

The Pursuit of Urban Justice: Managing Processes of Decline and Regeneration in Salt River, Cape Town

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Abstract

Since the 1990s, Salt River has undergone significant changes to its socio-economic, cultural and physical structures due to the withdrawal of both public and private investments from the area. These changes are interpreted by the City of Cape Town (CoCT) as an indication that Salt River is in decline and, consequently, in need of regeneration. In response to this perception, the CoCT has developed a number of spatial frameworks and plans to guide regeneration in the area. This dissertation assesses the manner in which 'neighbourhood change' is taking place in Salt River, and how the CoCT is facilitating and managing this change.

I develop a theoretical framework using Fanstein's (2010) concept of the 'just city' and consequently I establish criteria for urban justice. These are used in this research to assess the manner in which neighbourhood change is occurring in Salt River and how the CoCT is facilitating and managing this change. The main research question thus asks: *How should municipal planners and policymakers engage more effectively with processes of decline and regeneration that are leading to changes in the spatial and socio-economic fabric of Salt River?* The research uses the case study, oral history and discourse analysis methods to address this question. Data is collected through non-participant observation, oral history and individual semi-structured interview techniques. The focus is on capturing the views and opinions of users of Salt River; more specifically, the area's long-term residents.

The research findings indicate that only the residential parts of Lower Salt River are in decline. The commercial portions of Salt River are regenerating. In adopting a *minimal intervention* stance in relation to the regeneration of Salt River, the CoCT has left the market to direct regeneration in the case area. Municipal planners need to take the lead in the regeneration of Salt River to ensure that social development is prioritised and that working class households do not continue bearing the costs of regeneration. I recommend that municipal planners and policy makers create a social development framework for the area in conjunction with *all* residents. Moreover, municipal planners and policy makers should mandate that affordable housing be kept as affordable housing in perpetuity and that one-to-one replacement policies for affordable housing be established. This will ensure that affordable housing in the area is not lost and consequently, that working class households are not displaced as property and land values in the area increase.

Table of Contents

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Declaration of Free Licence..... | i |
| Plagiarism Declaration | i |
| Acknowledgements..... | ii |
| Abstract..... | iii |
| Table of Contents..... | iv |
| List of Figures | viii |
| List of Tables | ix |
| Acronyms | x |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Introduction: Purpose of this Chapter | 1 |
| 1.2. The Background to the Study: Urban Regeneration in Cape Town | 2 |
| 1.3. Identifying the Problem under Study..... | 4 |
| 1.3.1. Neighbourhood Change in Salt River | 6 |
| 1.4. Establishing the Main Research Question and Assessment Criteria for this Study | 11 |
| 1.5. Structure of the Dissertation | 12 |
| Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework..... | 14 |
| 2.1. Introduction | 14 |
| 2.2. Regeneration: Gentrification by another Name? | 15 |
| 2.3. Neighbourhood Decline | 18 |
| 2.3.1. Models of Neighbourhood Change..... | 18 |
| 2.3.2. Criteria for Decline | 21 |
| 2.3.3. Explanations of Neighbourhood Decline | 23 |
| 2.4. The Just City | 25 |
| 2.4.1. Equity | 26 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 2.4.2. Democracy | 30 |
| 2.4.3. Diversity | 31 |
| 2.5. Conclusion..... | 33 |
| Chapter 3: Research Methods | 36 |
| 3.1. Introduction | 36 |
| 3.2. Research Methods | 36 |
| 3.2.1. Case Study Method | 37 |
| 3.2.2. Oral History Method | 39 |
| 3.2.3. Discourse Analysis Method..... | 41 |
| 3.3. Research Techniques | 42 |
| 3.3.1. Non-Participant Observation | 43 |
| 3.3.2. Oral History Interviews | 44 |
| 3.3.3. Individual Semi-Structured Interviews..... | 46 |
| 3.4. Sampling Procedures | 49 |
| 3.5. Ethical Considerations..... | 51 |
| 3.6. Data Analysis..... | 51 |
| 3.7 Conclusion..... | 52 |
| Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis | 53 |
| 4.1. Introduction | 53 |
| 4.2. The Case Study | 53 |
| 4.2.1. Historical Development of Salt River: A Brief Account | 58 |
| 4.3. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for decline..... | 68 |
| 4.3.1. Decrease in capital investment..... | 68 |
| 4.3.2. Aging or deteriorating housing stock and subsequent invasion by lower income group | 71 |
| 4.3.3. Development of an informal settlement | 78 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.4. Salt River: A neighbourhood in the process of changing | 80 |
| 4.5. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for urban justice | 83 |
| 4.5.1. Assessing Salt River based criteria for diversity | 84 |
| 4.5.2. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for equity | 93 |
| 4.5.3. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for democracy | 101 |
| 4.6. Conclusion | 103 |
| Chapter 5: Conclusion | 107 |
| 5.1. Introduction | 107 |
| 5.2. Answers to the research questions..... | 108 |
| 5.2.1. Is Salt River in in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline?.... | 108 |
| 5.2.2. Inadequate planning for, and facilitation of, diversity | 108 |
| 5.2.3. Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies, provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity? | 109 |
| 5.2.4. What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the Revitalisation Framework?... | 109 |
| 5.2.5. What investment has the CoCT made in terms of transport infrastructure?..... | 110 |
| 5.2.6. Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River?..... | 110 |
| 5.2.7. Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework? | 111 |
| 5.2.8. How should municipal planners and policymakers engage more effectively with processes of decline and regeneration that are leading to the spatial and socio-economic fabric of Salt River? | 112 |
| 5.3. Recommendations | 113 |
| 5.3.1. Recommendations for diversity..... | 113 |
| 5.3.2. Recommendations for equity | 114 |
| 5.3.3. Recommendations for democracy..... | 115 |
| 5.4. Limitations to the study | 117 |
| 5.5. Reflections and conclusion | 118 |
| References | 123 |

Appendix 131

Appendix A: CoCT Life Cycle Model 132

Appendix B: EBE Faculty Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects 133

Appendix D: Salt River Area Profile..... 135

Appendix F: Table Bay District Plan 137

University of Cape Town

List of Figures

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1.1: Key Demographic Statistics for Salt River | 6 |
| Figure 1.2: The study area – Salt River, Cape Town | 7 |
| Figure 4.1: Salt River | 54 |
| Figure 4.2: Symbolic boundaries held by users of Salt River | 55 |
| Figure 4.3: Map illustrating the Central City and Table Bay District boundaries | 57 |
| Figure 4.4: Historical development of Woodstock-Salt River | 59 |
| Figure 4.5: Salt River, 1966 – 2001 | 60 |
| Figure 4.6: Generalised zoning in present day Salt River | 61 |
| Figure 4.7: A dilapidated building along Albert Road which is being illegally occupied for residential purposes | 62 |
| Figure 4.8: Map illustrating the location of rental stock in Salt River, 2002 | 64 |
| Figure 4.9: Affordable property sales 2004 – March 2012 | 65 |
| Figure 4.10: Select public facilities in Salt River | 66 |
| Figure 4.11: Dilapidated buildings in Salt River | 68 |
| Figure 4.12: Urban Conservation Zone and Urban Development Zone boundaries in Salt River | 75 |
| Figure 4.13(a) – (c): Dumped household waste on the streets of Salt River | 78 |
| Figure 4.14: Pickwick Road informal settlement, 2006 – 2010 | 79 |
| Figure 4.15: Lynch analysis of Salt River | 91 |
| Figure 4.16: Access and public transportation routes | 98 |
| Figure 5.1: Spatialisation of the Recommendations | 117 |

List of Tables

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 2.1: Summary of neighbourhood impacts of regeneration | 16 |
| Table 2.2: Criteria for assessing the Salt River case | 35 |
| Table 4.1: Population statistics for Salt River, 1996, 2001 and 2011 | 78 |
| Table 4.2: Racial and/or ethnic composition in Salt River 1996, 2001 and 2011 | 80 |
| Table 4.3: Languages spoken by population sub-groups in Salt River, 1996 and 2001 | 90 |
| Table 4.4: Summary of chapter 4 research findings | 102 |
| Table 5.1: Summary of chapter 5 recommendations | 121 |

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Acronyms

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AL+HDC | Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre |
| CBD | Central Business District |
| CID | City Improvement District |
| CMT | Cut, Make and Trim |
| CoCT | City of Cape Town |
| CoCT SDI & GIS | City of Cape Town Strategic Development Information and Geographic Information System |
| DPLG | Department of Provincial and Local Government |
| DPU | Displaced People's Unit |
| GEAR | Growth, Employment and Redistribution |
| HPOZ | Heritage Protection Overlay Zone |
| IRTP | Integrated Rapid Transport Plan |
| ISRDS | Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy |
| IZS | Integrated Zoning Scheme |
| NGOs | Non-governmental Organisations |
| NIMBY | Not in My Back Yard |
| PRASA | Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| SDP | Spatial Development Plan |
| SDS | Social Development Strategy |

| | |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| SPUD | Spatial Planning and Urban Design |
| SRA | Special Ratings Area |
| SRRA | Salt River Residents Association |
| StatsSA | Statistics South Africa |
| TOD | Transport Oriented Development |
| UCA | Urban Conservation Areas |
| UDZ | Urban Development Zones |
| URP | Urban Renewal Programme |
| URS | Urban Renewal Strategy |
| URZ | Urban Renewal Zones |
| WCPG | Western Cape Provincial Government |
| WWII | World War II |

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction: Purpose of this Chapter

[Salt River] comprises urban physical patterns resulting from the historic application of principles and processes which do not characterise recent city building practice in Cape Town. It is an area where much of the fabric is aged, some of it decaying, and where processes of both renovation/renewal and demolition/redevelopment are occurring.

(Todeschini and Japha, 1986: 30)

Salt River is home to 6 577 residents of whom some are second (and even third) generation residents of this dynamic neighbourhood (StatsSA, 2011). They have witnessed the many changes that have taken place, and that continue to take place, in this centrally located and diverse inner city neighbourhood. Some of these changes include: the severing of the neighbourhood from the sea through land reclamation and major rail infrastructure developments; job losses as a result of local and global economic restructuring; and the weakening of the area's link to the city through the enforcement of the Group Areas Act in District Six (NM & Associates, 2002).

This dissertation assesses the manner in which 'neighbourhood change' is taking place in Salt River, and how the City of Cape Town (CoCT) is facilitating and managing this change. To this end, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the problem under investigation, as well as the main research question of the study. Before doing so, the first section provides the context for establishing the research problem by presenting a cursory overview of the processes of urban regeneration in Cape Town. In the second section, the problem under investigation is established, and the case study area (namely, Salt River) is introduced. The overarching aim of my research is also discussed in this section. The third section of this chapter presents the main research question. Thereafter, the assessment criteria used to undertake this study are introduced. Assessment criteria are, in turn, derived from an in-depth review of the relevant literature on the topic under study. Before turning to this review in chapter 2, the last section of this introductory chapter outlines the contents of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

1.2. The Background to the Study: Urban Regeneration in Cape Town

Urban regeneration is the “redevelopment of derelict residential areas or industrial areas, usually linked to the development of human and social capital” (Engelbrecht, 2003: 10). The different understandings of the processes of urban improvement are based on different theoretical frameworks (Lupton and Power, 2004). However, when used in policies these different understandings all seem to reflect a bias towards (private) “capital reinvestment in economically stressed inner city neighbourhoods” (Winkler, 2009: 363). The term ‘urban regeneration’ has only recently come into local, provincial and national policies. Most of the older policies utilise the term “urban renewal” instead.

In this dissertation the term 'regeneration' is utilised, because the literature I will draw on speaks of regeneration, as opposed to renewal. The term has also been used in more recent policies by the City of Cape Town (CoCT) in relation to the economic redevelopment of the (wider) inner city area of Cape Town. Here, emphasis is placed on the implementation and rejuvenation of economic and physical infrastructure (Engelbrecht, 2003). The term 'urban renewal', by contrast, is now primarily used in relation to the redevelopment of informal settlements and 'exclusion areas' (DPLG, 2006). The urban regeneration of urban centres is an area-based intervention strategy (Engelbrecht, 2003; DoH, 1997) adopted by national government and, consequently, the City of Cape Town (CoCT). Furthermore, urban regeneration in South Africa, and elsewhere, tends to be undertaken by local governments in partnership with the private sector, through the facilitation of City Improvement Districts (CIDs).

By contrast, urban renewal is undertaken by local governments in conjunction with the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG). The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) was introduced by former President Thabo Mbeki in 1999. Since then, it has morphed into two multi-disciplinary programmes – the *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy* (ISRDS) and the *Urban Renewal Strategy*. These programmes were announced by President Thabo Mbeki in 2001. The URP:

[F]ocuses on areas of greatest deprivation, [and the URP] should include investment in economic and social infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise development, the enhancement of the development capacity of local government, poverty alleviation and the strengthening of the criminal justice system.

(CoCT, 2002: 3)

The aim of these programmes is, firstly, to support economic development and, secondly, improve quality of life (DPLG, 2006). These aims are derived from the two key policies developed in the mid-to late 1990s. These are the *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)* and the *Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)* policy. The former focuses on social transformation and the fulfilment of basic needs. It is a response to the flight of capital from South Africa's inner city precincts. This outward movement of capital from inner cities has resulted in the decline and degeneration of inner city areas. Consequently, urban regeneration programmes seek to improve "the 'liveability' of neighbourhoods and the prospects for those who live there" (Wallace, 2001: 2164). The *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* policy, by contrast, is a macro-economic policy that has entrenched the *idea* of a 'trickle-down' effect into South African policy discourses (Davids, 2005). These two policy stances, in conjunction with limited (financial) resources, have significantly impacted how urban renewal and regeneration are undertaken in South Africa.

Financing for urban regeneration programmes has to be obtained through a "re-prioritisation' within existing budgets, at national, provincial and local levels" (Rauch, 2002). In other words, there is no dedicated funding for urban regeneration. It, therefore, comes as a surprise that regeneration initiatives in South Africa are underpinned by a belief that the strategic and creative use of public funds and incentives can "act as a catalyst for the rejuvenation of a wider area suffering from economic decline" (National Treasury, 2006: 33). This belief has manifested itself in the form of Urban Renewal Zones (URZ) and Urban Development Zones (UDZ). The former is a tax incentive created through section 13quat of the Income Tax Act (Act No. 58 of 1962). Through this piece of legislation, municipalities can select their own URZ's in terms of specific criteria. Once a site is approved as a URZ, a developer can obtain tax relief for the costs of building or improving an existing building. This write-off can be either for 5 or 17 years depending on how much of the original building structure is retained (National Treasury, 2006). The latter is another tax incentive which was introduced to create an environment in which inner city regeneration can be undertaken through the attraction of (private-sector) capital (CoCT, 2012). Private developers are then eligible for a tax break in the following circumstances: if the property is new or improved; if the property is used for trade; and/or if the property has been purchased directly from the state (National Treasury, 2006). Developers are also eligible to receive an allowance to cover the building costs, provided they meet additional criteria (ibid.).

The chapter now turns to a discussion of the problem under study. In so doing, the case study area, namely Salt River, is introduced. Importantly, Salt River is declared by the state as an UDZ.

1.3. Identifying the Problem under Study

Galster (2001: 2112) defines the term 'neighbourhood' as a "bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses". These attributes include, but are not limited to, the environment, infrastructure, buildings and demographics. The absence or presence of any of these factors determines, firstly, the "degree of presence of [and in a] neighbourhood" (Galster, 2001: 2113) and; secondly, the type of neighbourhood that exists. As Galster (2001) notes, it is difficult to delineate the concept of a neighbourhood spatially. This difficulty stems from the difference in actors' perceptions of the boundaries. Planners are, therefore, often unable to identify an overt set of resident (or user) behaviours that pertain to a specific neighbourhood with unambiguous boundaries in order to devise spatial indicators and interventions for a neighbourhood (Galster, 2001).

Due to the difficulties associated with identifying a neighbourhood, this study utilises the administrative (municipal) boundaries for the purpose of data collection. This is not to say that administrative boundaries are not problematic in and of themselves. Indeed they are, because administrative boundaries are not necessarily aligned to symbolic and social boundaries (Herbert, 1963). This has additional implications for the extent to which communities can be said to reside within a particular geographic area. Moreover, in my research the terms 'community' and 'neighbourhood' are not used synonymously. Whilst the latter refers to a geographic area, the former is a sociological concept which implies that individuals have shared value systems and beliefs. It also, and often, implies that individuals inhabit the same spatial proximity. Chaskin (1997) therefore argues that the term 'community' is inherent in the notion of neighbourhood, leading to a narrow 'neighbourhood as community' view. Thus, for Martin (2003), 'the neighbourhood' constitutes a 'cohesive community'. However, the idea of 'a community' (let alone a 'cohesive community') might engender much broader and far more complex meanings. The idea of 'neighbourhood as community' is, therefore, extensively challenged throughout the literature.

The consumption (or use) attributes of a neighbourhood by particular groups – whether by households, property owners, business people or local governments – leads to direct and indirect changes in these attributes (Hall, 1998). Consequently, how a neighbourhood is used by a particular group overlooks how this group contributes to the production of urban space (Roy, 2004); and to changes in the physical, economic, socio-cultural and political structures of a neighbourhood (Hamnett, 2003). One of the primary aims of this research is to examine how these structures – namely, the economic; physical; and, to a lesser extent, the political and the socio-cultural structures – have changed in the period between 1996 and 2013 in particular¹. These structures² are intertwined. This means that 'neighbourhood change' is the result of compounding changes in one or a number of these structures (Hamnett, 2003; Hall, 1998). The utilisation of administrative boundaries makes it easier to identify changes in each of the attributes identified above that make up a neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood change is, for the most part, conceptualised as a linear process. In reality, the processes of neighbourhood change are complex and non-linear (Jacobs, 1964; Winkler, 2012). The area's history, in conjunction with the real and anticipated changes of neighbourhood attributes, is a major determinant of the flow of financial and psychological investments into and out of a neighbourhood. The area's history, in conjunction with the aforementioned neighbourhood attributes, also impacts, for better or for worse, on how the area is regulated and consumed (Hall, 1998). Salt River is presently undergoing significant changes to its rich economic, social and physical fabric (Garside, 1993). These changes, as Galster (2001) notes, indicate a change in the flow of

¹ This time frame was selected as three censuses have been undertaken in this period providing key population statistics for the area for 1996, 2001 and 2011.

² The structures are:

- political structures: are the governance structures operating within a particular area, namely local, provincial and national government as well as civil society organisations. The manner in which these various bodies operate, and the tensions that arise between them, are key considerations in the case study area.
- economic structures: this is considered at the metropolitan scale and looks at the area's positioning, firstly, in relation to other business precincts within the city, and secondly, it's positioning in relation to other cities in the world economy.
- social structures: the relations between different (social) groups of individuals and the nature of these relationships in terms of (in)equality, poverty and unemployment, to mention a few issues, are key considerations for a research project that focuses on structural changes.
- physical structures: the built fabric of cities, namely buildings and hard infrastructure.

(Hall, 1998)

Salt River at a glance

| 2011 Overview | 2011 |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Population | 6 577 |
| Households | 1 527 |
| Average Household Size | 4.31 |
| Population Density (persons per kilometre square) | 2391.6 |
| Unemployment Rate | 18.72% |

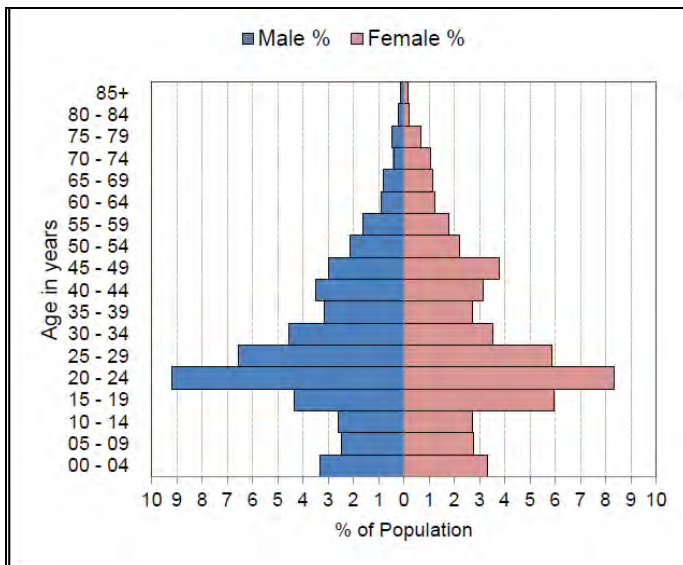


Figure 1.1: Key Demographic Statistics for Salt River (Source: CoCT SDI & GIS, 2013).

resources – primarily economic and social resources – that result in neighbourhood decline and degeneration. The following subsection discusses the problem under study.

1.3.1. Neighbourhood Change in Salt River

Salt River (see figures 1.1 and 1.2) is located approximately five kilometres from the central business district (CBD) of Cape Town. It lies between Devil’s Peak and the sea. As one of the oldest working-class neighbourhoods in Cape Town, Salt River is significant because of its central location (Le Grange, 1993).

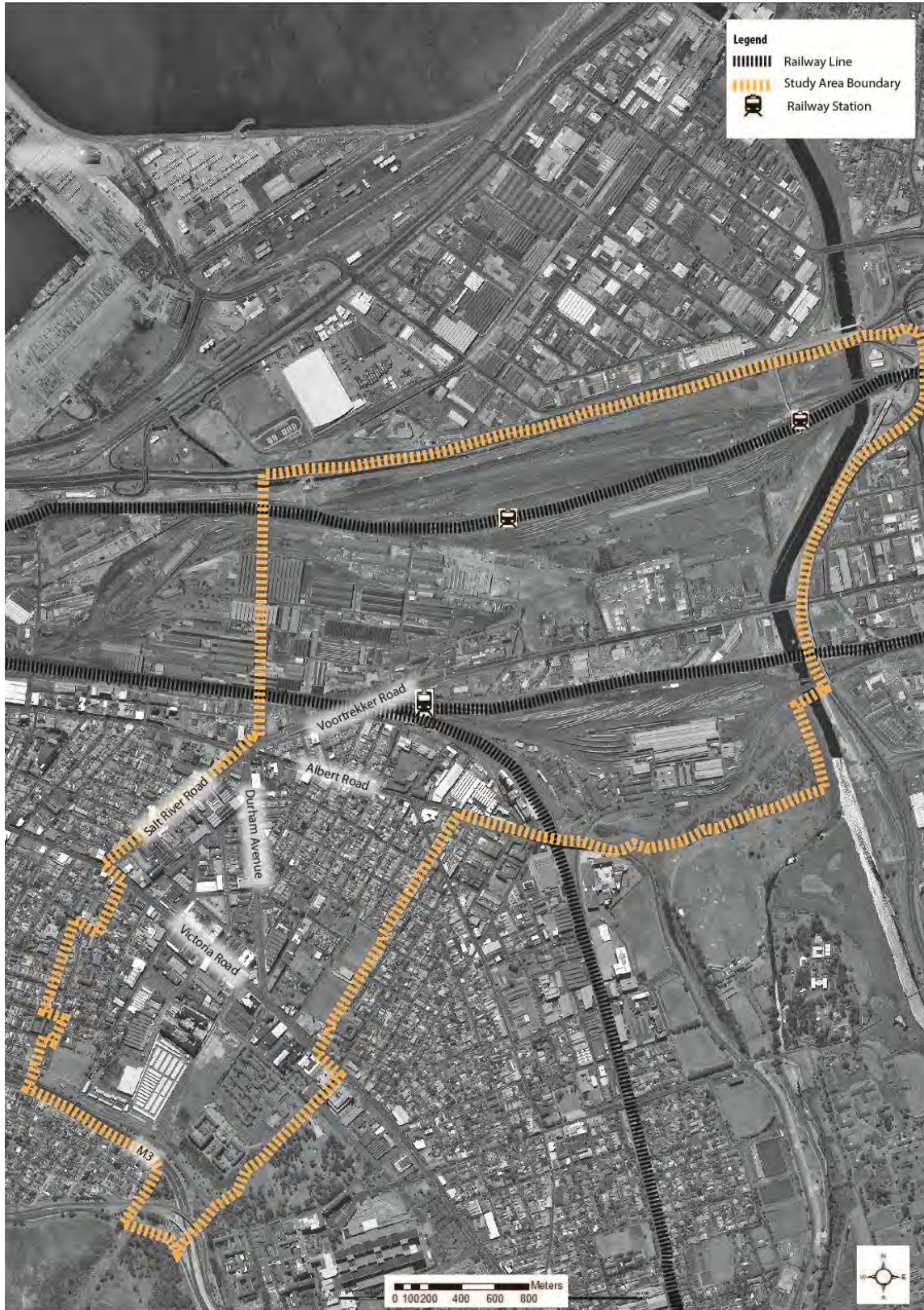


Figure 1.2: The study area – Salt River, Cape Town. (Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013).

