

An aerial photograph of a city grid, likely Cape Town, with a central rectangular area highlighted in a darker shade. The grid consists of numerous small, rectangular blocks. The highlighted area is a large, dark rectangle that covers a significant portion of the city's center. The surrounding areas are lighter and show more detail of the buildings and streets.

University of Cape Town
School of Architecture Planning and Geomatics

Enabling 'Just' forms Of Regeneration
in
Woodstock, Cape Town

Dissertation submitted in part fulfilment of the degree of
for
Master of City and Regional Planning

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Abstract

The dominance of market-led regeneration has the ability to incapacitate the working class individuals' ability to remain in central inner-city neighbourhoods. The inner-city neighbourhood of Woodstock in Cape Town appears to reflect this problem through private sector development that results in the increase of property prices to the detriment of low-income residents. Research indicates that a large proportion of Woodstock residents cannot afford the resulting increase in cost of living, and resort to living in temporary relocated areas remote from economic opportunities and social amenities. Municipal planners are unable to solve proceeding issues from this type of 'unjust' regeneration, however, it is integral for them to enable more 'just' forms of regeneration which mitigates the impact on lower-income residents. In order to respond to this problem, the present study draws largely from Fainstein's (2010) concept of the 'Just City' which reflect the principles of equity, diversity and democracy. In turn, a theoretical framework was established which assessed the extent to which Woodstock performs as a 'Just City'.

The case study and oral history data collection method were used. Research techniques included semi-structured in-depth interviews, non-participant-observations, mapping techniques of the current situation, document analysis, and an oral history interview. In addition, informal conversations and personal communication, also played a role in this study.

Key findings reveal how Woodstock lacks in a number of requirements to indicate a strong presence of urban justice. Regarding *equity*; there are minimal affordable housing units and a high demand for social housing. Non-Governmental Organisations take the lead in finding bottom-up strategies to benefit marginalised residents. Furthermore, the Urban Development Zone Tax-incentive does not benefit a wide range of individuals beyond long-time property holders. Regarding *diversity*; although varied public spaces exist, their 'gated' character reveals an inherent social fragmentation. Despite this, zoning, and land-uses speak towards mixed-used and inclusionary potential. Regarding *democracy*; residents have representation through activist organisations, yet are still not on an equal footing when it comes to decision-making.

In order for planners to enable 'just' forms of regeneration, recommendations are made to create a social housing stock, recast the current urban development tax incentive, and prioritize bottom-up strategies. Further recommendations include the establishment of a 'Woodstock Local Area Overlay Zone', promote Amin's (1999) concept of 'institutional thickness', and to enable community activities through working alongside urban designers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Despite [the] good intentions of [urban regeneration] policy frameworks to ensure against issues of displacement, such agendas often justify the renewal of derelict urban areas for the sake of economic gain through increasing housing stock or stimulating investment. The results are often mass displacement without consideration of the social or community upheaval of such projects. The injustices found in such projects must be addressed to create equitable spaces.

(Bassett, 2013:2)

Given the phenomenon of global economic restructuring, mass urbanisation, heightened socio-economic inequalities, devolved state responsibilities and rampant urban sprawl, cities across various world regions are experiencing many challenges. These challenges include, for example, high levels of unemployment, a lack of affordable housing and public infrastructure, the illegal occupancy of land, stark changes in climactic patterns and the dereliction of certain inner city neighbourhoods. Hence, urban regeneration policies and incentives have become an almost universal mechanism of addressing these types of challenges regardless of the unique situation found in different contexts (Winkler 2009). In the South African context, urban regeneration has thus become an adopted planning and land-use management tool for the explicit purpose of reviving inner cities that have experienced urban decay (Human Development Agency [HDA], 2013). However, implemented regeneration policies and frameworks do not always, or necessarily, take into consideration the needs of economically stressed residents who live (often as tenants) in neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration.

Furthermore, in economically liberal contexts, like South Africa, market-led urban regeneration has become an everyday and taken-for-granted phenomenon (Mabugu and Chitiga, 2007). This is evident in the way the private sector invests in seemingly derelict inner city neighbourhoods (including, in Woodstock, Cape Town, for example), thereby forcing low-income residents to relocate to other, often far flung, areas of the city due to rising costs of living in neighbourhoods that are undergoing regeneration. Yet, in a context where the legacy of apartheid planning still places poorer citizens at a socio-spatial disadvantage, it is vitally important that planners and policymakers adopt more spatially just ways of conceptualising and implementing urban regeneration than simply surrendering such initiatives to market forces alone.

The application of 'spatial justice' then becomes an important point of departure towards promoting a more 'fair' and equitable urban environment. Although researchers view the philosophical concept of fairness in varying ways, Fainstein's (2010) theoretical conceptualization of the 'Just City' is used in this dissertation for a two-fold purpose: (1) To critically assess the case under study, and (2) to establish possible planning interventions in the case under study. I will also make use of Lehman-Frisch's (2011) argument that the relationship between segregation and spatial injustice needs to be re-examined, and that spatial justice is enabled through social diversity. Lehman-Frisch (2011), accordingly, concludes that Fainstein's (2010) 'Just City' is a viable way forward towards enabling social diversity. Soja (2009), in turn, views the concepts of fairness from a socio-political standpoint by emphasising the role of socio-political movements to create geographically equitable and accessible resources (see also Pavoni, 2010; Soja, 2012). So, while Fainstein (2010) may agree with the idea that local socio-political movements have a vital role to play in fighting for more just regeneration interventions, she, nevertheless, takes on a more spatial approach by viewing 'spatial justice' as both a theoretical and practical tool to overcome injustices of past and present situations. It is within this conceptualization that the three main assessment criteria for this study are established. These include: (i) equity, (ii) diversity and (iii) democracy. These assessment criteria are, however, not merely presented as abstract ideas in Fainstein's (2010) work. Rather, they also involve a number of recommendations for *how* planners and policymakers might go about implementing interventions for more just outcomes in situated contexts. The 'Just City' and other related theoretical concepts are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

For now, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the overarching aim of the study and the main research question. Subsidiary research questions are, in turn, derived from an in-depth review of the relevant literature (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, the kinds of questions asked by means of this study serve to establish which research methods and techniques are required in order to answer the main and subsidiary research questions. These methods and techniques are briefly introduced in section six of this chapter and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Before doing so, I will begin by elaborating on the background of the study.

1.2 Background to study

Urban regeneration is essentially the process of ongoing developments with the intention of adapting the existing built environment through market-led, state-led and other interventions. For this reason, we may argue that “cities are never finished objects. [L]and-uses change, plots are redeveloped, the urban area itself expands and occasionally shrinks” (Jones and Evans, 2008:1). This implies that the process of neighbourhood change is inevitable and cannot always be predicted and controlled, because neighbourhood change takes place over a long period of time depending on a number of socio-economic, spatial, political and other factors (Jones and Evans, 2008:1-3).

'Regeneration' emerged from various historical and global shifts. It was originally assumed, in the 1970s, that physical and socio-economic inner city problems were a result of deindustrialisation processes. Physical planning interventions that included large scale public-sector "investments in buildings and [urban] infrastructure" were thus deemed to be the most appropriate responses to inner city decline and capital flight (Acierno, 2013: 240; Leary and McCarthy, 2013). Aspects of such responses, eventually, became 'the norm' in cities of both the global North and South (Acierno, 2013; Leary and MCarthy, 2013; Winkler, 2009). The only difference to former regeneration approaches is that many municipalities, whether based in the global North or South, now actively seek to incentivize urban regeneration via both public-private partnerships (PPPs) and private-sector led initiatives.

'Regeneration' is therefore often associated with 'gentrification'. Gentrification refers to neighbourhood change where affluent (middle class) individuals buy cheap residential properties in run-down neighbourhoods and renovate these, thereby displacing original residents who are, more often than not, tenants and not property owners. In this way, gentrification often has a racial discriminatory connotation (Bostic and Martin, 2003). This argument is relevant in the South African context. Moreover, gentrification represents the way in which certain spatial, socio-economic and class inequalities and injustices become materialised (Winkler, 2009). Some scholars therefore argue that contemporary urban regeneration initiatives inevitably lead to gentrification (Slater, 2011; Fainstein, 2010; Winkler, 2009; Hackworth and Smith, 2001). Such outcomes, in turn, tend to serve the needs of wealthier urban residents through 'free market ideologies' at the expense of existing (but poorer) residents' socio-economic needs (Slater, 2011). While this gentrification argument is not the main focus of this dissertation, the City of Cape Town's regeneration initiatives and frameworks are assessed with this argument in mind.

For the City of Cape Town (CoCT) the 'inner city' area, including Woodstock, is earmarked as an urban development zone (UDZ). As such, regeneration initiatives in the 'inner city' are subject to 'urban renewal' tax incentives for the explicit purpose of promoting private sector-led residential and commercial developments by allowing businesses and individuals to benefit from tax-reductions for renovating buildings and for new constructions in the inner city (CoCT, 2014). This tax incentive also includes the development of public parks and transport facilities (CoCT, 2014; National Treasury, 2004). To this end, market-led urban regeneration seems to be emphasised by the City.

The City's regeneration-related directives often lack sufficient participatory mechanisms. For instance, the urban design policy objectives for a site larger than a hectare fail to stipulate how participatory processes serve to address the needs of low-income residents, and how they might become involved in market-led regeneration incentives. Nonetheless, the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) claims to offer some valuable mechanisms to overcoming these identified problems. The CTP is a public-private-partnership (Cape Town Partnership [CTP], 2009). Its primary role is to rejuvenate and the 'inner-city' of Cape Town. To this end, it claims to employ a people-centred approach. Although, the Partnership's (CTP, 2009) ten-year strategy for Cape Town includes densification strategies, land-use management imperatives and the implementation of affordable housing in the inner city, in addition to implementing public infrastructure and environmental improvements, my research will critically assess *if* and *how* the CoCT enables 'just-city' principles and outcomes in Woodstock. Arguably, the ever-buoyant but soaring property market in Woodstock seems un-tameable. Ever-rising property values simply serve to put undue pressure on low-income tenants and businesses. As a result, they are forced to relocate to areas with lower costs of living, but with higher social costs and other negative externalities (Wenz, 2013). This speaks directly to the problem under study.

1.3 Identifying the Problem under study

Research findings from countless studies on urban regeneration suggest that uncontrolled market-led regeneration fails to benefit existing and low-income residents of neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration (Crisp, Gore, Peterson et al., 2014; Madden, 2013; Ngwenya, 2013; Turok, 1992). Power relations between various decision-makers and developers also need to be considered, as these impact on low-income residents in different ways (Tonurist, Kattel & Lember, 2015).

Cape Town represents a city where inequity, insecurity and socio-economic exclusion remain an everyday reality for most Capetonians. This may be said despite two decades of democracy. Property prices continue to escalate in inner city areas regardless of the Cape Town Partnership's claims to

facilitate a 'people-centred regeneration approach' that is inclusive of providing affordable housing. Instead, the gap between those who can afford to live close to their places of work and those who cannot, is at an all-time high. Of further concern, the urban poor are excluded from public decision-making processes and outcomes that might alter this unjust situation (Conrad, Leyland, & Parbhoo, 2010; Krumholz, 1996). All of these (and still other) aspects of 'the unjust city' are, arguably, heightened by market-led regeneration initiatives (Tarsi, 2014; Parés, Bonet-Martí, Martí-Costa, 2011; Amin, 1999).

'The unjust city' is further perpetuated when stakeholders operate in silos. This silo approach to planning diminishes opportunities for, what Amin (1999) terms as, 'institutional thickness' and collaboration between different stakeholders. In these silos (where the CoCT, developers, residents and NGOs continue to operate in isolation), public and private space becomes a further contested issue, which, in turn, diminishes a sense of 'community' (Block, 2009; Bodnar, 2015). Without sensitive and ethical spatial solutions to unjust socio economic realities (that can move us beyond the function of land-use and zoning mechanisms alone), values for a more just city cannot be achieved (Fincher and Iverson, 2008).

Finally, a lack of institutional arrangement that focuses on a 'common good', and that celebrates the idea of an open-political system, serves only to heighten existing and unequal power relations between different stakeholders (Tarsi, 2014; Schumpeter, 2003). All of the above speak of the identified problems under study. These problems are assessed in the case of Woodstock, Cape Town (see Figure 1.1).

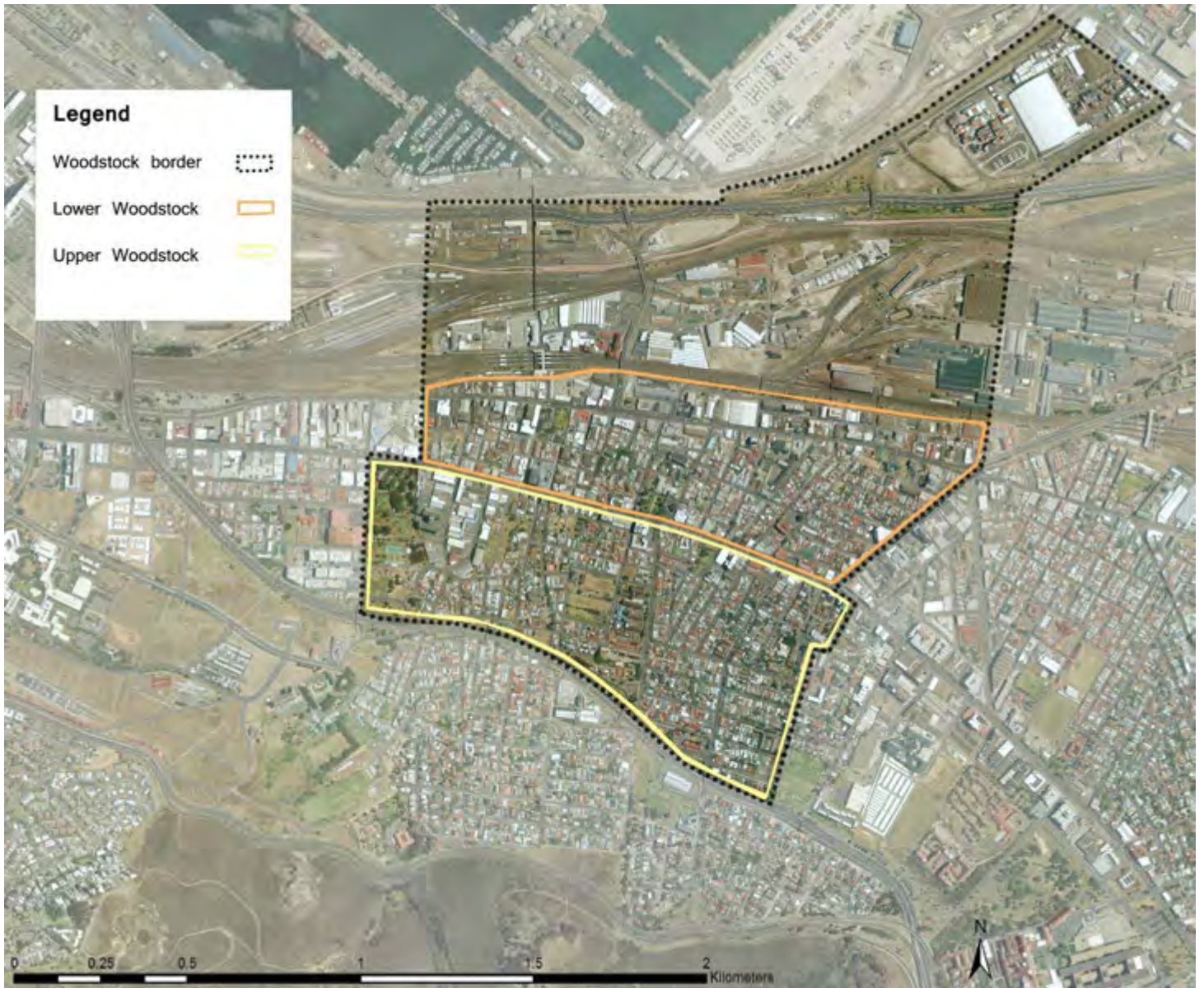


Figure 1.1: The study area, Woodstock, Cape Town (By Author, using GIS data from CoCT, 2012)

1.4 Establishing the aim of the study

Based on the identified problem, the overall aim of this study is to promote a more 'just city' which may begin to display the values of equity, diversity and democracy (Fainstein, 2010). These values also represent the criteria used to (1) critically assess the case under study, and to (2) establish possible planning interventions in the case under study.

1.5 Establishing the Main Research Question and Assessment Criteria for this Study

Since the aim of this study is to promote a more 'just city' in terms of Fainstein's (2010) conceptualisation of such a city, the main research question asks:

How might municipal planners enable more 'just' forms of regeneration in inner-city neighbourhoods like Woodstock?

Assessment criteria are based on Fainstein's (2010) 'just city' concept, (see Chapter 2). These criteria are used to evaluate the way regeneration occurs in the study area by taking into account the views of various stakeholders (see Chapter 4). As pointed to earlier, the assessment criteria consist of: equity, diversity and democracy. The 'equity' criterion refers to the balancing of resources, where the provision of housing units in perpetuity becomes integral to enabling socio-economic, cultural and spatial opportunities. The 'diversity' criterion refers to a variety of land-uses, social relations, where a variety of choice, and a diverse mix of residents. The 'democracy' criterion refers to the inclusion of marginalised residents in various public decision-making mechanisms.

In order to begin to answer the main research question (as well as the subsidiary research questions that are established in Chapter 2), case study research methods, which focus on collecting qualitative research findings, are employed. In other words, qualitative research methods, in particular, will guide the exploratory, explanatory and descriptive data collection process (Rowley, 2002). In terms of research techniques; semi-structured in-depth interviews, an oral history interview, non-participant-observations, mapping techniques of the current situation, and document analysis are employed. In addition, informal conversations and personal communication, also played a role in this study. These methods and techniques are discussed in Chapter 3. Prior to which, Chapter 2 provides a review of

the relevant literature for the purpose of establishing the subsidiary research questions. Before moving to Chapter 2, a brief outline of the dissertation structure is provided.

1.6 The Structure of this Dissertation

Chapter 2 offers a review of the relevant literature which employs the concepts of 'urban regeneration' and 'urban justice' in greater depth. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the assessment criteria, the subsidiary research questions, and the theoretical arguments that assist in developing possible recommendations for future planning practices.

Chapter 3 explains the research methods and techniques utilized to answer the main and subsidiary research questions. Ethical considerations, as well as the limitations of the methods and techniques used to collect data, are presented in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 represents the research findings and analysis chapter, while Chapter 5 contains a set of possible policy recommendations in response to the research findings and the in-depth review of the relevant literature. As such, the main and subsidiary research questions are answered in Chapter 5. This final chapter also includes discussions on the limitations of the dissertation and a critical reflection section before drawing a conclusion.

In sum, the dissertation focuses on ways to counter market-led regeneration by using Fainstein's (2010) notion of a 'just city'. In conjunction with other, a theoretical framework that forms the bases of my assessment of the Woodstock case study is established in Chapter 2. Let us now turn to this chapter.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 introduced the problem under study together with the main research question. Accordingly, it became clear that my research is concerned with the idea of promoting more 'just' forms of urban regeneration in inner city neighbourhoods like Woodstock

The aim of this chapter, in turn, is to review the literature that is relevant to the topic under study.

In so doing, I will draw on various scholar's works, including Fainstein's (2010) guidelines, in order to identify assessment criteria that will be employed in the case study (see Chapter 4). An additional aim of this chapter is to establish subsidiary research questions that are derived from the identified assessment criteria. These questions will guide the fieldwork and yield relevant data for the ultimate purpose of answering the main research question, which is:

How might municipal planners enable more 'just' forms of regeneration in Woodstock, Cape Town?

Chapter 2 is structured in the following way: firstly, the concept of the Just City is re-introduced. As part of this section, various viewpoints are considered in more depth than in Chapter 1. Thereafter, the 'Just City' concept is unpacked according to the three principles of 'equity', 'democracy' and 'diversity', as identified by Fainstein (2010). Discussions presented in these sections, will, in turn, reveal the assessment criteria for my research.

2.2 The Just City

The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals a goose from off the common,
But leaves the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

17th Century folk poem (As cited by Marcuse, 2009)

The consistent overlooking of marginalised individuals over self-regulated market processes creates an urgent need for enabling 'just' changes in the built environment (Fainstein, 2010). As a rather broad term, 'Justice' or 'just' forms, relates to the state whereby individuals are provided with their due on account of their human rights. While 'fairness' or being 'fair' refers to the position of and in this way

relates to the criteria for equity, as later described. Though, these may be two different terms, in this dissertation, they apply in accordance with Fainstein's (2010) Just City concept. Fainstein (2010) defines a *just city* as one in which encompasses equity, democracy and diversity. It is upon this definition that my interpretation of 'just' forms of regeneration stems. There are, however, varying viewpoints on this concept (Lehman-Frisch, 2011; Soja, 2009; Fischer, 2009).

Similar to most theoretical concepts, the *Just City* concept strengthens a variety of ideologies, which existed prior to its formation. Fainstein and Fainstein (2013) suggest that it was inspired by the need for systematic thinking around the theoretical application of the notion of spatial justice. This project has been heavily influenced by Harvey's (1973) 'Social Justice and the City'. Harvey's (1973) work examines the processes that result in unjust socio-spatial urban forms through the lens of capitalism¹. Harvey (1973) also notes that the complexities of formal and informal land-use are related to the overwhelming surplus of urban economic development processes. It is within this context that large issues of inequality are brought to the fore. For Harvey (1973), capitalism is the main cause of various compounding inequalities, such as the manifestation of what he refers to as the 'rank society'. These are issues derived from profit-centred organisations or individuals where unemployment issues become related to ethnic discrimination

Lehman-Frisch (2011) argues for a re-examination of the relationship between segregation and spatial injustice. He initially views diversity as the main enabler of spatial justice without sufficient emphasis on the other principles of Fainstein's (2010) concept of a just city. Lehman-Frisch (2011) focuses on the case of poor marginalised neighbourhoods in France, he found that the diversity ideal becomes insufficient when taking into account vast amounts of segregation. He views Fainstein (2010) as a viable way forward, but believes that it should place more emphasis on political sphere for any substantial realisation, as proposed by Fraser(2005, as cited by Lehman-Frisch, 2011). Along a similar focus on the importance of the political role in an effort to realise spatial justice, Soja (2009) believes that shared issues across race, class, gender create formations that support a wide range of solidarity.

¹ Largely influenced by Marxism, Harvey views capitalism as a system whereby the working class are taken advantaged by the "all-powerful capitalist class" (Harvey, 2010:260). One of his beliefs include in the existence of the crisis of over-accumulation, where the necessary surplus product for a healthy capitalism to occur becomes halted by labour, technological or resource issues (Harvey, 2009) Essentially, he argues that the rather urban question should revolve around a crisis of capitalism and for the stopping of capitalism before it becomes endless (Harvey, 2010).

He considers the search for justice as a product of mobilisation empowered by issues such as global, local, monetary, border, peace and institutional concerns. His concept of justice revolves around the role of socio-political movements to create geographically equitable and accessible resources. Although, Soja (2009) does not specifically mention the Just City, his idea of the social movement is implicitly more centred on Fainstein's (2010) principle of democracy. Fischer (2009) agrees with Fainstein (2010), in that equity needs to attain stronger priority in planning, policy and deliberation thereof. Similar to Fainstein (2010) he also desires more pragmatic ideals that sought practical alternatives to economically-orientated situations instead of an overemphasis on far-removed debate and also argues for clearer connections between planning theory and practice. However, unlike Fainstein (2010), Fischer (2009:61) argues that efficiency needs to be added to her three set of values or principles on the Just City, namely: equity, diversity and democracy, in doing so, he focuses on a wider institutional more democratically influenced approach, to realise, his view of spatial justice.

2.3 Unpacking the principles of the 'Just City':

Fainstein (2010) outlines three principles of urban justice: equity, democracy and diversity. In this section I explore each of these principles and their application. On the basis of this exploration, I draw a number of subsidiary research questions. These questions are presented at the end of each section.

2.3.1 Equity

Equity is a wide-ranging principle of urban justice. Fainstein (2010: 36) defines *equity* as the:

Distribution of both material and non-material resources derived from public policies that does not favour those who are better off.

Equity is defined in many ways, and is often considered in relation to equality. Unlike equity, equality, according to Capaldi (2002), is a term that suggests all human beings are the same or equal. However, for equity to be realised, special treatment of those considered (materially) disadvantaged is necessary. Though, these concepts are related, equity is used instead of equality as the former promotes fairness in a less broad manner (Fainstein, 2010). Fainstein (2010) argues that policies underpinned by the principle of equity can uplift low-income or vulnerable individuals. This occurs through placing a higher degree of demand of these individuals benefitting just as much, if not more, than the wealthy.

Equity planning can be traced back to earlier types of planning in 1965, such as Davidoff's (1965, cited in Fainstein and Fainstein, 2012) *advocacy planning* (Fainstein & Fainstein, 2012). Advocacy planning is the representation of disadvantaged groups of individuals whose interests my alternatively be inadequately conveyed to decision-makers by an individual considered as an expert (Sager, 2012).

Krumholz (1990, cited in Fainstein and Fainstein, 2012) termed equity planning in 1969, as policies in Cleveland began to veer from advocacy and more towards embracing objectives of equity (Krumholz, 1982). It has since developed into a planning paradigm associated with social reform (Fainstein & Fainstein, 2012). *Equity planning* views the role of the planner as integral to the upliftment of disadvantaged individuals. It maintains that the communities need to be given adequate assistance where needed in a way that promotes a balancing of resources. However, it does not fully consider the political and economic force of capitalism. In this context, the provision of equity planning becomes difficult to apply, given limited resource capacity, hence, often existing resources are enhanced, often in higher-income areas, instead of pumping resources in areas that current have minimum resources.

Fainstein (2010) maintains that of the three principles of urban justice, equity needs to be the prioritised. However, this prioritisation is dependent on the particular context. According to Rawls (1999) 'equity' is to be prioritised in cases where unanticipated hardship necessitates an alternative approach to the existing ruling. Rawls (2001:44) further argues that:

A free market system must be set within a framework of political and legal institutions that adjust the long-run trend of economic forces.

Rawls (2001) suggests that this 'adjustment' must be in the form of the prohibition of the concentration of properties and wealth. Through such an adjustment, equity can be realised. Both Rawls (2001) and Fainstein (2010) place a large emphasis on equity. It bears mentioning that until 2010, when Fainstein released her book titled *The Just City*, it had been difficult to bridge the gap between the theory on and application of the concept of equity and other principles of urban (spatial) justice. Fainstein (2010) has a clear set of criteria for each of the principles of urban justice. The criteria for equity are:

2.3.1.1 Housing development required to provide housing units that cater for low-income individuals

Residential areas in close proximity to major business hubs or central business districts attract both high- and low-income residents, as these areas offer many employment opportunities and public facilities. However, new residential developments in these area result in the exclusion of low-income individuals as they cannot afford to pay the high rents and rates demanded in these newly developed areas. Extending Fainstein's (2010) line of argument, I argue that in the event that affordable housing stock is destroyed to make way for new developments. These new developments must reserve a

number of units for low-income individuals. The rents on these properties should be controlled. In so doing, I mandate of providing decent and adequate living environments for the poor in that area is given to developers (Fainstein, 2010). This would relieve some of the pressure from local government, as they already struggle to provide houses for those on its ever growing housing waiting list.

