whites because of the spatial distribution of housing and employment opportunities (Gotz, Wray & Mubiwa, 2014).

These trends may yet persist, as planned housing developments are located far from existing business activity and are closer to existing pockets of unemployment, as shown in Figure 2. These housing policies have to be understood in the context of the sheer housing backlog in South Africa and the promises made by the government after apartheid. Another piece of the puzzle is the land market, which has retained a high degree of private ownership and has driven the creation of cheap housing at the periphery of the city.

As Johannesburg's city planners pursue densification and transit-oriented development, a key challenge is to ensure economic growth and equal access to employment opportunities.

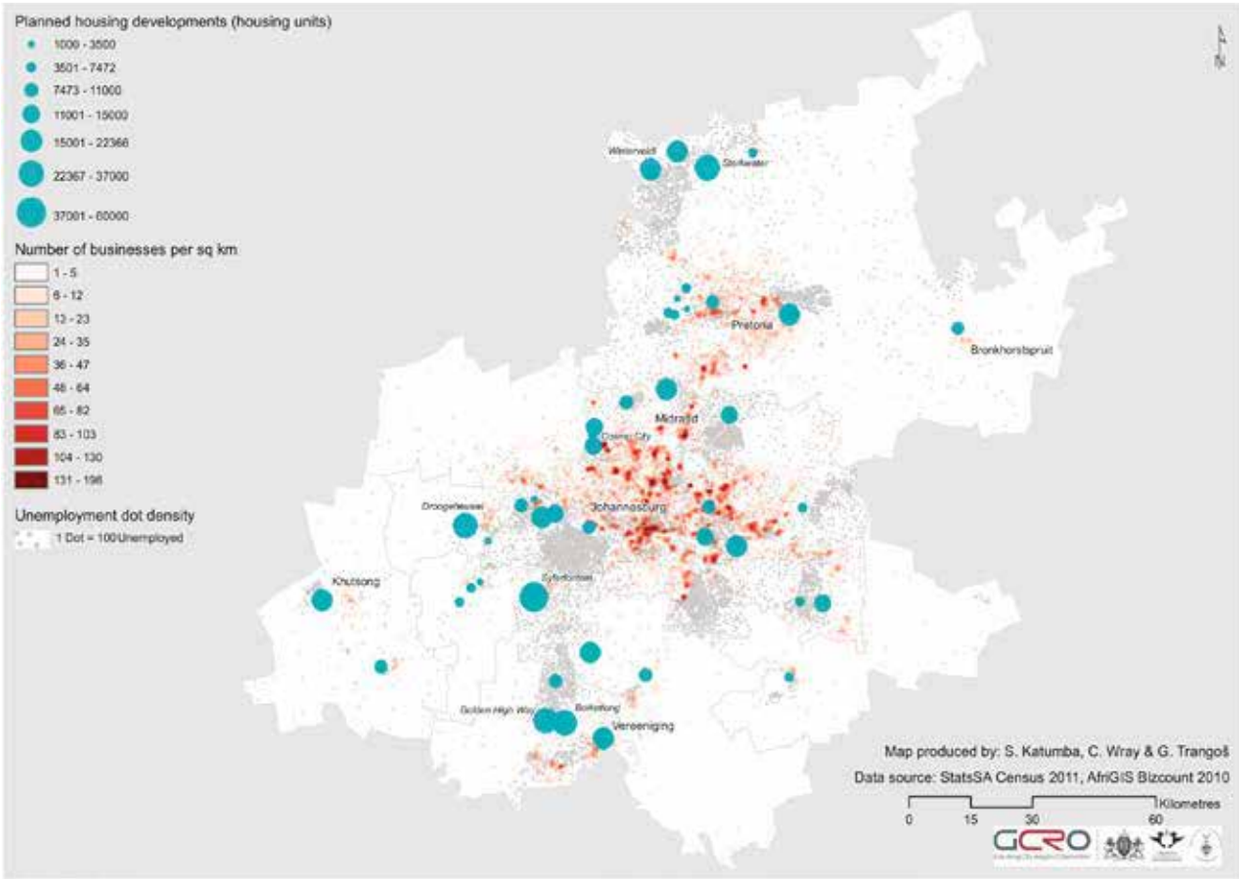

Figure 2, Souce: Gautang City Region Observatory

Government efforts

While the urban divide in Johannesburg is often thought to be solely a product of apartheid, Krugell (2014) argues that it can be attributed to urban agglomeration effects that have been at work for a century, intensified by apartheid. The city government, in its Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy (2011), identifies two reasons for the divide: design and decline. First there was unequal investment in townships by the former apartheid government; then, starting in the 1980s, the property market of the inner cities declined. Beall, Cranshaw and Parnell, (2002) shed further light by explaining how deindustrialization and the associated decline of manufacturing employment reinforced spatial inequality and led to "the making of a new ghetto underclass" (p. 61).

Despite formal acknowledgement of this challenge by all levels of government from the very beginning of the democratic period, the urban divide has persisted. Sihlongonyane (2014) attributes the failure of planning to effect meaningful urban transformation in South Africa to the overwhelming influence of Western planning ideas that are ill-suited to the African context. In particular, he points to the neoliberal and technocratic impulses of planning instruments used in South African cities, which have often ignored participatory processes, echoing Harrison et al., (2007). Rogerson (2011) also points to the top-down and market-driven nature of local economic development in South Africa, which has focused on promoting competitiveness for manufacturing activity and improving institutional efficiency for a business-friendly environment.

Table 1

	First mayoral term 2001/02 to 2005/06	Second mayoral term 2006/07 to 2010/11	Third mayoral term 2011/12 to 2015/16
Strategic focus	Economic development outcomes	Triple bottom-line outcomes (economic, social and environmental objectives)	Resilient, sustainable, and liveable city outcomes
Funding sources	Opex grants from CoJ Capex grants from CoJ and Blue IQ	Development fees from a range of intergovernmental capital grants (and reduced opex grants from CoJ) capex grants from CoJ, National Treasury and National Department of Transport	Development fees to fund operations (further reductions in opex grants) capex grants from National Treasury, and National Departments of Transport and Human Settlements
Priority development areas	Mostly inner city	Inner city and marginalised areas	Transit nodes and corridors
JDA area-based development offering	Development management	Development management and technical assistance (as capital project implementing agent)	Development management and development facilitation
Type of capital projects	Big iconic infrastructure and property development projects intended to catalyse investment by the private sector	Smaller capital works projects implemented over a longer period of time that respond to the needs of both investors and local communities. Technical assistance projects on behalf of other municipal departments or entities (e.g. Rea Vaya infrastructure and CoJ clinics)	Integrated precinct developments that will transform the space economy. The JDA's role includes area-based coordination, and development facilitation
Selection of key development areas	**Inner city regeneration areas:** Newtown Cultural Precinct Faraday taxi rank and market Constitution Hill Braamfontein **Township regeneration area:** Kliptown development, Soweto	**Inner city development areas:** Fashion district High Court precinct **Marginalised development areas:** Stretford Station precinct, Orange Farm Diepsloot development **2010 World Cup Legacy developments:** Vilakazi Street precinct, Soweto Nasrec, Soweto Ellis Park Sports precinct Rea Vaya busways and stations on trunk routes 1A and 1B	**Station Precinct (transit-oriented node) developments:** Park Station Precinct Nancefield Station Precinct Jabulani node Randburg CBD **Corridors of Freedom:** Soweto Corridor: Orlando East and Westgate Station Precincts Empire-Perth Corridor: Westbury, University precincts Louis Botha Corridor: Rea Vaya busways and stations on trunk Route 1C Section 15; Alexandra non-motorised transport (NMT) and Alex Renewal Projects (ARP) projects; Hillbrow Tower Precinct Turffontein development area

Source: Johannesburg Development Agency.