Salt River is also significant because it is one of the few neighbourhoods in Cape Town that survived the process of forced removals (Le Grange, 1993). However, there has been a marked decrease in investment of public funds in Salt River since the mid-1990s (NM & Associates, 2003). This sustained net outflow of resources has given rise to perceptions of neighbourhood decline and degeneration. The CoCT also holds this perception of Salt River. It is therefore a primary aim of this research to examine whether or not Salt River is indeed in decline and in need of regeneration, as the CoCT believes.

In response to the perception of degeneration and decline, the CoCT has since 2003 been planning for the regeneration of Salt River. Several plans and frameworks have been put forward to chart the course of regeneration in Salt River. The most notable of these is the *Woodstock–Salt River Revitalisation Framework*, prepared for the CoCT by NM & Associates in 2002. Although this framework is now over a decade old, it remains the principal guide for regeneration in the area. Planners and politicians within the CoCT admit that this plan is dated. However, they argue that it is still highly relevant (Councillor Herron, interview, 19 September 2013). The framework has now been incorporated into the *Table Bay District Spatial Development Plan* (2009) and the *Environmental Management Framework* (2009). Together these plans and the framework propose a number of interventions that can be undertaken by the CoCT. One of these interventions is the declaration of Salt River as an Urban Development Zone (UDZ) in 2003. The UDZ extends from the Cape Town CBD and incorporates areas adjacent to the Main Road corridor, the Klipfontein and Voortrekker corridors (Kotze and van der Merwe, 2000). This, in many respects, was the beginning of the current wave of changes occurring in Salt River (Garside, 1993).

These changes have been, and continue to be, shaped by market forces. Municipal planners and policymakers have adopted a 'minimal intervention stance' or a *laissez faire* kind of approach to market forces. This is evidenced in statements, such as:

The [Woodstock-Salt] Revitalisation Framework takes the view that through active public investment programmes and obviating crime, the area would generally create a demand for commercial, retail, industrial and residential space, *thereby revitalising itself, in time.*

(NM & Associates, 2002: 30, my emphasis)

This is a problem because municipal planners and policymakers are not engaging enough (or are engaging inappropriately) with the many different and complex processes of decline and regeneration (including aspects of gentrification) that are taking place in Salt River. 'Market-led regeneration' that leads to gentrification has a negative consequence on the socio-economic fabric of an area (see chapter 2). Gentrification is the:

[I]nvasion of working class areas by upper and lower middle classes, who upgrade shabby, modest housing to an elegant residence, resulting in displacement of all, or most of, [the] original working class occupiers.

(Glass, 1964: 19)

In addition to displacing the original residents of a neighbourhood, gentrification is accompanied by a "significant price appreciation" (Kotze and van der Merwe, 2000: 39) of property in these neighbourhoods. This is what happened in the Bo Kaap. It is also currently occurring in Woodstock and in parts of Salt River. The Bo Kaap, formerly known as the Malay Quarter, has seen a significant transformation of its socio-economic and physical fabric over the past twenty years. More affluent residents have moved into the area, pushing the area's original residents out. This raises the question: where have displaced residents gone? It is difficult to research displacement, because, and as Newman and Wyly (2006, cited in Winkler, 2009: 370) note:

It is difficult to find people who have been displaced, particularly if those people are poor ... By definition, displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census-takers go to look for them.

The CoCT's social development policies hardly touch on the issue of displacement as a result of urban regeneration. Only one social policy, the *Social Development Strategy (SDS) for the City of Cape Town (2011)*, highlights the absence of a consideration of social development in urban regeneration plans (CoCT, 2011). This policy, in conjunction with the *Street People Policy (CoCT, 2013)*, seeks to address the

issues of homelessness and landlessness. However, the proposed 'prevention programmes' contained in these policies seek to address social issues by focusing only on children, youth and adults who are "at risk" of becoming homeless. This focus entails the implementation of training programmes that target 'at risk' groups, so that they can become economically active and self-sufficient in providing themselves with some form of shelter (CoCT, 2013a). There are no strategies in place to ensure that individuals can keep their homes in the face of rising property values and higher rentals once urban regeneration processes get underway in their neighbourhoods.

In short, market-led regeneration, which the CoCT is facilitating, is an exclusive process. From a 'just city' standpoint (see chapter 2) the CoCT is failing to facilitate and manage change in Salt River. A *just city* is a:

[C]ity in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off.

(Fanstein, 2010: 3)

Those without financial capital cannot participate in or benefit from regeneration if it is led by the market. The term participation is used broadly to refer to residents' involvement in decision-making processes that determine how regeneration should be undertaken. Secondly, the working class bears the brunt of the cost of regeneration, as the market does not distribute resources (wealth) evenly (Harvey, 2008). Lastly, market-led regeneration fails to give rise to diversity (Jacobs, 1964). The lack of participation and diversity, as well as the unequal distribution of resources, constitutes a form of urban injustice.

The ultimate purpose of my research is to establish a few policy and planning recommendations in order to redress urban injustices derived from market-led regeneration. This purpose then necessitates an exploration of how municipal planners, policymakers and local politicians engage with processes of decline and regeneration in Salt River, and how these processes might be improved. Bearing this in

mind, the aim of this study is, firstly, to identify and describe the processes of change that are currently taking place in Salt River; and, secondly, to evaluate this change in accordance with assessment criteria that will be introduced in the next section (and elaborated upon in chapter 2). These two considerations give rise to a number of subsidiary research questions (cf. chapter 2). The answer to the main research question, which is detailed in the next section, is contained in a synthesis of the responses to subsidiary research questions. It is to a discussion of the main research question that the chapter now turns. The next section will also outline the criteria that will be utilised to analyse the case study area.

1.4. Establishing the Main Research Question and Assessment Criteria for this Study

The main research question, which is shaped by the problem identified above as well as the aims of the research, asks:

How should municipal planners and policymakers engage more effectively with processes of decline and regeneration that are leading to changes in the spatial and socio-economic fabric of Salt River?

Assessment criteria are derived from Fanstein's (2010) concept of the 'just city' in particular (cf. Chapter 2). These criteria are used (in Chapter 4) to assess the processes of decline and regeneration in the study area as perceived by various actors operating or residing in the area. The assessment criteria include: equity, democracy and diversity. The equity criterion applies to resource distribution as well as access to local (economic) opportunities created through regeneration. The democracy criterion applies primarily to public decision-making processes and outcomes. Decisions affecting urban residents should be made in conjunction with the residents and not by municipal planners and politicians alone (Fanstein, 2010). That is, citizens must participate in the processes of decision making. The diversity criterion applies to policy, physical environment (land uses) as well as to social relations (Fanstein, 2010; Jacobs, 1964).

In order to answer the main research question, a number of research methods and techniques will be used. The former consists of the case study and oral history research methods. The latter consists of face-to-face, open-ended and oral history interviews, in addition to non-participant observations. Each of these will be discussed in chapter 3. The next chapter (Chapter 2) contains a theoretical framework that is used to establish the assessment criteria. However, before turning to the next chapter, this introductory chapter concludes with a brief outline of the structure of the remainder of this dissertation.

1.5. Structure of the Dissertation

The rest of the dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 contains a theoretical framework through which the case study area will be analysed. The theoretical framework is based on an in-depth review of the relevant literature. This literature review, in turn, will be used to establish the subsidiary research questions and the policy recommendations for the future regeneration of Salt River (and, possibly, elsewhere). The theoretical framework will draw from a number of disciplines, including sociology, urban history and urban planning.

Chapter 3 outlines the qualitative research methods and techniques used to undertake this study. Quantitative research methods, in turn, will be used to supplement and verify qualitative research findings. Oral history and case study research methods, and the related techniques, will be identified and discussed at length in this chapter. This chapter will also contain a discussion on the limitations of the methods and techniques used to collect data for this study. This chapter will end with a discussion on how the data will be analysed.

Chapter 4 describes and analyses the data collected using the assessment criteria established in Chapter 2 to evaluate the case study area.

Chapter 5 begins by providing answers to the main and subsidiary research questions. In so doing, the research findings will be synthesised. The chapter will then go on to present a few policy and other spatial planning recommendations on how the problems identified in the study might be resolved. Some of the recommendations are developed from the 'solutions' suggested by the literature. Other recommendations are drawn from the research findings, which are situated and context-specific recommendations.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 introduces the problem under study as well as the main research question. It is noted in chapter 1 that Salt River is perceived by the CoCT as an area in decline, and consequently in need of revitalisation. Degeneration is seen by the CoCT primarily from an economic standpoint and is evidenced by outflows of investment from the area and consequently, abandoned and/or dilapidating buildings. As the CoCT perceives neighbourhood change in economic terms, and is primarily concerned with the economic and spatial manifestation of these changes, these form the focus of my research.

At its core, my research is concerned with the more nuanced temporal dimension of neighbourhoods, that is, neighbourhood change. In this chapter, the theoretical framework through which the changes to the physical and accompanying spatial changes in Salt River is analysed will be established. The overarching aim of this chapter is to outline the criteria through which the Salt River case will be assessed. The assessment criteria will be drawn from a review of the literature on the topic under study. The criteria that are identified in the work of other scholars will also inform the subsidiary research questions for this study.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first section discusses Smith's (1996) assertion that regeneration is simply gentrification and consequently has no positive outcomes. In the second section neighbourhood decline is discussed. 'Criteria for decline' are established in this section. It bears mentioning at this juncture that some of the literature that is presented in this chapter, and particularly in this section, is decades old, and; secondly, it is based on empirical evidence from the global North. Atkinson (2002) argues that this is not problematic as the questions asked within the literature are relevant to present day policy in the global South. This is despite the fact that cities vary with respect to their situated context and demographic characteristics. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the substantive concept of (urban and spatial) justice. Through this discussion, additional criteria against which the Salt River case will be assessed are established.

2.2. Regeneration: Gentrification by another Name?

Gentrification is defined by Perez (2002 cited in Brown-Saracino, 2010: 12 – 13) as:

[A]n economic and social process whereby private capital (real estate firms, developers) and individual homeowners and renters reinvest in fiscally neglected neighbourhoods through housing rehabilitation, loft conversions, and the construction of new housing stock. Unlike urban regeneration, gentrification is a gradual process, occurring one building or block at a time, slowly reconfiguring the neighbourhood landscape of consumption and residence by displacing poor and working-class residents unable to live in 'revitalised' neighbourhoods with rising rents, property taxes, and new businesses catering to an upscale clientele.

Gentrification is not new (Cars, 1991). The precursors to what we have come to know as gentrification can be traced back to the 1800s, particularly in Hausmann's rebuilding of Paris³. The term gentrification came into common usage within the literature in the 1950s and 1960s. By then, it had become a hotly contested issue. Part of the problem with the concept of gentrification, which has led to its abstraction, is an etymological one. Smith (1996) problematizes the language used by those seeking to emphasise only the positive impacts of renewal, revitalisation and regeneration on a neighbourhood. For Smith, these are nothing but 'gentrification' which has no positive outcomes. Slater (2006 cited in Winkler, 2009: 366) argues that in using terms such as regeneration, the "reality of gentrification is being replaced by a discursive policy language to deflect criticism". Slater's (2006) and Smith's (1996) arguments are duly noted in this research. However, it is accepted that regeneration can have both positive and/or negative consequences. These consequences are listed in table 2.1 below.

³ In 1852 and 1870 Baron Georges-Eugène Hausmann undertook the redevelopment of Paris under the orders of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, who was referred to as Napoléon III. This modernist project involved the renovation of the centre of Paris and its surrounding districts. In particular, the project entailed the opening up of broader avenues and the improvement of housing conditions for the lower classes. In order for these renovations to occur, the state – in the interests of the public – expropriated property that was in the path of the renovations. In so doing, a large number of working class households were displaced and forced to move to other overcrowded to the city's edges.

Table 2.1: Summary of Neighbourhood Impacts of Regeneration

| Positive Impacts | Negative Impacts |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Stabilisation of declining areas | Community resentment and conflict |
| Increased property values | Loss of affordable housing |
| Reduced vacancy rates | Unsustainable speculative property price increases |
| | Homelessness |
| Increased local fiscal revenues | Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy |
| Encouragement and increased viability of further development | Commercial/industrial displacement |
| Reduction of suburban sprawl | Increased cost and changes to local services |
| | Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas |
| Increased social mix | Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos) |
| Decreased crime | Increased crime |
| Rehabilitation of property both with or without state sponsorship | Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas |
| | Displacement through rent/price increases |
| | Secondary psychological costs of displacement |

(Source: Atkinson, 2002: 7)

It is when the negative consequences outweigh the positive ones that gentrification can be said to have occurred. However, the determination that regeneration efforts are overwhelmingly negative, and consequently constitutes gentrification, is a value judgement. The various actors who are involved in the production of the urban landscape have different social and cultural values (Hall, 1998). This may result in them valuing different attributes of their neighbourhoods (Lupton and Power, 2004). It is through these values that groups of individuals claim space. The winners, so to speak, are often the ones whose claim to a space is entwined with economic claims (Zukin, 1991). For Smith (1996, 1998), 'class' and economics are intertwined and so, too, is the political dimension of neighbourhood change intertwined in a deeper understanding of gentrification. Culture, as the discussion thus far highlights, is another important facet for understanding gentrification. The importance of this attribute is acknowledged but not explored further as the focus of my research is on the spatial implications of socio-economic and political changes alone, due to time constraints and the fact that this is a dissertation in the field of urban planning. The values upon which judgements will be made in this research are encompassed in the notion of the 'just city'. This notion is discussed in section 2.4 below, with the aim of establishing additional criteria against which the Salt River case can be assessed.

It bears mentioning that the aim of this section is not to emphasise the positive aspects of regeneration. The aim is to problematize the concept of regeneration and highlight that it affects different people differently (Shaw and Porter, 2009). Although regeneration can have some negative impacts, it is not necessarily gentrification (Shaw and Porter, 2009). Lastly, it is important to note, as Smith (1996: 32 - 3) does, that the term 'regeneration' and the language used in relation to it, suggests that neighbourhoods that have declined:

[W]ere somehow devitalised or culturally moribund prior to [regeneration]. While this is sometimes the case, it is often also more true that very vital working-class communities are culturally *devitalised* through gentrification as the new middle class scorns the streets in favour of the dining room and bedroom.

The 'language of regeneration' intimates that the status quo, that of decline, is undesirable. Neighbourhood decline is discussed in the next section, with the aim of establishing criteria for decline which can be used to assess the Salt River case.

2.3. Neighbourhood Decline

Neighbourhoods are not static (Hall, 1998). Rather, they are in a state of constant flux although sometimes the changes only become evident after several years. This state of flux is loosely referred to as neighbourhood change. The first part of this section will briefly discuss neighbourhood change. In particular, the discussion will centre on models of neighbourhood change which view neighbourhood change, and consequently neighbourhood decline, in a more holistic manner. This is unlike the CoCT's life cycle model⁴ which views neighbourhood change in economic terms. In so doing, 'criteria for decline' will be established against which the Salt River case can be assessed.

2.3.1. Models of Neighbourhood Change

There are a number of theories that have been put forward to explain neighbourhood change. None of these are "complete" theories of neighbourhood change. That is, none of the theories can predict change in all contexts in which they are applied (Hall, 1998). Hence, in the absence of such a complete theory, two models of change are used in a complementary fashion (Schwirian, 1983). These are the invasion-succession model and the neighbourhood life cycle model. Together these models form the main framework for the study of neighbourhood change. I will draw upon these to explore the Salt River case.

The primary critique of these models, including the life cycle model utilised by the CoCT, is that they assume some kind of linear progression (Jacobs, 1964; Winkler, 2012). Secondly, these models are dated. The critique of these models is presented at this juncture to highlight that the models are problematic. Nevertheless, they are useful as they allow neighbourhood change to be explained through neighbourhood-level causal links, metropolitan-level movements and, in relation to regional and global urban systems (Lupton and Power, 2004).

2.3.1.1. Invasion-Succession Model

The roots of the invasion-succession model can be found in the work of sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s (Schwirian, 1983; Lee, 2006). The model accounts for changes in the population as well as changes in land use or dominant activities in the neighbourhood

⁴ The CoCT life cycle model is illustrated in Appendix A.

(Schwirian, 1983). The model is seen more as a framework for understanding population changes (Lee, 2006). The underlying basis, taken from plant and animal ecology, is that a state of equilibrium continues until a new equilibrium is disturbed by the invading group. This state of disequilibrium persists until a new equilibrium, in which the invading group is dominant, is established (Park, 1952 and McKenzie, 1968 cited in Lee, 2006; Schwirian, 1983).

Invasions can induce a threshold effect. A threshold effect is defined as a:

[D]ynamic process in which the magnitude of the response changes significantly as the triggering stimulus exceeds some critical value.

(Quercia and Galster, 2000: 146)

Threshold effects are most widely noted in relation to racial dynamics within neighbourhoods. This phenomenon is referred to as 'racial tipping'. Feitjen and van Ham (2009) note that there is a vast body of evidence to support the racial tipping hypothesis. Schwirian (1983) notes that it is often assumed that population size or composition shifts within a neighbourhood lead to changes in other components of the neighbourhood. At times invasion is resisted. This often results in one of the groups withdrawing (Schwirian, 1983). Gentrification, which is discussed briefly above, is a form of succession which represents an upward shift from lower to higher incomes.

There are different types of succession, for example income, racial and social succession to mention a few. Income succession, often a downward shift from high to low income, is the most common (Grigsby, Baratz and McLennan, 1983).

2.3.1.2. Neighbourhood Life Cycle Model

Developed in 1959 by Hoover and Vernon (1959), the neighbourhood life cycle model describes neighbourhood change as a cycle with the following five stages: development, transition, downgrading, thinning out, and regeneration. These changes occur over fifty to one hundred years (Weinstein, 2007). The development stage is characterised by residential development, primarily in

the form of single family houses. These houses are built on a plot of land, often on the urban fringe with a low population density. During the transition stage, new residential structures are constructed. Population densities, rents and property values increase. The peak in development and population is reached at this stage (Weinstein, 2007).

The down-grading stage is characterised by falling rents and densities, aging of the housing stock and very little or no new construction. This stage is also characterised by the “influx of lower income and/or different ethnic or racial groups” (Weinstein, 2007). In other words, it is also characterised by invasion. The thinning out stage is characterised by derelict or boarded up houses, abandonment of buildings, closure of shops, and succession by a new ethnic or racial group and the movement of young people out of the area. At times, slums develop in this stage (Weinstein, 2007). Together, these two stages form the period of neighbourhood decline. Neighbourhood decline, also referred to as neighbourhood deterioration, is defined as:

[A]n absolute change, relative to a set of specified standards, in the physical or social quality of an area.

(Grigsby, Baratz and MacLennan, 1983: 43)

These qualities are outlined in section 2.3.2 below. The final stage – regeneration – is characterised by (re)investment in commercial and residential development in the neighbourhood (Weinstein, 2007).

Each stage, as Hoover and Vernon (1959 cited in Schwirian, 1983: 91 – 92) argue, is accompanied by changes in:

[S]tatus and the racial and age composition of the population; the intensity of land and dwelling use; population density; and the quality and condition of housing.

Neighbourhood change is signified by physical changes in housing stock, for better or for worse, as a result of multiple causal processes (Rose, 1984). However, as expansive as the changes may be, there is also some stagnation. Often open spaces, residential quarters and offices remain where they were whilst manufacturing industries are moved (Glass, 1964). It is important to note, as Hoover and Vernon (1959 cited in Schwirian, 1983) do, that not all neighbourhoods go through all of the stages. Some neighbourhoods simply loop between a few stages whereas others remain at one stage. Abandonment is a key indicator that a neighbourhood is moving from one stage to another (Schwirian, 1983).

A subsidiary research question s raised from the literature discussed in this section is:

- Is Salt River in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline?

2.3.2. Criteria for Decline

Neighbourhood decline is seen as the antithesis to growth. As a result it is often equated with economic collapse (Fanstein, 2001). The standards (or measures) of decline outlined below are, as Grigsby, Baratz and Maclennan (1983) claim, “relative” and they are specific to the American context. This does not mean that these standards of decline do not apply to the South African context. The aim of the research is to explore the relevance (or applicability) of these standards via the Salt River case. Additionally one of the aims of this research is to establish whether or not Salt River is in decline on the basis of the ‘criteria of decline’ as established by Grigsby, Baratz and Maclennan (1983). It is important to note that the list of criteria outlined below is not exhaustive.

2.3.2.1. A marked decrease in capital investment in the area

In order for an area to be classified as being in decline, it must experience a net outflow of private and to a lesser extent public capital. That is, there should be less capital investment in the area. This is evidenced by, amongst other things:

- little or no new construction of factories, offices, shops, transportation infrastructure or basic utilities;
- Abandonment of buildings, particularly commercial properties, and;
- Closure of shops and businesses.

All of the above signal a decline in the general demand of commercial and/or industrial buildings in the area and consequently, capital disinvestment (Couch, 1990). They will also be accompanied by a decline in employment opportunities within the area.

2.3.2.2. Aging and/or deteriorating housing stock and subsequent invasion by lower income group

The influx of individuals from a lower class into a neighbourhood indicates that rental prices are falling. Falling rental prices provide opportunities for those with lower incomes to enter the (formal) housing market (Lupton, 2003). As dwelling units age, their real value depreciates steadily. As they depreciate the houses are passed on to owners or tenants who have lower incomes than the original occupants (Grigsby, Baratz and MacLennan, 1983). This process is known as *filtering*. Filtering is not uni-directional as it was once believed (Grigsby, Baratz and MacLennan, 1983). In the case of gentrification, filtering is the process through which houses which have depreciated are passed on to wealthier households.

Housing is regarded as a consumption good as it does not “contribute to the production process” (Couch, 1990: 49) and is therefore not a capital investment. However, the ability to maintain housing is related to the amount of money earned by the occupier(s). The lack of a disposable income amongst lower income significantly impedes their ability to maintain their houses and to pay for municipal services such as refuse collection. This leads to further deterioration of housing stock and at times the dumping of household items or rubbish in public open spaces; extensive litter; poorly maintained common areas, kerbs, verges and fences; extensive graffiti and extensive vandalism (Lupton, 2003). As the housing stock deteriorates and no new housing is provided by the formal market an informal real estate (housing) market develops (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000). The informal housing market continues to produce the urban built environment even when the formal market slows down (Munshifwa, 2013). This gives rise to backyard dwellings and in some cases also leads to the development of an informal settlement.