This can help avoid situations such as the one that erupted in Battery Park City (BPC), New York. There, Fainstein (2010) found that regeneration efforts had made very little, if any, provision for residents earning below the median wage level. New buildings in BPC are exclusive hubs of high-end development. Low-income individuals have hardly benefited from regeneration of the area (Fainstein, 2010). It is imperative that new housing developments in the area undergoing regeneration cater for the affordable housing market². This is particularly important cities such as Cape Town, where there is a historical social divide as well as a high demand for housing (Turok & Watson, 2001). Fainstein (2010) notes that this presents two issues in the relatedness of equity to other components of the *Just City*:

Equity and democracy (a principle elaborated on later in this chapter) have conflicting objectives when tenant selection is made on the basis of perceptions of minimum threat to neighbours

Equity and diversity (a principle elaborated on later) counter each other when pressure for densification that offer diverse uses, results in residents opposing the development, as often the case, despite great potential for affordable housing.

It is also imperative that existing affordable housing stock in regenerating areas be maintained and mixed-use potential of densification realised. The urban development zone (UDZ) is a tax incentive, which seemingly decreases the potential of such an issue of limited housing stock in occurring in neighbourhoods like Woodstock. However, the UDZ promotes displacement of disadvantaged residents and lacks the promotion of integration between areas to the broader surroundings beyond physical linkages, mainly through road and telecoms. It makes Woodstock attractive to profit-centred business owners coming to develop the area as office space and residential apartments. However, as part of Cape Town's inner city policies, Allemeier (2014) believes that the UDZ can play a role in the development of inclusive urban regeneration in the area but it needs to be combined with other strategies. With the UDZ in mind, that encourages more private development in the area, Bates's (2012) argues that in an area where the private developers are most prevalent, it is integral that planners, rather open dialogue with these developers with the purpose of establishing collaborative partnerships. As planner's trying to control or manipulate the market would likely only perpetuate the

² By affordable housing, I mean the citizen needs to be earning between R3500 and R1500, per month, they qualify earn too much to qualify for state RDP housing and too little for an adequate housing bank loan (Zille, 2015)

existing issue (Bates, 2012). These types of partnerships are always highly complex, as planners and developers have clashing views, but public-private partnerships hold a substantial way forward, in this regard, particularly when it comes to densification, which both these stakeholders support. To this end, Bates (2012) argues that private developers should rather be incentivised by municipal planners to provide affordable housing units, instead of being placed with intentional limitations. Despite the criticism Fainstein (2010) has with densification in terms of existing residents' supposed opposition, Fleming and Makalima-Ngwewana (2013), supports inner city densification in Cape Town. This is part of Cape Town Partnership's *Central City Development Strategy* (CCDS) which includes the promotion of affordable housing and the creation of equitable spaces that places emphasis on Woodstock (Fleming and Makalima-Ngwewana, 2013).

2.3.1.2 Housing units considered as affordable should continue as such, in perpetuity

The redevelopment or regeneration of affordable housing units increases the values of those units, which also increases rental prices. At times, a bidding war for these units may also occur given their advantageous location. In both instances, housing becomes less affordable and even less accessible than before to current and potential low-income residents. Fainstein (2010) argues that in order to counter this, existing affordable housing should remain as such, in perpetuity. Fainstein (2010) further argues that a one-to-one replacement process is also viable, in the event that some affordable housing is demolished. However, involuntary relocation (displacement) should be avoided at all costs. Fainstein (2010) argues that involuntary relocation should only occur under exceptional circumstances. In those cases, the dwelling to which the residents are relocated to must be of equal value to the former. This equal value would have to be measured by the quantity, quality, availability and accessibility of economic opportunities, public resources and social capital. However, relocation will seldom be to an area with the same amount of public resources and job opportunities. Relocating individuals to areas with fewer resources and/or opportunities perpetuates existing inequalities. It does not redress apartheid legacies and serving those who already have an advantage. This defeats what I believe is the aim of being an urban planner or policy-maker.

A recurring issue in Cape Town inner city areas, given scenic views and close proximity to economic opportunities and public facilities, is that affordable housing units are being exchanged for high-income residences. Despite being the only city in the country where informal settlements have increased over the last five years (South African Cities Network, 2016), housing in the inner city is still offered to individuals who are able to pay more, with a disregard for current low-income residents, making central areas no longer affordable (Knoetze, 2015). A recent example of this is the De Waal

Drive neighbourhood. Low-income residents occupying the Western Cape Settlement Department-owned flats on this prime location have been given notice by local government officials since May in 2015, of their mandatory relocation to Pelican Park if they cannot keep up with new market related costs of housing. Pelican Park is a remote area and residents there have minimum access to public facilities and economic opportunities (Knoetze, 2015). Similar issues such as those outlined above, are occurring in Woodstock. Stark increases in property prices have led to sharp increases in rental prices and the subsequent relocation of its low-income residents to destitute areas. Ironically, this is happening even though it goes against recent national policy turns. All spheres of government are required to encourage the development of mixed-income areas in order for the apartheid spatial legacy to be overcome.

2.3.1.3 Economic development initiatives should prioritise employees' interests and where possible small businesses

Krumholz (1999) indicates that the purpose of economic development initiatives is to create jobs for the unemployed and for net tax increases to trickle-down³. In reality, however, economic development often takes place, to the detriment of the poor and benefit of wealthier individuals. Economic development initiatives tend to cater for middle to high-income developers, who often provide services and products at prices that local businesses are unable to compete with. This in turn, perpetuates inequality and regeneration remains exclusive (Ngwenya, 2013). It is for this reason that Fainstein (2010) argues that economic initiatives should offer benefits to both their employees and small businesses, where feasible. New commercial developments should also offer public spaces and assist small and cooperatively owned businesses (Fainstein, 2010). These public spaces need to be easily accessible and legible, they also need to have various functions such as informal business activity should add value to these hard and soft public spaces. In addition to the above, Fainstein (2010) argues that megaprojects need to extend the benefits of regeneration to low-income individuals through the creation of employment opportunities with a living wage and public amenities. Public subsidies need to encourage developers to be involved in low-cost housing schemes (Fainstein, 2010).

These dual guidelines support economic development that is more bottom-up in its approach than former strategies. Johannesburg's inner city neighbourhoods' demonstrate how a top-down emphasis on economic development results in socio-spatial exclusion (Winkler, 2009). Winkler (2009) suggests

³ The dominance of the trickle down development took shape in the 1950s and 1960s. Essentially, it entails the promotion of a vertical flow of resources from high-income to low-income or wealthy to poor (Kakwani & Pernia, 2000). By this definition, benefits that stem from economic growth are initially provided towards the wealthy. Only after, are the poor to benefit from growth patterns, once wealthy individuals spend their gains (Kakwani & Pernia, 2000). This is often related to the ideology behind economic growth strategies.

that Johannesburg's inner city neighbourhoods demonstrate a clear policy link between economic growth and regeneration. This link has also been found between CoCT economic growth policies and regeneration in inner city neighbourhoods such as Woodstock in Cape Town (Carls, 2016).

The City of Johannesburg believes contemporary policies such as the New Urban Policy (NUP) and the New Conventional Wisdom (NCW) will benefit all residents in the long-run. These policies are considered 'world class'. However, no consideration is given to the inner-city neighbourhood context. The NUP and NCW encourage market-led economic development. Such development inhibits more just forms of regeneration (Winkler, 2009). This results in the perpetuation of the socio-spatial divide between the higher and lower-income residents. An explicit link between economic growth and social equity is lacking (Winkler, 2009).

Megaprojects also need to strive towards creating a more equitable city (Fainstein, 2010). Watson (2009) argues that planning needs to accommodate informality and other survival mechanisms of low-income individuals instead of displacing them with mega-projects. Fainstein (2009) defines a mega-project rather subjectively, as the alteration of land-uses that entails a large amount of cost for the development of an area which needs new construction and/ rehabilitation. She adds, that it may also occur over a number of years with one to many developers. I would argue that, by this definition, the social housing project for the Pine Road informal settlement in Lower-Woodstock could be one of the smaller type of mega-project (Hogg, 2016). This housing project will provide approximately 173 units for qualifying residents. Those who do not qualify, namely those who earn less than R2500 and above R7500, will have to be relocated. Despite a survey showing that the majority of households do not qualify, 173 households' social housing units are still proposed to be built in this area (Hogg, 2016). Although Fainstein (2010) does not necessarily focus on informality, Fainstein (2010) does offer a way to extend social and economic benefits through the involvement of poor individuals in mega-projects.

2.3.1.4 There should be inexpensive tariffs for intra-city movement

Low-income individuals are primarily dependent on public transport for movement to and from their workplaces. According to Clark and Crous (2002), rail is the backbone of the public transportation system in Cape Town. For the last three decades, commuter rail has remained the dominant mode of transport within peak periods (Wilkinson, 2010). Cape Town is the only city in South Africa, where mini-bus taxis are not the dominant mode of transportation

during peak times (Wilkinson, 2010). Similar to Ngwenya (2013), and unlike Fainstein (2010), I agree that tariffs for all modes of public transport, including commuter rail, need to be highly affordable, given the sprawled nature of Cape Town's urban footprint. Keeping these tariffs low facilitates accessibility and offers more choice for low-income residents. It is important for planners to assist low-income residents of inner-city neighbourhoods, particularly in poor neighbourhoods such as Lower Woodstock, by placing great emphasis on ensuring this mode of transport remains accessible. Unfortunately, and as Grengs (2004) notes, planners and policy-makers tend to disregard the social objective during the provision of public transit solutions. That objective is to facilitate access for non-automobile drivers. Instead, public transit solutions tend to provide for 'integration' with private automobiles. Nevertheless, Fainstein's (2010) suggestion that public transportation tariffs be kept low is sustained. This will assist low-income households remain mobile and increase their access to opportunities beyond their neighbourhoods.

2.3.1.5 Planners should prioritise both context-specific and bottom-up ways of addressing key issues

Mayors and planning commissioners will rarely provide leadership, especially towards equity objectives. This means that the planners themselves must seize the initiative and define their own roles relative to the 'real' needs of the city and its people

(Krumholz, 1996:360)

Like Krumholz (1996), I believe planners must propose and implement interventions that impact neighbourhoods in a way that benefits those who need them most. The urban planner must develop solutions which efficiently and effectively address key issues. These solutions must be embedded within the contextual realities if they are to address socio-spatial inequalities. This necessitates in-depth understanding of the contextual realities of those living in the area. Planners are mandated to engage with participatory planning procedures through by the Constitution and the Municipal Systems Act no. 32 of 2000 (Kay, 2004). However, planners have limited human, financial resources and time, to deal with in-depth issues specific to neighbourhood contextual realities on their own. Todes (2008) argues that spatial plans are too broad and that planners must involve the socio-spatial intricacies of the city. I would add to her, argument and mention that this is particularly relevant in neighbourhoods, and planners should also consider the context-specific dynamics of neighbourhoods through involving other stakeholders in the process of their plans. In addition planners need to be aware of the manner

in which political and economic forces shape policies and plans, even though these may be out of their control.

In an effort to address these realities, planners need to encourage public, private organisations and non-governmental organisations, to establish a local institutional base that focuses on bottom-up solutions (Amin, 1999). Amin (1999) argues that 'institutional thickness' offers an integral way forward, this refers all these organisations working in collaborative partnerships that provide integral clusters of learning and local-driven projects. This bridges the gap between formal and informal institutions and provides a valuable tool for public-private partnerships that refrain from their current manner of working in 'silos' and instead, assist in the development of solutions that are, as Amin (1999:368) puts it 'context-specific and sensitive to local path consistencies'. Contrary to market-led regeneration, I would consider this as a means of shifting towards more 'just' regeneration policies. In market-led regeneration, low-income individuals that rent at minimal cost are seen as hindrances to an overarching economic incentive as they cannot afford the increasing rental prices.

Planners require ways to assist low-income individuals and to address issues of social divide. Fincher and Iveson (2008) consider planning as a type of urban governance that is spatially linked, socially-orientated and much broader than land-use and zoning procedures. Planning approaches vary with some being top-down and others being to bottom-up approaches. A top-down approach being the way in which strategies of addressing issues or governance systems are identified or created by the local government (CoCT) and imposed on residents. While, the bottom-up approach refers to the residents being the individuals who create or identify solutions and implement them. Pissourious (2014) proposes a framework in which top-down and bottom approaches can be combined and applied to achieve the desired planning outcomes. However, Fainstein's (2010) argues that bottom-up approaches should be prioritised. In this way, the contextual realities of the disadvantaged are prioritised and accounted for provided they are included in deliberative settings. Planners, therefore, need to support egalitarian solutions in deliberative settings. This involves considering how more equitable forms of regeneration, which deliver more low-cost housing in inner-city neighbourhoods such as Woodstock, can be enabled through existing policies and incentives such as the Urban Development Zone tax incentive.

The following subsidiary research questions are raised in this section:

- How can the development of affordable housing units be encouraged in Woodstock and how can these units be kept in perpetuity?

- How, if at all, does the UDZ incentive encourage the maintenance of affordable housing in perpetuity?

- What are provisions, if any, that are made for small businesses in the UDZ?

- Who is benefitting from improvements to road infrastructure in the Woodstock area?

- Who takes the lead in facilitating bottom-up strategies that benefit marginalised residents in Woodstock?

2.3.2 Diversity

Almost universally, those that are different suffer discrimination and in turn, social and economic disadvantage.

(Wood & Landry, 2008: 7)

Given the close link between difference and socio-economic disadvantage highlighted in the quote above, the promotion of diversity becomes a crucial element in the quest for spatial justice. This principle is interpreted in a variety of ways. Reeves (2005) notes that society views displaying characteristics that are not common amongst the majority of the population, as different. That component of uniqueness, as Reeves (2005) further notes, is what constitutes diversity.

Fainstein (2010) notes that *diversity* is a complex concept. She defines it as the physical environment, social relations and policy objectives that encourage the acceptance of individuals from varied backgrounds. Fainstein (2010) advocates for the creation of mixed-use, multi-cultural neighbourhoods.

The application of the principle of diversity is not without its problems (Fainstein, 2010; Lupton and Tunstall, 2008). The principle encourages the development of mixed-use neighbourhoods as a viable way to support the equitable distribution of resources and social integration. It, thus, supports 'just' forms of regeneration. However, just forms of regeneration may require removal or displacement of existing low-income residents. This dilemma is termed the *social justice dilemma* by Lupton and Tunstall (2008). Nevertheless, I view diversity as the needed application of spatial, economic and social policies, which promote interaction and sharing of space by residents from a variety of backgrounds. The criteria for diversity are:

2.3.2.1 There should be porous boundaries between districts in neighbourhoods with varied accessible public spaces that encourage a 'sense of community'

Edges are an important component of a well-formed neighbourhood. Edges assist with legibility and identity of districts or areas, however, their main function should be as connectors, instead of barriers (Talen, 2006; Lynch, 1960). It is unclear how an edge can perform as both a neighbourhood boundary and be non-exclusionary (Talen, 2006; Lynch, 1960). Nevertheless, Fainstein (2010) suggests that boundaries should be 'porous'. That is, they must be permeable. In addition to this, Fainstein (2010) argues that public spaces should be easily accessible to all. Even though many residents support diversity in principle, Bodnar (2015) cautions that the intensification of diversity can raise concerns relating to public space. Bodnar (2015) maintains that residents who struggle to adapt to changes and can afford to minimise their usage of public space, tend to do so. This withdrawal is an attempt to regain some form of the areas prior state. This behaviour may lead to implicit segregation and contestation over public space (Bodnar, 2015). Bearing in mind these concerns it is important for public spaces to be varied. A variety of public spaces ensures that all the users of the space are accommodated.

The way public space is shared and used by a variety of users and possibility for uses, offers a link towards the realisation of some level of a 'sense of community'. Mandanipour (2003) views public space as a mediator of private spaces which often take up most of the city's area, as an integral component in addressing issues of socio-spatial fragmentation. In these spaces political dialogue can extend from the home to public realms that enhance human interactions and connections (Mandanipour, 2003). Public spaces at a neighbourhood level play an important role in promoting social interaction where these areas become platforms for community building (Mandanipour, 2003). Similarly, Behrens and Watson (1996), consider public space as an integral structuring component of urban settlements that need to be widely accessible and offer opportunities for collective activity. To

this end, Behrens and Watson (1996) encourage the 'clusters points' which offer an adequate balance of private and public spaces that fit in a hierarchy of urban systems providing for the spatial needs of residents and commuters. Without sufficient and adequate public spaces movement throughout the city would remain limited and space would become highly contested, as oppose to promoting a 'sense of community' (Mandanipour, 2003).

However, it bears mentioning that the idea of a neighbourhood does not imply the presence of a community. Put differently, individuals living in a particular geographical area do not necessarily constitute a community (Block, 2009). A 'sense of community', is achieved on the socio-cultural plane. When neighbourhood residents share similarities in their way of life or daily customs, it becomes easier for a sense of community to be fostered, provided no one's rights are infringed. Thus, activities that attract residents from various backgrounds become an important tool for building a sense of community. This also serves to mitigate potential contestation over public space, as was the case in Central Detroit.

In Central Detroit⁴, the limited number of safe public spaces resulted in a number of conflicts over the spaces from competing uses. To resolve these conflicts and foster a sense of community, a place-making organisation called *Project for Public Spaces (PPS)*⁵ in 2011, explored alternative uses of the public spaces through community building activities (PPS, 2012). These activities included a harvest festival and community celebration that was linked to the existing growing local farmer's market. Motor vehicles were temporarily disallowed on a small section of the street to provide extra space for the children to play in (PPS, 2012). This was a successful project on account of the enthusiasm of most residents in the neighbourhood and the way it transformed the local farmers market to a temporary node.

The Detroit case shows how community building activities can enhance diversity experiences and help residents find ways to accommodate their competing uses of public spaces. The key is to create accessible and varied public spaces that are able to adapt to the diverse needs of users. Fainstein (2010) does not elaborate on the idea of using community activities to promote diversity. However, she does note that individuals with clashing lifestyles should not be forced to live next to one another.

⁴ The Central Detroit neighbourhood's experiences similar issues as inner-city areas in many Global South neighbourhoods such as Woodstock (Project for Public Places [PPS], 2012). Apart from its convenient location close to economic opportunity, there are many unemployed residents, unsafe public space in certain areas and an unreliable public transit system (Felton, 2014; Saunders, 2012; PPS, 2012). It also lacks varied and easily accessible public spaces (Saunders, 2012).

⁵ This project was initiated with the assistance from the Kresge foundation.

The encouragement of a sense of community, may be brought about in many ways apart from the above, another way, is with Lerner's (2014) view of 'urban acupuncture'.

The former mayor of Curitiba, Jaime Lerner (2014) views urban acupuncture as a concept that answers to many city-based concerns in a practical and collaborative manner. Lerner (2014) argues for a type of urban design-thinking that unlocks potential in areas of going through urban dynamics that impede diversity and collaboration (Lerner, 2014). In Lerner's (2014) own way, he agrees with Fainstein's (2010) principle of diversity, as shown in the following quote:

The city is a melting pot of human activities. The more you blend incomes, ages, and activities, the more human the city becomes

(Lerner, 2014:63)

Two features Lerner (2014) mentions as consistent in many well-performing applications of the concept is the restoration of cultural identity and the creation of meeting places (Lerner, 2014). Similar to Lerner (2014), I believe that encouraging individuals to move out of streets and towards places of lively urban dynamics is important to a well-functioning neighbourhood. However, I would argue, that in the case of Woodstock, an aspect of good acupuncture would be to provide varied accessible public spaces that consist of community-building activities, so as to both encourage the mobility of residence and promote a sense of community. Most cities have lost their historically and culturally rich past identity (Lerner, 2014). Lerner (2014:33) points out that initiatives should occur in a fairly rapid manner, so as to not impede on "continuity of urban life". Urban acupuncture can relate to a variety of urban dynamics. In Woodstock, 'memory acupuncture' which implies the unlocking the potential in past experiences and historical vibrancy of a place to revive the feeling of lost moments, may be of great value, in conjunction with community building activities (Lerner, 2014). This leads to a discussion on the need for mixed land uses.

2.3.2.2 Zoning and new neighbourhood development should be inclusive

In the planning profession, *zoning* demarcates the types of uses and activities allowed in a particular neighbourhood or wider area. Davidoff (1965) argues that the planning profession's historical focus on the built environment has become a barrier to understanding physical structures and land as servants to their various types of users. Physical relations such as zoning or mixed-uses, lack in meaning or quality beyond their service to users (Davidoff, 1965). Depending on the ethical standpoint of the planner concerned and the prevailing ideologies with respect to race and/or multiculturalism, zoning can be used for segregation or integration. Put differently, zoning can support discrimination

instead of inclusion. Historically, in both the global North and South, neighbourhoods tend to exhibit a level of socio-spatial segregation. Zoning enhances this injustice, as shown by earlier planners who used this as a tool to separate the so called, at the time, 'undesirable' low income or certain races out of prime areas (Watson, 2009). However, zoning can also be utilised to foster integration. For example, in Sao Paulo, Brazil, Special Social Interest Zones (SSIZs) have been introduced. In these zones, a mandatory percentage of the housing developed has to be reserved for social housing purposes. With this particular zoning scheme, 40% of housing is reserved for the social housing market, 40% for the affordable housing market and the remaining 20% affordable housing (Santoro, 2015).

This zoning scheme was introduced because Sao Paulo's inner city residential neighbourhoods were negatively affected by the unchecked neighbourhood regeneration (Nobre, 1994). Sao Paulo's new high-rise developments were primarily single use. Small businesses and informal activities were indirectly forced to relocate (Nobre, 1994). As the central area of Sao Paulo modernised, the socio-cultural authentic assets of inner city neighbourhoods were significantly reduced. To combat this issue, the Sao Paulo government adopted housing policies that foster inclusion for low-income individuals from the land reserve in zoned areas as such (Santoro, 2015). The idea was to intervene in a market-led process that fails to provide adequate access to land for low-income residents with the aim of addressing disadvantages in the neighbourhood (Santoro, 2015). The result was the SSIZ. Cyambalista and Tsukomo (2009, cited in Santoro, 2015) note that Sao Paulo's SSIZs were innovative because they made provisions for the city's squatters through the conversion of under-utilised buildings to social housing. In so doing, they ensured that redevelopment was inclusive.

2.3.2.3 Mixed land-uses with sufficient accessibility to opportunities for previously disadvantaged individuals

South African inner-city neighbourhoods may currently exist in a democratic society. However, implicit spatial segregation remains in other forms that hinder a realisation of diversity. These include: mono-functional land-uses, gated communities, privatisation of amenities and limited economic opportunities for low-skilled individuals (Talen, 2006). These place low-income individuals at an added disadvantage and perpetuate the notion of the socio-spatial divide. To find solutions to these issues goes beyond the scope of my research. Fainstein (2010) suggests that mixing land-uses, with adequate accessibility to the new opportunities for disadvantaged individuals', offers a way to address some of these issues. However, an increase in the number of uses in an area does not necessarily lead to the realisation of diversity. The London inner city neighbourhood of Clerkenwell is a case in point.

Clerkenwell has, over time, turned into an extensive new production district with a variety of activities and land-use patterns (Hutton, 2008). The neighbourhood has become known for its mixed land-uses

that primarily benefit the 24/7 lifestyle of its younger residents. Some of the existing residents, including families with children and older residents are socially excluded (Foord, 2010; Hutton, 2008). Foord (2010) argues that residents are merely tolerating the mixed use built environment than enjoying it. Residents' trade-off the limited public open spaces, disturbances and limited sense of community for the overriding advantage of living in a highly permeable neighbourhood close to the city centre. This example clearly illustrates, as Fainstein (2010) argues, residents with clashing lifestyles should not be forced to live next to each other. The following research questions are drawn from the preceding section:

- How can planners facilitate the mobility of residence to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community?
- How can planners produce more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes that cater to the needs of residents?

2.3.3 Democracy

Fainstein (2010) argues that in an unequal society there are contentions between realising democracy and justice. Democracy, defined as the:

Institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions, which realises the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will.

(Schumpeter, 2003:5).

In this narrow definition of democracy, the minority still has the potential to make decisions which could position vulnerable individuals such as low-income or poor residents at a disadvantage (Fainstein, 2010). Like diversity, democracy also plays an important role in the realisation of urban (spatial) justice. It is pivotal for the assurance that all residents are part of the decision-making structures in their own neighbourhoods. According to Tarsi (2014), democracy is not just a mechanism for consensus. It is a way for resolving conflict within an open political system that guarantees existing and renders proposed rights (Tarsi, 2014).

Unlike Schumpeter (2003), Fainstein (2010) offers a more procedurally and pragmatic approach definition of democracy. Fainstein (2010) views democracy as a balance between citizen participation and planning processes, where disadvantaged individuals should gain more power through their participation in deliberative settings. Fainstein (2010) takes into consideration the broader context of the city. This in turn, allows everyone to play a role in shaping their surrounding built environment. Put differently, they can realise their *right to the city*.

Lefebvre (1996, as cited by Schmidt, 2012) argues that all individuals have the 'right to the city'. It is the right to shape the city you live in other words, the right to have a say in how your neighbourhood and your city are developed. This right related to a group of rights that is to be held above all others. It contains within it the rights to both habitat and inhabit as well as the rights to both participation and appropriation. However, and as Purcell (2006) argues, the right to the city is an idea which is highly susceptible to the influence of the 'local trap'. The term *local trap* refers to the assumption that the 'local' is almost by definition more beneficial (Purcell, 2006). Hence, it is of the utmost importance that local democratic procedures are viewed critically, notwithstanding the essential role they fulfil towards the attainment of spatial justice. Planning needs to be seen within its political and neighbourhood context, as desired ends may not be to the same as its stakeholders. Qu and Hasselaar (2011) argue that planners demonstrate the way of achieving the most spatially feasible outcome, but decision-makers determine the extent to which this vision can be realised.

2.3.3.1 All groups should participate in decision-making processes with fairly represented interests

Healey (2012) argues that spatial qualities and connectedness are important to the experiential notion of existence. They hold great opportunity for both local residents and private businesses. However, these spatial qualities are undermined by independent market processes and/or urban policy institutions (Healey, 2012). The impacts of globalisation on cultural norms and standards in conjunction with increasing urbanisation often causes disagreement or points of contention (Healey, 2012). These disagreements are a product of a variety of issues such as clashing of lifestyles, varying business sizes, spatial extremity, competitive service industries and lack of representation in decision-making bodies (Healey, 2012).