The gap between intention and outcome is particularly keenly felt within a city administration eager to build a global brand. The very first line of Johannesburg's Integrated Development Plan for 2016-2021 states "The City of Johannesburg must confront its challenge of being labelled the most unequal City in the world" (2016, p. 13). As a result, the City and other policy stakeholders have undertaken a concerted effort to convert Johannesburg's planning paradigm from the old master plans to strategic spatial planning (Todes, 2012). The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA, 2015) has compiled some of the key elements in Table 1.

This renewed focus on spatial equality through economic development is consistent across multiple government strategy and planning documents:

- The Gauteng Department of Economic Development's Strategic Plan outlines a vision for "economic inclusion and equity" with key policy initiatives for township economies revitalization (particularly through entrepreneurship and tourism) and strategic infrastructure (2015).
- Two of the four outcomes in the Johannesburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy highlight the need for poverty reduction and an "inclusive, job-intensive" economy (2011).
- The first priority in Johannesburg's Integrated Development Plan, 2016-2021 is "economic growth, job creation, investment attraction and poverty reduction", followed by a resolution to support the informal economy and small and medium enterprises. In addition, an entire section of the plan is dedicated to spatial transformation (2016).
- The Spatial Development Framework 2040 lists "spatial inequalities and the job-housing mismatch" and exclusion as two of its five priorities towards achieving a "spatially just city" (2016).

Strategies for spatial transformation and economic development

While the strategies above encompass a number of initiatives to counter spatial inequality, two are highlighted here: the Corridors of Freedom and sustainable tourism.

The Corridors of Freedom, managed by the JDA, aims to "restitch" the city by establishing key transit nodes around which development efforts will be concentrated, and linking these high growth areas with public transport. A mixture of developments are envisaged, providing a range of housing options as well as commercial spaces and social services.

It is necessary to identify the Corridors of Freedom as more than just a transit plan; indeed, the initiative explicitly targets spatial transformation by bringing people closer to jobs, bringing jobs closer to people, and linking people and jobs (JDA, 2016). This will be accomplished by densifying inner cities and upgrading areas with existing business activity, leading to an increase in land values. This is meant to promote business growth, particularly by attracting informal small and medium entrepreneurs to serve the increased population. In addition, reliable public transit will benefit both employers as well as employees (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

While promoting smart densification and upgrading infrastructure across the areas marked for development, there will also be a focus on working with local contractors and creating apprenticeship and job opportunities through the Jozi@Work program. This will entail a deliberate use of city procurement and supplier development to ensure that construction and other activities produce economic opportunities for micro-enterprises or cooperatives that will hire local residents (Office of the Executive Mayor, 2015).

Beyond economic development goals, the Corridors of Freedom is also expected to deliver social and environmental benefits, for example through increased green spaces and reduced car use. While the initiative encompasses a range of projects and outcomes, it may be more fruitful to see it as a systemic effort to modify urban form and development processes.

Another major strategy for economic regeneration in Johannesburg's modern push to establish itself as "a world-class African city" (Growth and Development Strategy, 2013) has been tourism, increasingly popular in recent decades after the success of cities such as Barcelona. Rogerson (2002) identifies four major forms of tourism prevalent in the city: business tourism, reliant on conferences and other corporate events; entertainment tourism, promoting casinos and national parks; cultural tourism, highlighting history and the arts; and regional tourism, which accounts for consumption-driven visits from neighbouring countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

Wattville

by: Nabeel Ahmed

Wattville is one of the oldest townships in the East Rand, with a rich history of struggle. First populated in the 1940s, it is now home to an estimated 50,000 residents (Makwela, 2016). Wattville's claim to fame is its status as the home of legendary anti-apartheid activists Oliver (who was the president of the ANC) and Adelaide "Mama" Tambo. It was also the scene of a series of successful land invasions by community residents that forced the government to provide low-income housing (Azuela, Duhau, & Ortíz, 1998; Carolini, 2010).

Wattville's context helps explain its current state. It is one of the nine towns amalgamated to form Ekurhuleni, which is the second most populous municipality in Gauteng with over 3 million people. These towns were independent and enjoyed variable fortunes during apartheid, which left the current area of Ekurhuleni highly fragmented and spatially challenged (Todes et al., 2010). Compared to Johannesburg and Tshwane (Pretoria), Ekurhuleni has a higher percentage of black Africans and residents in informal dwellings (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Joblessness is a major challenge in Ekurhuleni, with an unemployment rate of 29% (Statistics South Africa, 2016). This is despite a significant presence from the airline industry: the OR Tambo International Airport, Africa's biggest and busiest airport, is located in the municipality, as are the headquarters of the national carrier South African Airways and several regional airlines such as Kulula ("Top 10 African airports", 2011).

In response, Erkuhuleni has developed a local spatial development framework to integrate spatial and land use planning (Todes et al., 2010). At the township level, Wattville has retained the services of local NGO Planact to develop a precinct plan to integrate municipal services and support community economic development ("One Stop Shop' Precinct Plan for Wattville", n.d.; "Wattville Urban Development Framework Proposed", 2016).

Wattville is also attempting to promote sustainable and cultural tourism, taking advantage of the township's historical significance (Sabani, 2012). A "cultural precinct" has already been built, consisting of a memorial and museum commemorating the Tambos and the anti-apartheid movement, as well as a karamat - a tomb of a Muslim saint from India. An environmental education centre meant to serve as a model of sustainable construction is also being developed on the banks of the nearby Leeupan pond, which is being cleaned up and will be declared a nature reserve (Momberg, 2012). Significantly, a number of studio and retail spaces have also been created to support local artisans and entrepreneurs.

Photo by Nabeel Ahmed

Of these, cultural tourism is most relevant as a tool for urban revitalization in Johannesburg as it tends to proliferate in the inner cities and townships. Soweto is a high profile example, having promoted its history of anti-apartheid struggles and attractions such as the home of Nelson and Winnie Mandela to successfully develop a tourism economy with tour operators, souvenir shops, and restaurants. While the quantitative impact of township tourism is difficult to assess, there is enough evidence of entrepreneurship and job creation to indicate promise (Rogerson, 2012). Such tourism however plays the somewhat underappreciated role of combating "territorial stigma" and encourages the improvement of service delivery and governance as tourist destinations attract greater political attention (Frenzel, 2014, p. 3).

Informal economic activity

The informal sector has accounted for a significant proportion of economic activity in South Africa for decades. While data on the informal economy is weak by definition, Saunders and Loots (2005) estimated that it accounted for 7% of GDP in 2005, a significant decrease from an estimated 12% in the 1960s. Wills (2009) uses a different method to report that the informal sector contributes approximately 7% to total income as well.

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In Johannesburg, the informal sector is officially estimated to account for 12.4% of total employment (2016). Much of this takes the form of small and medium entrepreneurs as street traders, who have had a variable relationship with government. While these traders have been active since the apartheid era, the municipal government evicted over 6,000 traders in October 2013, in what was known as Operation Clean Sweep (Social Law Project, 2014). However, the city has prioritized the support of the informal economy in its latest Integrated Development Plan, recognized as "a foundation for growth of further entrepreneurialism, improved self-sustainability and job creation" (2016, p. 10).

There is another manifestation of the informal economy: the zama-zamas (literally "take a chance"), informal gold miners that were estimated to produce 400 million dollars worth of gold in 2015. Many of these miners are immigrants working in abandoned mines in dangerous conditions, producing considerable pollution and popularly considered both illegal and criminal (Nhlengetwa & Hein, 2015; Mills, 2016). However, Thornton argues that the tag of illegality is unfairly applied and that these "artisanal" miners should actually be recognized as entrepreneurs producing significant economic value in their own right (2014).

Conclusion

Apartheid left a deep legacy of spatial inequality in Johannesburg, which persists over two decades after the end of government-imposed segregation. This can be partially attributed to the preponderance of planning and economic development ideologies unsuited for South Africa, enduring urban agglomeration effects, and technocratic neoliberal policies. However, the government has renewed a focus on spatial transformation, shifting to strategic spatial planning and transit-oriented development in recent years. It is too early to tell whether this policy shift will yield the desired results, especially in light of a significant informal economy.