2.3.2.3. Development of an informal settlement

Informal settlements (or slums) are not new. They are a different form of urbanisation that is, and has been, an integral part of the urban fabric for many decades (Roy, 2005). Informal settlements are characterised by overcrowding, inadequate housing, crime and grime as well as a lack of basic services (Cities Alliance, 2013; Roy, 2004). They are often perceived as areas in which illegal and/or unregulated take place (Roy, 2004). Informal settlements are also often perceived, by local governments, as ineligible for public services (Roy, Jockin and Javed, 2004). In this research, informal settlements and informality are viewed in a more positive light. It is regarded as a “mode of subjectivity, a “way of ‘operating more resourcefully in under-resourced cities”” (Simone, 2006 cited in Roy, 2004: 826).

Informal settlements develop as a result of, firstly, natural urban population increases and urban migration (Roy, 2005). Informal settlements provide affordable accommodation and relatively easy access to the city’s employment and other opportunities for newcomers. They also provide cheaper accommodation for lower income groups. Secondly, informal settlements develop as a result of poor governance (Cities Alliance, 2013; Roy, 2004). A government’s failure to recognise the rights of the urban poor in addition to its negative perception of informality often results in the government not catering for the needs of the poor. It is important to note that informal settlements do not only develop on publicly owned land. They also develop on privately owned land and in so doing play a pivotal role in the production of urban space (Roy, 2004).

2.3.3. Explanations of Neighbourhood Decline

In my research, a hybrid position is assumed. This position emphasises, on the one hand, how local level changes, that is changes in neighbourhood characteristics, affect each other to produce negative or positive outcomes (Lupton and Power, 2004). These neighbourhood level characteristics include the levels of social capital as well as the available local economic opportunities and developments. Lupton (2003: 13) notes that micro level explanations include, but are not limited to, the:

[F]ailure of public service to manage the areas effectively in the face of decline and the impact of decline and of management failure on social interaction and on neighbourhood reputations.

On the other hand, this research takes cognisance of the processes at the macro level that lead to neighbourhood change. Part of the root cause of neighbourhood decline may lie at the local level but deindustrialisation has made a significant contribution to the decline of light industrial neighbourhoods such as Salt River. Deindustrialisation, in conjunction with privatisation, has led to an increase in the competition between cities for investment (Hall, 1998). The primary objective for the adoption of urban regeneration strategies by local government becomes economic growth (Smith, 1996). It is not easy to identify gentrification in some countries as it is entangled with wider processes such as globalisation, capitalism and neoliberalism (Smith, 1998). These forces operate on both space and place through their respective locally based and global processes (Hall, 1998; Martin, 2003). These forces are not all encompassing. Individuals and local governments have agency and consequently the ability to resist these forces (Abu-Lughod, 1994; Hall, 1998). Conflict is therefore an inherent part of the regeneration processes (Schwirian, 1983).

The free market economy distributes wealth, and consequently, resources unevenly (Rose, 1984; Harvey, 2008). The bulk of the benefits accrue to the wealthy, not the poor. The impacts of this uneven distribution of wealth are further exacerbated by the geographic separation of the rich from the poor (Grigsby, Baratz and Maclennan, 1983). It is for this reason that Townsend (1979 cited in Lupton, 2003) argues that area-based policies and interventions alone cannot solve neighbourhood problems because the causes of these problems extend beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood. Although the demarcation of cities into smaller units, which we call neighbourhoods, is useful we need to be aware of the types of problems that can be solved at the neighbourhood level (Grigsby, Baratz and Maclennan, 1983). It is imperative that macro level policies to address degeneration be created. These macro level policies must be aligned to micro level initiatives to combat neighbourhood degeneration. Both macro policies and local initiatives are needed to solve area problems (Lupton, 2003). They cannot stand alone or be misaligned.

The subsidiary research questions raised from the literature in this section are:

- What drove (and what is driving) degeneration in Salt River?
- What drove (and what is driving) regeneration in Salt River?

This section establishes the first set of criteria against which the Salt River case is assessed. The chapter now turns to a discussion of the concept of the Just City. In this discussion the criteria for urban justice are established.

2.4. The Just City

The discussion thus far has highlighted the fact that neighbourhood change is a complex non-linear process whose causes lie at both the neighbourhood ('micro') and macro scales of the urban system (Hall, 1998). It is imperative, therefore, that regeneration initiatives and policies, at the micro and macro levels respectively, be aligned and work in favour of both the middle and working classes. This is not always the case. Often, local government capital investments are used to support developers', and consequently the middle classes', demands at the expense of the poor (Fanstein, 2010). The decision on where to locate facilities, which is at the core of urban planning activities, is thus often based on economic, not social, impacts. This in turn means that resources, and access to those resources, are not equitably distributed.

Planning, as a discipline, is concerned with correcting the ills of the city, particularly the ills of the industrial city. However, and as Hall (1998) argues, planning has become far removed from its social origins. Furthermore, and as Porter (2010) notes, planning – the regulatory aspect of the physical structure of a city – is complicit in the production of social injustice. This is the dark side of planning (Yiftachael, 2006). Hence, the quest to build inclusive cities in which resources are equitably distributed remains a significant challenge (Oranje, du Toit, Landman and Lodi, 2010). A fundamental transformation of the underlying structures is needed if economic gains are to be fairly distributed. Such fundamental restructuring in the form of transformational strategies for addressing justice is difficult to achieve. It is for this reason that Fraser (2003, cited in Fanstein, 2010) argues that what is needed are *non-reformist reforms*⁵. These reforms, which operate within existing social structures, are reforms that are founded or validated by capitalist needs and rationales. Instead, they are founded on an ideal of what should be, and individuals are able to adopt, establish and maintain this ideal within the system of capitalism. As more individuals adopt this ideal, the capitalist system is weakened. It is through the operation of these reforms that the foundation is laid for more radical

⁵ The term was first used by Gorz (1967).

transformations of the economic and political systems. These more radical transformations, it is hoped, will create a *just city* (Fanstein, 2005a, 2010).

The discussion above intimates that local governments' determine the success of a regeneration policy or initiative on the basis of the amount of capital investment that flows into the area. Fanstein (2010) argues that justice is the principal norm upon which policies and initiatives should be based and evaluated. The concept of urban justice encompasses: equity, democracy and diversity. Each of these qualities is, in turn, discussed in the remainder of this chapter. The aim is to establish an additional set of criteria with which to evaluate the Salt River case. These criteria will also be used to establish recommendations in the final chapter of this thesis.

2.4.1. Equity

Fanstein (2010: 36) defines equity as the:

[D]istribution of both material and non-material benefits derived from public policy that does not favour those who are better off.

The term 'equity' is fundamental to the concept of the just city (Uitermark, 2010). It signifies fairness of both the process and outcomes of planning (Fanstein, 2010). Fanstein (2010) uses this term and not the term 'equality' as it is more widely accepted. With respect to public policy, the principle of equity demands that policies should not favour those who are already well-off. The poor have to benefit just as much, if not more, than the wealthy (Fanstein, 2010). In so doing, inequalities are diminished without significantly disadvantaging one or more groups.

In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary for governments to adopt a pro-equity stance or at the very least, a pro-growth with equity stance. This is not to say that "growth and equity [...] necessarily reinforce each other" (Fanstein, 2001: 885). In many cities across the world, economic growth and the increasing competition for investments between cities, is creating greater inequalities within these cities. However, the 'growth with equity' formula is identified by Fanstein (2005a) as being

more sympathetic to the middle class and its interests. It is a goal that developing countries are, and have been, working towards.

The criteria for equity are:

2.4.1.1. Affordable housing units in an area should remain as affordable housing in perpetuity

The redevelopment of affordable housing leads to an increase in the rent and value of the actual property. This in turn makes it less affordable for working class households. It is imperative that housing units within the affordable housing market be kept within this segment of the housing market in perpetuity (Fanstein, 2010). This also facilitates the creation of mixed income neighbourhoods. If any affordable housing units are demolished, they must be replaced on a one-to-one basis.

Those living in informal settlements within the area that is regenerating should be furnished with housing units in new housing developments within the area. This often requires densification, which Jacobs (1964) argues is a necessary condition for the generation of diversity. Fanstein (2010) notes, is often met with fierce resistance by residents of that neighbourhood. Fanstein (2010) argues that these units can be provided on-site or elsewhere. The provision of housing elsewhere often means that working class households are moved, from well-located areas like Salt River, to areas on the city's edge where there is land upon which low cost (affordable) housing can be constructed. This is extremely problematic as individuals are uprooted from their homes, often before the construction of their new homes has even begun. This means that their livelihoods and survival strategies are significantly disrupted leaving them worse off than before. It is therefore important that in the event that residents are relocated additional measures are put in place to minimise the negative consequences of such relocation, particularly on their livelihood strategies and access to key services.

2.4.1.2. Economic development programmes should prioritise small businesses and employees

Economic development is often seen by local and national government authorities as the key to diminishing inequalities between rural and urban areas as well as between individuals (Gore, 1984). However, economic development strategies, as noted above, tend to focus on and meet the needs of the middle class developers to the detriment of small local businesses which cater to the specific needs of those in the area they serve. To this end, commercial (re)developments must provide space for small independent and cooperatively owned businesses with support. These (re)developments must also provide spaces for use by the public (Fanstein, 2010).

Couch (1990) argues that the decision to redevelop or construct new buildings in an area is strongly based on the potential value to be derived from refurbishing or replacing a building. It is only once conditions are tolerable to private developers that capital investment will take place (Couch, 1990). This reinvestment in an area can result in changes in dominant land uses or activities. Such changes may necessitate the relocation of some households or businesses. Relocation of either businesses or households, where necessary, should be voluntary. In exceptional circumstances where relocation must be forced for example to accommodate public facilities, households and businesses must be adequately compensated (Fanstein, 2010). This means that the amount of money they receive must allow them to rent or buy a house or business premise that is similar to the one they moved from. It is for this reason that Fanstein (2010) argues that redevelopment must be undertaken in an incremental fashion. This will ensure that there is always an interim space available for those who are displaced (Fanstein, 2010).

2.4.1.3. Fares for intra-city transit should be kept very low

Fares for intra-city transit must be kept as low as possible to ensure that working class households have equitable access to all parts of the city. I believe, in contrast to Fanstein (2010) that fares for commuter rail should also be kept low to the extent possible. This is because rail is a significant mode of transportation for many commuters in Cape Town. It is also the cheapest mode of travel for those commuting to and from the metro south east to the study area. This will ensure that the working class continue to have access not only to this area but also to the rest of the city as Salt River functions as a transport interchange station.

Garrett and Taylor (1999) argue that although public transit systems have lost a significant number of commuters as people switch to private transport, there is a steadily growing number of individuals who, for varying reasons, depend on the public transit systems. It is on these commuters, and not those who have moved from public transit to private cars, that planners of public transit policies must focus.

2.4.1.4. Planners must press for egalitarian solutions in deliberative settings

Planners play a pivotal role as the creators and enforcers of regulations pertaining to the built environment. It is incumbent upon them to ensure that the needs of the poorer citizens are fully and duly considered and catered for. This means, firstly, that planners must stave off planning and/or economic solutions that worsen the plight of the disadvantaged. This also means that planners must also halt solutions that benefit the well-off disproportionately in favour of solutions that will benefit all parties equally.

Local government investment in declining areas takes a number of forms, which range from investing in actual infrastructure to creating an enabling environment for regeneration through policies. Often, the key investment by the local government in the redevelopment of an area is in transport infrastructure. Local government also plays a significant role in regulating the built environment through its land use and planning regulations (Hall, 1998). The local government therefore plays a significant role in determining the type of physical changes that can take place in an area. This is pertinent in an area like Salt River in which large portions of the area lie within a heritage conservation zone. This places significant limitations on the kind of (re)development that can take place in the area. As Healey, (1998) argues, planning regulations play a significant role in shaping the current practices and future of the property development industry.

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies, provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity?
- What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in Salt River in the Revitalisation Framework?
- Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River?

2.4.2. Democracy

Democracy can be viewed in terms of its procedural aspects and its substance (Fanstein, 2000). The focus in this section lies on the procedural aspects of the concept of democracy. In speaking of democracy, Fanstein (2010) is referring specifically to citizen participation in collective governance structures. With respect to planning processes, citizen participation, particularly participation by less powerful groups, in decision making is valued (Fanstein, 2000). The various stakeholders, irrespective of their socio-economic status, must be given the opportunity to communicate their ideas and engage in a debate until they reach a consensus on the best way forward (Sandercock, 1998). Although in practice this is difficult to execute, it is imperative that everybody, including those earning below average income or no income at all, is involved in the shaping of the city in which they reside (Gorgens, 2011). In so doing, they claim and exercise their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 2003). That is, they are exercising their collective right to transform themselves by transforming the cities in which they live (Harvey, 2008).

Dahl (1967 cited in Fanstein, 2010: 17) notes that opportunities for individuals to participate and influence the outcomes of planning for example are greatest at the neighbourhood level. At this level, though, there is the least power to influence decision-making. As we move consecutively to larger scales of planning, the power to influence decision-making increases whilst the opportunity for individuals to influence outcomes decreases. This is the 'Chinese box problem of participation and power' (Fanstein, 2010). A further problem identified by Fanstein (2010 cited in Uitermak, 2012) is that local democracy has the potential to result in negative outcomes for the city and/or nation.

The following criterion for democracy is identified from the preceding discussion:

2.4.2.1. All groups should participate directly and on an equal footing in decision making processes

Decision making should not be charged to the elites and politicians alone (Healey, 2010). All groups should participate, or have representatives, in decision making processes. The purpose of this is to ensure that everybody's interests are well and fairly represented (Fanstein, 2010). Consequently, there is no need for everybody to participate. Civil rights and community based organisations operating on the ground, so to speak, can be tasked to represent the individuals residing within the

particular geographic extent in which the organisations operate. As such, they are tasked with speaking on behalf of residents. Abu-Lughod (1998 cited in Fanstein, 2000) points out that although these organisations are diverse in terms of the individuals they represent, they will not necessarily say what the individuals they represent need to them to say. If the citizen participatory process is not co-opted by the middle class and/or various organisations seeking to further their own ends, then citizen participation in decision making provides policy makers with (additional) local knowledge (Corburn, 2005 cited in Fanstein, 2010). Lupton (2003) argues users of a space should be effectively engaged throughout the regeneration process and not just when decisions are made. This means that all users of a space must not only be regarded as equal partners in the decision making process. They must also be included in the implementation and operational phases of initiatives as volunteers and workers.

Furthermore, decisions should also take into consideration the needs of future users of an area. This serves to ensure that the interests of future users of the space are accommodated and that they, too, are able to flourish in the area. This involves a series of negotiations between planners and stakeholders across the city (Fanstein, 2010).

A subsidiary research question raised in this section is:

- Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework?

2.4.3. Diversity

Fanstein (2010) uses the term diversity to refer to a mix of building types and uses as well as class and racial-ethnic heterogeneity. Healey (2010) argues that diverse experiences, aspirations and social worlds present a significant challenge to planning. As with the principle of democracy, efforts to attain diversity can also have negative outcomes, particularly in planned environments (Uitermark, 2012). The process through which this goal is attained is of paramount significance. Jacobs (1964) argues that diversity cannot be planned for and must be spontaneous. The market cannot provide diversity (Jacobs, 1964) and thus compounds the problem of mono-functional, segregated neighbourhoods (Fanstein, 2000). Fanstein (2005b) notes that local governments can plan to maintain diversity as opposed to planning to create it.

The criteria for diversity are:

2.4.3.1. Land uses should be mixed

Planning is an integral part of the governance infrastructure. It is concerned with physical shaping and ordering of cities (Healey, 2010). A principal way that this order is created is through zoning. Zoning should foster inclusion and allow for a wide range of uses and activities to be undertaken in the area. This does not mean that harmful activities such as industrial factories that emit thick smelly smoke and ash should be unquestioningly allowed to locate themselves where they please (Jacobs, 1964). Jacobs (1964) adds developments that are of a different scale to existing developments in an area to the list of harmful activities whose location should be controlled. The implication of this is that planners must create policies which allow areas, where possible, to have more than two functions which are concentrated in space (Jacobs, 1964).

The diversity arising from a fine grained mixture of land uses is perceived to be chaotic. This is a matter of aesthetics and signifies a concern with visual order. Jacobs (1964) argues that whilst it may seem chaotic, the diversity created by mixing land uses in addition to having buildings of different ages, results in interesting and at times delightful urban landscapes. Secondly, such diversity in land uses does not result in traffic congestion (Jacobs, 1964). Individuals are able to walk to meet all of their needs. This is in contrast to thinly spread areas which are, for the most part, mono-functional. These necessitate that people utilise their cars to get to the different areas to meet different needs (Jacobs, 1964). This in turn results in traffic congestion.

2.4.3.2. Public spaces should be widely accessible and varied

The everyday diversity of uses and users should be intricately mixed in order to bring well-located public spaces to life (Jacobs, 1964). Individuals who are in the area for different purposes and at different times increase the likelihood that public spaces are used throughout the day. But it is important that, as Fanstein (2009) argues, public spaces should be easily accessible – in economic, social and physical terms – and varied. The term ‘public space’ is used broadly to include streets and sidewalks, which Jacobs (1964: 23) notes are the “main public places of a city”. Public spaces should serve a number of purposes. It is also important that public spaces are varied so that all users of the space are accommodated. This also limits the conflict that could arise when groups with clashing lifestyles are forced to share the same space (Fanstein, 2010). Jacobs (1964) warns against having

too many public (open) spaces with a similar purpose, such as parks, within one area. This spreads the users and activities thinly across different spaces.

2.4.3.3. Boundaries between neighbourhoods should be porous

Porous borders, both in a visual and access sense, allow individuals as well as goods to travel freely between different parts of the city. If a border is not porous, like a railway tract, for example, it serves to cut a neighbourhood off from the rest of the city (Jacobs, 1964). In such instances, borders become dead ends for city street users and as such are barriers. Therefore, a border “exerts an active influence” (Jacobs, 1964) on an area.

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- Is Salt River a truly mixed use area? That is, are different land uses and activities finely mixed?
- Is there a variety of public spaces in Salt River? How accessible are these public spaces?
- Are there any barriers between Salt River and its adjoining neighbourhoods?

2.5. Conclusion

The first section of this chapter highlighted both the positive and negative outcomes of urban regeneration. This discussion also highlighted that in order for an area to be considered in need of regenerating it must be thought of as being in decline, often by the expert or a politician. The second section discussed neighbourhood decline as well as its causes at both the macro and micro level. The criteria for decline were set out in this section. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the concept of urban and spatial justice as the principal norm against which regeneration policies and initiatives should be evaluated.

The concept of ‘justice’ is a universal concept whose meaning changes in different historical, geographical and socio-cultural contexts (Fanstein, 2010). The three principles of urban justice are not easy to combine, particularly in light of the value-laden nature of the term ‘justice’ (Fanstein, 2010). Like most planning rationalities it is a reaction to the neoliberal quest to maintain the

supremacy of the market and minimise government intervention. However, no norms are value free (Fanstein, 2010). At times a trade-off between the three principles may be necessary but for the most part these principles are mutually reinforcing (Fanstein, 2005b).

Table 2.2. below presents the assessment criteria for decline drawn from the literature review. The table also contains the subsidiary research questions that are derived from the assessment criteria. The analysis of the research findings in accordance with the assessment criteria is undertaken in chapter 4. Before this, however, the research methods and techniques used to collect the data are discussed in chapter 3.

University of Cape Town

Table 2.2: Criteria for assessing the Salt River case.

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR DECLINE | | |
| Decrease in capital investment | Little or no new construction | Is Salt River in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline? |
| | Abandonment of buildings | |
| | Closure of shops and businesses | |
| Aging or Deteriorating Housing Stock | Decrease in median household income | |
| | Falling rental prices | |
| | Dumping of household items/rubbish | |
| Development of an informal settlement | Poorly maintained common areas | |
| | Inadequate housing | |
| | Overcrowding | |
| | Lack of basic services | |
| OVERARCHING "JUST CITY" CRITERIA | | |
| Equity | Affordable housing units to be kept in perpetuity | Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity? |
| | Economic development programmes should prioritise small businesses and employees | What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the Revitalisation Framework? |
| | Intra-city transport fares to be kept low | What investment has the CoCT made in terms of transport infrastructure? |
| | Planners must press for egalitarian solutions | Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River? |
| Democracy | Everybody should participate directly in decision making | Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework? |
| Diversity | Diverse and mixed land uses | Are different land uses and activities finely mixed? |
| | Widely accessible and varied public spaces | Is there a variety of public spaces in Salt River? How accessible are these spaces? |
| | Porous boundaries between neighbourhoods | Are there any barriers between Salt River and its adjoining neighbourhoods? |

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1. Introduction

The main and subsidiary research questions were presented in chapters 1 and 2 respectively. This chapter will outline the research methods and techniques that were followed in order to gain answers to these questions. In the first section of this chapter, the research methods, namely case study, oral history and discourse analysis methods, will be outlined. This will be followed by a discussion on the research techniques utilised, namely oral history interviews, individual semi-structured interviews and non-participant observations. The research techniques employed in this research have a number of limitations. These limitations were addressed primarily through the use of several research techniques; this is referred to as triangulation. The limitations and measures to address these will be discussed at greater length in the second section of this chapter. The third part of this chapter will lead to a discussion on how the research participants were selected to participate in my research, in addition to the ethical concerns that informed this study. In a bid to ensure that this research was conducted in an ethical manner, I sought the informed consent of the interviewees. Secondly, I addressed the issue of the unequal power relations between the researcher and the researched by reframing the interviewees as participants who decided for themselves the extent to which they participated in the research. The final section will discuss how the data was analysed. Generally speaking, this chapter can be divided into two broad parts. The first part is concerned with data collection, while the second is concerned with data analysis. The chapter now turns to a discussion of the research methods.

3.2. Research Methods

This section outlines the processes that were followed to gather the data. The choice of research methods, and consequently research techniques was informed by the research question. It was also informed by the desire to describe and understand the processes of change that are taking place in Salt River from residents' points of view (namely from an emic perspective). It is to this discussion that I now turn.

3.2.1. Case Study Method

Lauria and Wagner (2006) note that the case study method is being used more frequently by those undertaking empirical studies of planning theory. This trend appears to have begun in the 1990s, replacing communicative planning theory as the approach of choice for empirical research (Lauria and Wagner, 2006). However, and as Ragin (1992), Flyvbjerg (2011) and Gerring (2004) amongst others argue, the term “case” is used in a variable manner. Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1984 cited in Flyvbjerg, 2006: 220) argued that the case study is the “detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena”. Flyvbjerg (2006: 220) is quick to dismiss this understanding of the case study as “oversimplified” and in many respects misleading. It is misleading because the case study is not only a pilot method. It can provide information about the broader class and, therefore, has value in and of itself (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

In his paper titled *Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research*, Flyvbjerg (2006) examines four other misconceptions of the case study method. Flyvbjerg (2011) further notes that these misconceptions exhibit a concern with theory, reliability and validity. The issues of reliability and validity will be dealt with in a section 3.3.3.1. With respect to theory, George and Bennett (2005) note that the case study method has only been recently systematically developed to facilitate the construction of social science theories. George and Bennett (2005) further note that this is accomplished through ‘process tracing’, that is, the examination of data from various sources to see if the:

Causal process a theory hypothesises or implies is in fact evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that case.

(George and Bennett, 2005: 6)

In so doing, new variables or hypotheses can be generated inductively. This in turn results in the generation of new theories and models which are less general and less abstract than theories which are created on the basis of a correlation between a limited number of variables (George and Bennett, 2005). In the case of the study area, Salt River, the research data is going to be analysed to see if the area has declined, and whether or not Salt River is undergoing change as is hypothesised in the models discussed chapter 2.