Traditionally, planners and policymakers have not placed sufficient emphasis on participation as a constructive means to establish outcomes of the built environment and the elevation of marginalised individuals (Amin, 1999). It is in this regard, that Teitz and Chappel (2013) pose a rather harsh question: do planners, in fact, 'hate' the poor? Planners of yester year, at their most generous state, appear to be indifferent to the idea of placing the marginalised on par with the highest of economic and other social priorities (Teitz & Chappel, 2013). The interconnectedness of localities, such as neighbourhood organisations, have the potential to counter the seeming indifference of planners or any other

stakeholder group in decision-making processes through adequate participation on an equal footing (Teitz and Chappel, 2013; Ngwenya, 2013).

In this world of diverse viewpoints, top-down decision-making has long been a leading factor in the often negative outcomes of neighbourhood regeneration. It for this reason that Fainstein (2010) argues that all groups, from all income levels and social backgrounds, must participate in decision-making processes. This participation should not place any of the stakeholders at an unfair disadvantage. Fainstein (2010) further argues that participation by individuals who prefer not take part do not have to as long as their interests are fairly represented. Those groups incapable of participating, both the future and current residents of the regenerating area, should be represented by advocates (Fainstein, 2010). These types of roundtable discussions may also take advantage of opportunities such as developing a sense of 'institutional thickness' in more 'just' forms of regeneration. This may result, in considering a variety of stakeholders, in adequate participatory processes, that past planners, lacked (Amin, 1999).

Parés, Bonet-Martí and Martí-Costa (2011) found in their study that the development of participatory governance networks has a dialectical relation to the products of regeneration policies. Parés, Bonet-Martí and Martí-Costa (2011) found that central neighbourhoods were rather complex and consisted of mainly historically based market-led urban regeneration initiatives. Regeneration policies targeting peripheral neighbourhoods tended to emphasise social cohesion. It remains unclear whether or not historical influences justify market-led regeneration that place low-income inner-city individuals at a disadvantage.

The following subsidiary research question were raised in this section:

- How can planners engage participatory mechanisms that place marginalised individuals on an equal footing?

Table 2.1 Theoretical Framework and subsidiary research questions

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM REVIEW OF LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA
EQUITY	<i>Housing development required to provide housing units that cater for low income individuals.</i>	How can the development of affordable housing units be encouraged in Woodstock and how can these units be kept in perpetuity?
	<i>Housing units considered as affordable should continue as such, in perpetuity</i>	How, if at all, does the UDZ incentive encourage the maintenance of affordable housing in perpetuity?
	<i>Economic development initiatives should prioritise interests of employees and where possible small businesses.</i>	What are provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the UDZ?
	<i>There should be inexpensive tariffs for intra-city movement</i>	Who is benefitting from improvements to road infrastructure in the Woodstock area?
	<i>Planners should prioritise context-specific or bottom-up ways of addressing key issues.</i>	Who takes the lead in facilitating bottom-up strategies that benefit marginalised residents in Woodstock?
DIVERSITY	<i>There should be porous boundaries between districts in neighbourhoods with varied accessible public spaces that encourage a sense of community.</i>	How can planners facilitate the mobility of residence to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community?
	<i>Zoning a new neighbourhood development should be inclusive.</i>	How can planners produce more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes that cater to the needs of all residents?

	<p><i>Mixed land-uses with sufficient accessibility to opportunities for previously disadvantaged individuals.</i></p>	
<p>DEMOCRACY</p>	<p><i>All groups, from any income level or social background should participate in decision-making with fairly represented interests</i></p>	<p>How can planners engage participatory mechanisms that place marginalised individuals on an equal footing?</p>

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

The main and subsidiary research questions were outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter describes the research methods and techniques that were used to answer the research questions. This chapter begins with a discussion of the research methods and techniques employed in this study. The latter includes semi-structured and oral history interviews and non-participant observation. This is followed, in the second section, by a discussion of my epistemological standpoint. This discussion gives an indication of how the subjective findings were interpreted and a sense of the overall research design that was used. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the data will be analysed. This section will also discuss ethical concerns related to this study. I now turn to a discussion on the research methods and techniques.

3.2 Research Methods

This section describes how data was gathered. Given the chosen research question, certain methods and techniques were chosen that are able to depict viewpoints of various Woodstock stakeholders such as residents, NGOs, CoCT and developers. A discussion on the case study method and the oral history method continues.

3.2.1 Case study method

The case study method is a qualitative research method. It is described by Gerring (2004) as the rigorous study of a micro-component. Which is the Woodstock neighbourhood, in this study, with the aim of evaluating Just City based criteria shown in Chapter 2, to later establish how more 'just' forms of regeneration could be enabled. This method is best suited to dealing with descriptive research questions (Rowley, 2002). Given that my proposed questions are of an explanatory basis, this method is most appropriate. As an exploratory method it is particularly valuable when asking how and why questions (Rowley, 2002). Rowley (2002) notes that case studies provide an adequate framework for understanding the world around us as it is largely based on an actual context. In agreement with Rowley (2002), Flyvbjerg (2006) highlights that the main focus of the case study method is to develop context-dependent knowledge. Hence, Woodstock, and the involvement participants that present interests of a variety of stakeholders, including residents, NGOs, CoCT and developers play an important role in this study and unpack this context dependency (Flyvberg, 2006).

Suryani (2008) depicts six stages of structure in doing case study research. These are showed below:

- I. The conceptualisation of an issue to investigate
- II. The emphasis on a specific phenomenon and identification of research questions
- III. The collection of raw data from interviewing, observations and various documents
- IV. The organisation, classification and editing of information gathering in an accessible manner to identify trends in data.
- V. The triangulation based on observations develops an alternative interpretation
- VI. The writing of a systematic and rigorous report.

Overall, the case study research approach is grounded on an empirically structured basis (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Although Suryani, (2008) suggests that a weakness in the method is that deductions for the wider class cannot be made from the case findings. This is in the case of having a much smaller sample than quantitative research, Flyvbjerg (2006) disagrees with this notion. Flyvberg (2006) considers this notion as part of five common misunderstandings in the case study method, as summarised in the following Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Summary of the Five Common Misunderstandings (Flyvberg, 2006)

Common Misunderstandings (Adapted from Flyvberg, 2006)	Main arguments for dismissing misunderstanding (Adapted from Flyvberg, 2006)
<i>1) Theoretical Knowledge is of a higher value than practical knowledge</i>	The study of human interactions cannot be done through mere theoretical underpinnings, but practical understandings of reality through actual cases, thus, practical knowledge is of a higher value
<i>2) Because one cannot generalise from a single case, the method does not contribute to the scientific field</i>	Depending on the case study, the possibility remains that generalisations may be appropriate
<i>3) Unlike other methods, the case study is most useful for generating hypotheses at beginning phases of the research process</i>	The case study has a variety of uses that extends beyond only being most useful during initial research activities
<i>4) The method displays bias in terms of verification</i>	The method contains the same bias as other research methods, in fact, is has more bias of falsification on account of pre-conceived notions than toward verification
<i>5) There is often difficulty in summarising case studies</i>	Difficulties in case studies has to do with taken into consideration all of the context-specific intricacies of reality and not necessarily the case study method.

Advantages for the case study method, I believe, is shown through Flyvberg’s (2006) main arguments for dismissing these ‘Common Misunderstandings’, as shown above. These arguments, also serve as reasons for the appropriateness of this method for my study. Although, the case study method, is my main focus, another method that assists with findings that are more context-appropriate is the oral history method.

3.2.2 Oral History Method

Although the main focus of my study does not lie in historical data, the oral history method or 'life-story' research, offered a platform to understand the particular resident's experiences with the Woodstock neighbourhood over time, particularly in Lower Woodstock (Brams, 2010). This, in turn, also assisted me in understanding the value this neighbourhood has on resident participants threatened by market-led regeneration. Allan Nevin and his Columbia University colleagues developed the oral history method as a holistic methodological approach to research, in 1948 and it became well-known and further developed in the 1980s (Gluck, 1977; Greenwood, 2011; Field 2012). In the past, wealthier individuals were the only ones given the opportunity of recording moments regarding their lives, on account of their accessibility to resources. However, oral history, has provided a spectrum whereby the memories and stories of the oppressed groups that have been 'suppressed' may be recorded (Greenwood, 2011). In other words, the oral history is considered to provide a 'voice' to experiences that would alternatively be left unaccounted for (Bornat, 2011). Schwandt (2007:213) defines oral history as:

a method of gathering and preserving historical information recorded through interviews with participants in past events and ways of life

The aim of the oral history method is to gain a more holistic conceptualisation of the past as experienced individually by participants through the sharing of memories and reminisces of past times and events (Schwandt, 2007). Brams (2010) considers this method as an umbrella term that refers to two aspects. Firstly, aligning with Bornat (2011), it is the process through which interviews are conducted and recorded with participants in order to gain valuable data from their past. Secondly, it is also a way to conduct an inquiry. Hence, both the recording itself and the product thereof, is considered as part of the oral history method.

The oral history method may consist of weakness, but this does not overshadow, its strength. Batty (2009) considers the central weakness of this method is based on the tendency of participants to exaggerate or indirectly mistake past events. Given social changes and influences in lived experiences, memories become Batty (2009) argues that memory becomes more 'opaque'. However, Kennedy (1998), views complexities such as external influences due to changes over time, as rather a source of advantage. Kennedy (1988) argues that these subjective considerations offer new dimensions to history and conveys unique data collection, otherwise disregarded or taken out of context. Nonetheless, many scholars (Kennedy, 1998; Batty, 2009; Field, 2012) agree that the oral history method is an adequate way of gaining reliable information unpacking valuable insights that often go

unrecognised. Thomas (2004) argues that the oral history method attains data from marginalised individuals often at the periphery of cities. Given that, in my study, marginalisation occurs with the overpowering of market-led regeneration that disregards many residents of Lower Woodstock, this is an appropriate method to have been used. The oral history method was chosen to assist me in unpacking Lower Woodstock residents' past experiences and events with regards to Woodstock. Here, my main focus was on story-telling and allowing Esthei Gabanxa (the participant) to share her subjective experiences of the neighbourhood with me. Instead of merely asking questions for the sake of gaining an answer to my main research question, this resulted in immeasurable and subjective insights that gave me valued input.

3.3 Research Techniques

This section discusses the research strategies. These are the techniques which were used to collect the data for the purpose of my study. As Baxter and Jack (2008:556) note that the case study research method:

It enables the researcher to gather data from a variety of sources and to converge the data to illuminate the case.

The use of several research techniques is referred to as triangulation. It is the use of evidence from multiple sources to corroborate findings (Rowley, 2002). Through triangulation the quality of the research is improved due to having a variety of dimensions to data collection (Suryani, 2008). While the most common type of triangulation is associated with a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, I used it in mainly a qualitative manner, as this aligns with my, mostly emic, culturally relative epistemological viewpoint. This was particularly evident in the initial phases of my fieldwork, as I considered the view of various participants according to their own standpoint, without the infringement of my own judgement based on my own experiences (Ross, 2012). However, I measured the criteria developed in *Chapter 2* (largely based on Fainstein's *Just City*) later in *Chapter 4*. It was here (see *Chapter 4*) that my epistemological point of view shifted to more of an ethnocentric approach where I judged the present situation and participants' responses according to a set of principles and in *Chapter 5*, I adopted a more idealistic approach, as I offered my own recommendations. I would argue that revealing my epistemological viewpoint, as shown above, is necessary as it allows the reader to better understand where I positioned myself as the researcher employing my research techniques.

Although, qualitative research is often critiqued for being unable to generalise findings to wider samples and being affected by the researcher's own biases or 'idiosyncrasies', my study's reliability

and validity was improved through triangulation (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Accordingly, the various research techniques for data collection included: semi-structured and oral history interviews, non-participant observations, mapping techniques of the current situation and document analysis. In addition, a group interview, informal conversations and personal communication were important means of data collection. In terms of techniques that involved participants, the table below is a summary thereof, highlighting the name of participant, type of stakeholder or relating role to Woodstock, research technique used and date I employed it. Initially I intended on only involving a few participants that were residents, CoCT planners, developers and NGOs, in order to address all of my research questions, I needed to involve other participants such as some employees of the NeighbourGoodsMarket (NGM), a property consultant and a former Ward Counselor (See Table 3.1).

Table 3.2: Data Collection involving participants', details

Type of Stakeholder or Relating role to Woodstock	Name of Participant (s)	Research Technique (Estimated time taken)	Date d/m/y
Resident	Esthei Gabanxa	Oral History (90 minutes) and Semi-structured interview (1 hour)	14/8/2016
Both Resident and Woodstock CycleWork's Business Owner	Nils Hansen	Informal Conversation (20 minutes)	9/9/2016
Resident	Abdullah Adams	Informal Conversation (25 minutes)	13/8/2016
Current Biscuit Mill (NGM) Employee	Abdullah Isaacs	Informal Conversation (20 minutes)	9/9/2016
Former Biscuit Mill (NGM) Employee for three years	Fieda Benjamin	Personal Communication [Telephone conversation] (15 minutes)	28/9/2016
CoCT Planning Co-ordinator for Table Bay District	Pieter Van Heerden, 11 August, 2016	Semi-Structured Interview (2 hours)	11/8/2016
CoCT Professional Planning Officer	Lance Boyd	Semi-structured Interview (2 hours)	26/8/2016
CoCT Intern Planner	Lungelo Nkosi	Semi-Structured Interview (1 hour)	26/8/2016
Former Ward Counsellor of Woodstock	Brett Herron	Personal Communication (email)	24/8/2016
Three members of an NGO, namely: the Development Action Group (DAG). (one of which is a resident of Lower Woodstock as well)	Helen McGregor-Rourke Ryan Fester Naeema Davids (also a resident)	Focus Group (90 minutes)	15/8/2016
Head of National Association of Social Housing (NASHO)	Malcolm McCarthy	Semi-structured Interview (2 hours)	20/9/2016
Developer	Dawie Swart	Semi-Structured Interview (1 hour)	15/9/2016
Property Consultant	Pieter Muller	Informal Conversation (30 minutes)	18/9/2016

3.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews (SSI)

In order to explain how planners might enable more 'just' forms of regeneration in Woodstock, various stakeholder viewpoints had to be considered through SSIs. This was particularly valuable as all respondents had valuable ideas as to how this might unfold. Ayres (2012:811) defines the SSI as:

a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions. The researcher has more control over the topics of the interview than in unstructured interviews, but in contrast to structured interviews or questionnaires that use closed questions, there is no fixed range of responses to each question

Similar to Ayre's (2012) view of structured interviews, Firmin (2012) points out that, this research technique is mainly focused on probing and a strict set of standardised questions (Firmin, 2012). While, unstructured interviews lack a high quality of probing, an advantage of SSI interviews, is that it strikes the necessary dialogue balance between structured and unstructured interviews (Firmin, 2012). Conducting SSIs allowed me to ask questions without being limited to them, and with more in-depth responses from participants that permitted an inclusion of more questions and responses coming to the fore (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). According to McIntosh and Morse (2015:2):

The SSI is designed to ascertain subjective responses from persons regarding a particular situation or phenomenon they have experienced

However, SSIs also consist of a number of challenges. Firstly, the 'unpredictability' of the length of time interviews may take. Whiting (2008) mentions SSIs may last from 30 minutes to several hours, however, where possible, this was overcome through pre-arranging many meetings way in advance with participants and giving participants an idea of the types of questions that would be asked prior to interview. Secondly, language barriers also are a challenge in SSIs, given how I might have asked questions, participants may have initially misinterpreted my questions. This was overcome through making sure that there were no significant language barriers, prior to the interview and ensuring theoretical jargon was kept to a minimum during interview and thoroughly explained during SSIs. Thirdly, the 'tacit assumptions' of words or phrases are at times misinterpreted, as meanings behind them often vary, which may affect findings (While & Barriball, 1994). This challenge cannot always be overcome as these words or phrases mean different things to different people, however, constant conversational dialogue and clarification of terms, when necessary, ensured mutual understanding.

Despite SSIs challenges it was a significant technique used in my study and reflected allowed interviewing to occur in an in-depth manner. Boyce and Neale (2006:3) asserts that:

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.

It was important that all SSIs conducted was in-depth, as this allowed for a thorough investigation of the various questions posed. SSIs consisted mainly of open-ended questions relating to the criteria in established in *Chapter 2*. I conducted SSIs with 6 participants, this included the same resident I had an oral history interview with, 3 CoCT planners, an NGO representative and a developer (See Table 3.1).

3.3.2 Oral History interview

The oral history interview is a unique type of qualitative interview that involves a collaborative exchange between the researcher and the participant; build new knowledge together (Leavey, 2011). It is a technique whose key component is *story-telling*. Various scholars indicate that story-telling is an important part of the oral history method (Perks & Thomson, 2016; Leavey, 2011; Field, 2007). This is largely on account of its ability to capture memories and important events in a way that is unique to participants and their own livelihoods or context (Atkinson, 2004; Field, 2007).

Sandercock (2003) argues that planners tend to think that the people being planned for lack complex knowledge of their situation. By using mechanisms such as story-telling, authentic narratives may come to the fore and these will play a more prominent role in shaping the built environment (ibid.). However, story-telling's potential as a contemporary urban planning approach that actually promotes inclusion has been questioned.

In a political context, Mager and Matthey (2015) argue that, despite its intentions to lead to democratic communication, the practice of story-telling tends to be used by planners as a means of showmanship. This is shown in the following quote:

just as storytelling is supposed to have led democratic communication off track through a pronounced concern for a good story, storytelling applied to the field of urban production may have led to an increasing preoccupation with staging and showmanship in projects to the detriment of their real inclusion in political debate.

(Mager and Matthey⁶, 2015)

Nevertheless, Sandercock (2003) argues that, in terms of an oral history interview technique, storytelling provides an invaluable platform upon which one can understand local traditions and community understandings. Given that my main focus is on the present situation in Woodstock, not

⁶ There was no page number on this online article, original document was inaccessible

on necessarily historical factors, the oral history interview technique was only conducted to Esthei Gabanxa, a resident of Lower Woodstock, who was also a committee manager of a public benefit organisation in the area called The Haven Old Age Home. She was kind enough to invite me into her home, where we sat for over two hours speaking about various contextual insights, memories and stories of the past, related to Woodstock. From her perspective, this gave me an idea about what residents have been going through with regards to market-led regeneration.

3.3.3 Focus Group

Blackburn (2011) considers a focus groups as a type of group interview, while Hughes and DuMont (1993:776, as cited by Smithson, 2000:104) view focus groups as:

In-depth group interviews employing relatively homogenous groups to provide information around topics specified by the researchers.

Hurworth (2011:178) considers a group interview, as one that:

involves an interviewer discussing a topic with between 4 and 12 people simultaneously, thereby enabling a different perspective on an evaluation problem not possible through individual interviews

The single group interview which I conducted, consisted of only three participants, as oppose to the minimum of 4, as show in the above quote therefore, I would consider the technique as fitting under the umbrella of a 'small' group interview or focus group (Hughes and Du Mont, 1993, as cited by Smithson, 2000). This group consisted of three participants from the Development Action Group (DAG), an NGO. A group interview is defined as the systematic questioning of a number of people simultaneously around the same formal or informal setting (Frey, 2011).

Similar to Hughes and Du Mont (cited by Smithson, 2000), Tynan and Drayton (1988:5) refers to a focus group as:

[I]nterviews [that] are a qualitative method in which a small sample of respondents discuss elected topics as a group for approximately one to two hours

Morgan (1996, cited by Blackburn, 2011) established three essential features that outline a focus group, all of which I adopted with my participants. Firstly, the purpose of the technique was on data collection and was focused on a particular topic. Secondly, there was also interaction between participants where they offered and discussed responses to my semi-structured set of questions. Lastly, it was planned for, and was a part of the social constructivist or interpretivist broad qualitative broad toolkit (Morgan, 1996, as cited by Blackburn, 2011). Despite, Olsen (2014) maintaining that a

focus group requires a minimum of five members, given the above, I consider the research technique I conducted, in this regard, as a focus group.

Conducting a focus group came with both advantages and disadvantages. As with all group interviews, an advantage included efficiency as various responses could occur at the same time, on the same setting (Frey, 2011). Also, respondents could be reminded of certain events or ideas that they, otherwise might not have communicated (Frey, 2011). This is as a result of what Blackburn (2011) mentions, is the focus group's central advantage, namely: the 'synergistic group effect', where participants could work together in answering and discussing the questions I posed. Disadvantages include how all stakeholders of Woodstock, such as those from CoCT planners and Developers were not represented in the focus group, which offered an unequal diversity of participants in this regard (Blackburn, 2011). However, it was advantageous, that one of the members of the NGO, namely: Naeema Davids is both DAG intern and a Lower Woodstock Resident, and was able to offer valuable insights thereof, pertinent to my analysis (see *Chapter 4*). Other members of the focus group, included, Helen McGregor-Rourke, the Programme Co-ordinator and Ryan Fester, a Project Support Officer.

3.3.4 Informal Conversations

Similar to Carls' (2016) who completed a Master's Thesis research also based on the Woodstock study area, I used 'informal conversations' as an important way to gain relevant data needed. I use the term 'informal conversations' here, as these SSIs were too short in terms of time and too non-specific to fit under in-depth interviews and lacked a sufficient focus on all aspects covered in my SSI interview questions. I define 'informal conversations' as short face-to-face SSIs that address some of the main questions of my research, in a conversational manner with my participants. Unlike Carls (2016), I argue that these informal conversations should still be categorized as interviews. My claim is substantiated by Brinkmann's (2012:471) view of what interviewing entails:

Unlike everyday conversations, the research interview is most often carried out to serve the researcher's ends, which are external to the conversation itself (e.g., to obtain knowledge about a given topic or some area of human experience).

In other words, every informal conversation used, occurred with the purpose of my research objectives. Although I spoke in an everyday terms, at times even including colloquial language, they were not 'everyday conversations' but specific to the needs of my Chapter 2 criteria, namely: relevant equity, diversity and democracy (see Chapter 2). Although, all of these were not always covered in each of these informal conversations, these offered direction to responding towards a portion of my research questions. I found this technique very useful, given the time frame of my project. I conducted

3 informal conversations with participants. These participants included 2 residents and a property consultant (See Table 3.1).

3.3.5 Personal Communication

In my dissertation, the 'personal communication' research technique, refers to brief telephone call inquiries or emails (De Jager & Steele, 2015). Given the schedules of 2 of my participants and the time limitations of this dissertation, it was not always possible to conduct adequate in-depth interviews with all of them. One of the ways, instead informal conversations, that occurred face-to-face, was personal communication as a means of still obtaining some relevant data, within the given constraints. This includes longstanding Woodstock Counsellor, up until recently, Brett Herron, whom I emailed. As well as, Fieda Benjamin, a former employee of the NGM, whom I contacted via telephone.

3.3.4 Non-participant observation

Non-participant observation enables a researcher to observe activities, events and interactions as they occur in the selected environment (Liu & Maitlis, 2010). This type of observation also assists me in gaining a direct understanding of the Woodstock area and its residents in its current form through observation of how the space is used. Handley (2011:143) identifies distinct features of non-participant observation as:

[T]he researcher-as-observer makes no claim to be a participant, and rarely claims to develop an intersubjective understanding of the setting he or she observes...To some extent, of course, this involvement also constitutes 'participation' with the result that the observer unavoidably influences the way activities unfold. However, it is not complete in the sense meant by the phrase 'participant observation'.

Non-participant observation comes with its own challenges. Firstly, as Handley (2011) indirectly refers to in the above quote, participants or surrounding activities, may change as a result of the observer's presence. This phenomenon, is known as reactivity or the 'observer effect'. As this is part of the research process it cannot necessarily be overcome, however, as McKechnie (2008) suggests, 'reflexive analysis' was used to appropriately deal with my presence potentially impacting on activities in the surrounding context of observation. This was achieved through field notes and taking into consideration my influences on findings. Secondly, Handley (2011) mentions another challenge of non-participant observation is gaining access to certain needed study settings. However, this was overcome by consulting with gatekeepers where necessary, and asking neighbourhood residents for assistance prior to conducting non-participant observation.

During my observation period, I took extensive field notes and photographs throughout Upper and Lower Woodstock. These allowed me to document my experiences over the four-week period in which data collection took place. To this end, non-participation provided an invaluable research tool for me to descriptively analyse my case study.

This includes how I, as a researcher may cause reactions of those being studied that may affect the authenticity or validity of the research itself and gaining access to the particular social setting of the research problem (Bryman, 2016; Liu & Maitlis, 2010). However, this challenge, in terms of participants was addressed as meetings or interviews would progress over time, in addition to more trust being built, this challenge would be diminished. Another challenge is the ability to remain objective without allowing my own set of values to obstruct the analysis (Liu & Maitlis, 2010). By using a field diary and notes thereof, I constantly made myself aware of how things were viewed through the lens of the participants in this neighbourhood, instead of my own.

The taking of field notes and photographs throughout Upper and Lower Woodstock allowed me to document my experiences participant observation apart from during interviews over the four-week period the analysis took place.

3.3.5 Aerial photography and mapping

Aerial photographs played an important role in displaying characteristics of the case study area. Mapping provided a useful tool to demonstrate current spatial complexities significant to the study. National Geo-spatial Information allows accessibility to maps and assisted in depicting my research on more of a geographical and spatial basis.

3.3.6 Document Analysis

Incorporating a document analysis prior to approaching the various participants or stakeholders allowed me to have a structure of which interview probes could assist the analysis of the case study, as shown in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. In addition to desktop studies on a variety of documents, including academic and newspaper articles, other documents that are accessible through the main local government libraries are also considered that provide evidence for changes in the case study area. This is one of the most 'unobtrusive methods' of data collection, as it involves the use of various documents that are mostly publicly accessible (Bryman, 2010). Newspaper articles particularly assisted with the identification of issues in the case study area. Archival data also played a role in

unpacking the study, particularly the Memoirs of A.F Keen (1973). Although, history, was not a main concern of this dissertation.

3.5 Sampling Procedures

The sample was comprised of 12 males and 3 females. Participants included residents of Woodstock, CoCT planners, a former Ward Counsellor of Woodstock, a NGM former employee and a NGM current employee, members of an NGO, a Head of an NGO, a developer and a property consultant (as depicted in Table 3.1). Purposive sampling was used in order to obtain the sample (Palys, 2008). This is a qualitative inquiry and non-probability sampling procedure, where participants are chosen out the researcher's needs in response to the researcher's particular analysis and objectives (Morse, 2011; Palys, 2008). Due to limited resources, highly scattered population and research having an exploratory focus, non-probability sampling was suitable (Daniel, 2012). Given that my research aims and objectives, placed a high emphasis on regeneration, various stakeholder representatives in Woodstock played an important role in my study. For the purposes of my research, it was important that the sample included such a variety of individuals that all represent these stakeholders which play a role in the built environment of Woodstock. Although, the purposive sampling procedure was the main tool used in this regard, there were occasions, where the snowball sampling technique was used, to select additional participants that I have not necessarily initially planned to select.