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Chapter 6: Informality in Johannesburg

by: Assya Moustaqim-Barrette

Efforts to transform Johannesburg into an equitable and mixed city in terms of both race and class has been a challenging endeavour, and the city continues to be segmented according to apartheid-era lines. The legacy of apartheid and colonialism include the legacy of insufficient housing and work for poorer segments of the urban population. Indeed, the lack of housing for South Africans is severe, especially for those who are only capable of acquiring affordable or low cost options (Gunter, 2016). And with a swelling urban population and slow economic growth, Johannesburg's population is experiencing intense competition for employment. The city experiences staggering 25% unemployment and 31.5% youth unemployment rates (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

With the formal economy failing to provide adequate means of livelihood for large swaths of the population, a large informal economy has developed in Johannesburg. Informal employment accounts for 30 per cent of non-agricultural employment, although informal employment fails to meet employment needs of the population (Wills, 2009). Nearly one-fifth of urban households in South Africa are informal dwellings (Lemanski, 2009). In Johannesburg alone, there are 180 informal settlements housing over 25 per cent of Johannesburg's population (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

Despite the significance of informal dwellings and economic activity, how informal settlements are created and maintained is poorly understood by those who are not directly involved (Huchzermeyer, 2008). Little research exists that analyzes the economic value contributed by informal employment to the South African economy (Willis, 2009). Nonetheless, this section will analyze the way that informality is conceived and expressed in the context of Johannesburg, the planning response to informality, and how the interplay between formality and informality in Johannesburg mirrors and feeds the interplay between communities, cities and global capitalism.

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Urban economics are significantly enhanced by informal work and housing (Roy, 2005). Despite their real effects on urban citizens, informal work and settlements are viewed as outside of formal planning and the "formal" social and economic sphere (Roy, 2005). Modernist planning modes in South Africa have always sought to obliterate informality into the formal space through a variety of methods. Informal economic activity has been subjected to harsh repression by the City of Johannesburg (Pezzano, 2016). Street traders, for example, were

Maboneng

by: Assya Moustaqim-Barrette

Maboneng is an inner city precinct on the eastern side of Johannesburg central business district. What was once an affluent area in apartheid times has, over the last few decades, suffered economic decay, along with many other inner city neighbourhoods of Johannesburg. The deindustrialization during the 1980s left Maboneng saddled with an assortment of empty warehouses and factories. But since 2008, Maboneng has started arising from its ashes. According to its own website, Maboneng

> "has evolved into a collaborative hub of culture, business and lifestyle that entices curiosity, encourages exploration and promotes a sense of urban togetherness. Maboneng is a destination on the eastern side of the city's business district offering retail stores, entertainment venues and restaurants mixed with residential, office and industrial spaces that appeal to a wide variety of people and businesses." (Maboneng, 2016)

In Johannesburg, Maboneng is seen, and sees itself, as the home of a vibrant and creative population of entrepreneurs and artists. This evolution is thanks to a private developer, Jonathan Liebmann, who is the founder of Propertuity, a property development agency.

Propertuity had acquired 25 of over 200 buildings in the Precinct by 2012, and has since branched out to several additional developments. Thanks to Propertuity, Maboneng is the host of multiple creative and cultural South African events, including South African Fashion week. It also features a "Market on Main", which doubles as an important Johannesburg tourist site, a site for independent traders and an entrepreneurial incubator.

For all of its youthful energy and creativity, these developments have not come without a cost. Maboneng, like other "creative class" inner city areas, has seen mounting real estate prices. Several informal businesses have been pushed to the outskirts of the precinct. In a classic tale of gentrification, Maboneng residences are increasingly unaffordable for lower-income occupants.

Photo by Assya Moustaqim-Barrette

historically excluded from public space necessary to conduct their activities (Pezzano, 2016). As Ananya Roy comments (2005), contemporary thoughts on the roots of informality focus on its exclusion from global capitalism, with the desired solution being the integration of these communities into the global economy. Despite clear conflict between informality and formal governance, informality remains the only route out of poverty and into employment for many South Africans (Pezzano, 2016). The inner city areas of Johannesburg, such as the Maboneng precinct, count around 10,000 informal traders (Pezzano, 2016). Similarly, informal housing in South Africa takes on the positive role of fulfilling urban development based on genuine human needs and not market forces (Huchzermeyer, 2009). This is not to say that informal settlements are devoid of market dynamics. In fact, some aspects are highly commodified (Roy, 2005). Nonetheless, informal housing in South Africa represents a unique form of human expression in a highly commodified and global capitalist market (Huchzermeyer, 2009).

Gradually, city attitudes on informality have shifted towards less repressive to more regenerative attitudes. The preamble of the Informal Trading Policy for the City of Johannesburg states "For the City of Johannesburg, informal trading is a positive development in the micro business sector as it contributes to the creation of jobs and alleviation of poverty and has the potential to expand further the City's economic base" (City of Johannesburg, 2009). This demonstrates a growing acknowledgement of the potential benefits and use of informal economic activity, as opposed to previous attitudes of apartheid and colonial heritage seeking to completely eviscerate the informal sector to achieve modernist city goals (Pezzano, 2016). Throughout the developing world, policy to address and interact with the informal housing sector has also been shifted towards upgrading rather than relocation (Roy, 2005). In 2008, Johannesburg introduced the "Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme", which shifted the official City of Johannesburg policy to one of in-situ upgrades and formalisation of informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2008). As Pezzano (2016) notes, the City of Johannesburg, in its recent Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy, goes so far as to proclaim its support of a strong informal sector.

Despite encouraging moves and rhetoric, there exists a contradiction between policy and action (Pezzano, 2016). The City of Johannesburg's policy on the informal economy ultimately removes power and agency from the hands of informal traders by restrictions on access to space (Pezzano, 2016). Similar reactions are seen to the informal housing sector - despite progressive policy as noted above, instead of seeking to upgrade settlements, there has been an acceleration in the effort to eliminate informal settlements through removal throughout the province of Gauteng (Huchzermeyer, 2009). In practice, informal settlements see mass displacements of their populations, with some evictions reminiscent of apartheid era slum removal (Huchzermeyer, 2008). Most informal settlements are not eligible for "formalisation", which is essentially slating them for eventual eviction (Huchzermeyer, 2009).

Many academics (Roy, 2005; Huchzermeyer, 2008; Lemaski, 2009; Gunter, 2016) have properly pointed out that the roots of informality can often be found in formal planning processes and governmental processes. Some reasons include inefficient land deeds disbursement granting by South African government (Gunter, 2016) and draconian eviction laws, which shift informal settlements to backyard shacks (Huchzermeyer, 2008). Roy (2005) points out that, although maligned, informal settlements can be conceptualized as a driver for urban growth.

Informality in Johannesburg is a poorly understood problem, with roots in many historic, economic and social factors. However, the seriousness of the problem has caused a slew of hasty policies and conceptualizations, which have failed to stem the growth of informality, much less solve the underlying poverty behind it. As Johannesburg continues to expand, it will need to find more inclusive and equitable solutions to managing the informal economic sector.