One of the weaknesses of the case study method is believed to be the inability to generalise findings (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Flyvbjerg (2006) disagrees with this assertion by arguing that it is possible to generalise from a single case study. Bacon (1620 cited in Stake, 1978: 6) argues, in agreement with Flyvbjerg (2006), that one method to uncover the general is to begin by looking at the particular, that is, the case. Whilst recognising this as a weakness of the method, it must be pointed out that the aim of my research is not to generalise any of the findings. Rather, the aim is to draw out general lessons from my research findings that might also be applicable to other neighbourhoods that are undergoing change.

Salt River is often treated in policy documents as though it is part of one larger neighbourhood with Woodstock. In the initial stages of this research, Woodstock-Salt River comprised the study area. However, as the research evolved and the vast differences between these two areas challenged the perception of these areas as one neighbourhood unit, I decided to make Salt River the case study area. The municipal boundaries of the area are utilised, but not without problems. 'Official' boundaries may not be recognised by the area's residents. Even in instances where these boundaries are recognised, they may not be aligned with symbolic boundaries (Keller, 1968). It is also important to bear in mind that boundaries are permeable (Jacobs, 2006; McIntyre-Tamwoy, 2004). Individuals, goods and information move freely across boundaries into various spaces and interstices (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). The utilisation of municipally drawn boundaries does, however, sidestep the issues associated with a priori assumptions of the existence of a neighbourhood and/or community within a particular geographic extent (Ragin, 1992; McIntyre-Tamwoy, 2004).⁶

The case study method has enabled me to identify and describe the current changes to the physical fabric of Salt River. This is possible due to the in-depth approach of the case study method (Flyvbjerg, 2006). It allows close examination of the case, uncovering changes that may appear to have remained unchanged on the surface, or vice versa. The case study method is coupled with the oral history method, which is discussed below, and facilitated the capturing of the views of the area's long-term residents in particular.

⁶ Keller (1968) argued that the existence of a geographically demarcated area is not proof of the existence of neighborhood, particularly if neighborhood is viewed narrowly as community. It is also not proof of the existence of a cohesive community.

3.2.2. Oral History Method

The oral history method was developed in 1948 by Allan Nevins⁷ (Gluck, 1977). The field of oral history developed in earnest during the early 1980s. Oral history as a research method needs to be distinguished from oral history as a lived practice (Field, 2012). These two conceptualisations of oral history are related and are often conflated. The latter refers to the repeated co-construction of history (the past) through oral traditions, such as storytelling, by people as they go through their daily lives (Field, 2012). The former was described by Perks and Thomspon (1998: ix) as the:

Interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical construction.

A key advantage of the oral history technique is the potential it holds to include the voices of those who are usually silenced (Manning Thomas, 2004; Sandercock, 2003). Hill Collins (1986) writes of the “outsider within” status occupied by many African-American women. This subject positioning provides a distinct view on self, family and society for individuals “caught between groups of unequal power” (Hill Collins, 1999). These unequal power relations arise through the hierarchical and social construction of variables such as race and gender, to mention a few. The interaction of these and other variables places the individual(s) within a particular social location. Hill Collins (1986) further notes that this subject positioning can be a hindrance or a benefit to the individual occupying that status.

Slim (2002) argues, in a similar vein to Hill Collins (1986), that ‘voiceless-ness’ often arises through oppression of the poor by those who stand to benefit from speaking on their behalf. Additionally, and as de Man (1979: 926) argues, the notion of ‘voice’ carries with it the assumption of a “mouth, eye and finally face”. It also embodies that individual with the power to speak (Henry, 1998). This is not to say, as Field (2012) notes, that the so-called voiceless groups do not speak. The asymmetrical power dynamics result in the capturing of their voices by those who are more powerful – both

⁷ Joseph Allan Nevins (1890 – 1971) was a historian and journalist who joined the Columbia University’s History Department in 1929. Nevins created the first oral history programme when he established the Oral History Research Office in 1948. Nevins is also well known for his eight volume historical account of the Civil War titled *Ordeal of the Union*, as well as the two Pulitzer prize winning biographies titled *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (1931) and *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (1937).

within and/or without the group – and utilised to legitimise their own agendas. To overcome this limitation, an effort was made to ensure that a diverse group – in terms of their relation to the study area – of research participants were selected. The precise composition of this sample will be discussed at greater length in section 3.4.

The oral history method is strongly aligned with qualitative in-depth interviews and storytelling, which will be discussed in the next section. The method allows us to draw on the (collective) memory of residents to guide the planning of towns and cities (Manning-Thomas, 2004). The power of this method lies in its neutrality, which allows the use of the method to tell both subversive and master narratives (Field, 2012). In so doing, it provides the opportunity to:

Locate people's lives in different imaginings of historicity, not merely slotting popular memories or stories into the pre-given Grand March of History.

This neutrality is also the source of the method's weakness. In assuming a position of neutrality, this method does not recognise the need to question asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and the 'researched' (Field, 2012). The relationship between the researcher and the researched presents a number of ethical challenges. These and other challenges will be returned to and discussed in section 3.5.

The oral history method does have the added advantage of offering new insights into the history of an area and the meaning of changes to the area's character for residents and visitors (Thompson, 1998). Manning Thomas (2004) argues that historical events related to planning continue to impact the evolution of cities and towns. This impact is significant and must be taken into consideration when spatial planning is undertaken. It is partly for this reason that the oral history method was adopted in my research. Undoubtedly, for planning on a larger scale it will require input from a greater number of participants, which may be difficult to coordinate. Additionally, the focus here was on the *process* of storytelling as opposed to asking the right questions. It is, therefore, imperative that I engaged in a conversation with participants about their experiences and the changes they had observed.

3.2.3. Discourse Analysis Method

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) note that the term 'discourse' is used widely and with different meanings in each context. At times, the term is used without any meaning. In my research, the term 'discourse' is used to refer to the:

[I]dea that language is structured according to different according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being 'medical discourse' and 'political discourse'.

(Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 1)

Consequently, the analysis of these patterns is referred to as discourse analysis. It is an interdisciplinary method to analyse how the ways in which we talk about and understand the world (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). There are a number of approaches to discourse analysis. Each approach begins with the assertion that language is not neutral (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Language plays an active role in constructing and reconstructing the world, our identities and social relations.

I draw upon Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory in my research. This theory, like most approaches to discourse analysis from a social constructivist standpoint, is based on four premises. The first premise is that our knowledge is not an objective truth or a reflection of the world 'out there' (Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002). Instead, knowledge is the "[product] of discourse" and so is the construction of reality. The second premise is that the manner in which we understand the world is historically and culturally specific (Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002). It is, therefore, possible for our views of the world to change over time as events unfold and culture evolves. The third premise is that there is a link between social processes and knowledge (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Social processes create and maintain our understandings of the world. That is, knowledge is created and maintained by social processes, namely social interaction. However, and as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) argue, the context limits which meanings become hegemonic. Discourses, and consequently social phenomena and their ascribed meanings, are constantly changing as they come into contact with other discourses. As a result there is always what Laclau and Mouffe (1985 cited in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002) termed a *discursive struggle*. Discourses – with their understanding of the world –

are engaged in a struggle for dominance. The final premise is that there is a link between knowledge and social action. Different views of the world result in different (social) actions. The consequence of this is that some of these actions become 'the norm'.

Discourse theory is based on Marxism and structuralism (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002; Jacobs, 2006). The former provides the lens through which the social can be analysed whereas the latter provides a "theory of meaning" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 25). Structuralists argue that the relationship between signifiers (words) and the concepts or ideas they represent is arbitrary (Shefer, 2004). It is through repeated use that one particular word ultimately comes to refer to a specific concept. Post-structuralists argue further that any word can be used to understand the same concept or idea. As words are used during conversations, conflicts and negotiations, they are placed in different relations to each other. It is through this relational positioning that signifiers may acquire new meanings (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2002). This illustrates that process of creating meanings is a social and political one. This social process is co-opted to "pull off" specific social activities and social identities" (Gee, 1999: 1). This process is mapped out through discourse analysis.

I decided to undertake a discourse analysis in my research because I am interested in examining the language that is used by the CoCT in relation to the regeneration of Salt River. For example, the CoCT and national government use the term 'renewal' as opposed to 'regeneration' in their policies. Through discourse analysis the significance of using the term 'renewal' can be examined. Furthermore, through discourse analysis the symbolic impact of Salt River's built environment on social life is also analysed. This is accomplished by focusing on the language used in policies to represent Salt River. The language, consequently, directs political action in a specific direction (Connolly, 1983 cited in Jacobs, 2006; Gee, 1999).

3.3. Research Techniques

This section discusses the research techniques (or strategies) that are utilised in my research. These techniques are non-participant observations, oral history interviews and semi-structured individual interviews. Collectively, data collected through observations and interviews yield answers to the research question. The bulk of the data is collected through in-depth interviews in order to explore

some of the physical changes that are occurring in the case study area from the perspective of the individuals who reside and/or work in the area.

3.3.1. Non-Participant Observation

This technique is combined with desktop research to obtain population demographics, and it is the first step in the research process. Photographs, sketches and extensive notes made in a fieldwork journal are also used to analyse the study area. The decision to begin the research process with fieldwork observations of Salt River is prompted by the realisation that (negative) visual perceptions of an area are often the basis upon which efforts by planners to regenerate an area are initiated (Jacobs, 1985). As Jacobs (1985) argues, observation⁸ allows one to see change in an area. It also enables the identification of, amongst other things:

- New elements, their significance, and their suggestions about why changes are taking place, such as, for example, the extension of the building on the corner of Durham Avenue and Main Road;
- Things that are missing, such as, the absence of what Jacobs (1964) referred to as ‘eyes on the street’ for most of the day particularly on roads where manufacturing and/or industrial activity is dominant and;
- Additional information that would help to answer the research questions, like, for example, the finding that redevelopment is taking place primarily along the area’s main access routes, namely Main Road, Salt River Road and Albert Road.

In non-participant observation, also referred to as *simple observation*, the researcher does not get involved in any of the activities that are taking place. Put differently, the researcher is an “outside observer” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 293). The observations provide a wealth of information and also raised a number of questions, such as:

⁸ Authors such as Spreiregen (1965) speak of the visual survey. A visual survey is an “examination of the form, appearance, and composition of a city – an evaluation of its assets and liabilities” (Spreiregen, 1965: 49). It can be conducted at the neighbourhood, district or metropolitan scales.

- What proportion of the housing stock in Salt River is classified as affordable?
- Why are there no big retail (anchor) shops such as Shoprite, Pick 'n Pay or banks in Salt River?

The observations help shape the questions which are asked during the interviews. For example, *what is the extent of the CoCT's contribution to the redevelopment of the area?* It is to a discussion of the interview techniques that were used that the discussion now turns.

3.3.2. Oral History Interviews

Five oral history interviews were conducted with two women and three men. All the research participants live in Salt River and have each done so for at least 20 years. One of the research participants, a young woman, has recently moved out of the area but returns regularly to visit her family.

The oral history interview was developed as a technique by Krokoff and Gottman (Krokoff, 1984 cited in Buehlman, Gottman and Katz, 1992). It is in essence a storytelling exercise. Storytelling is defined as “the narration of some event or experiences” (Manning Thomas, 2004: 53). These stories, also referred to as texts, are not waiting to be discovered; rather, they are co-created through dialogue (Field, 2012). The methodology of the oral history interview is the same as that of an unstructured interview (Manning Thomas, 2004; Fontana and Frey, 1994). However, and as Manning Thomas (2004) argues, the concern during oral history interviews is with the process of storytelling, as opposed to a concern with asking the right questions. This having been said, the limited amount of time that I could spend in the field necessitated the partial structuring of the interviews. This point will be returned to shortly.

Storytelling can be utilised to uncover the stories of how and why the event(s) happened. Storytelling can also be utilised, as is already the case in the planning profession, to tell what Throgmorton (2003: 127) termed “future-oriented stories”. The co-creation of such stories by research participants helps to answer the main research question. The stories also provide insight into how planning might be able mitigate the possible negative impacts of regeneration, whilst

making the area more resilient to decline. Despite this advantage, storytelling is criticised for being inaccurate. In some cases, storytelling is equated to lying. Throgmorton (2003) refutes this criticism on the grounds that individuals who hold this opinion are expressing a concern with technical accuracy and not normative evaluation and accuracy. Throgmorton (2003) goes on to argue that whilst the facts do matter, what is more important are the meanings that are attached to them. The meanings of past events are difficult to verify, particularly in the absence of corroborating evidence such as photographs.

Storytelling, whether it is understood as a process or as the use of story to facilitate process (Sandercock, 2003), is often thought of as “a woman’s way of knowing, as inferior, [and] lacking in rigor” (Sandercock, 2003: 12). In response to this criticism, Sandercock (2003) argues that story plays a pivotal role in the process of making the city legible. It is through narration that the city is constituted and our behaviours are shaped in turn. This argument gives some weight to storytelling and provides insight into how planning is itself a form of storytelling.

There are three types of oral history interviews – topical, biographical and autobiographical⁹ (Gluck, 1977). The topical interview, which is the type of interview I employ for my study, has a specific focus. This type of interview is used to obtain information about a particular event (Gluck, 1977). In this research, my participants tell the story of their lives in Salt River and the physical changes that they have seen in the area. More specifically, participants are asked about how they came to live in the area; their earliest memories of Salt River; what the area looked like then, and; how, in their perception, the physical fabric of the area has changed. In so doing, I hope to draw on people’s tacit knowledge. That is, I am tapping into the “knowledge gained from experience with [certain objects and events], experience with propositions about them, and rumination” (Stake, 1978:5).

In addition to time constraints, the decision to partially structure the interviews is motivated by the need to maintain the focus of the research (Buehlman, Gottman and Katz, 1992). This research is focused on changes to the physical fabric of Salt River. It is, therefore, necessary for spatially

⁹ Gluck (1977) notes the biographical interview exhibits the same level of specificity as the topical interview. However, it is focused on a slice of the interviewee’s life or the life of another specific individual. In the final type of interview – the autobiographical interview – the participant’s life journey determines the form and content of the interview. This type of interview records the participants entire life story (Gluck, 1977).

oriented questions in addition to questions on one's life story (Field, 2012). The oral history interview can also be semi-structured. The semi-structured nature of the interviews adds some flexibility into the interview process. It also allows the participants to determine the direction of the interview (Fontana and Frey, 1994). In so doing, the participant highlights processes and events that had a significant impact on their lives. Their silence on certain issues, processes and events is in itself data, which invariably will raise a number of additional questions that need to be answered. The key is to listen closely. This includes 'listening' to the unspoken, the visual. That is one must also listen to the respondents body language. Failure to do so, as Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis (2003) argue, leads to the loss of the research focus.

It must be noted that one of the oral history interviews was conducted as a focus group interview. This was the interview with three family members, who spanned across three generations – father, daughter and granddaughter. The decision to interview them simultaneously was spurred by the desire to tap into the family's collective memory. The focus group provided research participants with the opportunity to co-create the meaning of the area for their family unit as opposed to the meaning of the area for themselves individually (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The limitation of conducting this particular focus group was that some of the data that may have been obtained through individual interviews may have been lost (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). However, this limitation was overcome in the research through the follow-up interviews which were conducted on an individual basis.

The other two oral history interviews are conducted on an individual basis. The participants are residents of Salt River and both operate family businesses which have been passed down to them by their fathers.

3.3.3. Individual Semi-Structured Interviews

Individual interviews provide participants with the opportunity to speak for themselves. They simultaneously provide key insights for the research whilst unveiling the participant's own subject-positioning (Hill Collins, 186; 1999). The interviews are semi-structured to ensure that information relating to physical changes may be uncovered. Semi-structured interviews also allow the researcher

to maintain a conversational tone during an interview. As Babbie and Mouton (2001: 289) note, each interview is:

essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent.

The advantage in conducting interviews is that they assist in the gathering of deep insights. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) note, probing does not introduce bias into subsequent responses to questions posed later in the interview. Furthermore, interview excerpts can be used verbatim to include participants' 'voices' in the research report (Hill Collins, 1986) thus adding strength to one's arguments.

All four interviews are conducted face-to-face. These interviews are conducted with individuals who work in the area, namely a street trader, a property marketer, the local Councillor and, a CoCT spatial planner. The option to follow up on interviews either via additional face-to-face interviews or via telephonic conversations is also available and utilised where clarification is needed. The interviews are conducted in English, but participants utilise expressions in either Afrikaans or isiXhosa to capture more accurately the sentiment they are trying to express. This is not considered problematic, and during follow-up interviews I check the accuracy of the translations to ensure that the translation and subsequent understanding of what was said is accurate. As Ison (2005) argues it is through language, metaphors and dialogue that understanding can arise. Conversely, it is through language, metaphors and dialogue that misunderstandings can arise. This is particularly true in instances when the researcher and research participants have different cultural backgrounds. It is for this reason that follow-up interviews are essential to my research process.

3.3.3.1. A Note on Reactivity

The manner in which interview questions are constructed and delivered was carefully considered in order to avoid, firstly, any misunderstandings between the researcher and the participants. Even in instances where the research questions were constructed carefully, the potential for misunderstandings was always present. This is because an element of uncertainty will plague the interview process (Roulston et al., 2003). Part of this uncertainty is created by the open-ended

nature of the questions to be asked. Further uncertainty is also created by the impact that the researcher has on the research participant. Visser (2000 cited in Mandiyanike, 2009: 64) argues that:

Positionality and the manner in which one is perceived inevitably influences the knowledge one produces.

The researcher influences, for better or for worse, the type of data that is elicited from research participants (Roulston et al., 2003). The researcher's impact on the participant is known as reactivity¹⁰. Reactivity presents a threat to the internal validity of the research. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 122) argues that reactivity makes it difficult to establish conclusively that the meaning attributed to the interview content is the real meaning of the content. Reactivity cannot be controlled in this research in the same manner as it is controlled for in blind experiments.

Reactivity is accounted for, and to some degree diminished by firstly constructing the research participant as a co-researcher. Secondly, reactivity is diminished by spending a lot of time engaging with the co-researchers. Such prolonged engagement is referred to as a strategy of credibility. Extensive field notes are also taken during this extended period of engagement to yield nuanced descriptions of the topic from the participants' point of view. Blanchot (cited in Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 348) argues:

To write [...] is the same thing as to form. To a large extent, to write is to bring to the surface something that is not yet there or that is there only as latent, as potential.

¹⁰ Reactivity presents as either the Hawthorne effect or the Pygmalion effect. The Hawthorne effect, which is also referred to as the observer effect, is the tendency of research participants to change their behaviour as a result of being observed. The Pygmalion effect, which is also referred to as the Rosenthal effect, refers to the impact on performance that a researcher's expectations have on the participant's performance. That is, the researcher acts in a manner that makes the behaviour that he/she expects more likely to occur. Therefore, positive expectations from the researcher will influence participants' responses and/or behaviour positively. Negative expectations from the researcher will influence participants' responses and/or behaviour negatively.

The written word contains an element of ambiguity, irrespective of the manner in which it is worded (Fontana and Frey, 1994). Abridged notes were taken in the field. These were then elaborated upon immediately after the fieldwork session. These notes, particularly during the observation phase, documented my emotional reaction to the study area. Secondly, the field notes documented any unanticipated events during the course of the research. Lastly, the fieldwork journal also contains an on-going record of interpretation and analysis of findings in addition to my initial thoughts on what respondents say (or do not say). These extensive notes form additional data.

An additional step to counter reactivity, which is briefly mentioned above, involves checking the data with the participants to ensure that my understanding is indeed accurate. This step also serves as a check against the verification bias that has been found to be present in the use of case study methods. The bias towards verification is the tendency for researchers to only see information that confirms their hypotheses (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Babbie and Mouton (2001: 277) note that prolonged engagement facilitates the establishment of rapport between the co-researchers (Fontana and Frey, 1994). This rapport forms the basis upon which the researcher and research participants can co-construct the data during the interview process.

The utilisation of more than one method of data collection served to enhance the validity and reliability of my research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This is referred to as *triangulation*. Triangulation provided a means through which checks on the data could be performed. These checks ensure that the findings presented in chapter 4 are indeed drawn from the data. The process of data analysis will be outlined in section 3.6. However, before turning to this discussion the chapter now turns to a discussion of the sampling procedures. Although my study is based on qualitative research methods, it is necessary that a sample of participants be drawn as time constraints do not permit all the residents of Salt River and/or individuals who work in the area to be interviewed. It is therefore necessary to draw a sample of participants who will 'represent' the larger pool of users of Salt River.

3.4. Sampling Procedures

The sample was comprised of 3 women and 7 men. The participants either live in and/or work in Salt River. Purposive sampling was used to select the research sample. Purposive sampling, also referred to as judgemental sampling (Babbie and Mouton, 2001), is a non-probability sampling method. This

sampling method allows the researcher to utilise his/her knowledge of the population, the research aims and processes to select the sample. Additional participants are selected using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is also a non-probability sampling method that asks interview respondents to identify additional individuals who may be a part of the research.

These sampling procedures present a significant challenge to the attainment of a representative of the sample. That is, as Babbie and Mouton (2001: 172) put it, non-probability sampling yields a sample whose:

[A]ggregate characteristics [will not] closely approximate those same aggregate characteristics in the population.

This means the sample is not representative. A second and related problem associated with utilising these sampling procedures is the problem of the single story (Adichie, 2009). Adichie (2009) talks of her single story of Fide's family. As a child from a middle-class family all Adichie knew about Fide, their houseboy, was that his family was very poor. Thus she was surprised that his family could be anything other than poor when she visited Fide's village and was shown a basket made by Fide's brother (Adichie, 2009; Ndzendze, 2012).

This single story highlights how an individual's position determines the story they tell about themselves, others and the places in which we live and work (Ndzendze, 2012). This is also inextricably linked to the power the storyteller has (Ndzendze, 2012). In relation to my research, it is important for a wide range of storytellers to be included in the research process (Field, 2012). This means that additional research participants are randomly selected to be part of the research. This also involves cross-checking information with other research participants, archival records, media and academic reports as well as various other documents from private and public (government) sources. This is done to ensure that the complete story, that is more than one side of the story, was heard.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The first issue to consider is that of informed consent. This is based on a concern with the participants' knowledge of what the study is about and their role in the research process. Consent is obtained from participants when written or oral requests for interviews are made¹¹. These requests include information on the nature of the research. Potential participants are also informed that they are able to withdraw from the research process at any time they might wish to do so. The second and related issue is that of confidentiality. This issue is dealt with through the use of pseudonyms to identify some of the participants as opposed to their real names. Although all participants do agree that their names can be used in the final document, I decided not to do this as research participants live in the same area and are part of the same network, a problem identified earlier in relation to snowball sampling techniques.

3.6. Data Analysis

The aim of the data analysis phase of the research process is to make sense of the data collected. This involves three basic steps:

- i. Transcribing, scanning and cleaning the data;
- ii. Organising and coding the data, and;
- iii. Re-presenting the data.

Firstly, the interviews are transcribed, read and re-read. The transcription process is a very tedious one as Roulston et al., (2003) note. In so doing, inconsistencies were identified and where possible, follow-up interviews are scheduled to obtain clarification. During this first step, (recurring) categories are also highlighted and assigned labels. That is, the categories are coded. Once this has been done for all interview transcripts, related categories are then grouped (organised) to form themes. These themes are derived from the theoretical framework established in chapter 2 and as such correspond to the subsidiary research questions. Themes that do not relate directly to the

¹¹ The completed EBE Faculty Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects form and the completed consent forms are attached in Appendices A and B respectively.

theoretical framework are also noted and presented in chapter 4. In such a case, these themes are clearly identified as additional themes that have been overlooked by theorists. Additional notes are made during the reading of the transcripts. This process is repeated several times until a core group of themes has been identified within and across interviews.