Both these sampling procedures consist of disadvantages and advantages. According to Battaglia (2011) there are disadvantages that come with the use of purposive sampling. This includes that other researchers would use a different sample, with characteristics that outline their particular aims and objectives, according to their own criteria based on other research, making my particular study unable to replicate. Another disadvantage of purposive sampling is that it's quite subjective and selection criteria is best with individuals that reside within in limited geographical area where limited or no inferences are made to the population (Battaglia, 2011). However, advantages of this procedural method is that it allowed me to utilise my own knowledge, based on my on-going analysis of the case study area, to decide what type of participants are needed and required minimum resources. Morgan (2012) identifies that the central disadvantage of snowball sampling is that it may capture a bias subset of participants and reduce the opportunity for other participants that may have been more eligible to fit the study. However, this disadvantage could be dealt with, through ensuring that the initial set of

respondents are adequately diverse (Morgan, 2012). Similar to Atkinson and Flint (2004), I found the main advantage of the snowball sampling procedures to be in its convenience and ability to attain 'trust' from new participant, given my relation with the original participant, this assisted in the new participant's willingness take part in the research project. Nonetheless, with the numerous techniques applied to my research, certain facts could be substantiated by more than one technique, ensuring that the data is analysed in a sufficient manner.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis was undertaken and revolved around various phases, not necessarily linear, but all phases have taken place. First, *data preparation* took place, where interview data was recorded via a digital voice recorder and transcribed for further investigation. In addition, field notes were kept to gather significant observations and other data was gathered, according to the various research techniques. Second, the data was *coded*. This implies that they were inserted in various categories. Essentially, data was continuously read and categorised according to the themes identified in *Chapter 2*, namely: Equity, Democracy and Diversity. Third, *member checking* occurred where necessary. Here, follow-up interviews were conducted with participants to interpret results, then a *re-categorisation of data* occurred, where misinterpreted (Theron, 2015). For instance, a few interview responses were shifted to an alternative theme, after rethinking their original categorical placement. The various patterns and themes were unpacked (Theron, 2015). In unpacking, the findings related to the literature. The findings and subsequent analysis are presented in *Chapter 4*. Lastly, recommendations were drawn on the basis of the analysis that took place. These were presented in *Chapter 5*.

3.5 Ensuring Rigour

Saumure and Given (2012) view ensuring rigour as the ability to ensure quality research process that produces findings that are trustworthy. In doing so, Saumure and Given (2012) identify five notions needed for its existence in terms of qualitative research, these include: transparency, maximal validity, maximal reliability, comparativeness, and reflexivity.

Transparency is achieved through clarity in the description of the study. This provides the audience with a thorough knowledge of the stages taken during the research process. Maximal validity or credibility, is assured by the study being represented accurately, which for instance, includes direct quotes from participants and having an audit trail of analysis including using a digital voice recorder for interviews and making transcriptions. Maximal reliability or dependability is obtained through discussing of results with other researchers, as this assesses whether my own ideas are in line with other interpretations. Comparativeness, was attained, as I considered other researcher's findings with

that of my own. Lastly, reflexivity played an important role, in the study as I took into consideration that my own presence may have influenced findings. For instance, in the case of resident participants, given that I was an 'outsider' to their neighbourhood, they might have limited the information shared with me. However, where possible, a relationship was formed with participants prior to data collection, to gain 'trust' with participants and promote better findings, despite the challenge of being an 'outsider'. To this end, rigour was ensured in my study.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval is provided by the University of Cape Town (UCT) Faculty of Engineering the Built Environment's Ethics Committee. Given the nature of the content, each interview is conducted, with the highest respect given to the particular participant and their view.

Prior to each interview, the participant had to re-assert their willingness to be involved in the study through signing the related form, as shown in the appendix. No compensation was given to any of the participants and identities were kept hidden, unless they very clearly consented to use their real names in a publicly accessible dissertation. No harm was done to any participant, their privacy was not invaded and the entire research process was conducted in a transparent manner (Bryman, 2016)

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter described the methods used in data collection and research techniques used in the study. It also included a discussion of some strengths and weakness of each. In addition, ethical considerations were also discussed. Prior, to which, the way in which data was managed, demonstrated how Preparing the data, Coding, Member checking, interpreting results and Presenting the data was utilised to make ensure that the data was both credible and valid. I now turn to a discussion of research findings and analysis.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings and analysis thereof. The findings are assessed in terms of the criteria presented in chapter 2. The current and proposed interventions by the CoCT, with regards to regeneration are also assessed in accordance with this criteria. Hence, the first section of this Chapter presents the status quo. In so doing, the study area is contextualised. The second section assesses Woodstock through the criteria for a “Just City”.

4.2 Contextualising the Area

For the purpose of my research, the boundaries of the study area lie north of the N2 and west of Salt-River, as shown in figure 4.1. According to the CoCT (2011), it is important to note that the Woodstock census boundary extends to include, Walmer Estate and University Estate. While Woodstock, is my study area, I focus largely on the portion that lies south of the railway lines, where most residents are located (CoCT, 2011). The case study area is located under Wards 55, 57 and Ward 115, refer to Figure 4.2. Unlike CoCT’s GIS data (2015), as shown on the map, according to CoCT’s (2016) interactive map viewer (2016), Ward 55⁷ extends all the way towards Milnerton.

In addition, it is a Special Rating area, which is also referred to as an improvement district. Hence, the Woodstock Improvement District, is employed to offer ‘marked-up’ services which implies subsidised neighbourhood security and street cleaning. This plays an important role in the regeneration of the area (as explained later in the chapter).

⁷ Boundaries of Wards, seem to, at times cross their own boundaries, such as Ward 115 (see figure 4.2) on both of my sources CoCT (2015) GIS data and CoCT (2016) Interactive Map View have a boundary within a boundary.

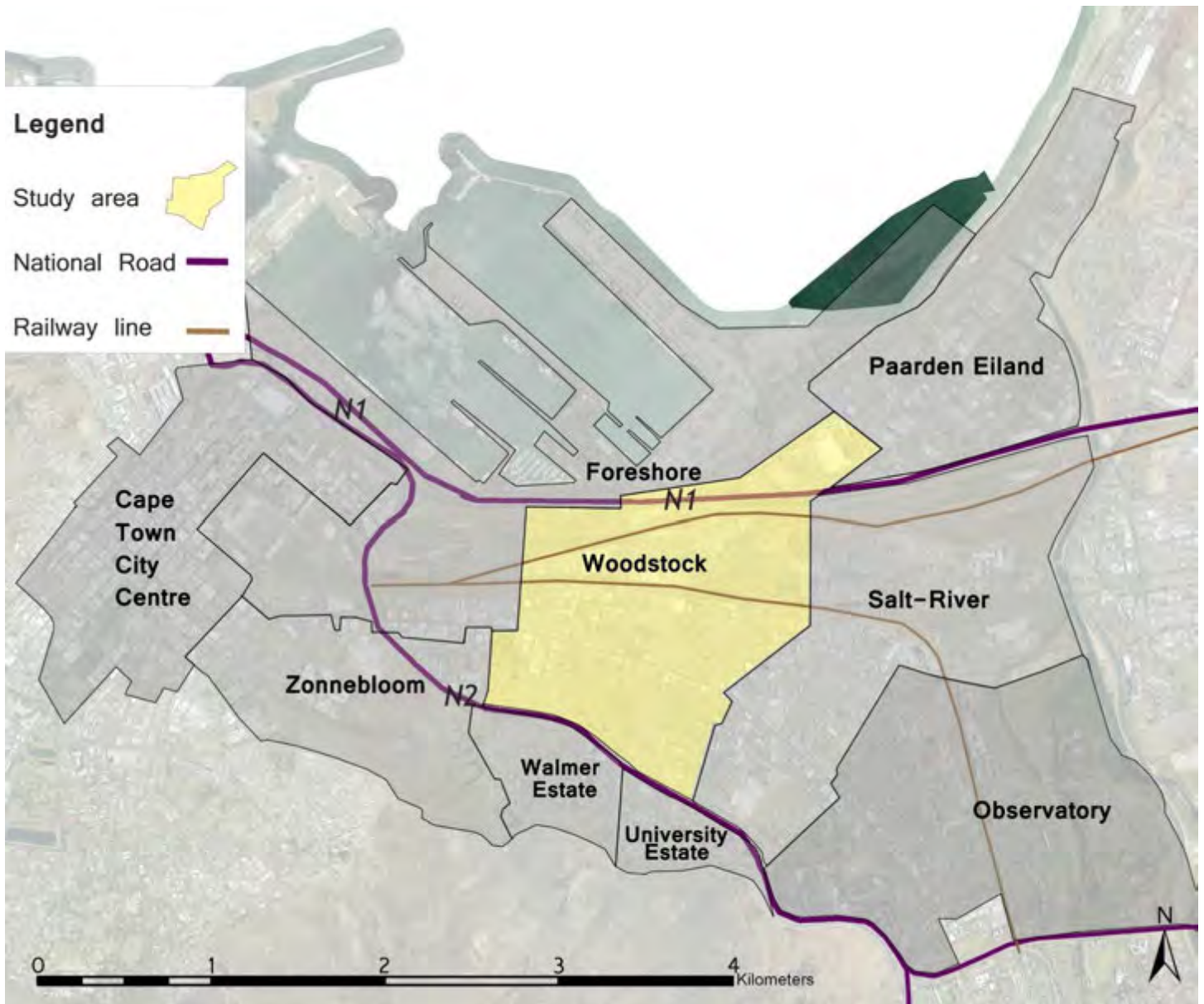


Figure 4.1: Study Area, with Walmer Estate and University Estate, (By Author, using GIS Data from CoCT, 2015)

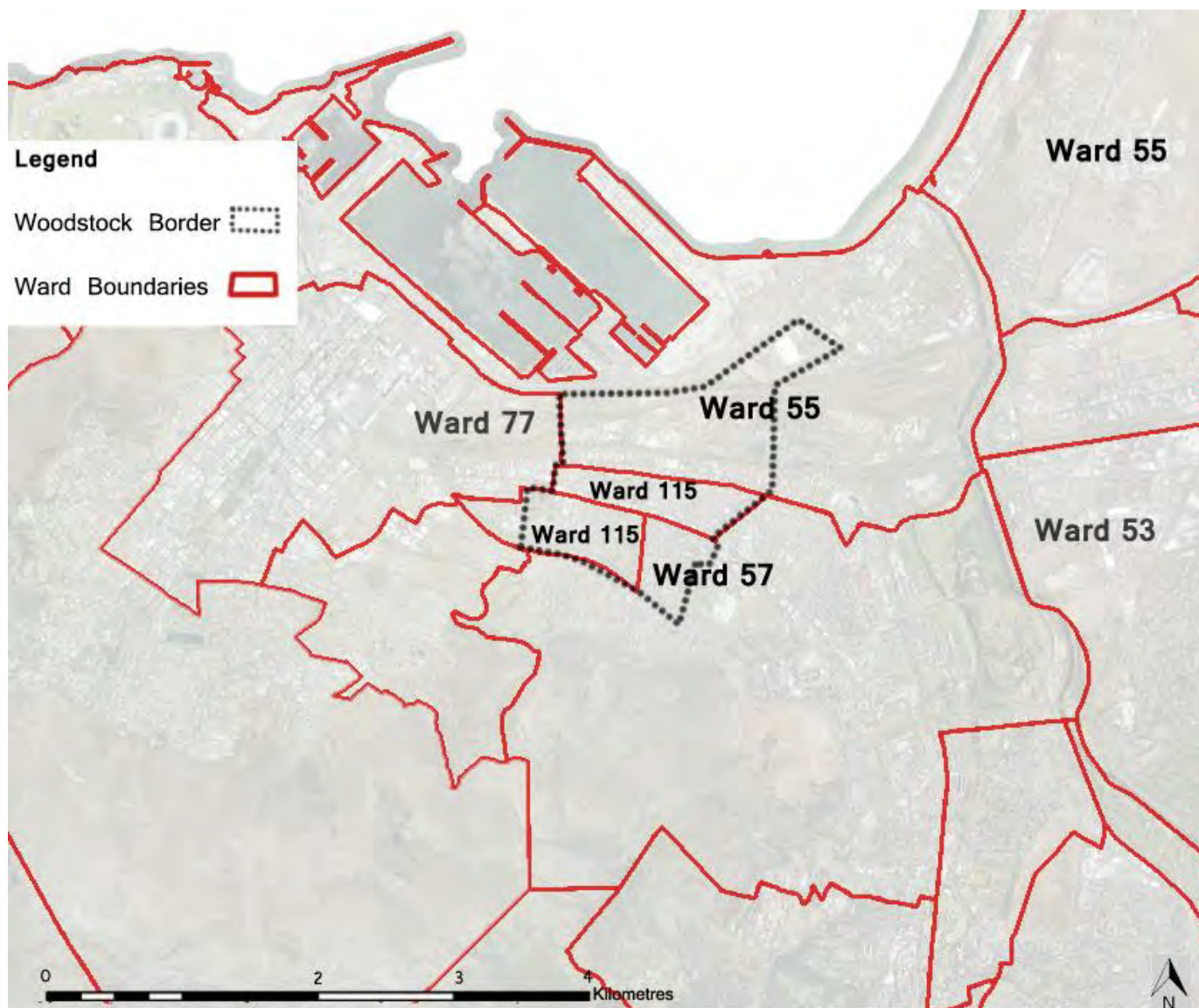


Figure 4.2: Woodstock Wards (By Author, using GIS Data from CoCT, 2015)

4.2.1 Historical Overview

Woodstock stands as one of the oldest inner city suburbs in Cape Town (Garside, 1993). It has a rich heritage, due to its various inhabitants from various backgrounds over a few centuries. Originally Woodstock began as a tiny fishing village on land owned by Pieter Van Papendorp, between Fort Knokke and Craig Battery, thus it was named 'Papendorp' as shown on Figure 4.3 (NM & Associates, 2002). Batavian Republic's General Janssen was capitulated here, in 1806, beginning British Rule, this was signed under the 'Treaty-Tree' that still stands today, as a provincial heritage site (NM & Associates, 2002). It is an over 300 year old Milkwood tree in Spring Street. Until the 1850s, early settlement was largely a response to natural aspects such as the mountain slope, with housing catering for fishermen and cottages for farmers (NM & Associates, 2002). In the 1850s, Cape Town began to expand to the east, farmers were required to pay for bringing produce into the city at French

Lines (See Figure 4.3). The critical shift towards an 'industrial' Woodstock occurred largely on account of transport infrastructure, particularly the development of the railway (Walker, 1989).

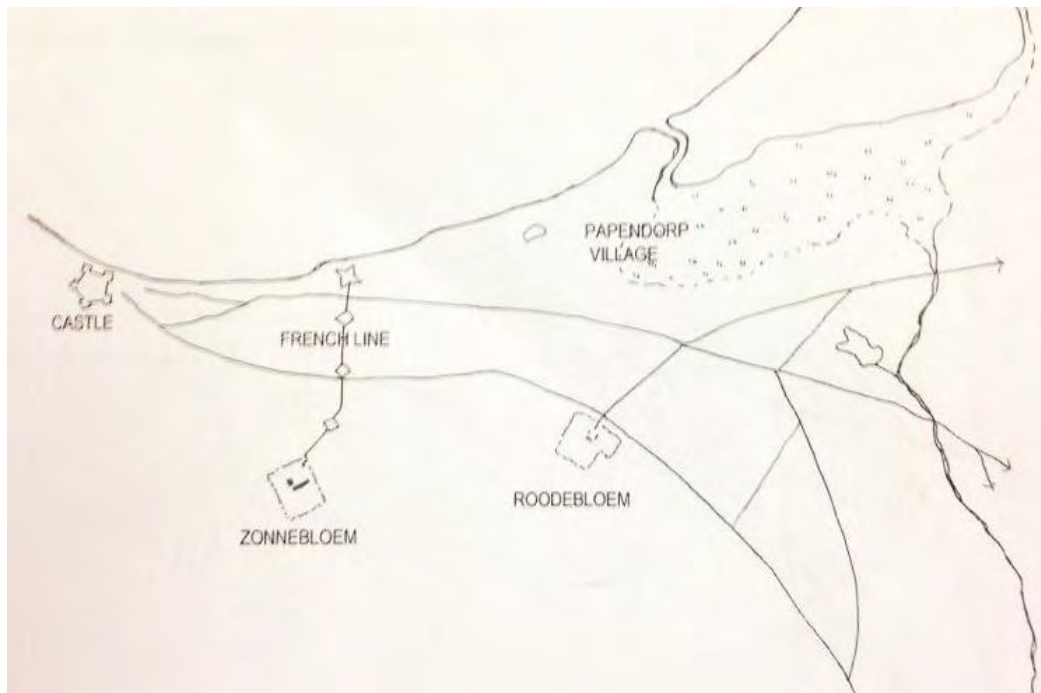


Figure 4.3: Pre-industrial settlement, c. 1815 (NM & Associates, 2002:4)

A technological advance occurred with 'rapid' free-market interrelations starting to occur between 1860s and 1930s impacting on development in Woodstock (NM & Associates, 2002). In 1861, a railway line between Cape Town and Wellington that passed through Woodstock, with another line through to Kalk Bay four years later. During the 1860s, Railway companies were the main employer of residents, even more prevalent than fishing hiring signalmen and even drivers (Walker 1989). In 1882 Woodstock was given municipal status and soon became a 'progressive' municipality. Unlike, many years later⁸, (see previous section, 4.2), I would argue that the first Wards were more clearly defined, as: Ward 1, being located below Lower Road (Albert Road), Ward 2 was between Upper and Lower road and Ward 3 was above the Upper Road (Keen 1973). With the boundary of Woodstock as a being between Baron Street on the central city side and Station Road. By 1890, Woodstock remained a mainly residential suburb consisting of a large portion of low-income residents (Walker, 1989). Ironically, although further railway expansion continued which excluded Woodstock-Salt River from Table Bay, speculative developers already began seeing the area for its investment potential (NM & Associates, 2002).

⁸ I am referring to the present moment, as mentioned in section 4.2, where Wards seem to be less clearly defined with having boundaries within boundaries, as in the case of Ward 115 (See, Figure 4.2).

Industry began to move into Woodstock as they could now afford to, with railway increasing access to broader markets with cheaper raw materials as industrialisation and the mineral revolution progressed (NM & Associates, 2002). In this way, a tradeoff between transport costs and land prices became established (Walker, 1989). As the late 1900s took place, Victoria and Albert road increased in significance, offering the most accessibility to the road network. While heavy industry concentrated in close proximity to the railway line in Beach Road and Railway road (Walker, 1989). With urbanisation increasing, houses rapidly started being built, with 538 houses in 1900 alone, focused on investment, often with absent landlords (NM & Associates, 2002). It was clear that during this time, developers, already started understanding the property investment potential of Woodstock. With 394% growth in the Woodstock Municipality (Worden et al., 1998:212, as cited by NM & Associates, 2002).

With the impact of modernism, after the 1930s, development mainly consisted of 'piecemeal rebuilding' and infilling concentrated on main routes (NM & Associates, 2012). Both Industrial and Commercial activity began taking shape in Woodstock. Fine-grained residential and commercial development that remained, were scattered along Victoria Road, Woodstock, Albert Road, Salt River Road and Durham Avenue, in a fragmented manner (NM & Associates, 2012). I would argue that initial signs of market-led regeneration occurred as the once dormant 'Parendorp village' shifted to become a more modern 'Woodstock' hub of wide investment opportunity, rich in industrial, clothing, mineral, and food processing businesses, moving in and out of the area.

Although historical development brought with it positive characteristics such as a well-defined urban grid (See Figure 4.4 & Figure 4.5), fine scale and grain of the built fabric and variety in the types of buildings, it also included many negative characteristics (NM & Associates, 2002). Negative characteristics such as the end of Woodstock Beach as shown on figure 4.6, on account of on-going expansions of Railways and Harbours, including the Foreshore land reclamation and modern container harbour from 1940, moving beyond the 1960s, separating this area from the sea (Keen 1973; NM & Associates, 2002). Another negative characteristic was the way large-scale industrial and commercial development gained ownership of areas historically residential, particularly in the general commercial areas of Lower Woodstock (NM & Associates, 2012). In the 1980s, many of the working class residents were required to move out, as property prices increased and wealthier residents moved in the area (Garside, 1993). In addition, there were many attempts to enforce the Group Areas proclamation in forming Woodstock into a 'white' area, which threatened the historically mixed residential attribute of the area and caused social division (Garside, 1993; NM & Associates, 2002). Nevertheless, Woodstock remained one of the 'grey' areas during apartheid declared as a 'mixed' neighbourhood (Garside, 1993). This was up until the 1980s, which played a role in decreasing investment during this time and lack of cleansing and safety in the area with resultant urban decay (NM & Associates, 2002).

However, in the late 1990s going into the 2000s, these decaying buildings, slowly began taking the attention of property developers, given the area's central location, and became an opportunity for later market-led regeneration. With the consistent mixture of individuals from various backgrounds moving in and out of Woodstock over many years, any sense of 'community' in the past, has presently shifted into rather a diverse range of 'communities' (Gabanxa, Interview, 14 August, 2016).



Figure 4.4: Rapid Laissez-faire Development, c. 1928, (Adapted from NM & Associates, 2002:5)

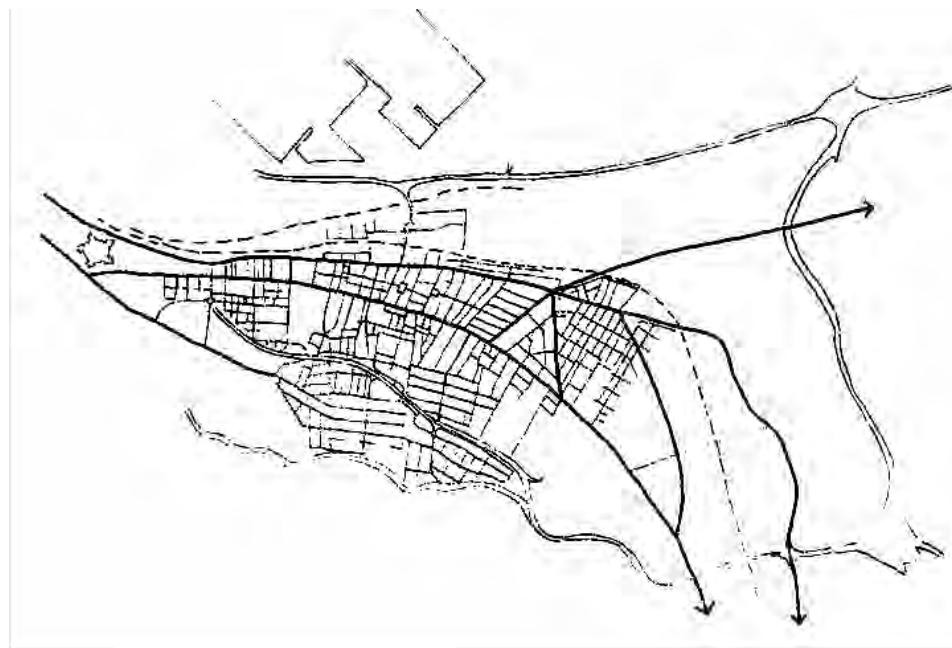


Figure 4.5: Impact of Modernism, since the 1930s (NM & Associates, 2002:6)



Figure 4.6: Woodstock Beach in the 1940S, before the N1 (Keen, 1973:49).

4.2.2 The Status Quo

The current situation in Woodstock demonstrates a number of challenges regarding more ‘just and equitable forms of regeneration, and that these challenges are largely the result of private sector investments in the area. As private sector developers convert properties into upmarket housing and retail developments, there is less opportunity to retain Woodstock’s former cultural and socio-economic diversity. Said differently, Woodstock has become safer and more ‘trendy’, with upmarket nodes such as the Biscuit Mill and world-class restaurants such as the Three Feathers Diner. However, this ‘safer trendiness’ has also had a negative impact on Woodstock’s working class residents. So while various café’s, Albert Road gives it a sense of night life, and while young entrepreneurs are unlocking the area’s capital potentials, such market-led regeneration initiatives are displacing Woodstock’s long-time residents. Woodstock’s proximity to the CBD, and to other nodes in the Cape Town Metropolitan area, is one reason for why this neighbourhood has become a hub for private sector investment. This central location, with access to public transport networks, is also a reason for why working class residents are hoping to remain in Woodstock. Woodstock’s established transport infrastructure includes rail, minibus taxis and the recently implemented Bus Rapid Transport system (see Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.7: Context map of Woodstock in the Cape Town Metropolitan. By Author using GIS data from CoCT (2012)

4.2.2.1 Boundaries

Woodstock, Walmer Estate and University Estate are all included as sub-places in the municipality’s definition of the “Woodstock suburb”(CoCT, 2011). However, for this research, I will focus mainly on the ‘Woodstock’ portion of this “Woodstock suburb” or area, which includes upper and lower Woodstock. The physical differences between Upper and Lower Woodstock are highlighted in table 4.1 below. These differences are based on my field observations, as well as the observations made up by a group of scholars from the North-Eastern University in Boston (Anonymous⁹, 2016). During their 3,5 week stay in the neighbourhood, they conducted a study called ‘The Right to Woodstock’¹⁰.

Table 4.1: Observed differences between Upper Woodstock and Lower Woodstock. By Author (2016), adapted from Anonymous (2016)

Upper Woodstock	Lower Woodstock
There are a large number of café’s and a general ‘hipster-culture’ in design trends, that is rapidly making its way towards Lower Woodstock as well	There is a large number of retail development that consist of formal and some informal businesses
More of an equal income distribution, with most residents being middle to high income earners	Highly unequal income distribution
Mainly Residential Land-uses	A mixed range of land-uses , but mostly commercial and industrial, residential land-uses
There are seems to be less individuals illegally occupying. areas	There more individuals illegally occupying areas
There are less social services	Large number of social services

Upper Woodstock (South of Victoria Road) consists of more middle to high income residential uses with some commercial uses. While, in Lower Woodstock (North of Victoria Road) there are more industrial uses middle to low-income residential uses. However, with Old Biscuit Mill, the Woodstock Exchange, and other newer developments, the use of the area of Lower Woodstock, is transforming and becoming an upmarket retail and commercial node. Nonetheless, a decreasing portion of Lower Woodstock still consists of low-income housing.

⁹ In the article they remained anonymous, however, they are from ‘North Eastern University’ in Boston

¹⁰ The aim of the study was to find out what makes Woodstock different from contemporary counterparts and other parts of Cape Town. It was conducted through Non-participant observations and interviews. It was done as a part of the *Right to the City* dialogue-a month long intensive study abroad experiential course abroad.