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Chapter 7: Public Housing in Johannesburg

by: Carmen Charles

In South Africa, housing rights are constitutionally embedded in section 26 of the South African Constitution. This establishes that individuals have a right to access adequate housing. This puts a positive obligation on the government of South Africa to take some form of action to help facilitate these rights (Christensen, 2007). The Department of Human Settlements (DHS) is responsible for enabling this right to adequate housing. DHS is a federal government department, and works in conjunction with the provinces and cities in South Africa to help materialize the right to housing. The constitutionally embedded "rights to housing" is a landmark case, with major international recognition and envy from housing rights advocates everywhere. Despite this major success, the provision of housing in South Africa to help materialize the right to housing. This section of the report focuses on the public housing stock in Johannesburg. South African policy regarding the provision of public housing has emphasized housing as a commodity to be owned by the individual and families, rather than investments into a high supply of low-income rental housing. One major criticism of South African housing policy is that public housing developments are often built on the peripheries of the city, far away from jobs, infrastructure, transit and other necessary amenities (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner & Mangcu, 2003). Public housing initiatives have also been criticized for replicating apartheid methods through the way housing is distributed in the planning process – with the rich inhabiting the core, while those with lower income, and those who have been victims of marginalization are pushed out to the edges. (Klug, Rubin & Todes, 2013). In addition, Charlton (2014) points out that public housing in South Africa has largely failed to provide housing for the very members of society it is designed to house: those who are poor, with very low income. This phenomenon is not unique to Johannesburg or South Africa. Rather, it is a very common challenge faced by most jurisdictions that have housing programs; achieving and keeping deep affordability usually requires multiple layers of government financial aid and programs to work (Rubenstein & Shubane, 1996). Despite the criticisms of public housing in South Africa, advocates involved in the fight for establishing positive housing rights still look to South Africa as a good model for achieving housing equality.

This section will outline the evolution of the provision of housing in Johannesburg, beginning with the enactment of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It will then evaluate some of the shortfalls and criticisms with the delivery of public housing in Johannesburg. It will shed light on two specific public housing initiatives that have been very successful in Johannesburg. These developments are both built on the edge of Johannesburg: Cosmo City and Fleurhoff. Both of these initiatives employed a mixed income model to attract a diversity of residents from a range of income brackets to the area.

The Early Days and the Enactment of RDP

The provision of public housing in Johannesburg is especially complex because of the deep cleavages left behind by the apartheid machinery that was inherited by the African National Congress (ANC) government, when they came to power in 1994 (Huchzermeyer & Karam, 2015). The DHS based its comprehensive plan for development of human settlements on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP is a socio-political framework that was enacted by the ANC under the Mandela government in 1994, primarily informed by earlier consultations that occurred at the National Housing Forum (1992- 1994) (Tomlinson, 2006). These negotiations brought together stakeholders from all over the housing sector, including private banks and financiers, trade unions, government agencies, policy makers and the like, to decide on the way housing provision should proceed in the upcoming years in South Africa. To tackle the large backlog of housing needs, the mid 1990s under the RDP framework South Africa witnessed a "massive housing delivery" (Rubenstien & Shubane, 1996 p. 265). City planners note that the government focused on "building now, planning later" (Charlton, 2014). The HDS, through the RDP, called for a "coherent national policy" and a "substantial budgetary allocation" providing a variety of "tenure options" and "economic opportunities to health, education, social amenities and transport and infrastructure" (ANC, 1994, p. 22 –

28). Much to its credit, the RDP built a significant number of houses in a fairly short period of time. In 2009, the director general of the Department of Housing (now renamed HDS) said:

> We have been able to build homes for more than 13 million people so far. The number of people who have benefitted is equivalent to the population of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland combined (Mzolo, 2009, p. 8).

While this is true, and certainly commendable, there are a number of significant shortfalls with the approach taken by the South African government in its provision of public housing. This section will focus on some of those shortcomings.

Critiques of South African Public housing

A report published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) critiqued the South African model of housing provision. The report demonstrated that, in the Gauteng province, public housing is generally built on the periphery – that is, away from the core, and in places where economic activity is very limited (OECD, 2011). There is a developing body of scholarship that demonstrates that, as a whole, public housing in Johannesburg is poorly located – far from mass transit, social amenities, jobs and other infrastructure – and that it actually contributes to exacerbating spatial exclusion (Tomlinson, 2006). There are a number of reasons for this. While this list is not exhaustive, a few of those reasons include poor coordination between institutional priorities and government agencies, lack of public land in the core to purchase for housing initiatives, conflict between public, and private interests with respect to land tenure rights and private property rights (Charlton, 2014). While there are certainly weaknesses with the Johannesburg model, there are some notable exceptions to the way public housing has been administered and delivered. Cosmo City is one such example.

Cosmo City is located northwest of Johannesburg's city core. The area was built as a collaboration between the City of Johannesburg and the province of Gauteng. The developer responsible for Cosmo City is Codevco. Cosmo is heralded as a prime example of a successful mixed income development initiative, and a pioneer of the combination of bonded homes alongside state funded (public) housing (Charlton, 2014). There are three major types of housing in Cosmo City, which attract a range of different buyers from different income levels. There are fully subsidized houses (these are funded through a grant program that does not have to be paid back by qualifying applicants), credit linked houses (houses that are only partially subsidized and a portion of the subsidy does not need to be paid back), and fully bonded houses (privately owned houses that are not subsidized) (Murray, 2011). Often, fully subsidized houses are those that were produced through the RDP, and prioritized the resettling of individuals from informal settlements, or those whose incomes are excessively low (Murray, 2011). There are 5000 RDP houses, 3000 partially subsidized houses and 3300 bonded houses in Cosmo City (City of Joburg, 2006).

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Chartlon (2014) explains that the success of Cosmo City is due to a slight combination of development around the edge in a good location in combination with cooperation between different government departments, as well as favourable timing in the real estate market. Public relations officer of "Codevco" Des

Fleurhof

by: Carmen Charles

Fleurhof is an example of a successful housing development, located in the old buffer strip between Soweto and Florida, southwest of Johannesburg's centre. It is also a partnership between the city of Johannesburg and the province of Gauteng. Fleurhof is currently being developed by Calgro C3. The model used to develop Fleurhoff and other developments is as follows: the private developer constructs mixed income housing that includes a combination of subsidized housing, low income rental housing, credit linked housing, and bonded housing. Calgro enlists a one third, one third, one third model – each development type makes up one third of the total units built. Calgro enlists this model to ensure that the city would be able to build other important amenities such as roads, schools and transit by accessing the property tax base of units that were not subsidized. He pointed out that the experience of other RDP projects have not been as successful because there is no tax base to service the area. Subsidized housing often does not pay very many development charges, as well as limited property taxes. Consequently, this leaves a gap in the area as services are paid for through both types of taxes. With little contribution by these types of housing, the area quickly falls into disarray. Communities that have provided fully subsidized housing ave often quickly fallen into disrepair (Erasumus, Tinus. October 2016. Speech Presented at meeting with Calgrow M3 Development at Fleurhof, South Africa). He also explained that core strength of the mixed income model is the notion of positive social role modelling – that is people learn good behaviour through examples or through positive reinforcement (Erasumus 2016). There is a developing body of scholarship, studying the impact of mixed income communities and how it affects the socio-economic status of people that live there (Lemanski, 2010). There is evidence that children from mixed income neighbourhoods tend to perform better in schools, and go on to achieve better social outcomes (Lemanski, 2010). Fleurhof has a smaller amount of low-income rental housing that is managed by the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO). A one-bedroom unit from JOSHCO's managed stock is worth around 687 Rand (approximately 65 Canadian dollars) whereas a one bedroom unsubsidized unit in the same development is worth around 2,634 Rand (approximately 250 Canadian dollars) (City of Johannesburg, 2016). Upon completion, Fleurhof will provide housing to 83,000 people (City of Johannesburg, 2016). Fleurhof faces the same types of concerns as Cosmo City with respect to the development of backyard rooms, noise, and pollution from informal businesses. Overall, however, Fleurof is championed as a good model of mixed income development in Johannesburg.