This leads into the second step, that of organising the data into more manageable forms. A process referred to as selective coding is utilised. Strauss and Corbin (1990 cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 500) define selective coding as:

The process of selecting a core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development.

Once the core category is identified, sub-categories are also identified and drawn from the data. Connections between these categories are then drawn and presented in chapter 4.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the research methods and techniques that are followed in my research. The strengths and limitations of each of these is discussed in this chapter. This chapter also addresses the key methodological and ethical considerations that pertain to my research.

The chapter concluded with a discussion of the data analysis process. This discussion now turns to a discussion of the research findings in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

4.1. Introduction

The research findings, which are based on the perceptions of local residents and business people, reveal interesting aspects of the changes in the physical fabric in the area. These findings will be assessed on the basis of the criteria established in chapter 2. These criteria will also be used to assess the CoCT's current and proposed interventions. The aim is to establish links between the main theoretical arguments discussed in chapter 2 and the research findings. To this end, the chapter is structured as follows: the first section provides a brief account of the historical development of Salt River. This discussion is followed by a discussion of present day Salt River. The aim of these discussions is to contextualise the changes taking place in Salt River. The second section of this chapter assesses Salt River on the basis of criteria of decline. The final section assesses Salt River on the basis of criteria for urban justice.

4.2. The Case Study

The case study for this research is Salt River which is located approximately five kilometres from the CBD. For the purposes of this study, the administrative (municipal) boundaries are utilised (figure 4.1). For the same reason, the area is further delineated into two precincts – Upper Salt River and Lower Salt River.

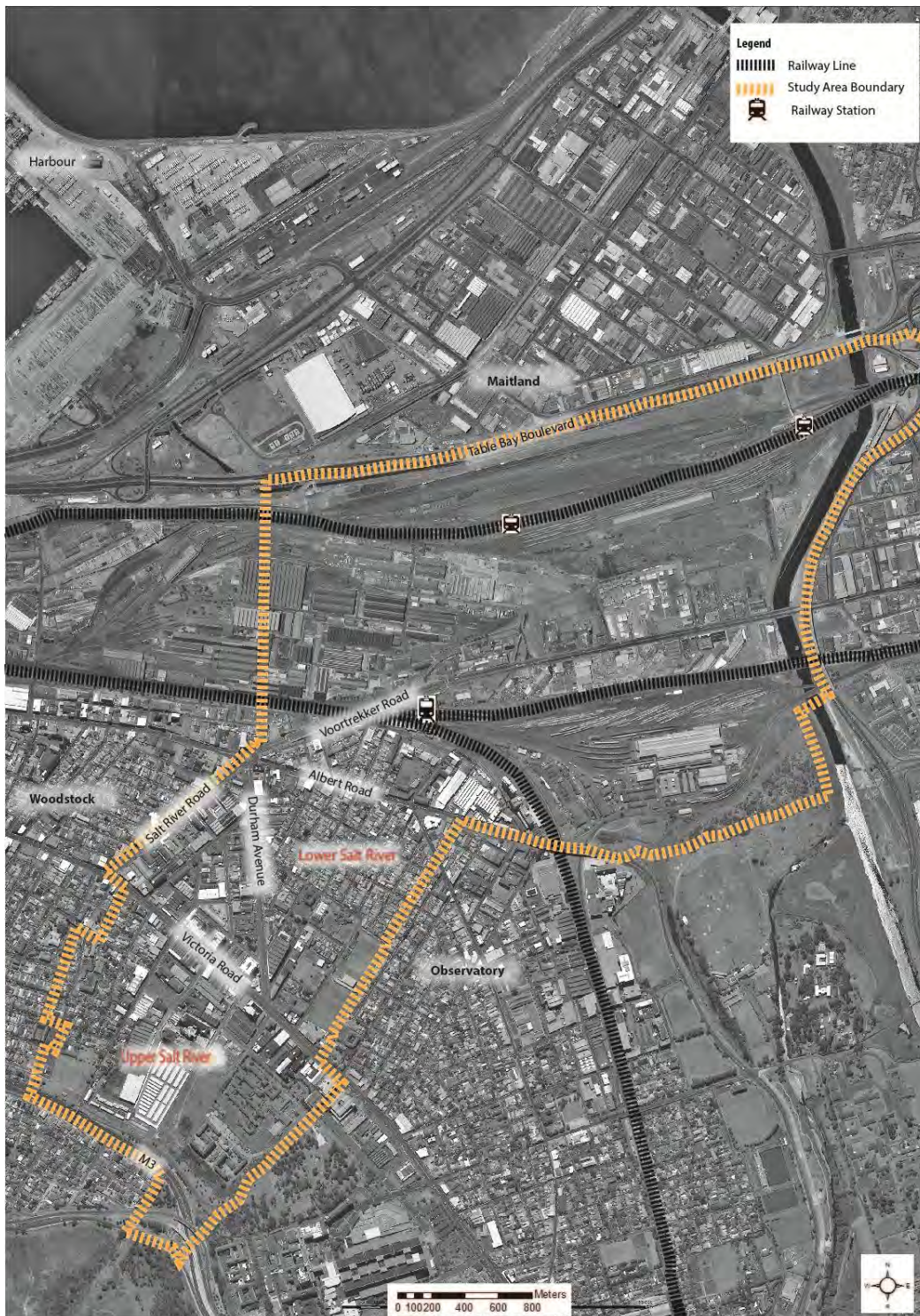


Figure 4.1: Salt River (Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013).

It is important to note at the outset that the research findings indicate that this “official” boundary is not in alignment with the symbolic and economic boundaries held by local residents and City of Cape Town planning officials respectively. According to residents of Salt River, the extent of boundaries is

exhibited in claims on the Salt River market which is referred to by older residents as Die Markie (figure 4.2). The market lies in Woodstock when utilizing the municipal boundaries. From an economic perspective, the Salt River business precinct extends from Observatory through to Woodstock.



Figure 4.2: Symbolic boundaries held by users of Salt River (Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013).

The larger extent covered by the symbolic boundaries has a number of implications from a planning (and regeneration) standpoint. Herbert (1963) argues that, firstly, it has implications for the size of the service area utilised by Salt River users. This is further complicated by the fact that the size of the service area is bound to change more often when utilising symbolic boundaries as these are more flexible. This flexibility is a key strength of symbolic boundaries which Herbert (1963) argues that planners should harness as it is more accommodating of changing social systems. In order to harness this advantage Herbert (1963: 184) further argues that planners must:

[W]orry less about the size and boundaries of neighbourhood units and concentrate instead on the institutions and amenities which constitute focal points in the area.

The misalignment of the symbolic and administrative boundaries also suggests that the scale of Salt River as determined by the administrative boundary is not the right scale for the efficient functioning of the social and economic structures. This finding gives credence to Herbert's (1963) argument that planners must not concern themselves with boundaries. Instead, planners should focus on facilitating the creation of neighbourhood identity through a web of focal (nodal) points. This is in contrast to current practices in which neighbourhood identity is formed by the demarcation of rigid boundaries (Herbert, 1963). These rigid boundaries overlook the "politics of space and the production of everyday life" (Lefebvre 1974 cited in Sutherland, Sim, Scott and Robbins, 2011: 7).

Salt River is one of the oldest working class neighbourhoods in Cape Town (Le Grange, 1993). The area's proximity to the CBD and high permeability make it an ideal location for both commercial and residential activities. The area is one of twenty neighbourhoods that comprise the central city and is part of the Table Bay District (figure 4.3). Consequently, the area is affected by all (spatial) policies and plans relating to the central city and the Table Bay District.



Figure 4.3: Map illustrating the Central City and Table Bay District Boundaries. (Data Source: NGI, 2013).

This section begins with a discussion of Salt River’s historical development. This is followed by a discussion of present day Salt River. The aim of this discussion is to highlight, firstly, that the area’s

current role has been heavily influenced by particular events in its early development phase. The discussion in this section also aims to highlight some of the challenges the area is experiencing.

4.2.1. Historical Development of Salt River: A Brief Account

The area's natural conditions determined how early settlers developed the land (Todeschini and Japha, 1986). In the late 1600s Salt River was a hamlet with an inn and a number of houses owned by three fishermen (Laidler, 1939). The area was important then because the "road to the district settlement of Rondebosch ran through it" (Laidler, 1939: 403). The inhospitable conditions of the area in the pre-industrial era cemented the area's role as a movement passage (transport corridor) and as a "'gateway' to the city" (NM & Associates, 2002: 4).

Salt River's present day role was greatly influenced by technological advancements, industrialisation, the mineral revolution and the introduction of municipal government (Todeschini and Japha, 1986). First, changes in technology, particularly changes in transport technology and infrastructure, resulted in the area being cut off from Table Bay. These changes included the expansion of rail infrastructure from the 1860s onwards and the introduction of the electric tram in the 1890s (NM & Associates, 2002). Second, in the late 1800s a number of large-scale industries such as the Salt River Railway Works, Hares brickfield, Thesens timber yard and the Lever Brothers Soap Works to mention a few opened up in the area (NM & Associates, 2002). These industries provided many new employment opportunities. Thirdly, the mineral revolution which encompassed the discovery of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1886 respectively in the country's interior resulted in the transformation of the economy and rapid growth of Cape Town. Cape Town became a "significant point of entry for goods, machinery and people, and its wealth and population increased dramatically" (NM & Associates, 2002: 5). Lastly, the municipal government, whose jurisdiction spanned across the old boundary of Cape Town, was introduced. This municipal government introduced by-law planning and set the minimum standards for building construction and essential services such as roads and sewerage (NM & Associates, 2002). Together, these four factors resulted in, what NM & Associates (2002: 5) term, "the rush for houses" which was characterised by the subdivision of farms and rapid urbanisation (Le Grange, 1993).

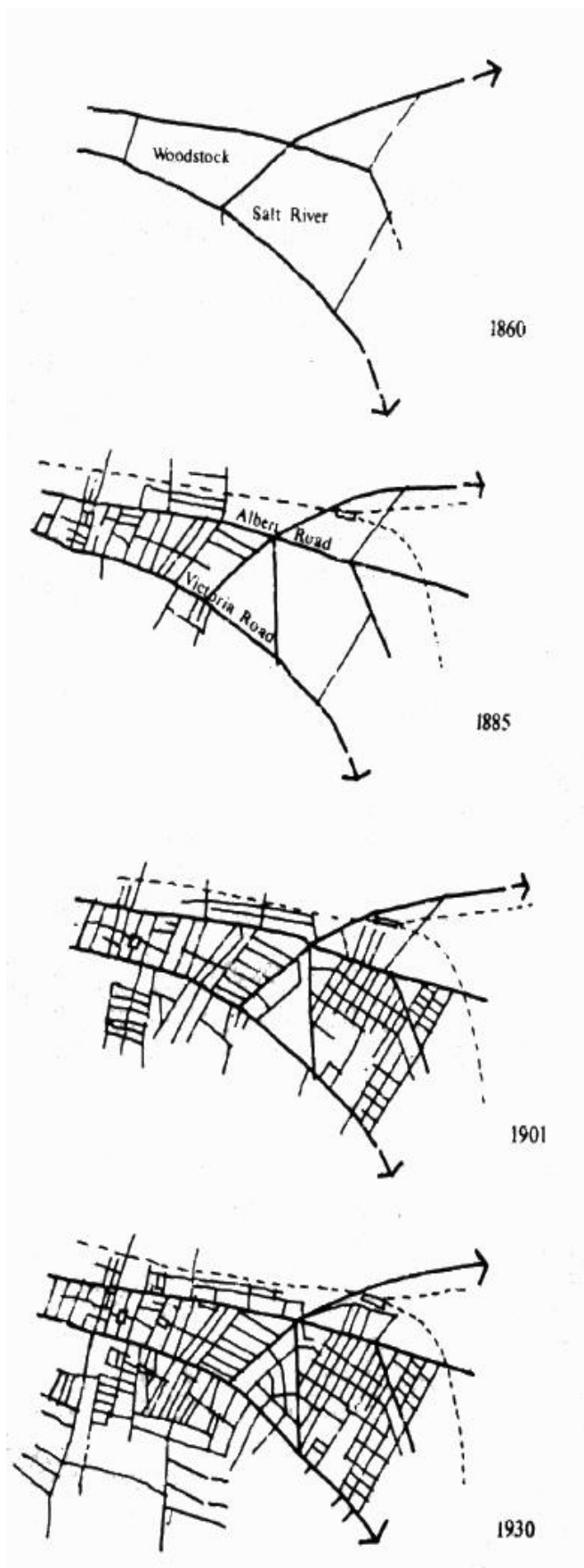


Figure 4.4: Historical development of Woodstock-Salt River (Le Grange, 1993: 2).

Development continued to follow the underlying structure of routes and estates that was set up by the early settlers (Todeschini and Japha, 1986). However, as development progressed in this area, older neighbourhoods such as Zonnebloem (also known as District Six) and De Waterkant, began to decline (Kotze and van der Merwe, 2000). Additional industrial development took place in the 1930s as a result of the disruption of imports during World War I (WWI). The area comprised semi-detached and row houses for the working- and middle-classes (Le Grange, 1993).

Development after the 1930s consisted largely of infilling and haphazard redevelopment along principal routes (NM & Associates, 2002; Le Grange, 1993). This resulted in the loss of continuity of residential and commercial buildings. Subsequent development cut the area off from the mountain and the sea as a result of the growth of industrial and commercial activity (NM & Associates, 2002).

These changes continued through the mid-1900s. What was different about development in the 1950s was that larger developments were being undertaken on

consolidated erven (Le Grange, 1993). These large developments included blocks of flats as well as commercial and light industrial buildings. This was a break from earlier (largely residential) development patterns, which used a number of standard building types. This resulted in additional losses to the sense of continuity and unity of the built environment (Le Grange, 1993). In this period, various sub-areas, which had “different functional mixes and environmental characteristics” (Todeschini and Japha, 1986: 7) were created.

4.2.2. Present Day Salt River

The industrial character of the area can be attributed to piecemeal rebuilding and infilling along Victoria Road, Albert (Lower Main) Road and Durham Avenue. This piecemeal (re)development has also fragmented the fine grain mix of residential and commercial uses along these routes (NM & Associates, 2002). As can be seen in the pictures below (figure 4.5) a number of properties have been consolidated and larger scale developments are being undertaken. This contributes to further loss of the ‘fine grain mix’ once found in Salt River and fragments the fabric of the built environment (Le Grange, 1993).

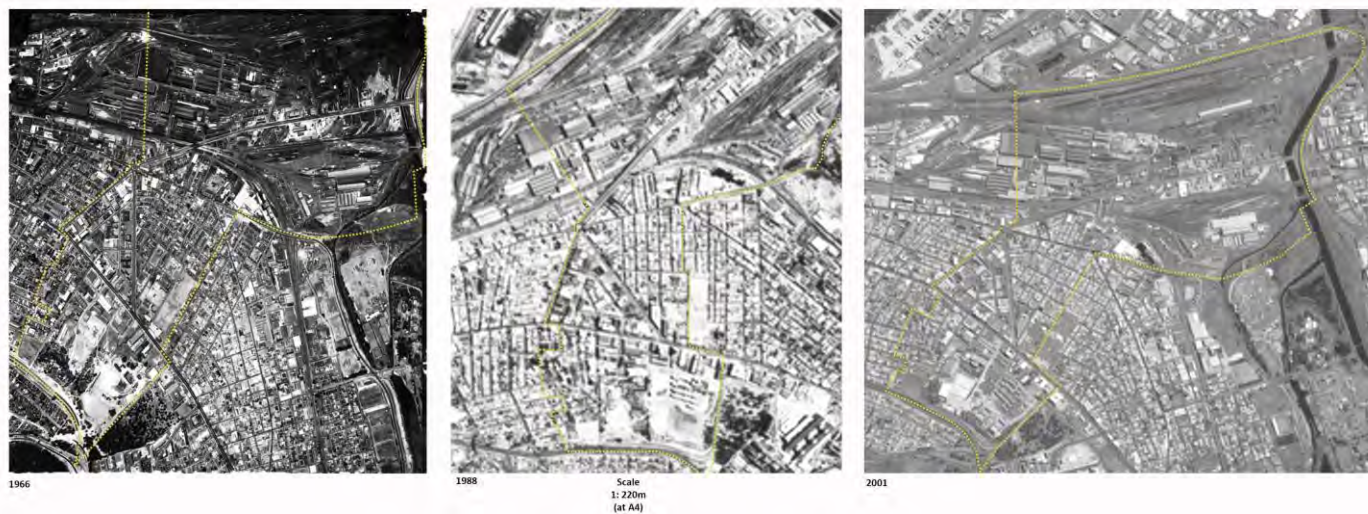


Figure 4.5: Salt River 1966 – 2001 (Source: NGI, 2013).

Today there is very little residential usage of the land along the major routes going through the area. Residential uses are now located primarily in the heart of Lower Salt River, between Rochester Road and Addison Street. Although there are plots on which a business is run downstairs and upstairs is

used for residential purposes it is now an exception rather than the norm. These live/work properties are found closer to Albert Road (figure 4.6).

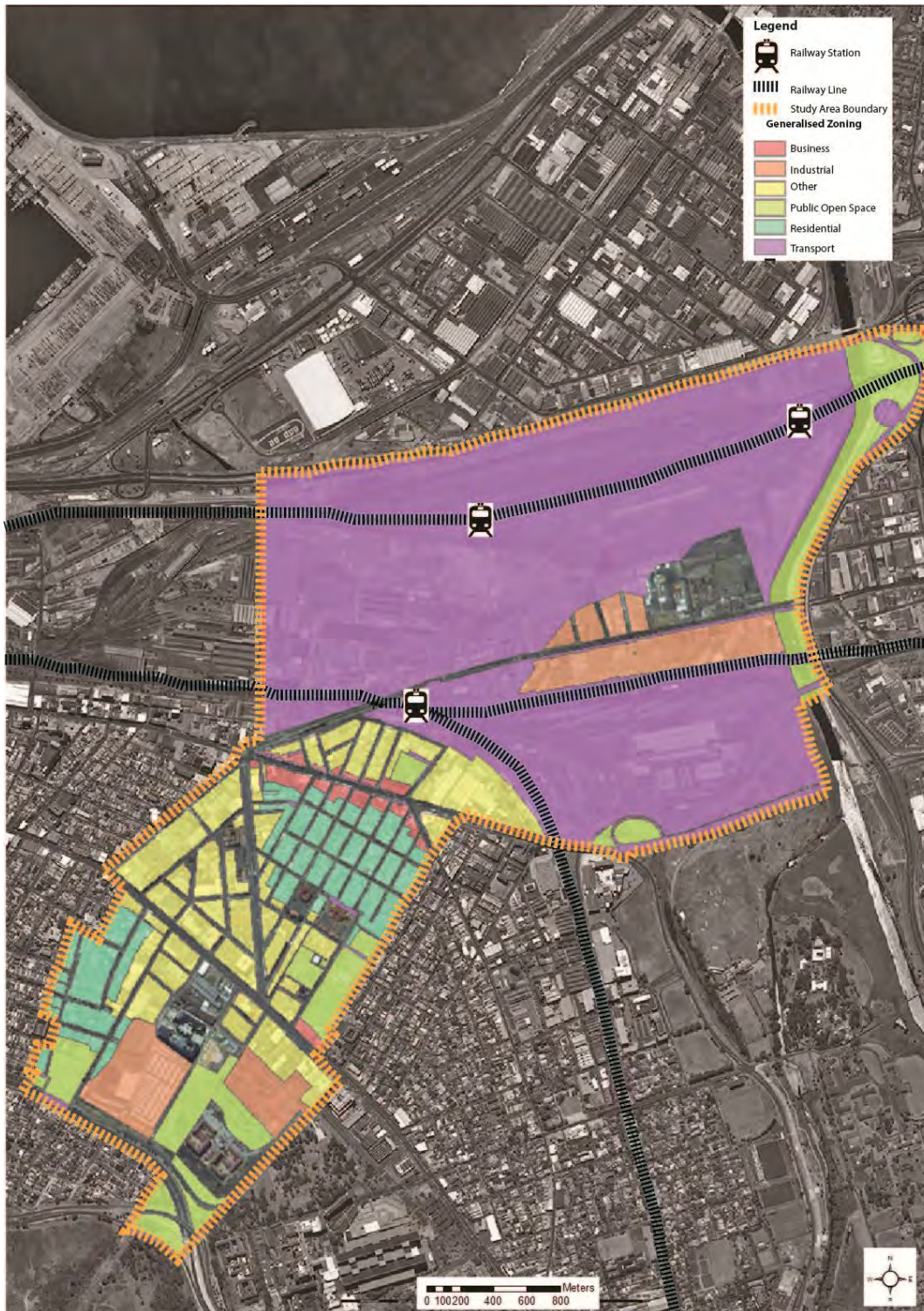


Figure 4.6: Generalised zoning in present day Salt River (Data Source: CoCT, 2012; Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013)

Present day Salt River has a number of challenges. Some of these challenges emanate from the economic and social structures in the area. The sidewalks serve as thoroughfares for pedestrian traffic during peak times and as a holding ground for litter and dumped household items. The exception to this is the stretch of sidewalks along Albert Road as you move closer to Salt River circle. On these sidewalks a few informal traders have set up stalls. These traders sell varying items from fruit and vegetables to bandanas and sunglasses. Littering, dumping, overcrowding and crime, including drug trading, are some of the key challenges facing users of the area (interview, Mr Nasir, 14 August 2013). The field work findings highlight that these challenges are indicative of the worsening living conditions for some segments of the Salt River populace, particularly the homeless and illegal immigrants.



Figure 4.7: A dilapidated building along Albert Road which is being illegally occupied for residential purposes

Derelict and/or abandoned buildings dotted across Salt River are a visible reminder of the magnitude of the impact of deindustrialisation in the area (figure 4.7). A number of buildings, that were once factories are either not being used at all or are significantly underutilised (figure 4.8). One such building is the recently redeveloped Rex Trueform building on the corner of Victoria Road and Manrose Street. Since its closure in 2005, the space in the building has been let out to a number of small 'cut, make and trim' (CMT) businesses. Today, the building has been redeveloped as A grade¹²

¹² There are a number of different office grading systems throughout the world. According to the Rode classification A Grade office space is in a building that is:

Generally not older than 10 years, unless renovated; prime location; high quality finishes; on-site parking; air-conditioning; commands a higher rental level in accordance with dynamic market rentals.

(Schneider, n.d.: 4)

office space. However it is still being underutilised as it has not been fully let. Similar buildings in the area are being illegally utilised for residential purposes.

There is a pool of affordable housing in the area and the research findings suggest that this pool is set to decrease. The Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre (AL+HDC) data suggests that in 2012 only 524 (of a total 1 033) residential properties in Salt River were classified as affordable housing. A large amount of this housing is being leased (figure 4.8). Properties are sold between individuals at a rate of 1.5% per annum (AL+HDC, 2012). Although the churn rate is very low, the price of residential properties is increasing. The average sales price of residential property sold to an individual in the period between April 2011 and March 2012 is R511 600 (AL+HDC, 2012). Property prices have been increased substantially since the 1980s. For example, property in Goldsmith Road sold for approximately R2 000 in 1972. In 1989, 1996 and 2005 similar properties on the same road sold for R55 000, R95 000 and R220 000 respectively (Property24, 2013: online). As can be seen in figure 4.9 the CoCT has not sold any of its affordable property in the area.