4.2.2.2 Zoning

The UDZ tax incentive is managed by the South African Revenue Service (SARS), with the objective of encouraging private sector-led commercial and residential property development in Cape Town's inner city as well as public transport upgrades (CoCT, 2014). The UDZ serves to encourage investment into areas such as Lower Woodstock. In addition, it also falls over the urban civic upgrade areas, as shown in the Table Bay District Plan. The UDZ plays a role in supporting the overall Woodstock public community through public infrastructure, such as road upgrades (Boyd, Interview, 26 August, 2016).

4.3 ASSESSING WOODSTOCK BASED ON CRITERIA FOR URBAN JUSTICE

As discussed in chapter 2, urban justice encompasses three criteria. These consists of equity, diversity and democracy, and all three criteria are used to evaluate the level of 'justices' in the case under study.

4.3.1 ASSESSING WOODSTOCK BASED ON CRITERIA FOR EQUITY

Where the work of most city planners is rarely consciously redistributive, equity planners often understand the potential contribution of planners in broad economic and social terms and try to provide for a downward redistribution of resources and political participation to create a more just and democratic society

(Krumholz, 2013:126)

As Krumholz (2013) notes in the above quote, equity planning is not just about promoting an equal distribution of resources. It is also about promoting political inclusion. This, in turn, plays an important role in the establishment of a 'just city' for the benefit of all. Assessment criteria for equity are: the encouragement of affordable housing, holding affordable housing in perpetuity, the prioritisation of small businesses and employees; and prioritising bottom-up ways of addressing key issues.

4.3.1.1 Housing development should provide housing units that cater for low-income individuals and be kept in perpetuity (Fainstein, 2010)

According to statistical findings presented by the Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre (AL+HDC, 2012), out of the total 3314 residential properties in Woodstock in 2012, only 387 were affordable housing units (11.67%). Although these statistics have not been updated, since 2012,

This finding demonstrates a lack of affordable housing in this inner city neighbourhood. To make matters worse, the existing affordable housing stock is over prescribed, since the population density per house is exceedingly high. High densities, in turn, are a result of stark increases in property prices,

thereby forcing multiple households to share the costs of ever increasing rents. In Gympie Street, for example, residents are charged as much as R3000 per month for one room and shared bathroom and kitchen facilities (Fleming, 2011). Thus, the need to live in the inner-city (in close proximity to work opportunities and other public services) tends to mitigate health and safety hazards pertaining to population densities (ibid.). Furthermore, many affordable housing structures in Woodstock, in particular social housing rental typologies¹¹, are currently in the process of being purchased by private sector developers for the purpose of redeveloping this stock into upmarket housing (McCarthy, interview, 30 August 2016). Despite these findings, there is some indication that the City is in the process of implementing social housing projects in Woodstock (see Figure 4.8).

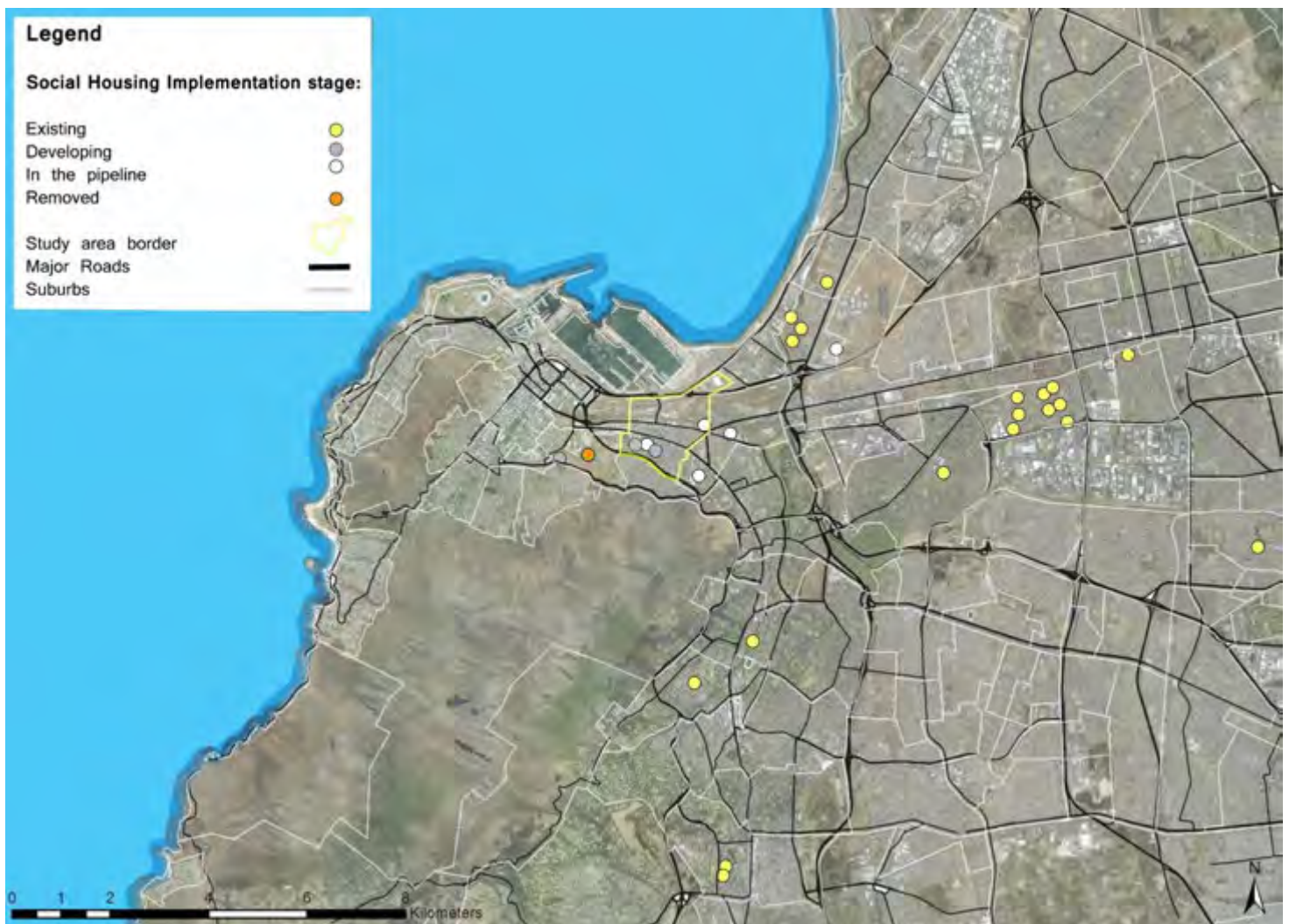


Figure 4.8: Social Housing Implementation sites. By Author, using GIS Data from CoCT (2012) and an Anonymous (2016a) source from Ndifuna Ukwazi

¹¹ As shown later in the Chapter, the Head of National Social Housing Organisation views Social housing as the type of affordable housing that is of the highest demand in the Woodstock Salt River context (McCarthy, interview, 30 August 2016)

For the aforementioned reason, and in accordance with the arguments presented in Chapter 2, by Fainstein (2010) and Ngwenya (2013), it is suggested that these projects remain in perpetuity not only for the here and now, but also for future generations. In other words, scholars who are arguing for a more 'just city' suggest that social housing projects need to be owned and maintained by the state for a significant period of time (Fainstein, 2010; Ngwenya, 2013, Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). This argument is supported by a research participant, Mr Boyd (interview, 26 August, 2016). Moreover, aspects of this argument seems also to be supported by Woodstock's former ward councillor, Brett Heron (personal communication, 24 August 2016), who maintains that:

I don't believe any City owned affordable housing [project] would be sold off or demolished. At some point we may consider transferring ownership of rental housing to the tenants who have been in occupation [of a housing unit] for a long period of time. This would only happen in terms of a policy and in the interests of providing that indigent tenant with a capital asset.

The municipality is currently in the process of assessing the feasibility of potential land parcels for mixed-use areas and mixed-income developments that include a large component of affordable housing. This plays an important role in ensuring perpetuity. Figure 4.9 illustrates local and provincial government land ownership and Figure 4.10 shows these local and provincial government land ownership with generalised zoning, excluding heritage (shown later).

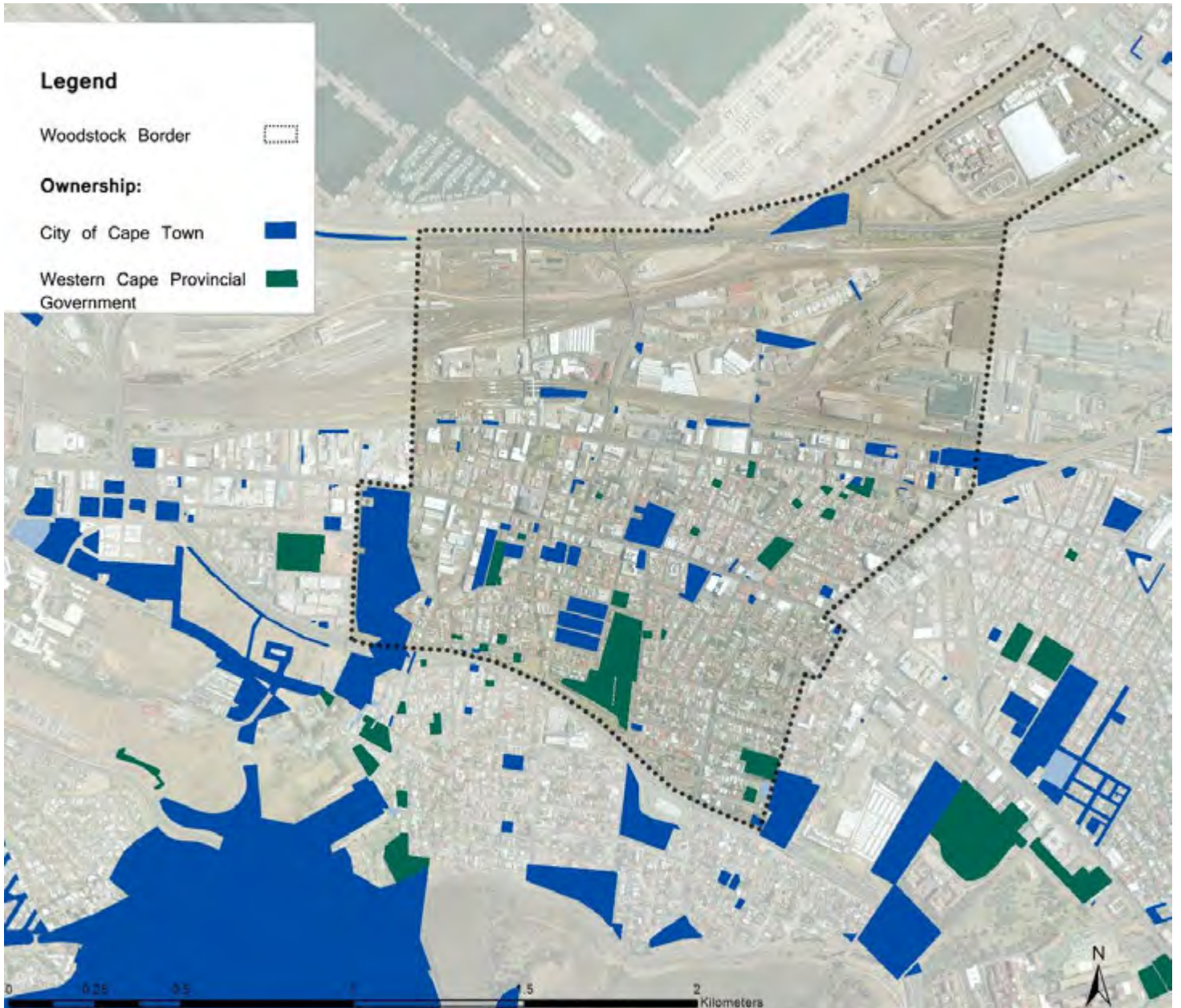


Figure 4.9: CoCT and Western Cape Provincial Government (WCPG) land Ownership. By Author, using GIS data from, CoCT (2015) and Anonymous source from Ndifuna Ukwazi (2016)

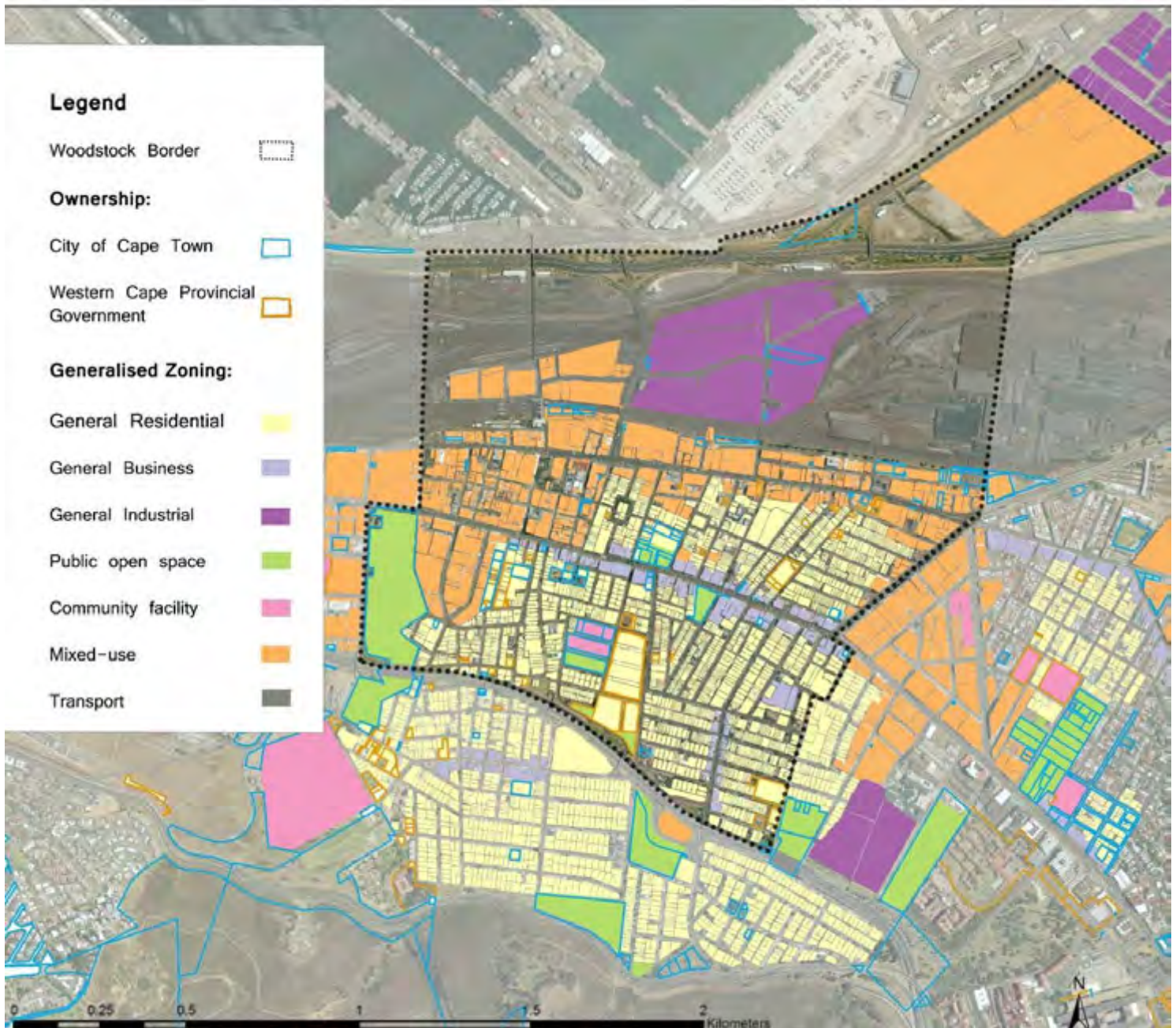


Figure 4.10: CoCT and WCPG Ownership with Generalised Zoning. By Author, using GIS data from, CoCT (2015) and Anonymous source from Ndifuna Ukwazi (2016)

That said, ideas of transferring ownership to long-term tenants might offer some level of perpetuity, but it might also result in a process that hastens gentrification and the displacement of working class residents. Studies from other cities across the globe suggest that once a transfer of ownership takes place, new, working class owners tend to resell their properties to developers who, in turn, convert properties to upmarket housing (Fainstein, 2010; Slater, 2011; Smith, 2002). This argument holds true in particular for neighbourhoods that are already undergoing forms of regeneration, like Woodstock. As such, other mechanisms to enable the criterion of perpetuity need to be sought.

The CoCT (2016) has identified five major areas that may be used for future affordable housing for beneficiaries from Woodstock (see Figure 4.11). These include: Pine Road Site, Dillon Lane Site, the Salt River Market Site, Pickwick Street Site and the Woodstock Hospital Site.



Figure 4.11: Earmarked potential affordable housing sites on government-owned land. By Author, using GIS data from CoCT (2012) and CoCT (2015)

A description of each of the CoCT's potential sites outlines the urgent need for housing development since each site has its unique, distinctive characteristics and current conditions. By understanding the status of each of these prime sites, the need for affordable housing is substantiated, pertinent to just forms of regeneration.

Pine Road Site

This City owned site is located between Pine Road and Queens Road. According to Hogg (2016) and Bonginkosi Madikizela, the Provincial Minister of Human Settlements this site has been informally occupied since the 1990s. After 1994, it became part of the Western Cape Government Development, thereafter, and in 2012 it was transferred to the City. As can be seen in Figure 4.8 below, there has not been much change between 2009 and 2016. Although residents, received Wendy houses, two communal taps, and four portable toilets, little else has taken place since 2012 (Hogg, 2016). Further planning initiatives to upgrade or formalise the site have stalled, and the only change that has taken place is an increase in the number of residents who continue to occupy the land illegally (Hogg, 2016). Nonetheless, the Head of National Social Housing (NASHO) mentioned that the site may accommodate approximately 240 social housing units (McCarthy, Interview, 30 August 2016). Hogg (Personal communication, 2016) conducted her own survey of the settlement with the aim of finding out residents' income and monthly expenditures. Her research findings reveal that out of the 15 households living on this site, only 4 households qualify for social housing subsidies. Most of the households in the area depend on South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) grants and piece-work as a source of income (Hogg, 2016).

The outcome of this finding is worrying, for it suggests that many residents will be relocated from the inner-city to temporary relocation areas, such as Pelican Park and Blikkiesdorp, on the urban fringe (Hogg, 2016). McCarthy (interview, 30 August, 2016) suggests that a possible state subsidy could assist residents in meeting the payments for social housing, but there is no guarantee that it will. This research finding demonstrates that the displacement of Woodstock's current residents is not only a result of private sector redevelopments and accompanying concerns of gentrification. Rather, there are a number of other reasons for resident displacement. These reasons need to be considered if a more 'just' outcome is sought for this inner city neighbourhood.



Figure 4.12: Pine Road Site in 2009, Top Picture (Source: GoogleMaps, 2009)



Figure 4.13: Pine Road site in 2016, (Author's own, 2016)

Dillon Lane Site

Located south of Victoria Road and east of Queens Road, this site is also owned by the Municipality and can accommodate 80 social housing units. Similar to the Pine Road Site, the Dillon Lane Site is informally occupied by a small group of homeless residents. However, the homeless residents who occupy this site are not assisted, in any way, by the local government. This responds to Turok and Watson's (2001) notion of social divide of Cape Town and the high demand for housing. As shown in the photograph below, much of the site remains vacant during weekends. However, during the week, a portion of the site is used for parking. Similar to Pine Road, proposed social housing in Dillon Lane has been in the pipeline since 2008.

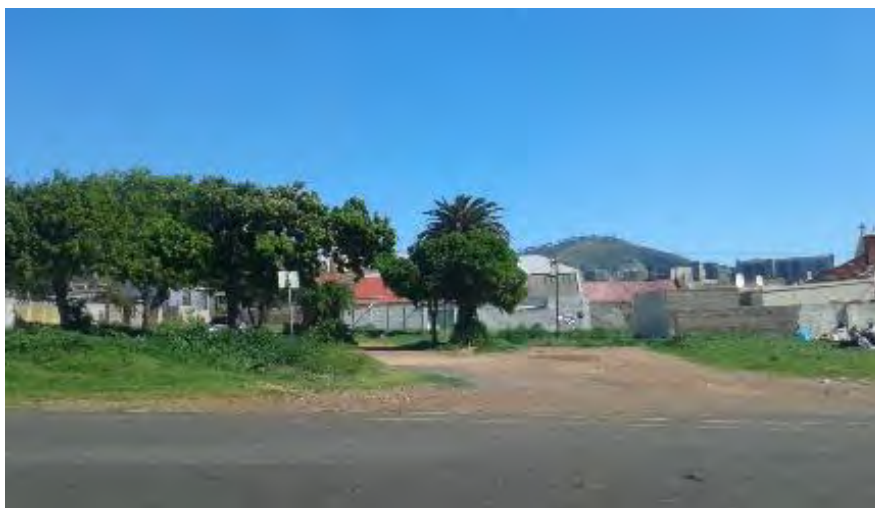


Figure 14: Dillon Lane Site. Author's own, 2016

Salt River Market

Located to the north of the Salt River Circle, this site, according to McCarthy (Interview, 30 August 2016) has the potential to accommodate 350 units for social housing. However, some of the available land is currently owned by PRASA. Hence the outcome of this potential social housing site, remains an institutional complexity. Nonetheless, the development of this site and an inclusion of other uses such as formal and informal market spaces, encourages the spatial manifestation of a valuable cluster point, also of communal value (Behrens & Watson, 1996; Mandanipour, 2003). One of the important small-scale interventions that inspired a community participation, on this site was the Yew Street Market held on 30 May 2015, as shown on the figure below (Gontsana, 2015; Lerner, 2014). Prior to any more markets of this nature, the CoCT has removed the permit for another. This speaks to the existing demand for urban acupuncture that changes these institutionalised spaces into creative, community-driven hubs (Lerner, 2014). The interrelation between equity and *diversity* is shown through the above site, however, *diversity* and its value to the realisation of a just city will be elaborated on later in this Chapter.



Figure 4.15: Yew Street Market on 30 May 2015. Yew Street Market’s Facebook Page (2015, as cited by Gontsana 2015)

Pickwick Road Site

Located in Salt-River, well outside the administrative boundaries of Woodstock and my study area, this site is earmarked for the development of social housing. According to McCarthy (Interview, 30 August 2016), it has the potential of accommodating 400 units, 4 to 5 years from now, however, he maintains that this is not a signed and sealed deal. Both of the CoCT planners interviewed from the City, Boyd (Interview, 26 August 2013) and Van Heerden (Interview, 11 August) mentions that the current plans for the site are in the process of being formulated and finalised, and as such, I have found them to be inaccessible to the public. However, I have found an image (on 15 August 2016) in a presentation on 'Re-imagining Woodstock and Salt-River at the Development Action Group (DAG) that may reflect some of the ideas the City is working with (see Figure 4.16). Accordingly, it seems as if the site is earmarked for an integrated (mixed-use, mixed-income) development via the implementation of a series of precincts. These are: The Station to Pine Road Precinct, Woodstock Hospital Site and Library Precinct, Salt-River Market site, Salt-River Textile Precinct and Pickwick's Precinct. Hence, the idea of affordable housing is used as building blocks to form a more inclusive Woodstock. However, it is surprising that this information is inaccessible to the public. Initiatives for a more 'just' city necessitate transparency and resident involvement in planning processes and outcomes.

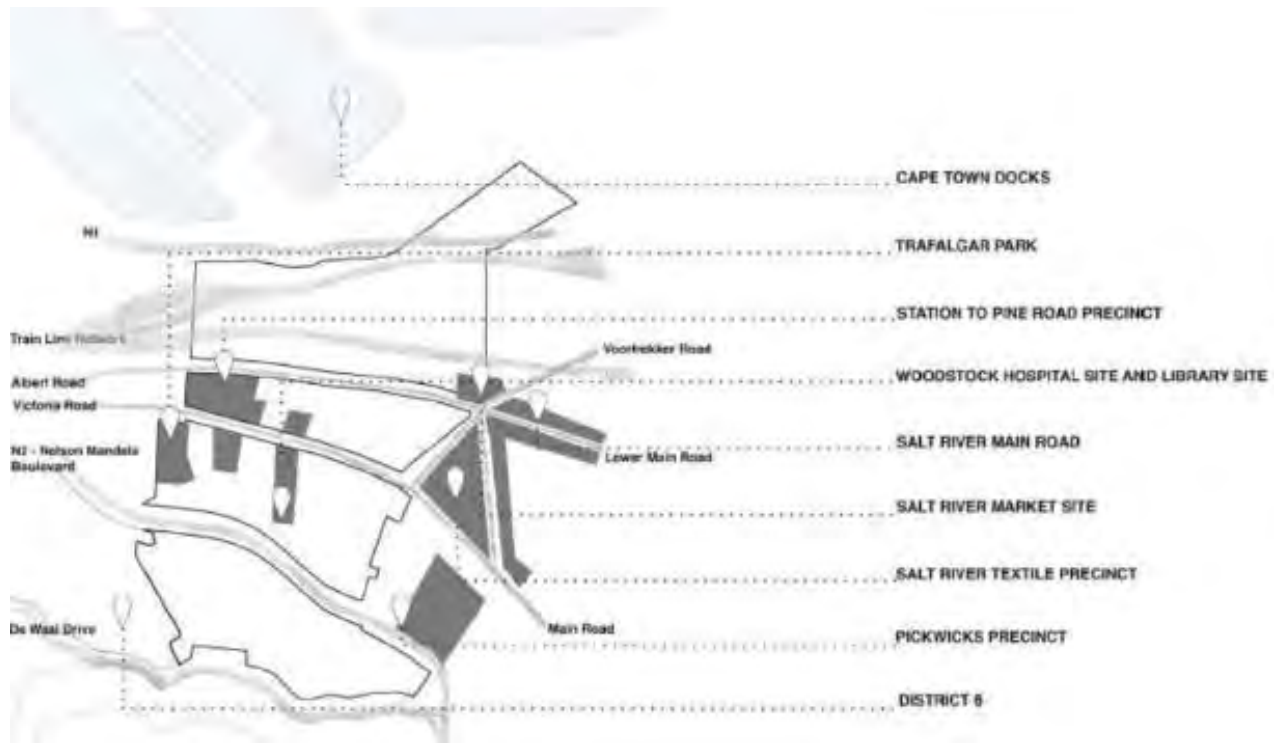


Figure 4.16: Re-Imagining Woodstock and Salt-River Presentation (DAG, 2016) Potential CoCT Precinct Concept for housing in Salt-River-Woodstock

Woodstock Hospital Site

According to McCarthy (interview, 30 August 2016), the Woodstock Hospital site, owned by Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC), is also another site being considered for social housing. McGregor-Rourke (Interview, 15 August 2016), from DAG, is adamant that this site holds immense opportunity for social housing, if PGWC releases it for that purpose. My own observations of the site are that there may be some provincial functions still being carried out on the site. This deduction being made, due to the constant presence of a few hospital motor vehicles on most days. However, the broken windows and under-maintained exterior, points towards it being a building that lacks any current constant or vital usage (See Figure 4.17). Malcolm McCarthy (Interview, 30 August) suggests that it could hold at least 300 social housing units and is a prime site for such development.