Photo by Carmen Charles

Hughes, proclaimed that Cosmo City would build "quality formal development which is not only affordable and sustainable but one that offers a socially conducive environment" (Murray, 2011, p. 101). Des Hughes went on to conclude that Cosmo would not become "another Diepsloot", an RDP development that is characterized by high levels of poverty, unemployment, crime, mob justice, and the rise of "backyard slums" (Murray, 2011). While Cosmo City has managed to avoid many of the pitfalls of Diepsloot, there are other problems. Unemployment in the area is high; so many residents have started their own informal businesses operating from their homes. These come in the form of barbershops, butcher-shops, and backyard carwashes, among other things (Murray, 2011, p. 102). All these forms of informal business are technically "illegal" and the lack of compliance with the law frustrates many residents of the region. The residents complain about excessive noise, pollution and a disrespect for official planning goal. There is quite a bit of tension between middle to high-income earners who own homes in the region and have concerns regarding these pop up businesses, and backyard rooms that are developing. One person remarked that these informal businesses and backyard rooms are "a clear indicator" of who received RDP housing through the government programs, and who are private purchasers (Murray, 2011). Nevertheless, Cosmo City still stands as a good example of public housing initiative that produced a thriving mixed income neighbourhood.

Conclusion

As explored in this section, public housing in Johannesburg comes in different forms, and with it comes many challenges. There is a push for housing ownership, and housing to be treated as a commodity, rather than investment in low income rentals by the government. This leads to the biggest criticism of public housing: that it often does not house those who it is designed to house, since public housing usually requires multiple layers of subsidies to achieve deep affordability. When there are successful models of mixed income neighbourhoods, tension between neighbours develop between those generating income through informal businesses and backyard rooms, are the rest of the neighbourhood. Despite these drawbacks, South Africa has managed to be a world leader when it comes to the provision of housing as a constitutionally embedded right, as well as the delivery of practical ways of accessing housing.

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Chapter 8: Gated Communities: “Our” Utopia

by: Floyd Heath

Gated communities are popular sites around the world, and they are perhaps even more popular in the Gauteng Province of South Africa. The proliferation of gated communities began in 1994, after the removal of the apartheid regime by the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela (Landman, 2004, p. 151). Although the political elite have proclaimed a "new" South Africa, the legacy of apartheid still lingers as a haunting ghost of an unequal political, economic, and geographic past. Perhaps the most visible evidence of the legacy of apartheid is the vast numbers of gated communities in the large metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg. These communities generally take the form of enclosed neighbourhoods and large, secured villages or estates (Landman, 2004). One may also consider the new high-rise luxury condominium (known in South Africa as sectional title) developments as a part of the gated community trend, and therefore a contributor to separation of people by race and socio-economic class (neo-apartheid). While the rationale for living in gated communities by mostly white, upper middle class South Africans is the high crime rate, the result is simply a continuation of apartheid with a new name (Landman, 2004).

Monaghan Farm Estate, Source: www.monaghanfarm.co.za/

Despite the demise of the apartheid system in South Africa, and the desire of successive governments, including the current ANC government of Jacob Zuma, to bring about social and economic change, South Africa remains deeply divided. Matthew Durington in the article entitled Race, space, and place in suburban Durban, stated that "despite the emergence of a small black middle class, the gap between rich and poor predominantly follows racial divisions with a white minority possessing economic dominance, while a mostly rural, black majority overwhelmingly represents the country's poor" (2006, p. 148). Durington hit the nail on the proverbial head in asserting that "this economic and racial split has become apparent in land reform, and housing development as home shortages in black communities' parallel rapid home development in affluent suburban environments" (Durington, 2006, p. 148).

The development of suburban gated communities is not new to South Africa. However, the rapid increase in the number of developments, primarily driven by the perception of ever increasing crime, and the flow of capital into gated developments, is astonishing (Landman, 2004). Alan Mabin (2005) states that "the South African suburbs became a place of residence of the mostly white middle and upper classes during, especially, the second half of the twentieth century- a period which of course, also saw the

entrenchment of apartheid" (p. 41). Twenty years beyond apartheid, this has not changed, as white flight continues to take place from the urban centres to the suburbs, with the exception of young white professionals who prefer the comforts of high-rise luxury condominiums in areas such as Sandton and Rosebank. Black residents, however, make up the majority of residents in the townships, which are in fact suburbs with lesser quality of housing and socio-economic standing. Mabin addresses the continued inequality a new method of division when he states:

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> Whatever else apartheid may have involved, it saw a redistribution of resources from less favoured spaces and classes to the suburbs, which deepened patterns of segregation. Redistribution has in many respects continued to favor suburbs since the formal end of apartheid a decade ago, but continued territorial transformation has seen new forms of segregation develop (Mabin, 2005, p. 41).

Gated communities represent a new form of segregation and division of space; they typically take the shape of two specific forms (Landman, 2004). The first is "enclosed neighbourhoods (road closures). These are existing neighbourhoods that have been fenced in by the closures of public roads." The second is "large luxury security villages or estates, such as golfing or country estates and other large, mainly residential, security areas (smaller security townhouse complexes-up to 50 units are not included.)" (Landman 2004, p. 4) The development of these communities has raised several questions with respect to the assertion that fear of crime is the main motivation for living in such a community, as it acts as a protective measure against increasing crime (Landman, 2004). Landman contends, "these questions touch on their effectiveness to address crime and the fear thereof and the impact and implications for spatial fragmentation and social exclusion, as well as the role of planning to mitigate any possible negative consequences" (Landman, 2004, p. 152).

The new division of space imposed upon the black majority of South Africans and other racial minorities, in the form of gated communities, is what Durington describes as the "new racial politics of space" (2006). Durington expresses that "the new racial politics of space are predicated not so much on categorical racial prohibitions as on highly individualized and specified right of admission" (Durington, 2006, p. 149). The right of admission, though not written to exclude blacks and others, does so through the control of space and the framing of non-whites as the "other," who have neither right nor reason to be amongst "us". Durington stated that these "spaces become inscribed with meaning [and] inscribed spaces implies that humans write in an enduring way their presence on their surroundings… how people form meaningful relationships with the locales they occupy, how they attach meaning to space" (2006, p. 149). These spaces often become contested spaces, which according to Durington are "geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition,

Eagle Canyon and Monaghan Farm

by: Floyd Heath

Eagle Canyon and Monaghan Farm are two gated luxury security estates located in Johannesburg, South Africa, but they are quite different from one another. Eagle Canyon is a luxury gated golf estate located on the West Rand of Johannesburg. According to the website administered by their homeowners association (HOA), the "estate was a granite and sand quarry that was developed by town planner Nico Kriek in 2005. The estate comprises of 700 residential homes on 300 hectares of land, that surrounds "a magnificent and unique golf estate" ("Welcome to the Eagle Canyon Golf Estate", 2016).

The estate is truly spectacular in beauty and design, but one must also consider the fact that this estate, like Monaghan Farm and many other luxury gated communities, serves as a tool of social fragmentation, in separating people primarily by race and socio-economic class. The HOA of Eagle Canyon further ingratiate themselves with predominantly white wealthy South Africans seeking luxury and exclusivity by stating "the golf course is overlooked by one of the finest club houses in South Africa which has world-class facilities- a fully stocked pro shop, academy, relaxing bar lounge area, patio with breathtaking sunset views, function and conference rooms, Eagle Canyon day spa, and wellbeing centre with state of the art gym facilities" ("Welcome to the Eagle Canyon Golf Estate", 2016). Truly a Luxurious place to live,and it can be purchased starting from 1.5 million rand for a two bedroom apartment, to above 12 million Rand for a three bedroom house ("Find Property for Sale", 2016) .

Monaghan Farm bills itself as having "equestrian premium facilities for the discerning few" ("Welcome to Monaghan Farm", 2016), but the few will have to be wealthy as well as discerning, considering the cost to live in this exclusive luxury gated village estate. Monaghan Farm sells not only homes but also a complete lifestyle on a 1300 acre estate ("Space: The Monaghan Farm Promise", 2016).