Figure 4.8: Map illustrating location of rental stock in Salt River, 2002 (Data Source: NM & Associates, 2002; Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013)

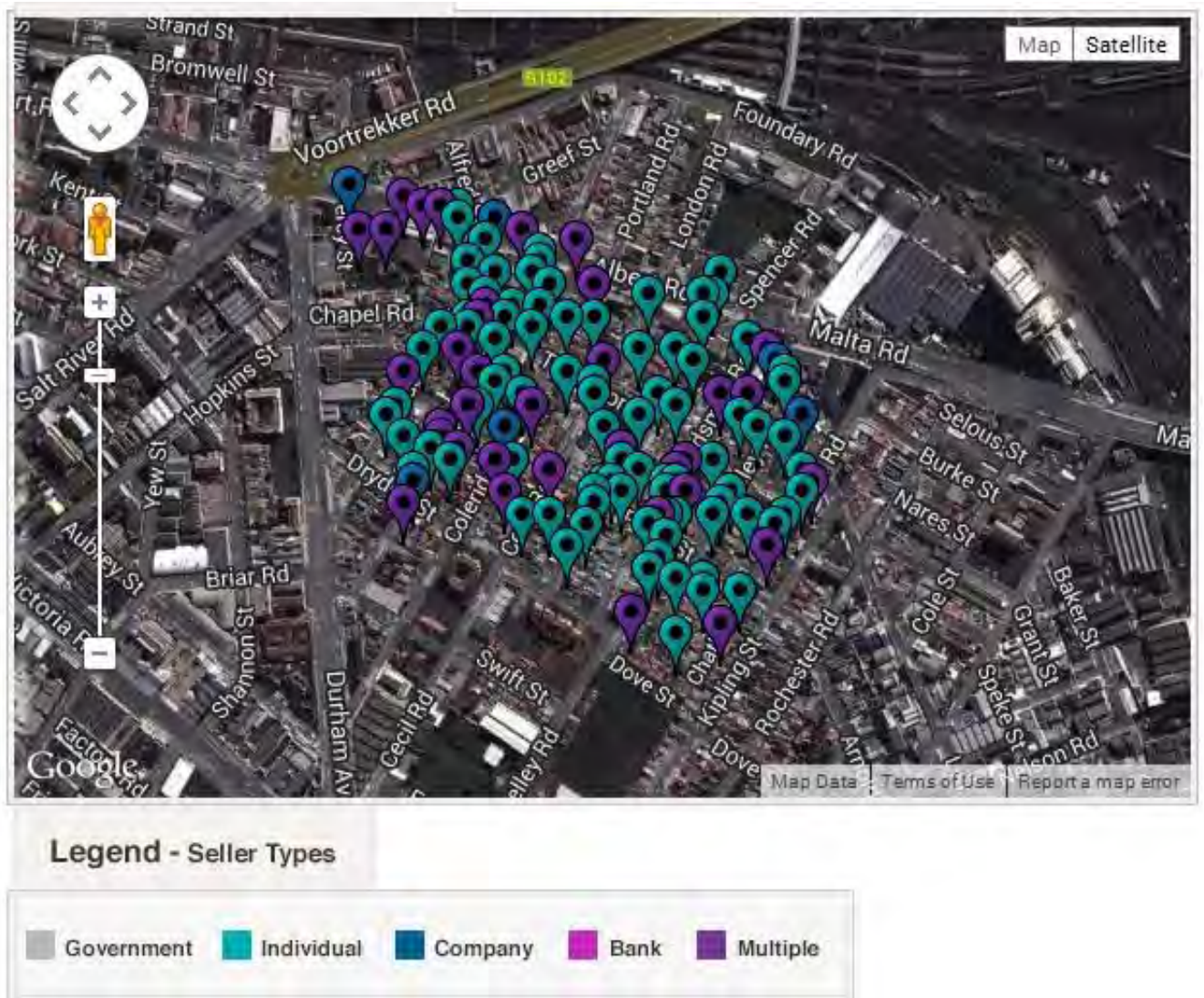


Figure 4.9: Affordable Property Sales 2004 – March 2012 (Source: AL+HDC, 2013)

Fieldwork findings also highlight that outbound migration by the younger and/or more educated segments of the population is on the increase (interview, Ms Ismael, 18 July 2013). As NM & Associates (2002) note the lack of (recreational) facilities and limited range of activities in the area is one of the reasons why individuals move out of the area (see figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10: Public Facilities in Salt River

Like the non-residential portion of Lower Salt River, Upper Salt River is receiving a substantial inflow of private investments. This can be seen throughout Salt River in the conversion of industrial spaces into office spaces and in the improvement of retail spaces such as the Shoe HQ factory shop in Friend Street. The redevelopment of the physical fabric by the private sector is presently confined to the major road arteries, namely Victoria Road, Durham Avenue and Albert Road. Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013), a planner within the CoCT's Metropolitan Spatial Planning department, argues that:

The important thing is to recognise that [in] those areas, [in] those residential areas, it's very important that we deliberately [try] to focus business activities along the main routes so that the residential community can still function [as a residential neighbourhood,] and that [residents] can have [some] privacy.

The research findings and the quote above provide evidence for the reinforcement of transit-oriented development (TOD) in the area. The *Cape Town Central City Regeneration Programme (2011)* also seeks to reinforce TOD and in so doing draws upon the *Integrated Rapid Transport Plan (IRTP) (2009)* which covers the central city. Through the IRTP the CoCT, in conjunction with the Provincial Department of Transport and Public Works, has introduced the MyCiti rapid bus service into the area. This is the most visible investment of public funds in the case area (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013). The bulk of the investment by the CoCT has gone into maintenance of existing road, electricity, storm water and sewer infrastructure.

The area is ethnically and culturally diverse. This characteristic of the area has contributed to the withdrawal of investment in the area in the past (NM & Associates, 2002). The inbound movement of foreign and local migrants into the area has added significantly to the diversity of the population in Salt River. This diversity also manifests itself in a shift in the types of goods being sold in the local shops. Some of these shops stock products that cater specifically for the 'newcomers' to the area. The chapter now turns to an analysis of my research findings. This analysis is based on the criteria established in Chapter 2 of the dissertation (see table 2.2). The aim of the discussion in the next section is to ascertain whether or not Salt River is in decline as the CoCT contends.

4.3. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for decline

The overarching criteria for decline set out in chapter 2 include: a decrease in capital investment, aging or deteriorating housing stock, and the development of an informal settlement. Each criterion is analysed with respect to Salt River.

4.3.1. Decrease in capital investment

A significant indicator of decline is a net outflow of private capital from an area. This decrease in investment in the area is characterised, firstly, by the closure of shops and businesses. Some factory buildings have been let out to a number of smaller businesses in related industries. From my field work observations, a number of retail shops have closed and the buildings are boarded up. Most boarded up and vacant commercial and/or industrial buildings are found in Lower Salt River. According to Couch (1990), such capital disinvestment signals a general decrease in the demand for commercial and/or industrial buildings in a neighbourhood. The research findings suggest that this is the case in Salt River and evidence of this is found in the large numbers of factories, shops and other businesses in the area that have closed. Even small corner shops that serve the local residential population, such as the shop on the corner of Goldsmith Road and Pope Street, are closing. According to one of my research participants, the reason this particular shop is closing is because “they’re broke” (Ms Ali, interview, 18 July 2013). However, her mother, Ms Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013), was quick to point out that they are indeed closing but whether or not the shop owners were broke is yet to be substantiated.



Figures 4.11: Dilapidated buildings in Salt River

The closure of small and medium- sized shops in the area seems to have been preceded by the withdrawal of big factories, namely Bertage, Heriswell and Rex Trueform. As Mr Ismael (interview, 2013) noted, these are the “most important factories”. It is unclear whether most of the factories were sold at the time of their closure or whether they are still owned by the same individuals and/or companies. What is clear is that some of the British-owned factories, like Bertage, closed because of the pressures exerted on them by the international community as part of the struggle against apartheid (Ms Ismael, interview, 2013). Although many factories in the area have closed, Salt River still remains a significant area for industrial activity (Mr Rabe, interview, 2013). Stagnant industrial rental prices and the lack of industrial development since 2005 indicate that Salt River is no longer attractive for industrial activities¹³. Rather, it has become attractive as an office area with office rental prices increasing approximately 30% between 2009 and 2012 (CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). This accounts for the increase in the amount of industrial space being converted into office space. Mr Max McLaughlin, a property marketer¹⁴, (interview, 2013) notes that:

What we do is very specialised and doesn't require the extensive space. And those buildings [work] very well [for conversion into office space]. Not always, [be]cause sometimes you know [that] the structures can be such that the ceilings are a little bit low, but, generally, they work quite well. So, yeah, there's a market for that. Absolutely.

The economic strategy outlined in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* proposes that politicians should consider declaring Salt River as an Urban Development Zone (UDZ), or as an import-export zone¹⁵. The emphasis in this strategy is on the need for businesses to drive the area's regeneration with the support of the Cape Town Heritage Trust¹⁶. The aim of this partnership is to make physical improvements to Salt River via the facilitation of regeneration incentives and self-help improvement projects, in addition to introducing crime prevention and management measures while promoting the tourism potential of the area (NM & Associates, 2002).

¹³ See table in Appendix D.

¹⁴ Mr McLaughlin works for Maxigroup which is a Cape Town based commercial property brokering agency.

¹⁵ See Appendix E for parts of the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework* and the Salt River Market precinct plan.

¹⁶ The Cape Town Heritage Trust is a non-profit organisation which is concerned with the conservation and management of both man-made and natural heritage resources.

This is likely to have a positive impact on the area, provided that the benefits of these initiatives ‘trickle down’ to small businesses and the residential components of Salt River. However, the possibility of negative effects cannot be dismissed, as there are very few mechanisms in place to ensure that this trickle down of benefits does occur. In other words, there are very few, if any, systems in place at the moment to ensure that households on the lower end of the income scale do not bear the costs of regeneration through the loss of affordable housing, for example. This is discussed at greater detail under section 4.5.2.1 of this chapter.

The framework works in conjunction with *the Cape Town Central City Regeneration Programme Strategic Framework (2010)*, *the Central City Development Strategy (2009)* and *the Table Bay District Plan (2012)*¹⁷. These plans and frameworks all emphasise the need for local and provincial governments to make strategic investments that will attract private investment into the central city. However, these documents do not provide guidance on how to deal with abandoned buildings. Abandoned buildings have been identified as an indicator of neighbourhood decline, as well as a stumbling block to development (Ms Ismael, interview, 2013). There are a number of abandoned buildings in the area, both along the main access routes, as well as in the centre of Salt River, and most of these buildings are poorly maintained. This is a key observation from my fieldwork, particularly in light of that fact that there is very little vacant land left in the area. In fact, as Mr Rabe (interview, 2013) points out:

We know that there is very little vacant land available, um, in the, uh, in the area. Um, in fact it’s so little that we can’t actually even track the price of vacant industrial land. [...] Basically there’s just no space left.

This means that if regeneration is to occur at the desired pace, abandoned and/or dilapidated buildings must be dealt with by the relevant authorities utilising the provisions in the *Problem Buildings By-Law (2010)*. This by-law is discussed at greater length in the next section which assesses Salt River against the second criterion of decline.

¹⁷ The *Cape Town Central City Regeneration Programme Strategic Framework (2010)* and the *Central City Development Strategy (2009)* are text based plans. The *Table Bay District Plan (2012)* is presented in Appendix F.

4.3.2. Aging or deteriorating housing stock and subsequent invasion by lower income group

The 2011 census indicates that the average household in Salt River earns between R6,401 and R12,800 per month (CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). By comparison, approximately twenty-four percent (24.4%; n = 372) of households in the area under study earn a monthly income of R1,600 or less per month. This is very low, particularly considering that the average household size in Salt River is 4.31 persons (CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). The majority of these households therefore live below the poverty datum line¹⁸, which is calculated to be approximately R20 (US\$2) per person per day. There has been a significant decline in the number of households earning R6,400 or less per month in the period between 2001 and 2011. The percentage of households earning R6,400 or less per month in 2001 and 2011 is 89.72% (n = 7 842) and 54.1% (n = 825) respectively (StatsSA, 2001; CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). This suggests that working class households have moved out of the area.

Mr Ismael and his family moved to Johannesburg in the 1960s when the factories relocated. Mr Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) also notes that many residents of Salt River moved to Johannesburg and other areas to manage the new factories as there were no employment opportunities in Salt River and there was no skilled staff in the areas to which factories were relocated. It is important to note that not all the factories relocated and/or closed in the same short period. The last of the big factories, Rex Trueform, closed its doors in 2005.

The decrease in the number of low-skilled work opportunities, in conjunction with the increase in the number of people earning more than R6,401 per month, suggests that some form of gentrification is taking place in Salt River. There is a possibility that some former working class residents of Salt River have moved into higher paying jobs, as evidenced by the increase in the number of households earning more than R6,401 per month (Urban Policy Unit, 1996; CoCT, SDI and GIS, 2013). This is due in part to efforts by clothing and textile manufacturers to up-skill their employees (Morris and Reed, 2008). However, the increase is not great enough to suggest that all those who were earning less than R6,400 per month have moved into higher paying jobs and consequently are earning more money. Interestingly, the median household income per month did

¹⁸ Poverty datum line is the amount of income that is needed on a day-to-day basis by an individual to meet their basic consumption needs.

not change between 1996 and 2001. Almost half of the households in Salt River still earn R6,400 or less per month. These findings suggest that the closure of shops and businesses, in particular factories which are the biggest employers of low- or no-skilled workers in the area, did lead to the loss of many low-skilled employment opportunities (NM & Associates, 2002). As Couch (1990) argues, capital disinvestment is also accompanied by a decrease in employment opportunities in the area.

The unchanged median household income between 1996 and 2001 suggests that there was some level of 'stability' in Salt River between 1996 and 2001. However, the closure of the last of the big clothing and textiles factories in Salt River occurred in the early to mid-2000s and was accompanied by, firstly, a further decrease in the population size. This enabled the significant decline from 89.72% to 54.1% of households who earn R6,400 or less per month. This decline can also be attributed to the increase in real minimum wages since 2003 (Natrass and Seekings, 2013). However, the wages earned by clothing and textile factory workers in Cape Town are higher than those earned by workers in clothing and textile factories in KwaZulu Natal (KZN). The owners of factories in KZN, most of which are Chinese nationals, do not comply with the minimum wage requirements set out by the *National Bargaining Council for the Clothing Manufacturing Industry* (Natrass and Seekings, 2013). Non-compliance with regulations serves to keep production costs for factory owners low, in a context of declining local sales since 2002. Morris and Reed (2008) note that total local sales went down by 18%, with clothing and textiles sales declining by 13.4% and 22% respectively in the period between 2002 and 2005. These local factors, in conjunction with international factors, namely the movement of factories to countries like China, where there is cheap labour, have negatively impacted the clothing and textile sector in Salt River (Morris and Reed, 2013).

The unchanged median household income between 1996 and 2001 in the area also accounts in part for low maintenance levels of residential housing stock in particular. Rising costs of living, rates and maintenance costs as structures age make it difficult for working class households to keep up with the maintenance of their houses. Natural weathering processes have also taken their toll on many of the old residential buildings. To this end, some of buildings can be considered 'problem' buildings, whereby a 'problem' building is:

any building or portion of a building –

- that appears to have been abandoned by the owner with or without the consequence that rates or other service charges are not being paid;
- that is derelict in appearance, overcrowded or is showing signs of becoming unhealthy, unsanitary, unsightly or objectionable;
- that is the subject of written complaints in respect of criminal activities, including drug dealings and prostitution;
- that is illegally occupied;
- where refuse or waste material is accumulated, dumped, stored or deposited with the exception of licensed waste disposal facilities; or
- that is partially completed or structurally unsound and is a threat or danger to the safety of the general public.

(CoCT, 2010: 1)

The term building is used very broadly in this by-law to include both permanent and temporary structures. The types of materials used to construct the structures are not relevant (CoCT, 2010). This by-law provides ample scope for all 'problem' buildings. Irrespective of where they lie in relation to the main access routes, they must be dealt with. If this is not done, there is a great risk of confining regeneration efforts and resources to the commercial and industrial portions of Salt River. However, the *CoCT Problem Building By-law (2010)* is not adequately enforced, if at all, in Salt River (Mr McLaughlin, interview, 2013). Evidence of this can be seen in the number of buildings that have been left abandoned for years or have been shut down by the Provincial Government, such as the Salt River Moslem Primary School¹⁹ on Kipling Street (Ms Ismael, interview, 2013). Additional evidence of the lack of enforcement of this by-law is found in the lack of guidelines for dealing with abandoned and/or dilapidated buildings in any of the plans and strategies guiding the spatial regeneration of the area. The *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* goes so far as to propose that abandoned and old buildings be used to house social programmes. However, not one of the frameworks and plans mention the need for enforcement of the 'problem' buildings by-laws. This is possibly due to the lengthy period that it takes to enforce this by-law. Councillor Herron (interview, 19 September 2013) argues that the enforcement of this by-law is a slow process.

The impact of aging or deteriorating buildings is not considered beyond the potential they possess after upgrading as well as the development guidelines for heritage buildings. For example, the *Table Bay District Plan Technical Report (2012: 81)* advises that “[a]ppropriate restoration and conservation of historical buildings and infrastructure” in urban conservation (heritage) areas (UCA),

¹⁹ Salt River Moslem Primary School was the first Muslim school in South Africa. It was closed in 2011.

which parts of Salt River are (figure 4.12). This means that the approval of the Heritage Resources Section of the Local Planning and Environment Office must be sought before alterations are made to any property in the area. This and other legislative requirements established under the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*, place additional financial demands upon developers and individual households. As Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) argues:

[I]t's putting on layers and layers of costs and it's making things unviable. So are they helping, no. I think the general consensus is that there's almost too much interference from legislation [...], the requirements that are forced upon those um property owners in order to, to actually upgrade those buildings and make them workable, it's a problem. I'm sort of, I'm very anti ... it's too much.

As can be seen in figure 4.12, there is some overlap between the UDZ and the UCA. This overlap does add more costs for developers and individual households, but these are costs that are taken account of when the decision to redevelop is taken.

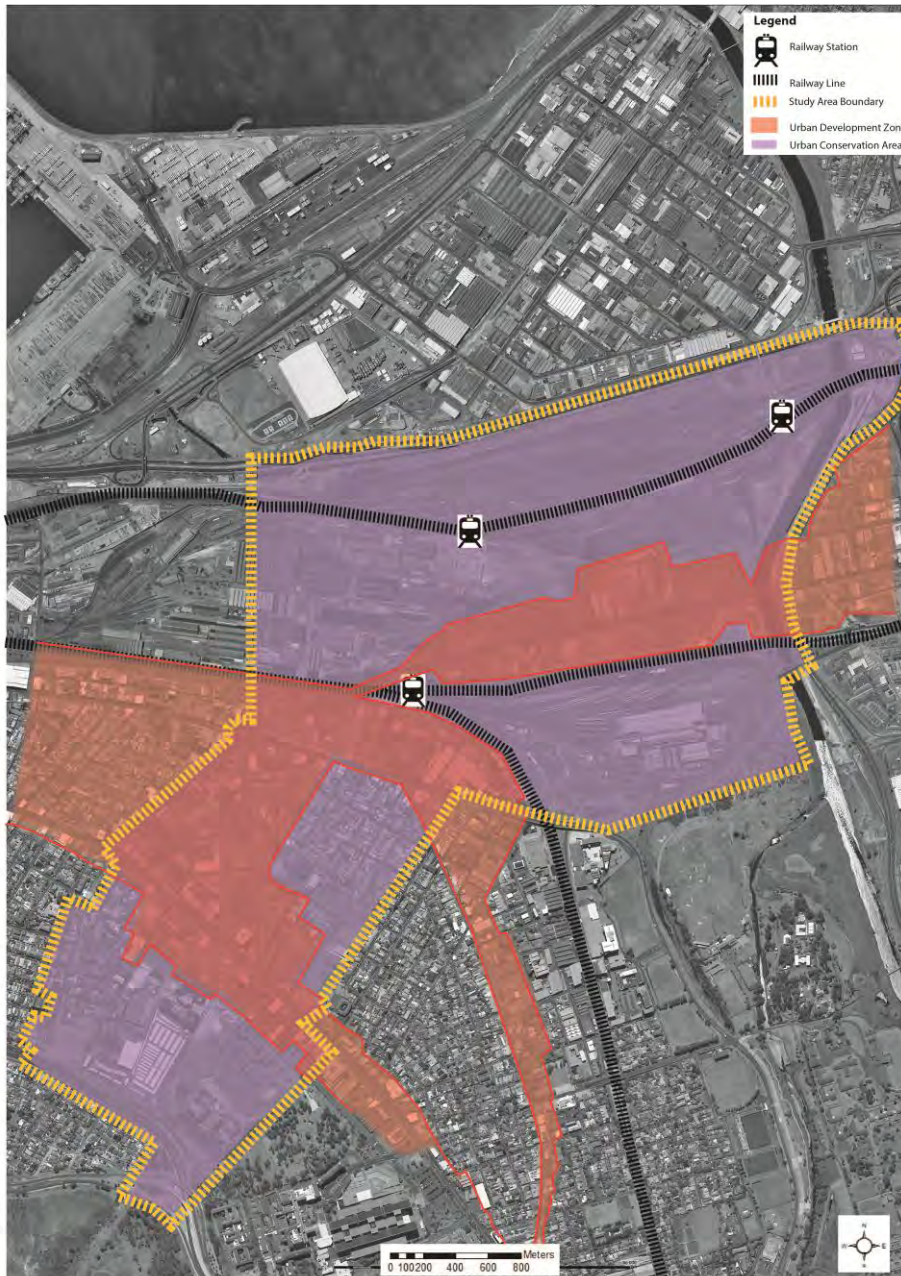


Figure 4.12: Urban Conservation Zone and Urban Development Zone boundaries (Aerial Photo Source: NGI, 2013).

The research findings also indicate that there has been an influx of foreign and/or illegal immigrants into the area. This influx has not been preceded by a sharp decrease in rental prices which accompanies the depreciation of aging houses, as Lupton (2003) argues. Salt River is perceived to be 'a drug den' by some of my interviewees, and this perception has led to a decrease in rental and property prices. Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013) notes that:

Drugs [were] a big issue. It was a big issue for everybody, once it came to the forefront everybody tried to move out. Uh, then once everybody moved out, you used to get the foreigners coming in because there were these cheap places ... nobody wanted.

Drugs continue to be a big problem in the area and Mr Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) argues is “a problem for the government and the police”. The drug challenge is a legacy from Salt River’s past which continues to draw international attention²⁰. Crime and grime are key considerations in addition to infrastructure when looking at the area’s performance and potential. Salt River is a relatively safe area in which to conduct business, even though it is not crime free (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013; CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). As Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) notes, the:

[S]ort of environmental infrastructure you have to have is clean, tidy, secure, crime and grime free preferably. Although people will put up with a bit of that.

In contrast, Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013) argues that the fact that Salt River “still doesn’t feel particularly safe” is hampering further regeneration. To combat these perceptions, and to combat crime and grime generally, it is proposed that a City Improvement District (CID), which is also referred to as a Special Ratings Area (SRA), be implemented in Salt River. This partnership, primarily between businesses and the CoCT, aims to actively address crime and grime as well as the

²⁰ The Hard Livings Gang was founded by Rashaad Staggie and his twin brother Rashied Staggie (Jeanius, 2013). This is one of the most notorious gangs in the Western Cape. The “Staggie incident” in particular garnered international attention. This incident occurred on the 4th of August 1996. In early 1996 started marching to the homes of gang leaders to warn them that they would be executed if they do not stop their illegal activities (Journeyman Pictures, 1999). At the end of July 1996 People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) issued an ‘death list’ of gang leaders who must be killed. Rashaad Staggie, the co-founder of the Hard Livings gang, was on that list (News24, 2001). On the night of the 4th of August, PAGAD members formed a mob which marched to was Rashaad Staggie’s home in London Road, Salt River and burnt and shot him to death. Rashaad Staggie’s death started a battle between PAGAD, the gangsters and the police which left many innocent by-standers dead.