Figure 4.17: Woodstock Hospital (Author's own)

The availability of the above sites allows for the development of affordable housing. Well-located sites, such as these, are examples of prime land existing within inner-city neighbourhoods. These future affordable housing sites also offer low-income individuals access to needed economic opportunities. Consequently, these areas of prime land close to economic opportunities that benefit low-income individuals are integral to the promotion of equity (Sendin, 2016; Fainstein, 2010).

McCarthy (Interview, 30 August 2016) suggests three mechanisms available which can be developed to increase the affordable housing stock in Woodstock. They are the Breaking New Ground Housing, Community Residential Units and Social Housing. He argues that, of these available mechanisms for housing in Woodstock, social housing, remains the most needed and workable within the context of Woodstock. One of the biggest constraints, in the development of social housing in Woodstock is monetary cost, as shown in the following quote:

...the problem [with] Salt-River-Woodstock is with the cost, I mean we've done some guesstimates on it, and we think that the actual land cost per individual unit is something like a R150 000, so just to acquire land, you would have to spend a 150000 per unit

(McCarthy, Interview, 30 August, 2016)

Presently, in other parts of the country, land for a social housing unit costs on average about R40 000 per unit. This is less than a third of the above mentioned amount for Woodstock (McCarthy, Interview, 30 August, 2016). This poses a major constraint to the development of social housing in the study area. Reasons for the high cost of land in Woodstock’s central location, increased private sector spending in the local property market, and accompanying regeneration activities.

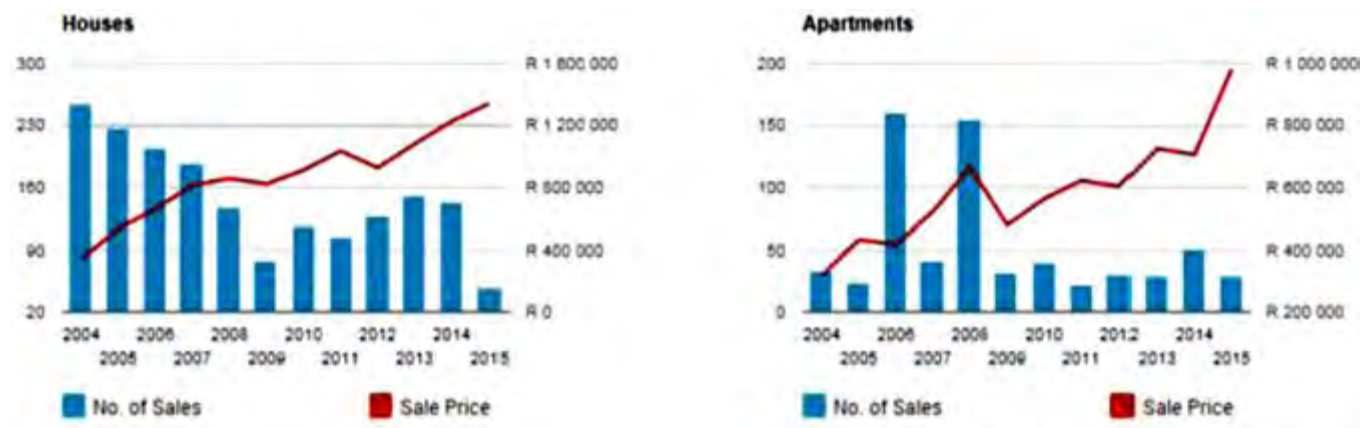


Figure 4.18: Number of houses and apartments sold in Woodstock and average property prices. (Property24, as cited by Development Action Group [DAG], 2016).

Regeneration began in Woodstock a few years prior to redevelopment of the Old Biscuit Mill in 2005, and it has escalated since the completion of the Old Biscuit Mill. As a result, the private sector has claimed most of the area’s prime and well-located land (McCarthy, Interview, 30 August, 2016; Wessels, 2012). The effect of which, are shown in the above Figure 4.18. There are very few, if any, affordable houses being maintained in perpetuity in Woodstock. Policymakers and planners have minimum control over this, if and when the free market is given free rein over the housing market (Fainstein, 2010; Slater, 2011; Smith, 1999, 2002; Winkler, 2011). Bates (2012) notes that in such a situation, where the market dominates the area, planners should not manipulate private sector housing but should aim, instead, to function in a market-state interface via public-private partnerships. Accordingly, Bates (2012) suggests that developers should be incentivised to develop and maintain affordable housing units in perpetuity. In so doing, developers are able to play a role in the attainment of more ‘just’ regeneration alternative. As Dawie Swart (interview, 15 August 2016), a local developer, notes:

I think about it often, uhm, I wanted to do affordable housing in Pickwick Park, the problem, the biggest problem in Woodstock is your value of your unit is R25000 a square, so I can’t build affordable housing, because it’s too expensive

For Swart (Interview, 17 August, 2016), the developer of 25 Sussex Road, current market conditions are a barrier towards the realisation of affordable housing in Woodstock. Indirectly, this speaks to McGregor-Rourke's (Interview, 15 August 2016) assertion that socially conscious developers, like David Swart, play an integral role in capturing the opportunities for affordable housing in Woodstock. Surplus-profit opportunities that exist minimises the feasibility for developers to invest in affordable housing. McGregor-Rourke (interview, 15 August, 2016) further notes:

[T]hey [developers] can get such high returns on going in on another level, then why would they come into affordable housing, when they can go in there ...they still got the UDZ, why? Whats the incentive for them to actually wanna enter into that level of the market....unless they've got a social conscience

All respondents asked about the UDZ were in consensus that the UDZ serves no direct benefit for low-income residents (interviews with: Boyd, 26 August, 2016; Swart, 17 August, 2016; Van Heerden, 11 August, 2016; Fester, 15 August 2016). Ironically, from someone who has developed buildings in the Woodstock-Salt River area, Swart (Interview, 17 August, 2016) argues that the UDZ actually serves minimum value for developers:

I think it's less incentive than what they would have liked it to be. The problem is it's basically a form of depreciation, so while you hold the building, it helps you a lot but buying a building, you never make money in your first two, three years in any case, so you have a benefit 4, 5, 6, 7 years from now and then when you sell it, you've got to pay that benefit back...so it helps when you have all your properties in the same company but normally you want your developments greenfenced in any case, so it ends up being great on paper, but actually doesn't really help you much.

This brings us to the next assessment criterion that focuses on accommodating small businesses in inner-city neighbourhoods.

4.3.1.2 Economic development should prioritise the interests of employees and where possible small businesses

As a result of an emphasis on market-led regeneration alone, there is little attention paid to prioritizing small local businesses in particular. Like Ngwenya (2013), I view small businesses in a broad manner that includes informal traders. Boyd (Interview, 26 August, 2016) points out that although the Woodstock-Salt-River Framework (2002) may seem outdated, it offers great value to informing principles that should still be adhered to in order to achieve urban justice because:

We [CoCT] accommodate informally, that's a very important principle in other words we not chasing away informal markets (Van Heerden, Interview, 11 August, 2016)

Based on my field observations, new retail and business developments such as the Palms, the Woodstock Exchange, The Woodstock Foundry and the NeighbourGoodsMarket (NGM) at the Old Biscuit Mill—are in accessible to working class residents from a disposable income standpoint. This inaccessibility is most apparent at the NGM, which has become a central hub of tourist attraction with high prices for food and fresh produce. Fieda Benjamin (Personal communication, 28 August, 2016), a former employee at a stall at the NGM, informed me that vendors have to undergo a complex selection process where they are required to prove their “global worth “or “unique demand” with waiting periods ranging from a few months to years. With high prices and minimal linkage to the surrounding community many lower-income residents are in consensus that the NGM provides minimum benefit to Woodstock residents and small business owners. Abdullah Isaacs (Interview, 3 September 2016) notes that the prices are also high at most formal stores that operate daily. Many lower income residents cannot afford to buy at these stores. However, he contends that, despite the appearance of exclusivity, there is a level of linkage with the community. He substantiated this claim, by introducing me to a Woodstock resident he employs and an acquaintance that makes a reasonable income from charging visitors for parking and washing their cars. In other words, he believes that the redevelopment of the Old Biscuit Mill does, to some extent, assist local residents in the form of employment.

In addition to offering employment opportunities for local residents, major businesses pay levies towards the Woodstock Improvement District (WID). The WID plays a strong role in policing and maintaining the area. Although this might provide extra protection to the area beyond they are not to replace existing ‘actual’ council policing and clean-up services or justify a lesser service provision to the area. Despite the WID performing a good role for the upliftment of the area, the levies required by business and property owners contribute to the increase of rates, which, in turn, increases property prices, and the exclusion of the poor. From a ‘just city’ standpoint, Woodstock is failing, by and large, to accommodate the small business sector. Accommodating small enterprises also speaks to low tariffs for intra-city travel. This is discussed in the next criterion to evaluate the case under study.

4.3.1.3 There should be inexpensive tariffs for intra-city movement

The cost of tickets to travel via public transport, between Woodstock and the CBD via public transport are low, as shown on Table 4.2. Although the types of public transport available in the area are discussed in section 4.4.2.1, under a criterion for *diversity*, it is relevant to mention here, that there are many types of public transport and they are all affordable according to Woodstock residents (interviews: Adams, 13 August 2016 & Gubanxa, 14 August 2016). The MyCiti Bus-Rapid Transport

(BRT) system is more expensive than other modes of transport in the area, but it is relatively accessible to low-income residents. Rail is still, as Clark and Crous’s (2002) noted, the backbone of public transport in Woodstock. Rail is one of the most affordable forms of transport to and from the area. However, in contrast to the CBD, according to Wilkinson (2010), I would argue, that mini-bus taxis are the most dominant mode of transport for Woodstock residents during peak times, as it is the cheapest form of transport in the neighbourhood.

In Woodstock, low fares contribute to accessibility of public amenities and economic opportunities, in particular for the benefit of low-income residents. This confirms Fainstein’s (2010) point that having low fares for public transport would play a role in the furtherance of equity, as their limited income now plays less of a role in hindering their capability in getting to and from areas of opportunity. Contradicting Greng’s (2004) view of planners disregarding the social objective with regards to public transport, I have found, based on my observations that various types of public transport in Woodstock, does offer a form of public transport integration, where low-income individuals are provided for. In addition, it is also a reason why Woodstock is such an important area for the inclusion of low-income individuals who depend on public transport.

Table 4.2: General cost of one-way tickets per mode of public transport. By Author using WhereIsMyTransport Ltd’s ‘Findmyway app’ & Metrorail’s ‘GoMetro app’.

Mode of Public Transport	General cost per one way ticket (ZAR)
Standard Metro-Rail (Train)	7.50
MyCiti (BRT)	10.80
Golden Arrow (Bus)	7.70
Mini-Bus Taxi	7.00

4.3.1.4 Planners should prioritise both context-specific and bottom-up ways of addressing key issues

[T]hat’s what the NGO does, in a way, so bottom up instead of top-down...planners are working top down at the moment

As Fester (Interview, 15 August 2016) from the Development Action Group (DAG) NGO, points to in the above quote, currently the CoCT is planning Woodstock in a top-down manner. This finding is unsurprising when considering the limited amount of City-owned land in the area and the finding that regeneration of Woodstock is being led by the market. In addition, there is no group of CoCT planners that focus exclusively on the in-depth intricate socio-spatial issues of Woodstock, planners work on

projects in more than one neighbourhood (Van Heerden, Interview, 11 August 2016). Similar to most municipalities, neighbourhoods are often planned on a broader level such as on a district or sub-district level, which impedes the ability of a municipality to focus on bottom-up strategies to inherent context-specific concerns. This, in turn, reduces the likelihood of the CoCT placing an emphasis on more egalitarian solutions. Due to the above, Todes' (2008) argument of planners needing to engage with socio-spatial intricacies of the city and plans being too broad is further substantiated. I would add to her argument that, such as in the case of Woodstock, neighbourhood plans and planners need to offer stronger connection with context-specific strategies that place marginalised individuals in a more leading role (Fainstein, 2010). Thus, my findings suggest that bottom-up ways of addressing key issues are not a priority of CoCT, in terms of Woodstock. For example, plans and policies often take place in offices after or before plans have been created, instead of an active involvement of residents throughout the process (McGregor-Rourke, Interview, 15 August, 2016). My findings indicate that the CoCT, like other municipal bodies as Fainstein (2010) argues, focuses on higher level planning as it requires less resources and time.

The CoCT planners approach to planning Woodstock is in contrast to Krumholz's (1996) belief that local government must support interventions that benefit low-income individuals in a manner whereby marginalised individuals can take the lead. As a result, justice through equity remains unattained regarding bottom-up and context-specific ways of addressing issues in Woodstock. Fincher & Iveson's (2008) notion of planning as a type of urban governance where socially-orientated ideals are given high priority, is limited by this market-led regeneration. Therefore, I would argue that bottom-up ways of addressing key issues are not a priority of CoCT, in terms of Woodstock. Given the negative impacts of market-led regeneration and planners' limited financial and human resources, working class residents' contextual realities are often ignored.

In Woodstock, high-end developments and market-led regeneration exclude working class residents and support top-down ideals. These ideals include a dependence on the professional planner's expertise without adequate inclusion of working class residence ideologies and a disregard for the negative impacts on these marginalised residents, on account of regeneration. An escalation in property and commodity prices, disregarding the needs of lower-income residents and excludes a consistent involvement of lower-income residents in the process of plans and policies for regeneration. In doing so, working class residents' ability to harness collective solutions for themselves based on their own knowledge remains unacknowledged.

Nonetheless, NGO's currently take up a mediatory role to assist low-income residents in addressing their issues with CoCT and developers to mitigate the changes taking place as a result of regeneration. There is also a lack of institutional thickness, in the sense of all stakeholders working together in a collaborative effort to garner more bottom-up solutions forward (Amin, 1999). McGregor-Rourke (Interview, 15 August 2016) suggests that there is a current demand for better collective interaction among stakeholders of Woodstock.

We need to ground this process of Re-imagining institutionally. There is a challenge that a lot of people don't know how to undertake organising work at a governance level, and rather prefer to either do high level planning or simply work only with residents. There is a need to strengthen already active civil society organisations institutions through brokering partnerships and strengthening institutions to address neighbourhood issues collectively

(McGregor-Rourke, Interview, 15 August, 2016)

This is in contrast to Fainstein's (2010) argument that bottom-up strategies should be prioritised. Considering previous criterion as well, it is clear that equity criterion is not being adequately met in Woodstock. Low-income residents or regular users of the neighbourhood need to take the lead in shaping the built environment, as this aligns with Fainstein's view of finding egalitarian forms of addressing existing issues. Only in this way, may Krumholz's (1996) idea of planning being re-defined to address 'real' needs users of space, particularly residents be achieved in Woodstock (see *Chapter 5*). Nonetheless, these users differ across a number of characteristics and as such have different requirements of the space. This leads us to a discussion of the next criterion: diversity.

4.3.2 ASSESSING WOODSTOCK BASED ON THE CRITERIA FOR DIVERSITY

Diversity represents the new guiding principle for city planners. As such, it constitutes an antithesis to previous orientations toward urban design, in which segregation of homogeneous districts was the governing orthodoxy.

(Fainstein, 2005:3)

Diversity is integral to the realisation of a 'just city'. Through a variety of uses and individuals from various backgrounds, areas become places of intercultural value (Fainstein, 2010, 2005; Wood & Landry, 2008). In so doing, diversity promotes both choice and fairness.

The criteria for diversity include:

4.3.2.1 There should be porous boundaries between districts in neighbourhoods with varied accessible public spaces that encourage a 'sense' of community

...everything is central, Shoprite, the takeaways on the corner if I don't feel like cooking, just go to Debonairs or walk, in summer, walking distance to town, walk to St Peters square, walk to Mowbray and can take a walk back, it's okay, its central, I wouldn't like to move back to Khayelitsha

(Esthei Gubanxa, interview, 14 August 2016)

In 1992, Mrs Gubanxa, a widow and mother of three, moved out of Khayelitsha. She bought a house in Woodstock and has lived there ever since. For her the neighbourhood is walkable and, as such, it is permeable. Cycle lanes have been provided in the area to promote cycling as an alternative mode of non- transport (NMT) which links to the rest of the city's integrated public transport network that supports the presence of porous boundaries between districts. However, some residents are angered by the City's inability to facilitate engaged and participatory planning process which indicates a lack of democracy¹² (discussed later in 4.3.3), in CoCT's effort to promote diversity, with regards to NMT. Accordingly, Naeema Davids from Lower Woodstock says:

I'm going to speak now from a person that's from the area, [and] not from DAG [standpoint] So we have this segregation between Upper and Lower Woodstock and the Woodstock residents including Walmer Estate as well as middle class to, higher than that, is their income, and the people who occupy these status, they are the ones that the bicycle lane was made for...[...] because the area is so close to a lot of tourist sites and stuff like that the bicycle lane was set back, but currently its impacting lots of businesses in the road as well as local residents, ...[...]..They are not allowed to park in front of their own homes, ..[...]..They get fined like a R1,000 which they cannot afford...

Ms Davids highlights the class differences between Lower Woodstock and Upper Woodstock. These and other differences have come to a head on the cycling lane issue. The lack of public consultation on the cycling lanes has created numerous public complaints. Businesses have been largely impacted since their customers now have to park much further away. Only few individuals use the painted lanes, which take up a large portion of the already narrow roads (Lewis, 2015). As shown below, the cycle lanes are often neglected by private taxi-cabs, particularly on Saturdays when Victoria Road is filled with Old Biscuit Mill visitors.

¹² This shows how issues of equity and democracy have the tendency to interrelate or collide with each other (Fainstein, 2010)



Figure 4.19: Inconvenience of cycle-lane show by Taxi's parked on them on Saturday afternoon. By Author (2016)

In response to a question on the cycling lanes, a CoCT planner, Boyd (Interview, 26 August 2016) mentioned:

We need to foster, you know, good forms of transport and NMT is very important to that, but I think these are teething issues that will come about in order to change culture of movement in the City, So, you will get complaints. If it came passed my house, I would probably have the same issues. Also I [hope that] private vehicle traffic, the dominance... will kind of decrease over time

Although neglecting public consultation prior to the implementation of cycle lanes conflicts with Fainstein's (2010) view of democracy (discussed later in this chapter), it is important that methods to reduce the city's carbon footprint become a reality (Klein, 2014). Carbon monoxide gases emitted by motor vehicles have been proven to impact on climate change. However, this does not mean that no public consultation should have been conducted before the cycle lanes were implemented. Market-led regeneration has placed smaller businesses and lower-income individuals at an added disadvantage. The Municipal Planning By-Law of 2015 affirms that the City needs to adopt public participation when drafting a Spatial Development Framework. But this did not happen. Yet despite this failed requirement, the implementation of NMT networks between neighbourhoods also allows for better spatial integration. Or, to use Fainstein's (2010) language, such networks allow for 'porous boundaries between districts'. Both motorised and non-motorised transport systems in Woodstock offer a reliable connection to and from the CBD, and to other nodes along the metro south-east

corridor (namely, the Voortrekker Road Corridor). According to Abdullah Adams (interview, 13 August, 2016):

[From the] Woodstock area...Salt River area, you [are] always against [the] traffic, you [are] never in traffic, whether you come from Lansdowne, Brackenfell,[whichever area you heading towards or from, CBD or other areas] you can come from wherever, you are not in traffic, and Groote Schuur [public hospital] is just up the road. The shops [are] all around you, so you always better off.

As shown in section 4.3.1.3, there are inexpensive tariffs for intra-city movement, while this creates equity, it also allows more movement in and out of the central city for a diverse range of users. My findings illustrate that the layout of Woodstock creates porous boundaries between districts. This layout also includes access to public spaces that play a strong role in creating the *genius loci* of the neighbourhood (see Figure 4.20). Victoria Road, however, acts as a psychological, if not a physical, barrier between Upper and Lower Woodstock: namely, between middle and working class residents.



Figure 20: Genius Loci or Natural continuities of Woodstock and it surrounds, Adapted from NM & Associates (2003).

Nevertheless, Mrs Gabanxa (Interview, 14 August, 2016), finds it easy to move to and from Woodstock's public hard and soft spaces regardless of whether these are located in Upper or Lower Woodstock:

Trafalgar square I think its used like for sports..like I will..[..]..go up there sometimes, when we go run, me and my friends and yes it is accessible...[..]..The park in Searle street [also forms part of Trafalgar

Park], that one is also quite nice and the swimming pool...[...] And er the one park is by the Woodstock Town Hall [Woodstock Town Hall Park] and the other one is like right opposite Shoprite

(Gabanxa, resident, interview, 14 August, 2016)

Galler, Najarian and Rossini's (2016) study on Woodstock's public spaces shows that some spaces are only accessible at certain times of the day, and that many are not sufficiently maintained. In particular, they highlight Trafalgar Park, the Woodstock Town Hall Park, Fairview Park, the 'pocket' park next to the Woodstock Exchange, the Woodstock Community Peace Garden, and the public area surrounding the Woodstock Train Station as the least maintained public spaces (see Figure 4.21). Each of these sites are described, in order to reveal some of their characteristics and assess the extent to which Woodstock consists of varied accessible public spaces



Figure 4.21: Public or private spaces studied for accessibility. By Author using GIS data from CoCT (2012)

Trafalgar Park

This is Woodstock's largest park, (2.9 hectares) and in 1968 it was proclaimed as a national heritage site (N & M Associates, 2009; CoCT, 2014). Various proposals and designs, have been considered for the future of this park (See Figure 4.15).



Figure 4.22: Proposal for Trafalgar Park by Square 1 architects (as cited by FutureCapeTown, 2016)

It attracts a variety of visitors at all times of the day, and it is also used by residents who are unemployed or homeless (Galler, Najarian and Rossino, 2016). This finding is confirmed by the owner of Woodstock Cycle Works, Nils Hansen, whose store is located opposite Trafalgar Park (Hansen, Interview, 3 September 2016).

The fact that Woodstock's public spaces such as Trafalgar Park are used by many different residents, including residents who are struggling financially, demonstrates the current diversity of this neighbourhood. The Sunday markets regularly taking place at Trafalgar Park play a role in the encouragement of a sense of 'community'. Similar to PPS's community building activities in Detroit, this goes beyond recognising that residents from the same geographical area but establishing an open dialogue between public and private spaces (PPS, 2012; Block, 2009; Mandanipour, 2003). Trafalgar Park plays a valuable role in maintaining this diversity and is essential if we hope to enable a more 'just city'. Thus, redevelopment schemes of Woodstock's public spaces must take this diversity into account.

Fairview Park

This public park is located in Upper Woodstock, between Fairview Avenue and Victoria Road. It includes a playground and a basketball court (See figure 4.23). During the week, in the evenings, it is used as a soccer pitch by local residents in this area (Galler, Najarian and Rossino, 2016). It too is gated, but access to and from Fairview Park is fairly safe and easy during opening times. Hence, the space speaks to Fainstein's (2010) requirement of accessible and varied public spaces, however, gates appear as a hindrance to a full realisation of this criterion towards a just city. Nonetheless, it is also well-maintained which speaks to this area having potential of being a functional communal space (Mandanipour, 2003). Given that most residents in this Upper Woodstock area are employed, this park tends to be underutilized during working hours apart from the occasional nanny toddlers out to this area. Nonetheless, local residents are often found playing ball games here in the late afternoon.



Figure 4.23: Fairview Park. Author's, own, 2016

Woodstock Town Hall Park

As is the case in Trafalgar Park, the park in front of the old Town Hall is used by a variety of residents, including homeless individuals (Galler, Najarian and Rossino, 2016). It is also used by office workers during their lunch hour. Although, the park is located in the Lower Woodstock area, it serves as a site that is used by both Lower and Upper Woodstock residents thereby, promoting better linkages between the two parts of Woodstock. This park is, however, gated and access is controlled. Which, in turn, creates a barrier that hinders connectivity. It is however, important to recognise the challenge of changing these type of boundaries into non-exclusionary pathways (Talen, 2006; Lynch, 1960). Nevertheless, when open, it offers a strong north-south linkage, or a shortcut for pedestrians, across the park. The park is shown in Figure 4.24 below.



Figure 4.24: Woodstock Town Hall Park. By Author, 201

Sussex Street Park

The Sussex Street 'Park', which is also referred to as the '*park next to Woodstock Exchange*', is not zoned as a public park (see Figure 4.25). According to Pieter Muller (Interview, 18 August, 2016), Swart's Property Consultant, the 'park' is classified as a privately owned, vacant piece of land with mixed-use development rights. As such, it is gated. Similar to all parks in Woodstock, whether public or private, the 'gates' speak to an inherent social fragmentation (Mandanipour, 2003). While the usage of these parks by a variety of individuals demonstrate connections between public and private spaces that bring people together that speak to surrounding cluster points formed by economic activities (Mandanipour, 2003, Behrens & Watson, 1996). Nevertheless, and as Galler, Najarian and Rossino (2016) note, it is an example of the many public spaces that a variety of individuals from the area, use during the day. Despite, the fact it is gated, this park is highly accessible and well-located. It thus offers much potential for imagining the 'just city' through planners incentivising developers to apply new-urban design thinking that encourages community building (See recommendations Chapter, 5.2.5).



Figure 4.25: Woodstock Town Hall Park. By Author, 2016

Woodstock Community Peace Garden

This space is the least accessible public space given its location along the N2. The entrance is also not clearly defined and the large barbwire on top of the fence surrounding the site poses a barrier to access (See Figure 4.26). However, the co-creator of this Peace Garden has established a partnership with the Alpha School of Autism, and, as such, this garden is often used by children from Alpha School ("Co-Creators", 2016). It is also open to the public

between 8h00 and 16h30. The garden demonstrates a sense of linkage to the community through renting small plots of land for local residents to garden and grow vegetables. Apart from Oranjezicht City Farm, it remains one of the only inner city urban farms in Cape Town. The site, demonstrates a level of ‘institutional thickness’ that connects a variety of stakeholders and various base platforms (Amin, 1999).



Figure 4.26: Woodstock Community Peace Garden. Authors own (2016)

Woodstock Exchange (WEX)

Although it is a private space, and given that rights of admission are reserved, there are walkways and certain areas that give it an element of ‘public’ connectivity, such as its welcoming entrance (See Figure 4.27). WEX is however, used mainly for a variety of high-end creative artisan stores and businesses. These stores are expensive, and they are not aimed at Woodstock’s lower income residents. Accordingly, it serves as a symbol of regeneration in the area. Still, and based on my field observations, I discovered that two residents from Lower Woodstock work in this building. The higher floors of the building are used for commercial offices and a college for the arts indicating how this space offers diverse uses.