Monaghan Farm sells the concept of "space" to urbanites, who they believe have limited access to the scarce commodity of large stands (lots). With only 305 stands having an average size of over 1 acre of land, the farm promises that "only 3% of the 1300 acre Monaghan Farm will ever be built on" (Monaghan Farm | Home, 2016). Monaghan Farm provides its residents with "meandering river frontage with picturesque lookout deck, a 35 km single track mountain bike trail, equestrian facilities, gardens, and many acres of manicured common areas" ("Space: The Monaghan Farm Promise", 2016). The farm is also equipped with a state of the art security system, two private schools, a top of the line organic restaurant, serving dishes for the most discerning of palates, and sophisticated architectural designs for single family homes ("A Life Less Ordinary", 2016).

Photo by Stephen Closs

confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance engage actors whose social positions are identified by different control of resources and access to power" (Durington, 2006, p. 149). Upon close examination of gated communities in South Africa, in particular, the trend in Johannesburg reflects not only a predominantly white make up, but also a wealthy middle and upper class social economic structure (Landman, 2004).

There are several key differences that distinguish the two major forms of gated communities. The enclosed neighbourhoods, for instance, are pre-existing neighbourhoods for which a variety of methods are employed to close off the neighbourhood from outside traffic and people. Landman explained that "access into these neighbourhoods is restricted and controlled by a limited number of access control points, either in the form of remote controlled gates or security manned gates or booms" (Landman, 2004, p. 157). The irony of this type of enclosure is that the roads that are closed off are in fact public roads, built with public money. Enclosed neighbourhoods range in size from one or two blocks to much larger neighbourhoods containing over a thousand homes (Landman, 2004), which means that extremely large areas are blocked off from public access. The law requires that residents must apply and obtain a license to restrict access, but Landman points out that "the city of Johannesburg indicated that there were 49 legal neighbourhood closures with a further 37 whose approval had expired" (Landman, 2004, p. 11). Landman further detailed the scope of this phenomenon in stating that "there were an estimated 188 illegal closures and 265 pending applications" (Landman, 2004, p. 11).

The second type of gated community is the security villages/ estates. The luxury security golf estates of Eagle Canyon, and the luxury village estates of Monaghan Farms, reveal the massive scale of these developments. Landman, in describing these estates,

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stated that they "are generally located on the urban periphery where large portions of land are available together with numerous natural elements such as rivers, dams, patches of trees, and so forth, that remain important features of these types of development" (Landman, 2004, p. 158). Most luxury estates are approximately ten to fifty hectares in size, with much larger estates like Dainfern, in Johannesburg, occupying approximately 350 hectares (Landman, 2004). The irony of this is that black communities, which are also located on the urban edge, are not awarded the picturesque setting Landman has detailed with respect to the gated luxury estates, nor do they provide the abundance of amenities that the luxury estates offers to its residents. The gated luxury estates provide a variety of lifestyle choices and services for its residents, such as "golf courses, squash courts, cycle routes, hiking routes, equestrian routes, and water sports" (Landman, 2004, p. 159).

The luxury high-rise condominium developments, which are also gated and secured, offer prestige and exclusivity to its residents. Sandton's Central Square condominium development is just one of many examples of this new and rapidly developing type of community. The condominium offers 167 luxury suites along with thirteen penthouses, which are three or four bedroom suites that can be approximately 3000 square feet in size. Jarid Rohme, a sales representative for Kent Gush Properties, explained that a growing number of business people desire to live, work and play in and near to the Central Business District (CBD), due to its trendy restaurants, high end shops, and easy commute to and from work. Many condos even offer shuttle service for its residents who work in the CBD. Mr. Rohme revealed that the price for such luxury and security begins at approximately 4.5 million Rand for a two-bedroom suite, and that three bedroom suites start at the affordable price of 7.5 million Rand. Not surprisingly, this type of security and luxury homes are well out of the reach of many black South Africans, and therefore this type of development, like the other gated luxury communities, is a bastion for white wealthy individuals seeking immense comfort, security, and exclusivity. Access to the luxury condominium community is also strictly regulated through gatekeepers (security guards) and biometric passes, which allow residents to move and access all amenities freely, but offer only limited access, if any at all, to the public (Durington, 2006, p. 151)

The three types of luxury gated communities discussed have one extremely important common factor, which is the Residents or Homeowners Association (HOA). The HOA generally handles all operational and management aspects of the community. The body corporate, as it is often called, manages the affairs of the gated communities and, in the case of enclosed neighbourhoods, Landman states that "it would not have been possible to establish these areas without the HOA" (2004, p. 17). Landman further states that "it was, and is a formal requirement of the both municipal policies on the road closures that the application should be submitted by a formal section 21 company" (Landman, 2004, p.17). HOAs were in fact established prior to the to any street closures and were instrumental in the preparation of documents to be submitted to physically establish the enclosed neighbourhoods and provide security (Landman, 2004, p.17).

The luxury security estates and condominiums established HOAs or Residents Associations after the establishment of their respective communities. (Landman, 2004). The HOAs are responsible for several tasks within the general management of the estates and condominium. These tasks include but are not limited to:

- "To levy contributions from members;
- inform members of decisions taken and action performed regarding estates;
- to manage and control the security of the estate and communicate with security companies;
- to manage enforcement of rules, regulations, and controls of the estate;
- to provide for maintenance of sidewalks and open areas, and
- to control the architectural standards of buildings and other structures within the estates" (Landman 2004, p. 17).

Gated communities, whether enclosed, luxury security estates, or high-rise luxury condominiums, have a negative impact on South African society, while offering great value to those who can

afford to live or invest in them. The road closures in the enclosed neighbourhoods not only prevent the public from having access to public roads, but also adds to the social fragmentation which occurs due to the creation of privileged and exclusive areas (Landman, 2004). Landman contends that:

> The community inside the estate feels the need to separate itself from the outside and to not participate in any events or activities outside the estate. All the residents want is to be left alone, to mind their own business and to create their own perfect little world or Utopia inside the walls. This leads to spatial segregation but also social exclusion. The implications for citizenship, democracy, and integration in this respect are therefore questioned (Landman, 2004, p. 162).

In summary, the "New" South Africa will not rise from the ashes of the "Old" apartheid South Africa until all South Africans have access and equal opportunity, politically, socially, and economically.

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Eagle Canyon, Source: eaglecanyongolfestate.co.za

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Chapter 9: Behind the Wall: Crime and Security in Johannesburg

by: Stephen Closs

Visitors to Johannesburg are often struck by a particular feature of most of its neighbourhoods – large, enclosed walls surrounding almost every home and business. They are a symbol of an "unyielding footprint that affluent South Africans have imprinted on the earth space they inhabit" (Marks, Matteau Matsha & Caruso 2016, p. 1), and have largely been built in the post-apartheid years (Marks & Overall 2015, p. 2). The walls are a response to the city's high level of crime or, at least, the perception of crime, and are built "not only to prevent criminals from entering properties, but also to punish them. This is achieved by attaching sharp pieces of glass and metal to the top of the walls so that those who attempt to get over them are seriously harmed" (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 2). Are they as effective as they seem in preventing crime? Recent studies have found that they may not be.

Crime and its Effects

Crime in Johannesburg is a very real problem. In his 2014 article, "Protection and conviviality: Community policing in Johannesburg", Darshan Vigneswaran describes it as one of the most dangerous cities in the world:

Crime is not merely prevalent, but the violent and often macabre nature of the regularly and publicly recounted stories of crime in Johannesburg consistently shock and gall residents and visitors alike. These conditions of insecure living are further compounded by deeply embedded forms of social exclusion. Racism, xenophobia and segregation remain pervasive (p. 472).

This high level of crime has had a monumental impact on the city's physical layout. It is one of the primary drivers behind the relocation of many businesses from the CBD to Sandton and other northern suburbs, because "business owners and staff in the CBD not only risk loss of property, but also risk being robbed at gunpoint. Their staff are also vulnerable to crime during their commute to and from the office (Beall, Cranshaw & Parnell, 2002, p. 56).