In 2003 Rashied Staggie and another Hard Livings gang member were arrested and sentenced to 15 years in prison for ordering the kidnapping and gang rape of a 17 year old girl. He has since reformed (Journeyman Pictures, 1999) and was released on day parole on the 23rd of September 2013. Staggie will be eligible for full parole in March 2014.

degeneration of the area by coordinating urban upgrade initiatives, providing private security and “cleansing” (Salt River Business Improvement District Steering Committee, 2013). Property owners and residents in the area contribute financially to the operation of the CID through additional rates payments. The exact impact of the CID is yet to be seen, although research participants working within the property industry and the CoCT all believe that it will have a net positive effect on Salt River.

Rental prices are now increasing as some landlords take advantage of the area’s good location and their tenants’ needs (Ms Ismael, interview, 18 July 2013). A number of buildings, both residential and commercial, are not owner-occupied. That is, the owners of these buildings are letting them out. In some instances, tenants sub-let rooms within a building in order to ensure that they can afford to pay the rent. Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013) points out that there can be thirty people living in one house, with each family paying up to R1,500 per month per room. Ms Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) accuses some landlords in the area of turning it into a slum by not maintaining their properties and allowing their houses to be overcrowded. Raas Malaki (interview, 14 August 2013), an informal trader, notes that:

This one [points to a building across the road] is empty now for almost 8 years. Yes and nobody operating it so the people are just smashing up inside there.

Poor maintenance and overcrowding often signal the inadequacy of the housing in question. The limited number of residential properties within both the formal and informal residential markets in Salt River categorised as affordable leaves poor(er) individuals in the area with very little choice but to live in these poor and unhealthy conditions. The implication of this is that there will be an increase in the number of households living in overcrowded conditions, as well as an increase in dumping. Living conditions in the area are worsened by littering and dumping of household items. Throughout Salt River, dumped household items can be seen. This ranges from broken toilets and old clothes to construction rubble (see figures 4.15 and 4.16). The increase in the amount of litter, and illegal dumping of household waste in the area, is related to the amount of money earned by households. As Lupton (2013) notes, those with lower incomes are unable to pay for municipal services such as waste collection. In Salt River, dumping has been on the increase as tenants--who

are presumed to be foreign nationals and illegal immigrants by some of my research participants--do not have rates accounts (Mr Nasir, interview, 14 August 2013). This means that they do not pay rates and therefore cannot receive bins, amongst other services offered by the CoCT.



Figures 4.13: Dumped household waste on the streets of Salt River

4.3.3. Development of an informal settlement

If, indeed, some form of gentrification is taking place, as the findings suggest, then low income households are being displaced by higher income earners. Displacement is also evidenced by the significant decline between 1996 and 2011 of the population size (table 4.1). Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013), a fourth generation resident of Salt River and business owner, notes that residents have been moving out of the area since 1997. This accounts in part for the decrease in population size and also helps to explain the number of vacant and abandoned buildings in Salt River.

Table 4.1: Population Statistics for Salt River 1996 – 2011

| | 1996 | 2001 | 2011 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Population | 6 555 | 8 740 | 6 577 |
| Households | 1 523 | 1 132 | 1 527 |
| Average Household Size | 4.30 | 7.72 | 4.31 |
| Population Density (persons per kilometre square) | 2 383.34 | 3 178.2 | 2 391.6 |

(Source: Urban Policy Unit, 1996; StatsSA, 2001; 2011)

Fieldwork observations and interviews confirm that the population density in the area has decreased. The population densities in 1996, 2001 and 2011 were 4,767.3, 3,178.2 and 2,391.6 people per kilometre squared respectively. This decrease in population density is due to a decrease

in the population of Salt River. The spatial extent (area) of Salt River has remained unchanged. This finding supports the argument that the decrease in population size is due to displacement of working class households by middle class households. This observation also supports the argument that abandoned buildings are a symptom of this decrease in the population size and density. There are not enough residential properties in the area to house all the individuals who want to reside there. Those who cannot afford to find accommodation in the formal residential sector could, until 2010, search for accommodation in the Pickwick Road informal settlement. This settlement has been a part of Salt River's fabric since the early 2000s. The settlement's small size (figure 4.14) prompts individuals such as Councillor Herron (interview, 2013) to question whether or not it should be regarded as an informal settlement at all. As is characteristic of some of the formal residential properties, housing in the informal settlement was inadequate and it lacked basic services (Cities Alliance, 2013; Roy, 2004).



Figure 4.14: Pickwick Road Informal Settlement 2006 – 2010. (Source: Google Maps, 2013).

The *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* and the *Table Bay District Plan (2012)* propose that this informal settlement be upgraded. But since the Pickwick Road informal settlement has been cleared there is no settlement to upgrade. Those who cannot afford to live in the formal residential properties must reside illegally in these and/or non-residential properties or on the street. The research findings did not reveal evidence of backyard dwelling in Salt River. This can be attributed to the small size of properties in the area. As Ms Ismael (interview, 18 August 2013) notes, most properties in the area do not have backyards and it is for this reason that her children and many others grew up playing outside on the streets.

The perception of the Pickwick Road informal settlement as illegal does not emanate from any of the spatial plans and frameworks. These represent a significant shift from the usual perception by local

governments of informal settlements as illegal and ineligible for public services (Roy, Jocklin and Javed, 2004). Instead, informal settlements are seen by the CoCT as a housing opportunity whose development they can facilitate in the context of housing backlogs and a lack of developable land. Land availability, or rather the lack of undeveloped land in the area, underpins calls for the in-situ upgrading of the informal settlement. It remains to be seen whether or not the CoCT will develop affordable housing on the site, given that it has already been cleared. Councillor Herron (interview, 19 September 2013) wants to see more affordable housing developed on the Pickwick Road site. A site plan is currently being drawn up for this site, which is owned by the CoCT.

4.4. Salt River: A neighbourhood in the process of changing

As Hoover and Vernon (1959 cited in Schwirian, 1983) argue, the changes in Salt River have been accompanied by changes in the populations' racial and/or ethnic composition, population density and the intensity with which land and buildings are used. The changes in racial and ethnic composition are illustrated in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Racial and/or Ethnic Composition in Salt River 1996, 2001 and 2011.

| | 1996 | | 2001 | | 2011 | |
|---------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| Black African | 520 | 7.93% | 398 | 9.11% | 2 601 | 39.51% |
| Coloured | 4 654 | 71.0% | 3 546 | 81.14% | 2 961 | 45.02% |
| Indian/Asian | 404 | 6.16% | 267 | 6.11% | 249 | 3.79% |
| White | 327 | 4.99% | 159 | 3.64% | 433 | 6.58% |
| Unspecified | 650 | 9.92% | 0 | 0% | 333 | 5.06% |
| Total | 6 555 | 100% | 8 740 | 100% | 6 577 | 100% |

(Source: Urban Policy Unit, 1996; StatsSa, 2001; 2011)

The census data suggests that there has not been a significant change in racial and/or ethnic composition in Salt River. However, fieldwork findings reveal that there has been a shift within the Black African population sub-group. This population sub-group is now increasingly comprised of individuals from other African countries (Mr. Nasir, interview, 14 August 2013; Mr Gaber, interview,

14 August 2013). That is, it is now largely comprised of Black Africans who are foreign nationals. Hence, there has been a significant change in the racial and/or ethnic composition of the Salt River population. This is in line with Hoover and Vernon's (1959 cited in Schwirian, 1983) assertion that the transition from one stage to another in a neighbourhood's life cycle is accompanied by changes in racial and/or ethnic composition of the population and population density, amongst other factors. However, findings that many foreign nationals live in overcrowded conditions (Mr Nasir, interview, 14 August 2013) necessitate the questioning of the significant decrease (24.7%) in the population size recorded by the census between 2001 and 2011. NM & Associates (2002) note that census figures do not include those residents who are sub-tenants and those living on the streets. If this is indeed the case, then population density in Salt River is higher than calculated in table 4.2. The higher population density would, in some respects, debunk Hoover and Vernon's (1959 cited in Schwirian, 1983) assertion.

Foreign nationals now run a large number of the shops along Albert Road (Raas Malaki, interview, 16 August 2013). This has the potential to increase tensions between South African and non-South African residents of the area, as foreign nationals are often perceived to be taking away jobs from locals. Furthermore, as the drug scourge in Salt River continues, foreign nationals may be blamed for the scourge. Tension, of a xenophobic nature, has flared up in the area between South African and non-South African youths (Ms Ali, interview, 18 July 2013). This, however, did not turn violent.

The complexity of the changes occurring in Salt River has been highlighted in the discussion above. Salt River is certainly in decline. However, not all parts of Salt River meet the criteria for decline. Indeed, it is only the residential portion of Lower Salt River that falls into this category. The commercial and industrial parts of Lower and Upper Salt River seem to have moved out of the decline phase and are currently regenerating. Sixty thousand square metres of industrial property have redeveloped for alternative uses between 2006 and 2009 (CoCT SDI and GIS, 2013). This can be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the declaration of Salt River as an UDZ. Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013) argues that the declaration of Salt River as an UDZ:

[H]as had quite a positive impact close to where the um, on the Woodstock side. Not so much Salt River itself but definitely along Woodstock. A lot of big office developments that have happened as a

result of, well it's been contributed or added to as a result of that. So yeah I would say that it has had some impact. It's not as great as in the CBD.

The two largest projects that have been completed to date under the UDZ scheme within Salt River have development values of R10 million and R11.7 million each. This is the primary means through which both the CoCT and the private sector are regenerating the area. The CoCT's contribution to the regeneration of Salt River does not extend beyond maintaining the (basic) infrastructure that private capital needs to conduct its activities. Given that Salt River is a working class neighbourhood, the implication of this is that the regeneration of the area has to be externally driven. That is, private capital from outside Salt River needs to be attracted into the area if regeneration is to take place. The UDZ scheme is able to attract private capital in the area as:

[I]t's a cheaper solution obviously to take existing industrial type of multi-storey buildings and turn them into a useable office environment. And I think there's a trend out there now where people are actually looking for... they don't want typical, standard, corporate sort of premium grade offices. That's not the market.

(Mr McLaughlin, interview, 19 August 2013)

There is a stark contrast between the dilapidated buildings and the redeveloped commercial and industrial buildings in the area. The abandoned buildings thus represent the shift within the residential portion of the area into decline, which, as I argue in chapter 2 is a two stage process with down-grading being followed by a 'thinning out' of residents (Weinstein, 2007). The abandoned buildings also serve to indicate that the commercial and industrial parts of Salt River are moving from the decline stage to the regeneration stage. This is consistent with Schwirian's (1983) argument that abandonment is a signal that a neighbourhood is shifting from one stage in its lifecycle to another. However, this is not to suggest that the residential portions of Salt River are also shifting into the next stage of the lifecycle – that is, regeneration. There is a possibility that this part of Salt River is simply looping between the down-grading and thinning-out stages. This is consistent with Schwirian's (1983) observation that some neighbourhoods, or in this case parts thereof, simply loop between a few of the stages. The area's deviance from linear models of neighbourhood change, in addition to the inbound movement of immigrants, points to the possibility of Salt River serving as "a port-of-entry neighbourhood" (Winkler, 2012). This function was not explored as it falls beyond the

scope of the research. If, indeed, Salt River functions as a port-of-entry neighbourhood then the effectiveness of proposed interventions can be called into question considering that this key role is overlooked. Port-of-entry neighbourhoods:

[T]ypically facilitate some degree of readjustment in a new place. They allow diverse cultural customs to be practised, and they are at times perceived by their residents as a temporary place of abode.

(Winkler, 2012: 316)

The research findings do indeed indicate that Salt River is a culturally diverse environment that a lot of people, particularly young people, perceive as a temporary abode. As Ms Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) argues:

Look now the younger generation, I can say people your age just for example, they will be looking for something different, especially if they're starting families.

This adds an extra layer of complexity to the changes that are taking place in Salt River as these young people leave the area to go and live somewhere else but come back to buy businesses (Mr Ismael, interview, 18 July 2013). Salt River certainly does not conform to the linear models of neighbourhood change. The case also illustrates that change occurs at different rates for different parts of the neighbourhood. This observation supports the assertion that neighbourhood change is a complex, non-linear process (Hall, 1998; Winkler, 2012; Jacobs, 1964). These different rates of change are related to the uses of that specific part of the neighbourhood. This is discussed further at length in the final sections of this chapter as the case is assessed on the criteria for urban justice established in chapter 2.

4.5. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for urban justice

Chapter 2 outlines the three criteria of urban justice. These are: diversity, equity and democracy. Each criterion is used to assess the Salt River case in the sections that follow.

4.5.1. Assessing Salt River based criteria for diversity

The assessment criteria for analysing *diversity* in Salt River include: mixed land uses, widely accessible and varied public spaces and porous boundaries between neighbourhoods.

4.5.1.1. Land uses should be mixed

Planning is a tool of governance (Healey, 2010) that has significantly hampered the creation of a fine grain mixed use (physical) environment in Salt River. According to the CoCT standards, Salt River is a mixed use area as not more than 85% of the land is used predominantly for either industrial or commercial purposes (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013). This is supported by my observations of the diverse uses in the area such as residential, office, retail and manufacturing. However, these diverse uses are not finely mixed. This can be seen in the visual 'order' of the building fabric (Jacobs, 1984). Big factory buildings are located next to each other, as are shop front retail stores, whilst the residential housing stock is grouped together. The City of Cape Town's concern with physical shaping and ordering of cities can be clearly seen in its delineation of the UDZ and also in its refusal to permit certain (commercial) uses in the residential portion of Salt River. As Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013) argues:

[I]t's very important that we deliberately tried to focus business activity along the main routes so that the residential community can still function and that they can have privacy. We don't want, we deliberately fight and they are on our side, to prevent businesses from moving into these areas.

This is reinforced in the Integrated Zoning Scheme²¹ (IZS) through the Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ). The HPOZ overrides the UCA and provides for greater control of alterations, land use changes and excavations (CoCT, 2013b). Whilst not disallowing any particular uses in the UCA, it does serve to restrict the range of uses and activities that can be undertaken in the area. This is contrary to Jacobs' (1964) argument that zoning should foster inclusion and allow for a wide range of uses and activities in an area. Although the zoning regulations do permit a wide range of uses in the

²¹ Integrated Zoning Scheme replaces the 27 individual zoning schemes that previously documented land use rights on properties in the city. This new scheme standardises zoning arrangements throughout the city and enables consistency and efficiency in the management of land use.

area, this is curtailed by the declaration of Salt River as an UCA (figure 4.12). In delineating the UDZ planners:

[S]pecifically looked out for things like where there's a conservation area [and] tried to avoid those kind of areas.

This means that, firstly, property owners in Salt River stand to benefit very little from the scheme as UCA restrictions to developments also apply. Residential property owners stand to benefit even less from the scheme as their properties lie outside the UDZ. They do benefit from, for example, the maintenance of existing infrastructure. However, these benefits are minimal considering the benefits big property developers are receiving in the form of tax incentives. Property developers stand to benefit a lot more from the UDZ scheme because, and as Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) states, the:

UDZ thing has, which is a national initiative [...] hasn't been properly understood by the market place and I don't think anyone even realises that it's been extended [un]til 2020. And no one really understands how it works and what the benefits are there.

Once the full benefits of the scheme are realised by the market – that is by 'big' developers – the physical fabric of Salt River along the main routes is set to change even more. Building on the Main Streets Project²² that was proposed in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)*, Councillor Herron and the Spatial Planning and Urban Design (SPUD) branch within the CoCT are identifying strategic sites through which place-making strategies can be quickly and efficiently implemented to attract further investment into Victoria Road.

²² Main Streets Programme is a four-point approach to the revitalisation of downtown and neighbourhood business precincts. It was initiated in America in the mid-1970s to support the redevelopment and physical improvement of key streets from an economic perspective (NM & Associates, 2002). Councillor Herron (interview, 19 September 2013) wants to implement the Main Streets Programme from Victoria Road through to Main Road in Rondebosch.

Secondly, the UDZ scheme offers tax incentives for a limited range of developments. These are:

- the erection, extension or improvement of or an addition to an entire building;
- erection, extension, improvement or addition of part of a building representing a floor area of at least 1 000m²;
- erection, extension, improvement or addition to low-cost housing; or
- purchase of such a building or part of a building directly from a developer on or after 8 November 2005, provided that certain requirements are met.

(CoCT, 2013c: 1)

This also limits the extent to which a finer grain mix of uses can be obtained in Salt River, even within the UDZ. This is because developers want to maximise their overall returns. Developers also do what the market wants. Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) notes:

So at present we are seeing quite a lot of industrial buildings being converted into office space because that is what the market wants.

This yields a visually uniform and ordered landscape that Jacobs (1964) and to some extent Fanstein (2010) argue against. The diversity that the CoCT wants, as indicated in all the frameworks and plans, cannot be attained because the market cannot provide it (Jacobs, 1964). This means that Salt River has the potential to become a mono-functional, segregated neighbourhood (Fanstein, 2000). Victoria Road, for example, may eventually be lined with office buildings with very few other buildings along this road being used for alternate purposes. There is a very real possibility that Salt River could become a segregated neighbourhood as the wealthier individuals currently reside in Upper Salt River in the Upper Eastside. Councillor Herron (interview, 19 September 2013) notes that the informal settlement was most likely cleared in response to demands by the Upper Eastside owners and tenants. They, as Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) advises his clients, have come to own not only their buildings but the entire area in which they are located.

A further hindrance to redevelopment is the fact that a number of the buildings in Salt River are over sixty years old. Jacobs (1964) argues that the existence of buildings of different ages in an area is desirable as these contribute to the creation of a delightful urban landscape. Furthermore, buildings of different ages have different rents, with older buildings having lower rentals. These buildings provide small(er) businesses within which they can operate. In reality, the older buildings come with greater maintenance costs, particularly if they are protected from a heritage point of view. The determination of whether or not heritage guidelines are to be followed is usually made on a case by case basis, but in Salt River all buildings must be examined for their heritage value as the area is an UCA. This is particularly problematic in the residential portion as it places an unreasonably high financial burden on property owners to maintain the structure of their properties in near original condition. Individuals circumvent these requirements by renovating their properties without seeking the necessary planning approvals (NM & Associates, 2002).

In addition to using the term diversity to refer to land uses, Fanstein (2010) uses the term to refer to racial-ethnic heterogeneity. Salt River is described as afro-centred and cosmopolitan because:

[I]t's really, people, um, not just all over South Africa but definitely people from all over Africa that's living here.

(Ms. Ismael, interview, 19 August 2013).

The racial-ethnic heterogeneity in Salt River can be seen in the shops along Albert Road. These shops, most of which are owned and/or run by foreign nationals, serve a wide range of foods to meet the growing immigrant population in Salt River (Raas Malaki, interview, 16 August 2013). One consequence of the decrease in the number of shops which serve original residents, which was not explored in chapter 2 in the discussion of the invasion-succession model is the impact of succession on the food (in)security levels of the remaining original households. This is particularly pertinent in the Salt River case as the area is a working class neighbourhood. The decrease in the number of shops serving the needs of immigrant populations in Salt River is worrisome as the shops do not stock supplies that the South African segment of the population requires (Ms Ali, interview, 18 July 2013). Looking at food in particular, some of these shops stock non-Halaal foods and/or foods that are unfamiliar to South African residents.

Since many of the shops no longer cater to the needs of some households in the area these households have to go to areas outside of Salt River to have their needs met. One of these needs is food. Shaw (2006) notes that small, local stores play a critical role in facilitating food access in areas that have no large supermarkets. In Salt River this began when the Shoprite branch closed down, forcing individuals to go to either the Shoprite branch in Woodstock or the Pick 'n Pay in Observatory to buy some of their foodstuffs. The use of local, and sometimes informal, food traders was also utilised as these offered food packaged in smaller, more affordable units (Shaw, 2006; Cannuscio, Weiss and Asch, 2010). Once these small food retailers close down and/or change their stock to meet the new demands, then those who relied on them must go to other areas to purchase food. This illustrates, as Healey (2010) argues, that diverse experiences and social-cultural worlds present significant challenges to planning.

4.5.1.2. Public spaces should be widely accessible and varied

The lack of an intricate mix of the diverse land uses in Salt River has resulted in the few public spaces in the area becoming lifeless. In contrast to Jacobs' (1964) argument, the users of Salt River move through the area at approximately the same time as they go to and from work. The main public spaces, namely the streets, sidewalks and parks (Jacobs, 1964) are empty during non-peak traffic hours. Only the occasional car or pedestrian can be found on these streets in the mornings. In the afternoons, the streets of Lower Salt River come alive as children come back from school and play outside in these public spaces. However, even this usage of these public spaces is limited to certain streets. Dumping along other streets presents a significant health hazard to children, which forces their parents to keep them indoors (Mr Nasir, interview, 14 August 2013). Street traders also make use of sidewalks to conduct their businesses. It is interesting to note that street traders are only found along Albert Road, where a lot of the street front retail is located. These observations serve to highlight the importance of streets as a public meeting place and a multi-functional space, rather than mere thoroughfares.

Overall public spaces, particularly the parks and sidewalks, are severely underutilised. This is due in part to concerns around safety. As I noted earlier, the dumping of household items is perceived by interview respondents to give rise to an unhealthy environment. Indeed, Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013) notes:

Of recent, I hate to say this on the interview, but you'll ... it's common because of the filth that is around to see rats crossing the road or because we never used to see that type of thing. And you know what, because it's an old area, the buildings are old and these are all factors that contribute to that [...] Comparatively if you look at the better areas in Cape Town and you see the facilities, we don't even have parts of those facilities in this area.

Dumping is a key concern for both residents and/or business owners in the area. The abundance of litter and rubbish dumps suggests that public spaces in the area are poorly maintained (Mr McLaughlin, interview, 19 August 2013). The exceptions to this are the public play parks. Even though they are well maintained, the parks are significantly underutilised. This is possibly due to their positioning away from other uses that attract a constant flow of pedestrian movement throughout the day.

There is also the perception that Salt River is riddled with bad elements, notably drug dealers and gangsters. The social strategy proposed in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* addresses, firstly, crime, violence and social ills in public and business areas as well as in the home. The strategy also addresses gangsterism and drugs, albeit in a limited way. The strategies put forward to address crime include the installation of close circuit television (CCTV) cameras along main routes and the reintroduction of a 'Park System' used in the 1950s and 1960s. The 'Park System' involved the use of old, fit, trusted and retired community members. This is in line with one of the framework's objectives, which is to:

[Promote] the allocation and use of public spaces and responsibilities to various local residents and other organisations to allow them to express and appropriate space freely and openly according to their understanding of their communities' needs and cultures.

(NM & Associates, 2002: 32)

The authors of the framework assume that there is, firstly, a community to begin with. Secondly, the authors assume that the residents trust each other. My research findings indicate that a community formed on the basis of the common bond of being residents of Salt River does not necessarily exist. The research findings certainly do suggest that there is some mistrust between residents. This is due

to the fact that neighbours do not know each other (Mr Nasir, interview, 14 August 2013). Hence the proposed 'Park System' may not work, if it is ever initiated. Furthermore, there is a real danger that the proposed strategy, in a bid to achieve its objective, may end up forcing different groups into (close) contact with each other and possibly increasing social tensions. This unintended consequence can arise as Salt River is comprised of groups with different cultural, religious and national backgrounds (cf. table 4.1). Census data for 1996 and 2001 indicate that English is the most common language spoken in Salt River (see table 4.3). However, the number of individuals with English as a first language is decreasing slowly. This is compounded by the fact that different groups within Salt River must share these facilities with groups from other neighbourhoods (CoCT, 2009). This provides users of Salt River with access to public facilities in Woodstock and Observatory, for example. Simultaneously it opens up the facilities in Salt River to individuals from outside the area. This has the potential benefit of decreasing the amount of conflict that could arise when groups with clashing lifestyles share the same space is decreased (Fanstein, 2010).