Figure 4.27: Woodstock Exchange, Authors own, 2016

While a mix of activities is seen as an important planning principle, this mix should not be to the exclusion of lower-income earners. As currently evident in Woodstock, by excluding these lower-income earners, Fainstein's (2010) argument of varied public spaces being accessible to all becomes unrealised. A variety of public spaces then becomes exceptionally important, as it promotes a diversity of commuters. However, as Bodnar (2015) warns, intensification of diversity may also reduce the usage of these spaces by those individuals who are able to avoid these public spaces. Bodnar (2015) believes this could lead to a level of segregation. Similarly, Lower-Income residents avoid public spaces close to private areas such as in WEX, with an overwhelming presence of security and high prices. However, it goes beyond a struggle to adapt to change, as Isaacs (Interview, 3 September 2016) suggests, it is due to current regeneration promoting lower-income individuals' financial and psychological exclusion.

Woodstock Train Station

In contrast to WEX, this public space is a hive of activity during the day with rail commuters, from different income groups, moving to and from various destinations. However the surrounds are not clearly legible (Lynch, 1960) as, first time train commuters may have difficulty locating the station. Although the built form of the stations is enclosed, uninviting and poorly maintained, the continuous presence of people, informal traders, and security guards, give it a sense of safety.



Figure 4.28: Woodstock Train Station. Author's own, 2016

On account of the above, public (and partially 'public'¹³) varied spaces, it's clear that Woodstock is in great need of community-building activities that change these areas of limited function and often 'gated' or exclusive design to lively connected places (PPS, 2012). Hence, CoCT planners need to adopt Lerner's (2014) idea of urban acupuncture in order to shift the current design of these spaces which supports exclusion, toward places of inclusion that inspires a sense of community. Part of this design-thinking is also being faster in implementing initiatives, therefore, planners need to work in better time-frames, so as to not break, what Lerner(2014:33) calls the "continuity of urban life". Gated parks need to be a thing of the past and public areas need to become lively spaces such as using some informal markets and temporary fetes. This could occur in conjunction with, Lerner's (2014) idea of 'memory acupuncture' (Lerner, 2014:86), to make these lively spaces use a theme of reviving Woodstock's lost historical sense of community on account of market-led regeneration. These types of initiatives should also encourage residents to become eco-friendly and adopt a culture of cleanliness, instead of depending on the WID, as this service plays a role in the control of private investment in regenerating the area.

Although the WID has enhanced the cleanliness of some parts of Woodstock and plays an integral role in the security of the area, pollution still poses a threat to varied accessible public spaces such as those

¹³ For instance WEX is a private space, however I am considering it as partially public merely due to its welcoming entrance and walkways that encourage a public movement

described above. Without consistently addressing littering, public spaces become unhealthy areas that are consequently, avoided. Mrs Gubanxa, (Interview, 14 August, 2016) notes:

The people throw their blackbags and dirty kiembies and .you know, all sorts of funny things in the bags and everything just lies on the pavement... and they don't like clean, they don't sweep the roads every week...like every second week they will like...[.] [I]f they sweep in Regin Street then the one week then they won't sweep in Dublin Street...and they skip you know.

However, one of the legal tools used to address such issues this type of pollution, is the City's *Integrated Waste Amended By-Law of 2010* that prohibits littering and dumping. Penalties for breaching this by-law include monetary fines of a minimum of R500 but up to R10 000 or imprisonment for up to 6 months. Despite these penalties, littering and dumping, still persists and hinders the quality of Woodstock's public spaces.

The WID may play a key role in addressing issues of pollution of varied public spaces and policing thereof, however this service indirectly plays a role in perpetuating regeneration that favours wealthier residents. Hensen (Interview, 3 September 2016), claims that despite his close proximity to the police station he prefers to contact the WID in an emergency situation:

The Woodstock Improvement District (WID) is an amazing entity, I phone them before I phone the police, and the Woodstock police station is right here...So if I ever have a crime problem or running water problems, I would literally just phone the Woodstock Improvement District and they will sort it out...they've got the man power.

Despite resident's such as Henson's (Interview, 3 September 2016), firm belief in the WID's dependability, this service comes with costs, as all property owners need to pay levies, which perpetuates an increase in rates and ultimately market-led regeneration. The impact of such regeneration not only affects working class residents but also the aesthetics of public spaces in this historically significant area, through densification. The Woodstock Community Outreach Forum (WCOF), accordingly, displays there concern, shown in the following quote:

Owing to renewed interest in speculative property prospects and housing densification, these areas will lose their charm. The City allows for densification to occur. The biggest problem is the disregard by developers to the by-laws, and they will maximise deviations and permissions to maximise profits at the expense of the history and aesthetics of the area.

(WCOF, 2016)

Densification is necessary for the creation of thriving urban environments and varied public spaces. However, it becomes an issue when it impedes on the character of the area. Similarly, densification in

Woodstock by private sector developers has led to further marginalisation of lower-income individuals. The increase in rates and property prices, together with CoCT supporting densification in this area (without doing adequately assisting low-income residents in terms of housing), reduce any sense of 'community'¹⁴ left in this regenerated area,. More inclusive land-uses can play an important role in fulfilling the diversity criterion in Woodstock, as shown in the discussion below.

4.3.2.2 Land-uses should be mixed and inclusive

Woodstock has a variety of uses and an 'inclusive zoning scheme' on the whole. Moreover, Woodstock residents have a history of protesting the Forced Removals Act of 1950. As a result, the Woodstock neighbourhood has always been diverse. Residents vary in terms of their socio-cultural backgrounds, and in terms of their income levels (Garside, 1993; Ngwenya, 2013; Simon, 1989). However, regeneration is starting to erode this rich diversity. Of further concern, ever increasing property prices are starting to erode possibilities for lower-income residents to remain in Lower Woodstock (McCarthy, interview, 30 August 2016). This, in turn, is hampering the cultural diversity of the area. A mixture of land-uses is needed, that encourages the acceptance of individuals from various backgrounds through offering a variety of choices that serve both working class and upper class residents. To avoid, what Lupton and Tunstall (2008) refer to as the *social justice dilemma*, through the displacement of residents, lower-income individuals need to be a part of regeneration efforts, instead of, simply being considered as a hindrance to market-led processes.

The current land-use and zoning in Woodstock is largely influenced by two legislative requirements: the Spatial Land-use Management Act (SPLUMA) and the Municipal Planning By-Law (MPBL). From a broader perspective, SPLUMA requires that all spheres of government have a Spatial Development Framework (SDF). While this asserts context to Woodstock, I would argue that, given the property market 'upswing', both Woodstock and Salt River, require more focus than the Cape Town SDF provides (Boyd, Interview, 26 August 2016). However, the MPBL has certainly provided sufficient mixed-uses in the area, as shown below in Figure 4.29.

¹⁴ where the already separated 'communities', as mentioned earlier, in the history are even more separated

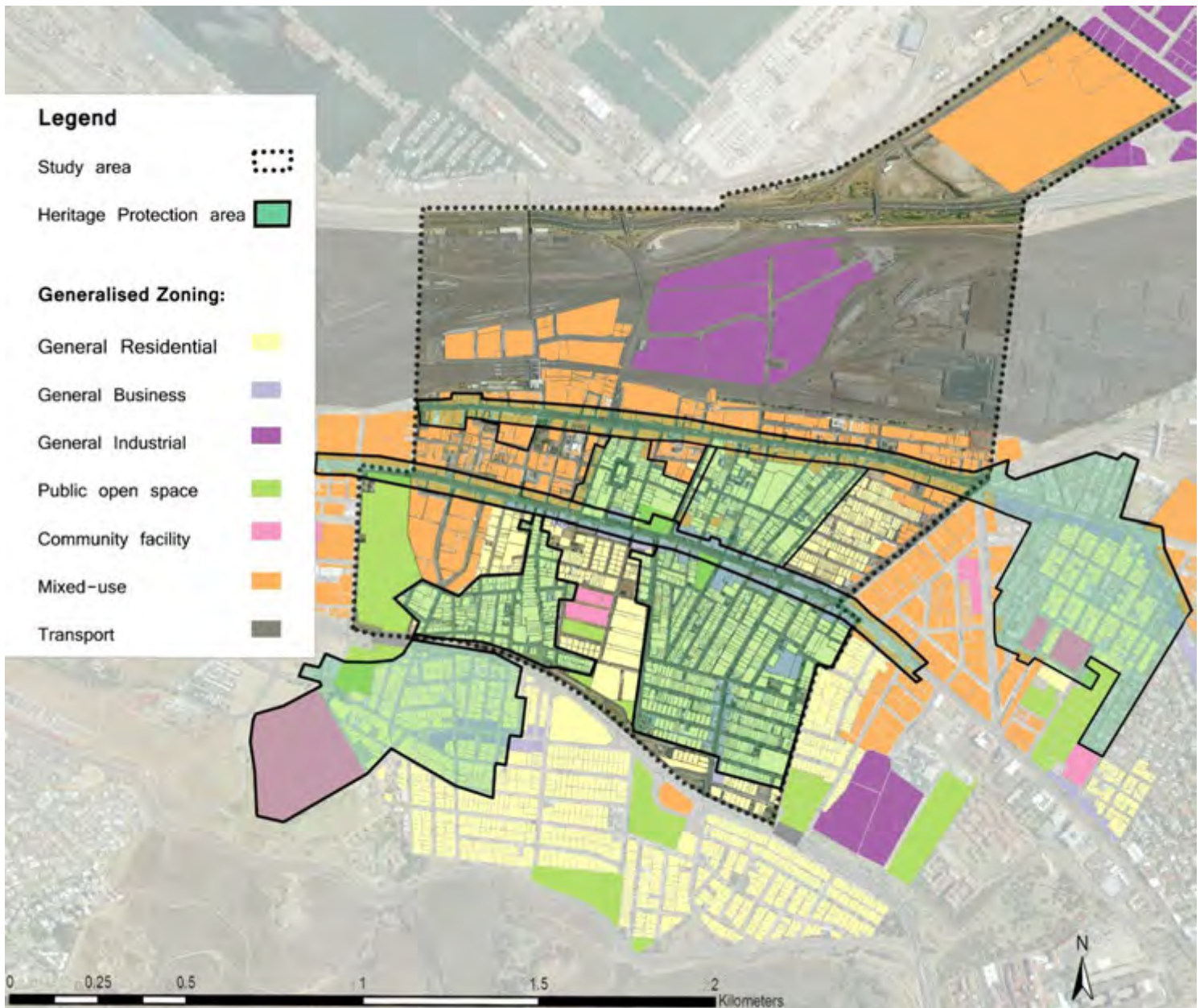


Figure 4.29: : Generalised Heritage Protection and Zoning, By Author, using GIS data from CoCT (2012) and the Interactive City Map Viewer (CoCT, 2016a)

A policy of significance, to Woodstock, is also the Central City Development Strategy (CCDS). This Strategy (2008) which was developed from collaboration between the CoCT and the Cape Town Partnership, is aimed to achieve the following 5 objectives:

- 1) To change Cape Town City in such a way that it becomes a premier business district
- 2) To establish a sustainable urban environment in the City
- 3) To encourage an leading educational hub
- 4) To harness the creativity and culture significant to the country and wider Africa
- 5) To promote strong linkage to individuals from all over Cape Town and other parts of the region

(Adapted from Cape Town City Partnership, 2016)

In Woodstock, the CCDS emphasises an increase in densities. However, the CCDS lacks sufficient emphasis on affordable housing. There are also no socially incentivised zones such as the Special Social Interest Zones (SSIZs) in Sao Paulo, (see Chapter 2) where a mandatory percentage of new housing is reserved for social housing purposes (Santoro, 2015). However, considering this type of zoning in the context of Woodstock, would create socio-spatial complexities, on account of the large amount of private ownership and high-end development already in the area. A City's graduate intern, Lungelo Nkosi (interview, 26 August 2016) confirms that the current zoning scheme does offer an adequate amount of mixed and inclusive units. Hence SSIZs in regenerating Woodstock may not be necessary (Nobre, 1994). However, what could assist in addressing some of the negative impacts from regeneration, is the creation of a Woodstock Overlay Zone, which would allow for social housing and cultural diversity (ibid.). Nkosi, (interview 26 August 2016) adds:

Instead of changing the zoning, uhm, definitely have an overlay zone, because when you change the zoning you run the risk of ...first of all changing the zone, means you can give people..[..] more rights or you can limits people's rights but with adding an overlay zone you have an option of letting them choose which they want to do.

Nkosi (interview, 26 August, 2016) goes on to explain:

[An overlay zone] would encourage more developer's to have [affordable] housing there [in Woodstock] because you're giving them incentives...[...].setbacks and stuff, allowing them to go full on to the boundary of properties, just to have more bulk..[...] to densify even more.

This brings us to the final assessment criterion: promoting participatory planning processes and outcomes for the purpose of enhancing democracy.

4.3.3 ASSESSING WOODSTOCK BASED ON THE CRITERIA FOR DEMOCRACY

In an unequal society democracy and justice are frequently at odds. My criticism of the proceduralist emphasis in planning theory is not directed at its extension of democracy beyond electoral participation but rather at a faith in the efficacy of open communication that ignores the reality of structural inequality and hierarchies of power

Fainstein (2010:30)

Fainstein (2010) suggests that democracy is required for the realisation of urban justice. Neglecting this reality would create an imbalance of power amongst citizens. This, in turn, causes structural inequalities and speaks to how integral it is to not rely on platforms of communication but on ensuring it occurs on an equal footing.

The criteria for democracy include:

4.3.3.1 All groups from any income level or social background should participate in decision-making with fairly represented interests

Criteria for a 'just city' are in many ways interlinked. Thus, in previous sections I touched on the need for participatory planning processes and outcomes. Healey (2012) mentions that the increase in urbanisation together with globalisation influences, often results in contentions of cultural norms coming to the fore. These contentions, include the limited representation of groups in decision-making bodies (Healey, 2012; Fainstein, 2010). Hence, the importance of participation of all individuals from various backgrounds on an equal footing, addresses these present imbalances to shift towards a *just way forward*. In this section I will say a little more about the resident-based organisation found in this dynamic inner city neighbourhood.

The Upper Woodstock Resident's Association (UWRA) is the most resourced (and hence main) participatory forum in the Woodstock area. According to (UWRA, 2015), this Association has three main functions:

- 1) Organising activities within the community;
- 2) Dissemination of important information and encouraging communication; and
- 3) Working and interacting with role-players

The UWRA started out as an organisation that focused, predominantly, on the Upper Woodstock area. However, it now seems to concern itself with Lower Woodstock, as shown in the extension of an invitation to their annual general meeting to all residents of Woodstock. According to McGregor-Rourke (Interview, 15 August, 2016) the UWRA in fact in the process of changing their name to the

Woodstock Resident's Association (WRA). Whether or not this means a greater inclusion of other parts of the neighbourhood, remains to be seen.

Another group, the Community Development Resource Association (CDRA), engages in social change and policy research to assist Lower-Woodstock residents in becoming more empowered. As such, their *Woodstock Community Action Research Programme* plays an essential role in building the fundamental structures for institutional thickness (Amin, 1999). While business leader stakeholders have already been contacted, the programme plans to involve residents and the local government.

The overall aim of this programme is largely to answer:

How can community, local government and local business engage each other to create a thriving community? What are the key processes, relationships and resources required to enable this?

[Adapted from, CDRA (2015)]

Objectives include the following:

- Building horizontal or peer learning relationships and social networks
- Surfacing and strengthening own initiatives, resources and resourcefulness
- Strengthening organisation and leadership
- Community visioning and planning
- Stakeholder Engagement.
- Participatory Action Research (including Monitoring and Evaluation).

(CDRA, 2015)

Since 2011, the UWRA, Walmer Estate Civic Association and Walmer Estate Resident's Community Forum have been in Ward 57. However there has been a lack of representation of Lower Woodstock residents. Yet, these residents are most affected by market-led regeneration (Herron, 2014). Another organisation that does play a role in providing a voice and platform to both the wealthy and the poor, but is mainly focused Lower Woodstock issues, is the Woodstock Community Outreach Forum (WCOF). This WCOF is a Non-Profit Organisation that aims to enable the rejuvenation of the residential area by tackling crime and building partnerships with other stakeholders to address social issues.

From outside the Woodstock area, the Ndifunda Ukwazi is a civil rights group that offers major support to the Lower Woodstock residents, particularly those who face the threat of eviction or displacement. This civil rights group also offers a platform for mobilisation. An activist movement, namely Reclaim the City also plays a role in mobilising against market-led regeneration that result in the poor not being

able to keep up with the costs of living. These different organisations offer residents from all income levels an opportunity to participate to move beyond voicing their concerns. It is through these types of mobilisations that often change occurs and Lefebvre's (1996, as cited by Schmidt, 2012) idea of the 'right to the city' is established. Here, local residents play a role in the outcome of their built environment through participatory mechanisms.

However, for the sake of *just* decision-making, it is also important to understand that this 'right to the city' also needs to be considered in such a way, that it avoids the notion of the 'local trap' which assumes all 'local' options align in favour of justice (Purcell, 2006). These complexities point to the need for planners to take a more leading role, as their profession requires them to understand the most spatially feasible alternative, while decision-makers determine the extent of this realisation (Qu & Hasselaar, 2011). I would argue, that in a Woodstock context, it may not be the planning profession that needs to be questioned, but the CoCT planners' incentives regarding the prioritisation of social objectives in an economically-orientated inner-city neighbourhood. The high levels of mobilisation activities by NGOs suggest that all groups are not satisfied or adequately participating in formal decision-making processes. Currently, Healey's (2012) argument that independent market processes and urban policy institutions, cause a barrier towards opportunities for public and private interconnectedness aligns with the current regeneration of Woodstock. This results in exclusivity and groups from various backgrounds are unfairly represented in decision-making, which limits any sufficient level of democracy, nonetheless, mobilisation offers a way forward and gives marginalised individuals a platform to voice their concerns.

A recent example of mobilisation, is by Reclaim the City at the Old Biscuit Mill for the purposes of providing marginalised Woodstock Residents preventing their eviction, and occurred on 27th August 2016 (See Figure 4.30). Residents of 122-128 Bromwell Street, as shown on Figure 4.31 and 4.32, above, are facing eviction. The Woodstock Hub purchased this building, as vacant on sale, in October (Pillay, 2016). The Woodstock Hub, has given the residents up until September 2016 to move out. If they cannot afford to find other means of residence, the CoCT provide them with housing in temporary location areas such as Blikkiesdorp and Delft (Pather, 2016). These relocation areas are unsuitable for

human beings, particularly children and far from economic opportunities¹⁵ and much needed social amenities (See Figure 4.33 and 4.34).

Following the protest Jacques Van Emben, one of the managers of Block and a larger shareholder in the Woodstock Hub has offered R50 000 from his company to assist the evictees to begin a crowdfunding campaign (Gontsana, 2016). The aim of the campaign is to raise money to assist the process of relocating for these residents. This may be a sign that the Bromwell Street resident's voices have been heard. However, the offer does divert attention from the core issues at hand. These issues include the removal of long-time low-income residents from the area and their exclusion from decision-making processes that could have been prevented their eviction in the first place. That is, their involvement in decision-making could have resulted in enabling inclusive and fair regeneration. Although the City has assisted the residents in postponing the process, which speaks to the residents' voice being heard by municipality, the pending eviction remains (February, 2016). This demonstrates the minimum role residents' themselves have on influencing the decision-making process, however, through Ndifuna Ukwazi and Reclaim the City, there is a strong form of representation.



Figure 30: Moving towards Biscuit Mill Protest on the 27th August 2016, by Reclaim the City. (Source: Jonathan, 2016)

¹⁵ The Open Democracy Advice Centre (ODAC), a leading NGO that focuses on offering advice to clients on enhancing transparency and information with the aim of promoting accountability and openness, has found that 73% of residents of Blikkiesdorp are unemployed (Van der Merwe, 2015; ODAC, 2013). Hence, unemployed individuals are being relocated to areas further away from both economic opportunities and with social amenities, hence names like “tin village” and “concentration camp” are not uncommon for this area (Van der Merwe, 2015).



Figure 4.31: 120-126 Bromwell Street. Photo By Bejoy (2016)



Figure 4.32: A few residents of Bromwell Street. By Author (2016)



Figure 4.33: Blikkiesdorp. Source: Kamaldien (2014)



Figure 4.34: Residents of Blikkiesdorp have mentioned that it resembles a concentration camp (Source: “The Observers”, 2016)

To sum, low-income Lower Woodstock residents have representation in various organisations. I would argue that Ndifuna Ukwazi activist group and the Reclaim the City movement offers a strong role in bridging gaps of their voices being sufficiently heard, the WCOF and the UWRA also play a role. As stakeholders begin responding to issues it is evident that Woodstock residents do have a voice, that is being heard, however, given that they are currently still being evicted, and the result of former evictions, in areas such as Gympie Street, low-income residents are currently not on an equal footing when it comes to decision-making processes (Fainstein, 2010).

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I analysed my research findings in light of the criteria which was established in chapter 2. In terms of *equity*, development and maintenance of affordable housing (in perpetuity) is minimal. There are currently no municipal areas of social housing¹⁶ in the area but the CoCT does have plans to develop social housing. Given that there has been minimum change since 7 years ago on sites such as Pine Road site, only time will tell whether the CoCT, will respond adequately to the loss of affordable housing. Tariffs for all forms of transport, as well, which allows this service to be accessible to all. In terms of *diversity*, there is no incentive within the current zoning in Woodstock for developers to build affordable housing. Although there are a number of varied public spaces that are accessible at certain times of the day, their ‘gated’ designs speak to an inherent social fragmentation instead of their

¹⁶ This is the type of affordable housing of the highest demand and suitability in the area

accessibility. In addition, there is sufficient public transport in the area that promotes permeability and good connections to the rest of the city making which makes it a prime location for more inclusive development. With respect to democracy criterion, poorer Woodstock residents are represented in in participatory forums but not on an equal footing as other stakeholders in decision-making bodies. Much is still to be done to ensure that they have an equal say in decision-making processes that affects the built environment and, consequently themselves. While the middle to high income residents have benefitted greatly from the outcome of market-led regeneration in Woodstock, many lower-income individuals are benefitting minimally, mainly through casual employment. Overall, I argue that there is a low level of urban justice in Woodstock. A summary of my findings is shown in the following table in relation to my criteria derived from *Chapter 2 (See Table 4.3)*.

Table 4.3: Summary of Research findings derived from Chapter 2, largely based on Fainstein’s (2010) ‘Just City’

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM REVIEW OF LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS
EQUITY	<i>Housing development required to provide housing units that cater for low income individuals.</i>	How can the development of affordable housing units be encouraged in Woodstock and how can these units be kept in perpetuity?	<p>Minimum affordable housing units in Woodstock with no social housing,. Three main mechanisms are available to encourage affordable housing units: Breaking New Ground Housing, Community Residential Units and Social housing. However, social housing remains the most needed and workable. CoCT-owned sites earmarked for housing are: Pine Road, Dillon Lane Salt River Market and Pickwick Street offer immense opportunity but plans are not transparent and openly available to the public, as all stakeholders such as NGOs and CoCT work in their own silos.</p> <p>Collaboration between these stakeholders including residents and developers is pertinent to encouraging housing units. In addition, the WCPG-owned Woodstock Hospital, has been identified as a possible future mixed-use social housing site. Many of these sites have been considered for years but little is physically being done currently, as agreements and plans are still being made. In terms of perpetuity, CoCT does not directly support the selling off or demolition of affordable housing. Although, the transferring of ownership of affordable housing units to low-income tenants ‘may’ be considered in future (see 4.3.1),</p>
	<i>Housing units considered as affordable continue as such, in perpetuity</i>	How, if at all, does the UDZ incentive encourage the maintenance of affordable housing in perpetuity?	<p>According to my findings, the incentive does not encourage the maintenance of affordable housing at all, (let alone in perpetuity).</p>
	<i>Economic development initiatives should prioritise interests of employees and where possible small businesses.</i>	What are provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the UDZ?	<p>There are none. I have found that the UDZ tax incentive mainly benefits long-time developers of the area that have all their properties in the same company. Economic development initiatives such as NGM, offer some connection to the surrounding community through minimum forms of employment, but on the whole, it serves as a one of the many exclusive outcomes of market-led regeneration where it offers more benefit for wealthier residents</p>
	<i>There should be inexpensive tariffs for intra-city movement</i>	Who is benefitting from improvements to road infrastructure in the Woodstock area?	<p>All stakeholders of the Woodstock area benefit from road infrastructure, these include CoCT, Residents, NGOs and Developers (However, issues occur when the public is not sufficiently consulted about improvements, for example, inadequate public consultation prior to implementation of cycle lanes- *Investigated under Diversity Criteria, as it also relates to NMT as one of the ‘diverse’ ways of movement assisting public mobility through districts existent in Woodstock).</p> <p>Tariffs are relatively inexpensive for all modes of intra-city public transport allowing accessibility for all, particularly low-income residents</p>
	<i>Planners should prioritise context-specific or bottom-up ways of addressing key issues.</i>	Who takes the lead in facilitating bottom-up strategies that benefit marginalised residents in Woodstock?	<p>NGOs take the lead. CoCT is legally mandated to conduct participatory mechanisms in planning, but, CoCT adopts top-down planning due to limited resources. There are no CoCT planners that are exclusively-focused on projects in the Woodstock area, planners always have a number of other projects. Need for collaboration amongst NGOs, CoCT, Developers and Residents. There is a lack of ‘institutional thickness’ (Amin, 1999), given that stakeholders work in their own silos</p>

DIVERSITY	<p><i>There should be porous boundaries between districts in neighbourhoods with varied accessible public spaces that encourage a sense of community.</i></p>	<p>How can planners facilitate the mobility of residence to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community?</p>	<p>Currently there are a diverse range of reliable and accessible public transport modes (Rail, bus, BRT and mini-bus taxi) which demonstrate an already existent thriving public mobility. These allow the neighbourhood to be highly permeable to and from surrounding areas, which using Fainstein’s (2010) language, implies that there are “porous” boundaries between districts. This needs to be maintained. In terms of NMT: area is highly walkable but cycling routes are situated on narrow roads, an issue which also links to ‘democracy’ is the implementation of cycle lanes that has caused large public uproar as a public participatory mechanisms were not sufficiently conducted prior to its implementation resulting in negative impacts on small businesses as customer’s cannot park as close as usual and residents’ that are unable to park in front of their own homes. CoCT needs to work closer with residents with regards to their implementation of such road infrastructure.</p> <p>Victoria Road acts as a psychological, if not physical barriers separating Lower Woodstock from Upper Woodstock, mainly between middle and working class residents. Reflecting that over time, the historical solidarity that once was evident during apartheid has slowly decreased, and former remnants of a ‘community’ have been separated into various ‘communities in Woodstock’. Planners need to invest planning and design in the existing varied public spaces to encourage movement through these spaces and a sense of community.</p> <p>While there are varied public spaces that should play a role in promoting a sense of community, they do not, because of the ‘gated’ element outlining an inherent social fragmentation. What is needed with all of these spaces, is new urban design focused on community building, such as urban acupuncture. Part of this concept is also applying to the area what is missing (for diversity to occur), so in the case of Woodstock, CoCT needs to apply community building activities such as those adopted by PPS, but specific to the contextual realities of Woodstock. CoCT planners should incorporate aspects of Woodstock’s history in these new urban designs of public spaces. The above needs to occur with the objective of facilitating the mobility of residence to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community.</p>
	<p><i>Zoning a new neighbourhood development should be inclusive. Mixed land-uses with sufficient accessibility to opportunities for previously disadvantaged individuals.</i></p>	<p>How can planners produce more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes that cater to the needs of all residents?</p>	<p>Current land-use and zoning is largely influenced by SPLUMA and the Municipal Planning By-Law (MPBL). The MPBL in particular plays a large role in providing a sufficient mixture of zoning and land-use schemes currently in the area. There is currently no Woodstock specific Overlay Zone, the creation of one, that focuses on allowing social housing and cultural diversity would assist in this regard would produce more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes</p>
DEMOCRACY	<p><i>All groups, from any income level or social background should participate in decision-making with fairly represented interests</i></p>	<p>How can planners engage participatory mechanisms that place marginalised individuals on an equal footing?</p>	<p>Findings show that market-led regeneration result in developers, and to a certain extent the CoCT, making core decisions with resident engagement, hence, such participatory dialogue need to be maintained and improved, so that residents no longer need to protest in order to be heard</p>

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this dissertation was to gain some understanding of the complex processes of regeneration that are taking place in Woodstock, and to assess these processes against a set of 'just city' criteria. Assessment criteria, in turn, were founded upon Fainstein's (2010) three main principles of equity, diversity and democracy (see Chapter 2). In Chapter 4, I analysed the research findings which were collected by employing the research methods and techniques discussed in Chapter 3. The main and subsidiary research questions thus served to guide the data collection process. Research findings demonstrated that market-led regeneration processes have largely reduced levels of urban justice in Woodstock.