The reaction to this crime by private individuals has been to build tall walls, made of concrete or metal, around their homes. For extra protection, the walls are usually topped with spikes, barbed wire, or electrical wire. Most of these walls were constructed in the years after the end of apartheid, when "there was a rush, particularly in affluent suburbs, to construct walls and create gated communities" (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 2). This was largely a reaction to the new reality for the largely white elite, who "who were previously sheltered from its impact during apartheid through a myriad of laws and legislations biased towards protecting white privilege," but now found themselves more vulnerable (Marks et al., 2016, p. 1). Today, many South Africans consider walls to be "non-

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Alexandra

by: Stephen Closs

Alex, as it is known colloquially, is a somewhat unique region in Johannesburg. The area is a densely populated, predominantly black region, although it was never a township – it was a "freehold area of African and coloured residence" (Beall, Cranshaw & Parnell 2002, p. 48). As with many other regions of Johannesburg, there was forced relocation of some of Alex's population to Soweto. Despite attempts by the apartheid government to have the regions demolished, there was so much resistance from the local populace that it "survived throughout the apartheid period as an overcrowded slum and hostel neighbourhood for migrants" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 50). From the 1970s onward, the government introduced "reforms that allowed various types of home ownership for the emerging African middle class" (Beall et al., 2002, p. 59). This has led to a noticeable difference in quality of housing in Alex, a sign of growing wealth disparity between native Africans in a region that is still relatively racially homogeneous. Compared to many other poor regions of the city, Alex has a major geographic advantage – it is immediately to the east of Sandton, Johannesburg's major business centre. Dylan Weakley (2016) describes it as the only place in the city other than the CBD with very high density and good access to jobs. Because of its prime location and rich history, it has been the base of many high-profile housing projects. "The area's significance coupled with its persistently poor living conditions made it a site for focused political attention, resulting in a special institutional development vehicle and dedicated funding allocation since 2001" (Charlton, 2014, p. 10). However, these development projects have come under fire for continuing to relocate vulnerable populations into more disparate areas, and for failing to curb the congested living conditions in the older regions (Charlton, 2014, p. 10). Although it is still a work in progress, Alex seems situated to rise economically in the near future.

negotiable in creating a sense of safety in a country that many view as plagued by crime" (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 2) and a necessary tool for "safety and protection against burglary and other forms of home invasion" (Marks et al., 2016, p. 4). Though they may seem striking to outsiders, walls are deeply imbedded in South Africa's culture and collective psyche.

The Effectiveness of Walls

Despite their prevalence in Johannesburg and other South African cities, there is much debate about the necessity of walls, and their actual effectiveness in preventing crime. Marks and Overall remark that "while crime statistics do indicate a dramatic increase in crime post-1994, the increase in fear of crime is not proportionate to the increase in crime rates (2015, p. 2) and that, contrary to logic, "despite 'excessive fortification' fear of crime has increased" (Marks & Overall 2015, p. 5). This seems to indicate a self-propelling cycle. As property owners build walls, they become more fearful, which feeds their need to continue building walls.

The resulting neighbourhoods are ones that seemed fundamentally opposed to Jane Jacobs' theory of natural surveillance (Lemanski, 2004, p. 107). The walls surrounding people's homes "prevent [them] from seeing what is happening outside [their] property when [they] are leaving it and even when [they] are inside [their] own property at home" (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 10). This creates a culture of separation, where the "low levels of social integration invoke heightened fear of crime and insecurity," thereby leading to precisely the opposite result of what they were built for (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 5). Citizens of many of Johannesburg's suburbs have become alienated from the natural environment, from the streets and sidewalks, and from one another (Marks, Matteau Matsha & Caruso, 2016, p. 2). Walls isolate people in private spaces, a phenomenon that creates "disconnection, lack of awareness and an erosion of engaged communities. Ownership and participation in public space is forfeited" (Marks et al., 2016, p. 19).

Sandton and Rosebank

by: Stephen Closs

Sandton and Rosebank are two large suburbs north of Johannesburg's centre. These regions saw their first significant population boom after World War II, when the state had a policy of subsidizing white home ownership, and was giving "low interest home loans for new residential developments in the northern suburbs" (Beall, Cranshaw & Parnell 2002, p. 49). After the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, most of the "white flight" that took place from Johannesburg's centre was towards these regions. As such, they have seen a huge amount of expansion over the past few decades. In fact, Sandton may no longer be classified as a suburb – it is now "the most important financial and business district in South Africa, and arguably sub-Saharan Africa" and "home to the top investment banks, financial consultants, the Johannesburg stock exchange, and one of the biggest convention centres on the continent" ("Sandton", 2016). Their development was heavily influenced by the expansion of roadways going from the CBD to the north, making commuting to and from these areas much more convenient (Beall et al., 2002, p. 49). They are now characterized by the prevalence of high-rise buildings, shopping malls, and a comparative abundance of urban greenery. Their continued expansion is subsidized by private investment that is still pouring in steadily (Mabin, 2013, p. 5). Like many other regions, they are densifying, largely due to high-rise residences (Todes, 2016). Rosebank is a priority development area in greater Johannesburg, and "is undergoing a major face-lift … with the aim of creating a high-end retail, and shopping districts" ("A look at Rosebank's massive R7 billion face-lift", 2016). One of these high-end shopping districts is Melrose Arch – an open-air precinct full of restaurants and shops, walkable via pedestrian boulevards. However, only those with cards can access the area in the first place.

Photo by Floyd Heath

Many researchers and law enforcement officials argue that walls may actually increase the risk of crime. Marks and Overall state that "homes with low levels of visibility from neighbours and passers-by … are arguably more vulnerable to burglary" (2015, p. 13). This is due to the fact that "opulent and secured homes indicate the presence of wealth and valuables. By inference, wealth creates vulnerability" (Marks et al., 2015 p. 11). The researchers found that "the houses that are most targeted, particularly by more organised criminals, are those with high walls" because "criminals will always look for ways to be hidden from sight" (Marks et al., 2015, p. 10). This appears to support Jane Jacobs' decades-old theory that places without natural surveillance attract crime (Jacobs 1961, p. 43).

Widening the Gap Between Classes

The segregation of individuals also serves to deepen the societal divides of race and economic class, furthering the gap between haves and have-nots. Marks and Overall argue that "high walls, solid gates and other excluding technologies produce a landscape that encodes class relations and residential segregation along a number of lines including race, class, ethnicity and even gender" (2015, p. 4-5). They "subjectively manipulate the balance of public and private rights and access by acting as barriers that selectively allow for the inclusion or exclusion of people and even aspects of the natural environment" (Marks et al., 2015, p. 3). The wealthy class has essentially barricaded itself in private spaces, and this has a detrimental effect on the public space:

> In aggregate, this organized, individualistic, and repetitious forfeiture of ownership in public space results in urban environments that are "abandoned in plain sight", a growingly lawless public realm devoid of any ongoing, passive, or communal social regulation and enforcement. A retreat into individualized fortresses (among those with the resources to do so) has therefore permanently dismantled the opportunity for community action to enable collective security (Marks et al., 2016, p. 10).

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Again, this is a cycle that feeds itself. Fear of crime has led many citizens to garrison themselves. With an entire social class removed from the public sphere, crime and desolation have flourished.

Segregation in Other Areas of Society

This social segregation is not limited to private residences. Beall, Cranshaw and Parnell note how, in the 1970s, "corner stores and inner-city shopping [were] largely replaced by vast shopping malls" which were "increasingly attractive to a motorized middle class [because they were] closer to their suburban homes than central city shops, [and] provided extensive parking facilities, air-conditioned comfort and relative safety and protection from crime" (2002, p. 56). Darshan Vigneswaran details how many levels of urban infrastructure have been designed to keep the wealthy class in a veritable bubble:

> "A combination of planned decentralization, capital flight and white flight in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s … left the few parks and squares in the city … largely devoid of casually intermingling social groups. This problem is compounded by the fact that the city's racially and economically bifurcated transport system tends to provide wealthy and white residents with means of bypassing key nodes of interaction and cohabitation … Private businesses have built a series of highly controlled and protected communal spaces, which are specifically designed to exclude poor members of society, pedestrian traffic and nonmembers … Many residents of the city are so collectively concerned about the threat of violence that they … structure their daily activities around highly ritualized and restricted commutes between well-known haunts" (2014, p. 472).