Given the broader socio-economic and political issues that are shaping inner-city neighbourhoods in Cape Town, achieving more equitable, diverse and democratic forms of regeneration in Woodstock remains a challenge for the municipality and residents alike. Nonetheless, research findings also highlight opportunities to enable just forms of regenerations. An additional aim of this research is to establish possible recommendations for future regeneration activities in Woodstock that are inspired by Fainstein's (2010) 'Just City' argument. The purpose of this chapter is to present these recommendations. Before doing so, answers to the subsidiary research questions are presented. Finally, this chapter will conclude with some reflections on the limitations of this study.

5.2 Answers to the research questions

After doing my research, I now re-ask my main research question:

How might municipal planners enable more 'just' forms of regeneration in Woodstock?

Planners should focus on addressing impacts of market-led regeneration, particularly on low-income individuals who are placed at a further disadvantage. Essentially, municipal planners need to unlock the potential of equity, diversity and democracy principles, in Woodstock, as more than theoretical concepts, but objectives that may be physically manifested for the benefit of all. In terms of *equity*: affordable housing units needs to be encouraged and kept in perpetuity, economic development needs to support small businesses particularly, public infrastructure such as roads need to adequately benefit all, bottom-up strategies need to be adopted to tackle urban issues as a result of this type of regeneration. In terms of *diversity*: mobility of residents needs to be facilitated in order to ensure easy access and a sense of community, more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes that caters to the needs

of all residents needs to be established or rather a new Woodstock Overlay Zone focused on more 'just' or 'fair' forms of regeneration as described in this dissertation. In terms of *democracy*: planners need to engage in participatory mechanisms, to an extent where residents no longer have to protest in order to be heard. Ultimately, the quest for more 'just' forms of regeneration lies in active engagement and collaboration between stakeholders (CoCT planners, NGOs, residents and developers) on an equal footing, transparency and applying all of the above.

5.2.1 How can the development of affordable housing units be encouraged in Woodstock and how can these units be kept in perpetuity?

The study has demonstrated that the City does not currently provide affordable housing in perpetuity in Woodstock. The relatively large amount of privately-owned land in the neighbourhood caters mainly caters mainly for middle to high-income residents. As such, my research findings corroborate Knoetze's (2015) argument that housing in inner-city areas is still dominated by those able to pay more. Due to the limited municipal-owned land in the neighbourhood, keeping affordable housing in perpetuity becomes a challenge. This challenge is heightened by the fact that Cape Town remains a socio-economically divided city, and that property prices remain high in inner city neighbourhoods (Turok and Watson, 2001).

Nevertheless, research findings also demonstrate that some parcels of municipal-owned land are in the process of being earmarked for affordable housing. It is thus recommended that future housing projects developed on this land remain affordable and are kept in perpetuity. The sites in question include: Dillon Lane, Pine Road, Salt-River Market and the Pickwick Street site. It is also recommended that underutilised provincial-owned land in Woodstock be earmarked for mixed-use and mixed-income development with an emphasis on affordable housing. One such site is, the Woodstock Hospital.

However, for affordable housing to be encouraged and held in perpetuity there needs to be an incentivised process that goes beyond the current UDZ initiative. Private sector developers only make use of the tax rebates on offer via the UDZ for higher-income redevelopments. Similar incentives thus need to be put in place for the construction of affordable housing in areas more accessible to the public, so as to promote resident-involved and engaged regeneration processes and outcomes. More resident involvement in planning processes would also ensure that affordable housing fits into the socio-spatial, cultural and contextual requirements of Woodstock, particularly in Lower Woodstock. Thus, it is recommended that the City, in collaboration with residents and NGOs, makes use of a precedent-based planning process that focuses on social housing for the Lower-Woodstock area.

5.2.2 How, if at all, does the UDZ encourage the maintenance of affordable housing in perpetuity and what provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the UDZ?

My findings show that the UDZ tax-incentive plays no significant role in the maintenance of affordable housing in Woodstock. It also lacks any direct benefit to lower-income residents or small businesses. Although the UDZ offers developers who already own buildings large benefits, these benefits are not being explored by first-time developers. Furthermore, while the new spatial development framework will play a role in bridging the gap between formal and informal economy (Van Heerden, CoCT official, Interview, 11 August 2016), more needs to be done to support an interconnection between the formal and informal economy and to support smaller businesses in the area. Allemeier (2014) believes that the UDZ together with other strategies may play a role in the development of inclusive urban regeneration. This may be so. However, according to my findings the UDZ plays no direct role in establishing 'just' forms of regeneration.

5.2.3 Who is benefitting from the improvement to road infrastructure in the Woodstock area?

All stakeholders benefit from infrastructure maintenance and improvement programmes. However, issues occur when stakeholders are not sufficiently involved or represented in public decision-making processes. One example of public exclusion from decision-making processes is the implementation of cycle-lanes. This implementation has had a negative impact on local (small-scale) businesses, because customers are required to park further away from retail outlets. Such findings corroborate Greng's (2004) argument that planners and policymakers tend to disregard social and local economic objectives during the provision of public transit solutions. Cycle lanes also take up a large portion of the roads which are already narrow (Lewis, 2015).

5.2.4 Who takes the lead in facilitating bottom-up strategies that benefit marginalised residents in Woodstock?

While municipal planners are mandated (in the Constitution and the Municipal systems Act, no. 32 of 2000) to facilitate participatory planning initiatives, NGOs and resident-based organisations are currently spearheading such initiatives in Woodstock. As a result, most of these initiatives remain fragmented and under-resourced. To exacerbate matters, the City's future proposals for the area are

inaccessible to the public. Thus, there remains a lack of “institutional thickness” to build relationships between all stakeholders (Amin, 1999). Such findings confirm, Fincher and Iveson’s (2008) claim that an over-emphasis on land-use and zoning regulations tends to preclude socially oriented strategies and bottom-up initiatives. Additionally research findings suggest that private sector developers are less interested in facilitating participatory planning processes. They are therefore, part of the current problem in Woodstock, but regarding regeneration to the detriment of low-income individuals, however, they could also be a part of the solution (See Recommendations).

5.2.5 How can planners facilitate the mobility of residents to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community?

In terms of mobility there are various modes of transport, including: Rail, bus, BRT(MyCiti) and mini-bus taxi. All mobility options are accessible to all and fairly inexpensive. All of these modes of transport also connect to various nodes in the metropolitan area. Due to Woodstock’s history (as previously mentioned) there is not ‘a’ community in the area. Rather, this inner-city neighbourhood (like many other inner-city neighbourhoods across the globe) comprises a number of diverse communities. This diversity is a strength that is promoted by Fainstein (2010) and other planning scholars (see Chapter 2). But diversity, may at times, result in fragmentation. For this reason, Howley (2010) argues that struggle encourages solidarity. Lower-Woodstock’s current struggle against private sector developers does promote a sense of solidarity and community. However, the accessibility of varied accessible public spaces required for a sense of community is limited due to their ‘gated’ element and consequently inherent social fragmentation. Although many of the varied public spaces are accessible during certain times of the day, planners should encourage new urban designing of these spaces so that both the ‘gates’ and inherent social fragmentation can be dismantled. Planners must incorporate design-thinking principles such as that found in urban acupuncture, where, the application of what is most needed for diversity must be implied to achieve a sense of community (Lerner, 2014).

By doing so, CoCT planners need to apply more community-building activities such as those adopted by PPS but, more specific to the contextual realities of Woodstock. It is clear that Woodstock is filled with stories of past residents that have been required to move from places they called ‘homes’ often deeply rich in culture, on account of increases in property prices. Why not revive these aspects of the past and use them as a continuous theme in community-building activities through memory acupuncture (Lerner, 2014). CoCT planners need to incorporate this, to some extent, to all of the municipal-owned public spaces, and incentivise developers to adopt this type of design-thinking (perhaps through less parking requirements, in return for adopting community-based urban design)

and initiatives with the incentive of re-introducing Woodstock's historically stronger sense of community. This should occur with the objective of facilitating the mobility of residents to ensure easy access and promote a sense of community through varied accessible public spaces that encourage resident and commuter walkability and mobility. Another component of this type of urban design is that it needs to be done quickly, hence, CoCT planners' also need to work faster in applying these initiatives in order to not break what Lerner (2014:33) terms the "continuity of urban life"

5.2.6 How can planners produce more inclusive zoning and land-use schemes that cater to the needs of all residents?

Woodstock's zoning and land-use schemes are inclusive and promote a mix of uses and activities. However, impacts of regeneration are diminishing the neighbourhood's historically rich diversity. Woodstock residents' are opposition toward the apartheid regime resulted in the area retaining a mixture of residents from diverse backgrounds, even during this segregated era. Ironically, this diversity is increasingly being threatened by upmarket property developments that result in displacing low-income residents. Santoro (2015) suggests that Sao Paulo's Special Social Interest Zones (SSIZs) establish strict guidelines where affordable housing is given high priority. SSIZs may be considered as a way forward in Woodstock. However, findings suggest that a blanket SSIZ policy may repress the neighbourhood's existing inclusive zoning. For this reason it is recommended that the City explore possibilities of implementing a Woodstock Overlay Zone. An Overlay Zone would enable a mix of land-uses and activities while prioritising affordable housing in the neighbourhood.

5.2.8 How can planners engage participatory mechanisms that place marginalised individuals on an equal footing?

Healey (2012) asserts that free-market processes and urban policy institutions undermine spatial qualities and connectedness by disregarding opportunities for partnerships between various stakeholders. My findings align with her assertion. Findings also align with Tates and Chappel's (2013) call for resident-led participatory mechanisms as opposed to top-down mechanisms. However, research findings show that market-led regeneration result in developers, and to a certain extent the CoCT, making core decisions with resident engagement. This is evident with the eviction of Gympie Street and Bromwell Street tenants. Better participatory mechanisms are, therefore sort for

Woodstock, and such mechanisms need to be cognizant of the difficulties and complexities of participatory process (Purcell, 2006).

5.3 Recommendations

Many of the recommendations in this section are derived from the reviewed literature in Chapter 2. Other recommendations are derived from lessons learned during the research process. Above all else recommendations are crafted to process equity, diversity and democracy.

5.3.1 Recommendations for equity

Create social housing stock

Both the literature and research findings advocate for affordable housing, as affordable housing is essential for equity. Hence, it is recommended that municipal officials focus on ways of implementing social housing. Given that the Head of National Social Housing (NASHO), Malcolm McCarthy (Interview, 20 September 2016) views it as the most needed type of affordable housing in the area, not to mention, a recurrence of low-income resident evictions, this is particularly important. State-owned land should be earmarked for social housing. A higher priority on the current plans in process for earmarked sites needs to be given, where the municipal planners are held accountable to senior management for ensuring these sites are developed within shorter time frames. Once housing is implemented, former and current evictees should be given social housing subsidies for them to return to Woodstock upon completion of social housing in some of those sites. Hereby retaining some level of equity lost through market-led regeneration. Similarly, sites like the Sussex Road 'park' (that is a privately owned, vacant piece of land) zoned for mixed-use, despite its current 'park' usage, should be used for future mixed-development that includes a social housing component. This should occur through public-private partnerships where, although the bulk of the costs are between the Developers and the City, NGOs such as NASHO, with skilled experience in the intricacies of implementing housing, must take on a more leading role, in order to ensure on the delivery of social housing stock.

Recast the current Urban Development Tax-Incentive

The UDZ-Tax Incentive needs to be broadened for the purpose of incentivising the development of social housing. Similarly, incentives need to focus on economic development and support for small businesses. NGOs also need to be involved in this policy in order to ensure that it addresses wider issues. Local small business owners must have an active role in this process of developing a broadened incentive in an effort to clearly identify their needs. CoCT needs to ensure the prioritisation of small business needs prior to the implementation of this more holistic incentive.

Prioritise Bottom-up Strategies

Bottom-up strategies plays a leading in promoting equity. Pissourious (2014) proposed framework that involves both top-down and bottom-up approaches may be a more pragmatic way forward, however, I would argue that, in order to counter the current impact regeneration, the initial strong focus on bottom-up strategies is mandatory, prior to any further mention of a framework that involves both approaches. Agreeing with Fainstein's (2010) idea that egalitarian strategies need to be prioritised, in order for this to take shape, I recommend that policies be created with the particularly those actively involved in NGOs, by the City and Residents with the objective of prioritising bottom-up solutions that addresses context-specific issues. I would recommend that it be legally binding, that these community leaders need to play a strong role in formulating policies from the ground-up, aimed at countering the present state of disregard for resident's needs, particularly in Lower Woodstock, as the example of the cycle-lanes demonstrate. In sum, it is recommended that officials, residents and NGO representatives engage in a process of co-designing the future of Woodstock. This recommendation was emphasised by one of my research participant's, Helen McGregor-Rourke from DAG (Interview, 15 August, 2016).

5.3.2 Recommendations for diversity

Establish a Woodstock Local Area Overlay Zone (WLAOZ)

The purposed implementation of an overlay zone is oriented towards promoting a mix-use, mix-income, and this mix enables diversity. Above all else, the purpose of an overlay is to curb the displacement of working class residents. For this reasons it is recommended that the city consider the use of an overlay zone for Woodstock. It allows the municipality to apply specific development controls that reflect local circumstances and to encourage development which supports the local economy. In the case of Woodstock, I would recommend that this LAOZ is particularly focused on the adverse effects of market-led regeneration on the lower-income individuals. The municipality may benefit from closer ties with organisations such as Ndifuna Ukwazie and the DAG. In addition current opposition by various NGOs may be nullified if the CoCT works together with these organisations to advocate better use of municipal-owned land that benefits the broader community. The rich cultural heritage of the area may also be protected through the use of an overlay zone.

Enable Community building activities

Through initiatives such as Open Streets, the use of street space could be transformed into recreational activities to spark social interaction. Streets are public spaces but could be seen as semi-public spaces as the personal identity of various homes spill to the streets, in the form of community interaction. These interactions could be strengthened through community building activities such as

those run by PPS in Central Detroit. Opening up streets to local markets and community celebrations could strengthen the communities identify through opening up these spaces for the public to part take in. These activities could enhance the vibrancy and rejuvenate existing socio-culture in the community. According to Madanipour (2003:137) the emotive and controversial notion of communities are very complex, however measures to promote communities is not confined to the urban planning and design circle. Community building can be found in social and political debates that extend from the intimacy of the home to the semi-public streets. Community markets, local debates and discussions could strengthen this sense of belonging. With this in mind, the urban design of various public spaces need to be re-examined to embark on an objective of 'urban acupuncture' that facilitates the walkability and mobility of residents (Lerner, 2014). It is here that municipal planners need to work *in tandem* urban designers to ensure that these both proposals and implementation of this new design-thinking offers benefits to the poor and support small businesses and the informal market. Woodstock's heritage embedded in diverse types of individuals and economic activities needs to be revived, but in a way that brings in more low-income residents and small-business owners, instead being part of the reason they relocate.

5.3.3 Recommendations for democracy

Promote the idea of "institutional thickness"

"Institutional thickness" is paramount to democracy (Amin, 1999). This occurs through the establishment of 'learning clusters', with round tables of informal and formal urban economic knowledge regeneration networks and transparency (Amin, 1999). Currently, the lack of institutional thickness in Woodstock is of such an extent that all stakeholders operate in silos. Hence, my recommendation of strengthening institutional thickness through developing strong networks between CoCT, Developers, NGOs and Residents representatives. In doing so, increasing transparency is also a key aspect. Plans and policies must be easily accessible to all, not only after they are made but during the process of their development in an effort to use all stakeholders' input in the outcome of the built environment. In addition, decision-making needs to be re-directed more in favour of low-income residents ('powerless') to enable roundtable discussions that may evaluate the in-depth concerns and build partnerships that go beyond every existing type of NGO and promote the creation of 'single' stakeholder culture, where all stakeholders work as one systematic unit. This can only occur with decision-makers that have strong social incentives that are not merely resorting to the current top-down 'tick'-box type of approach for legally required participatory mechanisms, but have a firm belief in re-imagining a more 'just' Woodstock.

Enable socially-conscious decision-making

Qu and Hasselaar's (2011) point, that planners view the most feasible outcome and decision-makers determine the realisation of this outcome, supports the importance of sound decision-making. Without decision-making mechanisms with all stakeholders on an equal-footing and with more than a social objective but an inherent will for bottom-up driven solutions forward, socially driven decisions that impact the built environment cannot properly take shape. The complexities of Woodstock offers an opportunity in this regard, to set a precedent for countering the dominance of market-led changes, in a way that assists the poor, rather than pushes them out. With this in mind, it is imperative, as suggested by McGregor-Rourke (interview, 15 August, 2016), that socially-conscious developers, such as Swart (interview, 15 September, 2016) are found, and given incentives by CoCT for more benefits other than the current UDZ, particularly one that includes a decrease in parking requirements, in return for catering for social housing and other affordable housing alternatives. Dialogue about these types of tradeoffs should be constantly made between all stakeholders to enable more socially-conscious decision-making and collaborative partnerships.

Encourage Public-Private Partnerships

Development in Woodstock could be improved through public participation. Firstly, through this process the City of Cape Town would have to play a mediatory role. In this way the voices of more affected parties could be heard and included in the decision making processes. The implementation of public participation process could set the platform for formal negotiations of the usage of the space. This could effectively ensure that the authentic identity of the space is kept and the inclusion of surrounding long term residents input is provided into development.

Secondly, the communication channels could be strengthened in terms of clarification of roles and responsibilities of both the public and private parties. Through effective communication channels developer investment plans would need to be transparent as possible, to ensure that both parties are effectively working towards the same goal. Transparency from both parties would enhance idea sharing and debates, and more important effectively meet the needs of the residents.

Thirdly, this could increase the opportunity for those in the area through integration with the plans of the residents and the developers. A link between the private and public spaces could increase the opportunity for different class groups. Cluster points could be created around these points to include local and informal trade (Behrens and Watson, 1996:80). Through this integration, local and informal trade could use the opportunity of the foot flow to enhance their business.

Finally, in enhancing and improving local economic development, the public-private partnership could set the grounds for transparent idea sharing and debates on conflicting ideas. This cross-sector

engagement would reduce silo decision making and allow for integrated plans to be implemented. In meeting the goals of an inclusive city (CoCT, 2012) public-participation could improve the urban design quality and the interface between the public and private integration.

5.4 Limitations to study

Although my study involved views from representatives of CoCT, NGOs, residents and a developer, the inclusion of other stakeholders would have rendered much more detailed findings. These stakeholders include commuters of the Woodstock space and individuals from the surrounding area. More consultation with Ward Counsellors of Woodstock and a comparison to the constantly changing city boundaries of wards would have added some extra richness to my findings. In addition, a much more in-depth study on the history of Woodstock, with the assistance of many residents that have stayed in the area for many years would have created a more corroborated study. I would urge future case study researchers on the topic of regeneration to place more emphasis on possibilities going forward, than existing injustices. The most challenging part of my research which I was unable to accomplish was access to the latest CoCT frameworks currently being initiated by planners. Given the latest civil society discontent, this may be understandable, however, this also played a role in my findings to suggest the need for transparency among institutions and civil society.

5.5 Reflections and Conclusion

The City of Cape Town has remained distant from market-led regeneration processes in the case of Woodstock, allowing developers to take 'control' of the neighbourhood. This approach has had a negative impact on low-income residents. Furthermore the dialogue that does exist between stakeholders seems more like a tick-box public consultation process than an equal-footed communication between stakeholders. The silos that CoCT, developers, NGOs work in, perpetuate the top-down position of CoCT and the dominance of developers. It remains challenging to pragmatically view Woodstock as an area that could attain any level of urban justice, given these limitations. An all new perspective on initiatives planned with residents instead of for residents needs to take priority, as Healey (2003:117) suggests:

[F]or planners and policy analysts, playing roles in urban governance contexts, and involved in the discussion, design and management of specific actions, grasping the fine grain of the interactive dynamics between situational specificities and broader dynamics is critically important.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Ethics Approval Form

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

APPLICATION FORM


Please Note:



Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Lewin Rolls	
Department	School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant:	rillew001@myuct.ac.za	
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	MCRP
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Dr Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		
Project Title	Enabling 'just' urban regeneration in Woodstock, Cape Town	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Lewin Rolls		2016/8/2

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Associate Prof Tanja Winkler		2016/8/2
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	Prof. Toma Berlanda		2016/8/2
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.			

Appendix B: Consent Forms



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS..... Lewin Rolfs.....
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON..... enabling 'just' regeneration in Woodstock.....
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

ABDULLAH / ADAMS.



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed

Signature of interviewee

Signed

Signature of student



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewis Ralls
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling (just) regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed

Signature of Interviewee

Signed

Signature of student

Date: 15/8/2016.



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: janine.meyers@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Levin Ralls
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling 'just' regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed

Signature of interviewee

Date: 26-05-2016

Signed

Signature of student

Lance Boyd



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewis Rolfs
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling 'just' regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed Heleen McGregor-Rourke
 Signature of interviewee

Signed
 Signature of student

Date: 1/11



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: jamne.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewis Ralls
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling 'just' regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed
 Signature of Interviewee

Signed
 Signature of student

Date: 30 Aug 2016

Malcolm Mcarthy



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

Statement to be read out to an interviewee by a student about to undertake an interview for the purposes of research, as a request for permission for the name and/or identity of the interviewee to be revealed in an essay/report/dissertation

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lawn Rolls
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON evolving regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za

Signed L. Nkosi

Signature of interviewee

Date: 26/08/2016

Signed

Signature of student



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centivres Building
 Email: janine.bleyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewin Ralls
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON embedding 'just' regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za

Signed

Signature of interviewee

Signed

Signature of student

Date:



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: Jahne.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 37 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewis Rolfs
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling 'just' regeneration in Woodstock
 AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed _____

Signature of interviewee

Signed _____

Signature of student

Date:

Esthei Gabanxa



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlives Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewin Potts
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed

Nls Hansen

Signature of interviewee

Signed

Signature of student

Information sheet and consent form

Individuals will be chosen on the basis of them being adults that are not socially or physically vulnerable people, but are residents, government workers, Non-governmental organisation workers or private developers that have worked on or are situated in the Woodstock area. The title of this research project is:

Enabling 'just' Urban Regeneration in Woodstock.

Good day, my name is Lewin Rolls and I am conducting research towards a master's degree in city and regional planning. I am researching how neighbourhood changes over time can be done in a less economic orientated manner, as currently observed to become more just and fair, for the benefit of all residents

I would like to invite you to participate in the project. I am interested in finding out about how concepts such as equity, diversity and democracy can play a role in overcoming the current situation of overemphasis on economic gain, where the poorer individuals are often indirectly pushed out in the long run through increase in property values and resultant rentals, which poor cannot keep up with. I want to understand the current status quo of Woodstock in terms of these key concepts and I would like to interview people who voluntarily want to be involved in the study. Please understand that you do not have to participate, your participation is voluntary. The choice to participate is yours alone. If you choose not to participate, there will be no negative consequence. If you choose to participate, but wish to withdraw at any time, you will be free to do so without negative consequence. However, I would be grateful if you would assist me by allowing me to interview you. Will just ask you a few questions about your experience in Woodstock that aligns with my project in order to gain insight on Woodstock and ideas to enable change which benefits formerly disadvantaged individuals. It would not take longer than 2 hours. There will not be any form of payment for your participation. You are not required to pay for anything.

If you agree to me recording the interview please

Sign here:

Signed

Your anonymity will be preserved, this recording will only be used by myself and academic staff, if access to this information is required. In any event your name will be replaced by a pseudonym to ensure your anonymity. Data will be kept and if you wish to receive the outcome of the results to this study I will provide it to you after completion.

If you agree to be a participant in the study on the basis of the above please

Sign here:

Signed

However, if you do not mind me using your actual name and surname in my research, that may be publicly accessible, in which case your anonymity will not be protected, then sign here

If you agree to be a participant on this basis, please

Sign here:

Signed



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: janine.meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewis Rolls
 AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling re just regeneration in Ward 322ck

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION /WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signed

Signature of interviewee

Signed

Signature of student

Date:



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lewin Rolfe
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON enabling 'juse' regeneration in Woodstock

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

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MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za

Signed

Signature of interviewee

Signed

Signature of student

Date:

Appendix C: Oral History Photo



Photo was sourced from one of Mrs Gabanxa's colleagues

Oral history interviews encourage the participant to share stories with the interviewer, this photo resembles one of those stories, it reminds Mrs Gabanxa (on far right) of a happy moment she had in Woodstock, working as a 'House-Mother' at an organisation that use to offer assistance to destitute women.