This has led to what Susan Bickford describes as "purified versions of public space [that] enact deep forms of segregation" (2000, p. 356). Martin J. Murray posits that this is not motivated solely by fear, but by the desire for social status: "the steady accretion of luxury entertainment sites, enclosed shopping malls and gated residential communities in the northern suburbs has come to symbolize the entry of middle-class urbanites into the culture of aspirant 'world class' cities" (2009, p. 165). This begs the question of whether wall culture is motivated by fear, or if there is a conscious desire to widen the fissure between classes, under the guise of "security".

The Security Industry

There has always been some level of economic motivation behind the construction of large walls. Marks and Overall note how, in the late apartheid period, the rapid explosion of walls and securitization led to a "massive growth of the private security industry" (2015, p.1). Marks, Matteau Matsha and Caruso elaborate on this point:

> Walls became a physical component of an intricate private security apparatus focused on loss prevention and reduction at private sites, with a private security industry promoting private clients' interest rather than the general public's interest … The media and private security industries corroborated the interrelated threats of uncontrollable crime and ineffective policing" (2016, p. 5).

With so many forces pushing in the same direction, the expansion of walls and securitization was inevitable.

Recent studies suggest this may be changing. Over the course of several interviews with police officers and private security personnel, Monique Marks and Chris Overall found that the majority had come to the belief that walls were a detriment to security and crime prevention. Walls "prevent patrolling officers from knowing what is happening inside a property, thus detracting from the value of patrols as a form of crime prevention and quick response" (2015, p. 9). As well, private security officers are not allowed to jump over walls, for their own safety. This means they can do a perimeter check, but they cannot enter the property unless they are able to get through an entrance, defeating the purpose of providing a security service at all (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 10). Walls have turned the suburbs into "a policing nightmare and a criminal's paradise" (Marks & Overall, 2015, p. 11). With this changing perception of walls among those who serve to protect, there is mounting pressure for a paradigm shift, a move away from walls and towards a more open, integrated society. Time will tell if this comes to pass, or if the societal fissures continue to grow.

Conclusion

The effects of walls in Johannesburg can serve as a lesson in futility for Canadian cities like Toronto. Although we are nowhere near the walled city status of South Africa's cities, fences and gates are becoming more common as a way to delineate private property. Planners, developers and property owners must be aware of the potential dangers of a culture of isolation, and how this can deepen social divides and increase the prevalence of crime. As the movement to tear down the walls grows in South Africa, we can use their example to prevent our cities from moving closer to ones of segregation and fear.

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Conclusion

by: Stephen Closs & Floyd Heath

The delegation from York University went to Johannesburg with a specific directive: to assume the role of a Toronto Planning firm, and to research and assess the planning dynamics in the city. The goal was to ascertain policies and processes that could be implemented within the context of the greater Toronto area. Though Johannesburg may not be the first place that comes to mind when one thinks of model cities, the students found many successful programs and policies that the city and province have implemented.

Like many cities around the world, Johannesburg finds itself amid a multitude of challenges. Inefficient public transportation, high unemployment, growing informality, and lack of affordable housing are among the many problems the city currently faces. While other cities face similar challenges, Johannesburg's are compounded by several factors, including the legacy of apartheid, and the slow transition from the old South African socio-political structure to that of the "new" South Africa, the constant influx of poor migrants from within South Africa and migration of job seekers from the neighbouring countries. All of these contribute to the difficulties Johannesburg is facing (Haferburg, 2013). According to Christoph Haferburg, "most of these people move to existing townships or Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) projects (often to backyard shacks), to informal settlements, or … to overcrowded inner city apartment blocks" (Haferburg, 2013, p. 261), which contributes to the difficulty the government has in providing housing and services, as well as other socio-economic issues.

Growing inequality and persistent social fragmentation are ongoing problems. This is due in part to government housing policies, which build subsidized housing (RDP housing) for black citizens in townships on the periphery of Johannesburg. Meanwhile, private developers build luxurious secured gated communities for wealthy, mainly white, citizens in the more affluent suburbs on the edge of the city (Haferburg, 2013, p. 262). Haferburg asserts that "this lack of social cohesion is reproduced in the neighbourhoods, where the separation of rich and poor has become the new principle of fragmentation, for a more general perspective on the nexus of neighbourhood and social cohesion" (Haferburg, 2013, p. 261). The social divide is also evident by the "wall" culture that has homes barricaded behind high walls with electric fences atop them, which can be seen on any given street in a middle-class neighbourhood in Johannesburg. The social fragmentation taking place in Johannesburg is not a phenomenon unique to rapidly urbanizing cities in the global south alone; it is also an increasingly disturbing characteristic of many cities in the global north, including Toronto.

Despite these challenges, there are a number of things the City does really well. First and foremost is the mandate by all levels of government to address and reverse the inequalities created during the apartheid era. As mentioned numerous times in this report, every aspect of South African society is marked by this history. But they do not stifle it or hide from it. They address it head-on. They acknowledge the history of oppression faced by many of the city's residents, and they have explicit policy statements and plans devoted to counteracting the effects of apartheid. Dylan Weakley (2016) explained that the City's planning department has what they term a transformation agenda – to address the inequalities and try to direct future growth in a way that will not repeat the "intentional mistakes" of the past. This motivation can be seen in many planning policies. For instance, Alison Todes (2016) described the Corridors of Freedom are as a way to "restitch" the apartheid city – a way to connect regions of the city that were built with intentional segregation. These initiatives are strengthened by the focus on developing townships – historically neglected areas – from within, as well as the huge level of commitment from all levels of government towards subsidized housing, as discussed in the cases of Fleurhof and Cosmo City.

In Toronto, the policies are not nearly as explicit or deliberate in addressing inequalities (Toronto Official Plan, 2015). We have a history of oppression as well, particularly concerning our indigenous people, but planning documents do not address the fact that this used to be indigenous land ("The History of Toronto" 2017). The government also puts aside a significant budget for urban research. The Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) is an agency that collects and analyzes data about the region, and is funded by the province, as well as the University of the Witwaterstrand and the University of Johannesburg (GCRO Gauteng City Region, 2016). The GCRO's research has been used heavily throughout this report. This is another sign of the government's commitment to understanding and addressing the problems the city and province are facing.

Johannesburg, despite the numerous challenges it faces, is an amazing, beautiful, and complex city on par with any other developing mega-city around the world. Martin Murray spoke of the resilience of this remarkable city, when he stated:

"Since its beginnings, 125 years ago, Johannesburg has reinvented itself several times over, from the lawless booming mining town in the 1890s to its arriviste self-promotion on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary (and the first Empire Exhibition outside Britain) as "Africa's Wonder City", to the bastion of apartheid capitalism on the eve of the Soweto Uprising in the 1970s, to the capital of crime, grime, and decline in 1990s, to a current aspiration, heading up the official city website, to make Johannesburg a "World-class African city" (Murray, 2012).

There is no doubt that Johannesburg has the makings of a world-class city and the wherewithal to put to rest the lingering legacy of apartheid once and for all, by creating a society that provides social justice, security, and economic opportunity for all of its citizens.

We cannot underestimate the impact the past has on both the present and future - not just the legacy of apartheid, but also the decades of Dutch and British colonialism. Planners in Johannesburg have a long road ahead. But the fact that so many planners, public servants, researchers and NGOs share common goals is a positive sign. Though there have been a lot of flaws in the implementation, the fact that so many people are attempting to move things in the same direction is a reason for optimism about the city's future.

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