Table 4.3: Languages spoken by population sub-groups in Salt River, 1996 and 2001

| Language | 1996 | | 2001 | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | | % | Number | % |
| English | 4 292 | 65.48% | 3 309 | 75.72% |
| Afrikaans | 1 544 | 23.55% | 818 | 18.72% |
| Xhosa | 184 | 2.81% | 111 | 2.54% |
| Other African | 205 | 3.13% | 57 | 1.30% |
| Other | 330 | 5.03% | 75 | 1.72% |
| Total | 6 555 | 100% | 4 370 | 100% |

(Source: Urban Policy Unit, 1996; StatsSA, 2001)

On the other hand, this proposition promotes 'porous boundaries', which is another of Fanstein's (2010) criterion for urban justice. This is discussed further in section 4.5.1.3. On the other hand, it means that certain facilities will not be developed within Salt River. One such facility is the Queens Park swimming pool which has been closed to the public without any consultation (NM & Associates, 2002). However, it also means that residents of Salt River will not be able to access these facilities in economic, social and physical terms. This is a concern that Fanstein (2009) raises in relation to the need for public spaces to be easily accessible and varied. Whilst the CoCT is attempting to create a

varied system of public spaces and facilities by arguing for neighbourhoods to share resources this attempt is making public facilities harder to access for the working class residents of Salt River.

4.5.1.3. Boundaries between neighbourhoods should be porous

[I]t's easy to travel anywhere by car, by boat or by aeroplane.

(Mr Ismael, interview, 18 July 2013)

This quote highlights the fact that Salt River is highly permeable with respect to physical access. Victoria Road and Albert Road extend through the area and into the CBD. One of the main arterial roads, the M3, drops down and feeds into Main Road and into Salt River. The railway line also offers additional access to the area. Combined, the road and rail infrastructure increase the porosity of Salt River's boundaries. Interestingly, in the quote above Mr Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) does not mention how easy it is to travel in or around Salt River on foot. This is possibly due in part to the vehicle oriented nature of streets. There are very few pedestrian crossings, outside of school zones and excluding intersections that have traffic lights. The pedestrian crossing on Albert Road close to the traffic circle is difficult to negotiate, even during off-peak traffic. Additionally, the sidewalks offer pedestrians very little protection from the elements. In winter, pedestrians are struck by the north-westerly wind and the rain. In summer, a strong south easterly wind and the blazing sun beat down on them. This lack of protection from the elements is possibly another, unarticulated reason, as to why the sidewalks are underutilised in Salt River.

Despite this high physical access, visual porosity of borders is low. This is a result of the tall buildings that create a 'wall', so to speak, that prevents one from looking into the area. Additionally, the railway line is a dead end for pedestrians, in particular, and cuts Salt River off from Maitland.

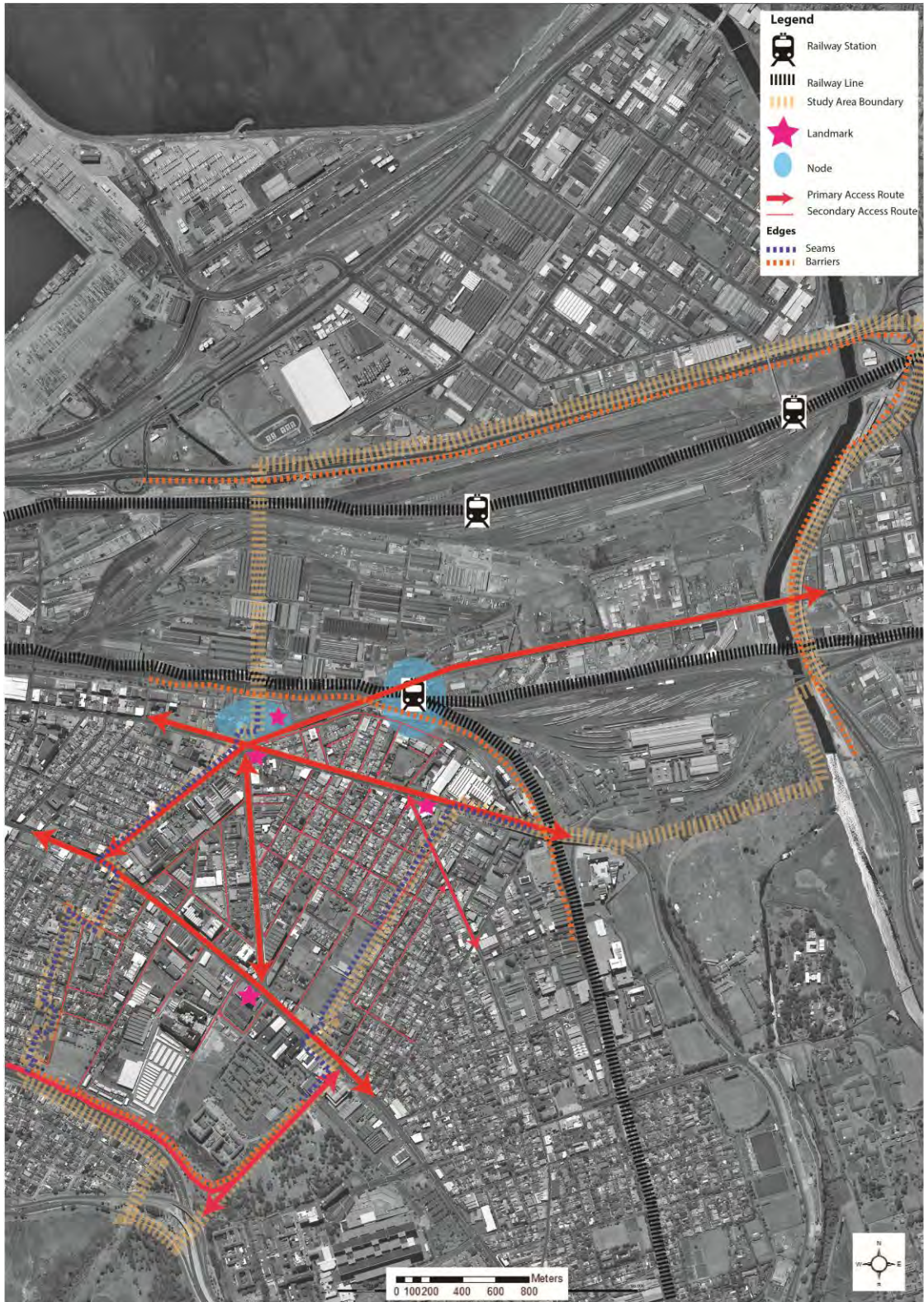


Figure 4.15: Lynch Analysis of Salt River

Economic resources permitting, individuals and goods travel freely into and through Salt River. This can be seen on a Saturday morning in particular when individuals walk through Salt River from Observatory en route to the Old Biscuit Mill. Individuals who visit the Old Biscuit Mill by car also park in Salt River and walk through the area to the Old Biscuit Mill. Thousands of people travel through Salt River every day. The Salt River station is a major transport interchange station. Those travelling by train from the Cape Flats will change lines in Salt River if they need to go anywhere in the Southern Suburbs.

4.5.2. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for equity

The assessment criteria for analysing *equity* in Salt River include: retention of affordable housing in perpetuity, keeping intra-city transport fares low, prioritising small businesses and employees, and planners must press for egalitarian solutions in deliberative settings.

4.5.2.1. Affordable housing units in an area should remain as affordable housing in perpetuity

There are very few affordable housing units in the area, as the discussion in section 4.3.2 highlights. The CoCT has no policies to ensure that any privately owned affordable housing in the area is kept in perpetuity or is replaced if it is demolished. Unlike Fanstein (2010) I argue that if any affordable housing is demolished in Salt River it must be replaced within Salt River or an area within the central city. This decreases the risk of developers putting affordable housing on poorly located and cheaper land on the periphery of the city. Councillor Herron (interview, 19 September 2013) points out that affordable rental housing that is owned by the CoCT would never be sold for any other purposes or demolished. Some affordable housing will be developed on the Pickwick Road site, which the Councillor (interview, 19 September 2013) wishes to see developed as:

an inclusionary housing project. So I've been pushing them to make sure that whatever we do is not an institutional kind of set up with just rows of institutional looking housing. We try and mix market housing or luxury housing with social housing and then perhaps for one of the first times in Cape Town have an inclusionary housing project.

The development of affordable housing on this now vacant land will go some way towards fulfilling the objectives stated in the *Central City Development Strategy (2011)* to develop more affordable housing in the area. However, in the *Central City Development Strategy (2011: 33, my emphasis)* it is argued that:

The supply of affordable housing in well located areas could increase if public authorities had a coordinated public asset management strategy with a common public land disposal policy, *where 'best use' is defined in terms of densification and equitable access, and not necessarily just in terms of cost.*

This statement reflects the concern with efficiency underpinning the proposed strategies in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)*. One of the unstated priorities in these plans and frameworks, therefore, is to ensure the efficient use of both land and (financial) resources. Put differently, the aim of these plans and frameworks is to outline to ensure that regeneration is undertaken the least amount of public (tax) money to yield the greatest returns in terms of rates for the CoCT. This greatly decreases the likelihood of affordable housing developed on the land the informal settlement was on particularly in light of the fact that this vacant land is situated behind the Doubletree by Hilton Hotel, Upper Eastside.

An inclusionary housing project will add to the diversity of the area as it will be fairly dense if it accommodates households with different incomes (Jacobs, 1964). This, as Fanstein (2010) notes, is often met with resistance. Indeed, the owners of the Upper Eastside are going to have a lot to say about the proposed development. However, their objections must be measured against the greater good and the desired vision for the area as a whole. Their objections have resulted in the eviction of Pickwick Road settlers from their homes.

It is unclear whether or not the individuals who had made Pickwick Road their home will receive houses there once the site is developed. Even though it falls outside the scope of this research, it bears mentioning that it is also unclear what happened to the residents of Pickwick Road Informal Settlement. The individuals who were residing there are probably being assisted by the Displaced Persons Unit (DPU). The social strategy proposed in the *Woodstock-Salt River Framework (2002)*

does seek to address homelessness, overcrowding and displacement. These individuals are part of a group of individuals referred to as vulnerable. The number of homeless individuals in the area is reported by research participants to have increased. Interestingly, very few homeless individuals can be seen in Salt River during the course of the day. The homeless make use of the sidewalks in front of shops to sleep. This makes shop fronts and sidewalks inaccessible to some residents at night as the presence of homeless individuals gives rise to perceptions of low safety levels. Those living on live/work units, that is properties on which a business is operated on the ground floor and the owner and his/her family live upstairs, are bearing the brunt of this. As Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013) notes:

I live upstairs. But in the evening, once my shutters are down there's people sleeping in front here. Ok, so if somebody is coming to visit you and you've got people sleeping there and you can't chase them out because it's not your property it's council property. And they know what the law is ... so what do you do?

The development of the Pickwick Road informal settlement indicates that the area is well located and provides easy access to the city and its opportunities. The role that Pickwick Road residents played in the production of Salt River (Roy, 2004) remains unacknowledged. This is despite the fact that within the spatial plans, informal settlements are seen in the more positive light adopted in this research. That is, the plans see informal settlements as a “mode of subjectivity, a “way of ‘operating more resourcefully in under-resourced cities’” (Simone, 2006 cited in Roy, 2004: 826). This perception of informality is not extended to informal trading in Salt River. This is discussed in greater length in the next section. It is to a discussion of the need to prioritise small businesses and employees that the discussion now turns.

4.5.2.2. Economic development programmes should prioritise small businesses and employees

Small businesses and employees bear the brunt of the cost of the changes that will come about as the area regenerates. The term small business is used very broadly in this dissertation to include informal traders, even though they are not registered businesses. It bears mentioning that although informal settlements are viewed in a positive light in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* and the *Table Bay SDP (2012)* informal trading is viewed harshly and in some

senses undesirable. Evidence for this is found in the absence of strategies to support informal trade in the area. This is highly problematic, considering that informal traders have borne the brunt of the decrease in pedestrian traffic in the area. Fruit and vegetable sellers who worked outside anchor stores such as Shoprite and traders at the Salt River Market, in particular, are the ones who are most affected. Ms Ali (interview, 18 July 2013) notes:

Shoprite still kept the fruit sellers outside Shoprite alive. But when Shoprite left the fruit people didn't know where to go with their... veggies that they used to stand every day and sell.

The desire to confine informal traders to formal market spaces is not without its problems. The only area earmarked in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* for informal trading is the Salt River market. However, this market precinct has been scaled down over the years and so it will not be able to house as many traders as it did before. Informal traders who do get space in the regenerated Salt River market may have to pay (higher) rentals than they would pay if they remained on sidewalks. The demand for rentals by the CoCT decreases the amount of money a trader can take home to meet all their needs. The amount of money that traders in formal markets will be decreased further through the contributions they will have to make towards the operations of the CID.

The implementation of the CID requires contributions from businesses in the area (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013). Small businesses must also contribute in order for an environment which attracts investments to be created (Mr McLaughlin, interview, 19 August 2013). As Couch (1990) notes, it is only when conditions are tolerable to private developers that investment will take place. To get this favourable environment, both small and big businesses must commit to funding the CID initiative for a ten year period (CoCT, 2010). This is a great cost for small businesses whose returns vary greatly from year to year. This medium-term commitment diverts capital from their operations into the CID. This commitment can be detrimental for most small local businesses which cater for the specific needs of the people in Salt River. Small businesses may have to relocate or close. For example, some residents have begun operating as parking marshals during the weekends as visitors to the Old Biscuit Mill have to park further into Salt River at these times. However, requests for the privatisation and automation of parking in the area are documented in the

Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002). If this request is granted by the CoCT, from who land to create the parking facilities is to be leased, those who operate as parking marshals will lose this additional source of income.

NM & Associates (2002: 35) note that technology “will continue to have the longest-term impact on all types of manufacturing”. Indeed, deindustrialisation has left a significant imprint on the physical fabric of the area. This macro level process manifests itself in Salt River, which was the hub for the region’s clothing industry, in the downsizing and/or closure of the factories which are the biggest employers of low- or no-skilled workers. The general trend, which is confirmed by observations and by a number of research participants, of industrial buildings being converted into office space is worrisome from an urban justice, and particularly an equity perspective.

The regeneration of Salt River will not necessarily provide employment opportunities for the low-skilled workers in the area. The new businesses moving into the area will employ few, if any, low skilled workers, given that the rentals for industrial space in the area are very high. As Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013) argues:

[I]t seems like [improved industrial property is] inexpensive but if you look at the square metres, you know that it’s expensive. And obviously, also there is an issue of what type of ... the different types of industrial activities require different spaces [..] So I mean one could argue that one possible future, er, er, direction of Salt River can be small industrial activity such as workshops, service industrial and they operate within this area, uh, and they’re in Salt River. But once again I would argue that it’s too expensive for them.

4.5.2.3. Fares for intra-city transport should be kept very low

The area’s high level of physical accessibility is a key attraction for private investors seeking brownfield sites to redevelop (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013). The routes, shown in figure 4.18 below, are a major attraction for investors, but another requirement is the potential to create on-site parking. Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) argues:

[T]here has to be some parking opportunity because parking is still very important in any of those developments. And if you can add the parking, then the numbers tend to start working and you can add value to those properties.

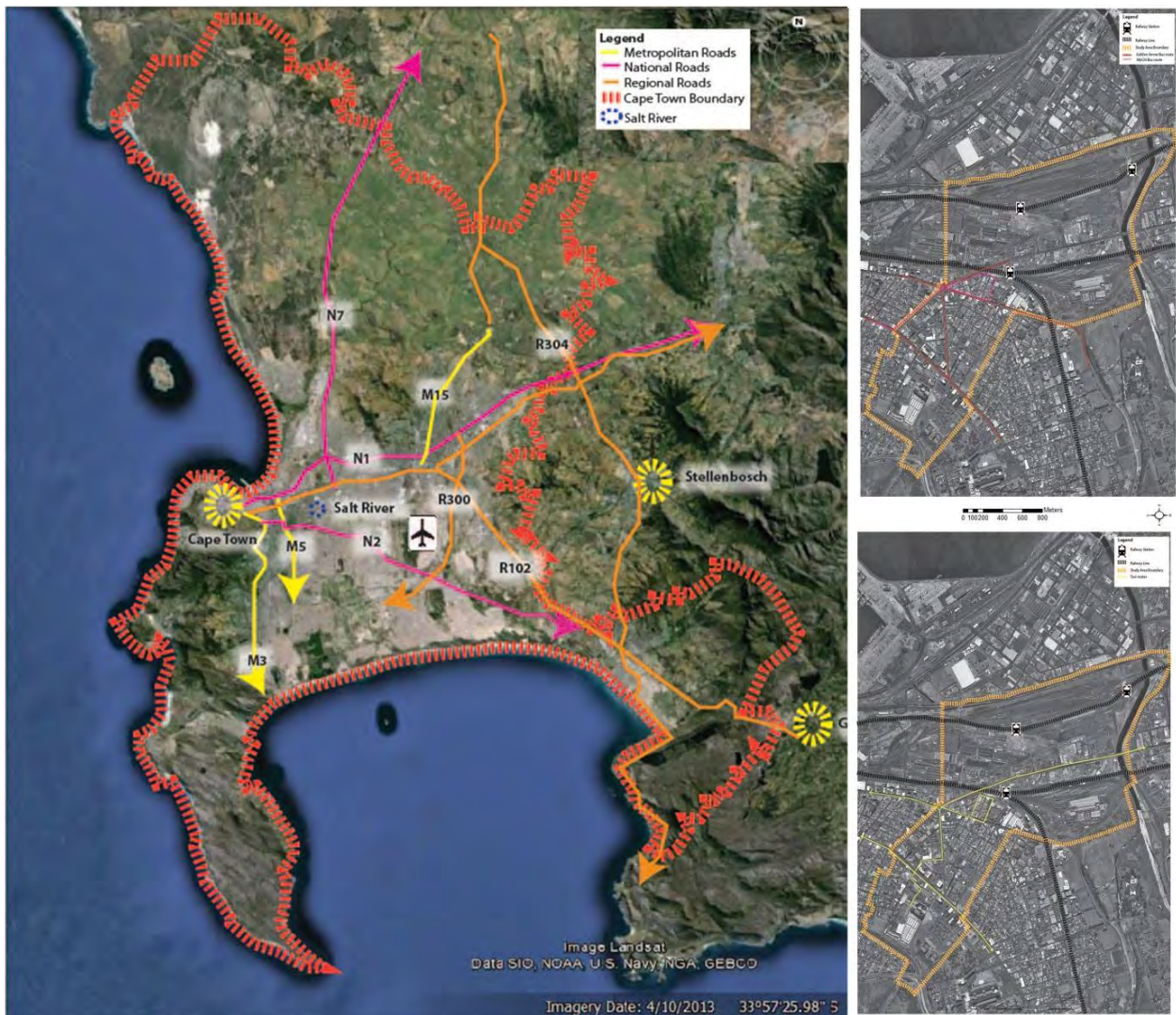


Figure 4.16: Access and Public Transportation Routes (Source:Google Maps, 2013; NGI, 2013).

At present, commuter rail is the cheapest mode of travel across the city. The rail network offers working class residents in the south-east of the city more direct physical access to Salt River. It is partly for this reason that it remains a significant mode of transportation in the city. However, it is not necessarily the most efficient. It is therefore imperative that commuter rail fares be kept as low as possible. However, large numbers of individuals rely on private cars to get to and from the area (Mr McLaughlin, interview, 19 August 2013).

Although congestion is a big problem in the area (Mr Rabe, interview, 19 August 2013), this observation does not necessarily support Garrett and Taylor's (1999) observation that public transit systems servicing the area is losing a significant number of commuters as people change to private cars. The increasing need to go to other neighbourhoods to get food and the fact that the land uses are not finely mixed necessitates that people get into motor vehicles, either private cars or taxis, to meet their needs both within and without the neighbourhood. As a result, traffic congestion is a significant problem in the area (see CoCT Area Profile in Appendix D). Fanstein (2010) argues that traffic congestion arises when individuals are forced to get into their cars to meet all their needs. Given the wide spread usage of private vehicles, even in an area that is well serviced by public transport, maintenance of intra-city transport fares at a minimum becomes less feasible. An increase in intra-city transport fares, and commuter rail fares in particular, impacts the working class the most. Increasing intra-city fares diminish the level of access that working class residents have less access to not only Salt River but the rest of the city too (Fanstein, 2010). To address congestion, the IRTP in particular focuses not on retaining existing commuters but on getting those who rely on private vehicles to change their transportation habits. Garrett and Taylor (1999) argue against this tendency found within the IRTP. This means that over time more public transportation commuters will be lost as they gain the means to purchase their own cars, consequently increasing congestion along Salt River's roads.

4.5.2.4. Planners must press for egalitarian solutions in deliberative settings

Looking at Salt River within the broader Cape Town context and through a social justice lens this is questionable as there are many other areas, both formal townships and informal settlements that lack basic infrastructure and services. Mr Rabe (interview, 19 August 2013) contends that:

[I]ts difficult to justify politically prioritising an area like SR instead of prioritising an area that's got very little infrastructure. Um, so it is challenging because in fact, from an economic point of view, it's the most affordable thing for the City to do, to kind of ... to sure up and to repair and to maintain those parts of the city that have that infrastructure capacity available.

Furthermore, as my research findings show, access to the services and infrastructure within Salt River is unequal as economic development strategies meet the needs of the middle class (Fanstein, 2010). The concentration of public and private capital reinvestment in the non-residential portions

of Salt River provides evidence to support Rose's (1984) argument that the free market economy distributes both wealth and resources unevenly. This in turn widens the spatial divide between the middle class and the working class (Grigsby, Baratz and Maclennan, 1983), evidence of which has also been found in Salt River. In South Africa socio-economic status is closely related to race, as a result of apartheid. Therefore, the spatial segregation of the middle and working classes is also a racial segregation to some extent. This is one of the problems that cannot be completely solved at the neighbourhood level as its roots lie in macro-level economic and past political structures. The spatial plans and frameworks that are discussed in this chapter are therefore unable to adequately address this challenge (Townsend, 1979 cited in Lupton, 2003). This supports Lupton's (2003) assertion that local level initiatives cannot stand alone. They must be complemented by macro policies such as the *Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (SDF)* to combat neighbourhood degeneration.

The implementation of these metropolitan and/or national level policies must be done with a certain level of discrimination (Councillor Herron, interview, 19 September 2013). Looking specifically at the built environment, this is where planners can play a pivotal role in ensuring the enforcement of regulations, with due consideration to the working class. For example, some of the 'problem buildings' in Salt River belong to working class households. Indiscriminate application of the problem buildings by law can result in these households being left worse off. One of the consequences of non-compliance provided in the *Problem Buildings By-law (2010)* is a R300,000 fine or imprisonment. Planners need to intervene when 'problem buildings' belonging to those who cannot afford to improve them to ensure that they do not lose one of the only assets they have. Planners must also intervene to ensure that households are not forced to give up their properties and forced to relocate to peripheral areas within the city. An additional consequence of this is (further) disruption of these households livelihood strategies.

Current practices by private property developers are primarily benefitting the middle class. These practices are shaped by planning regulations (Healey, 1998). Planners must also ensure that the middle and working classes benefit equally. No group should bear the brunt of the costs of regeneration. In Salt River the insistence by planners that commercial activities stay out of the residential portion of Salt River decreases the number of benefits that working class residents can enjoy. This action can also have the unintended consequence of pushing undesirable activities,

namely crime, into the residential parts of Salt River. In contrast to this Mr McLaughlin (interview, 19 August 2013) argues that regeneration has a compound effect. As more buildings are redeveloped, the effect of this is compounded and soon the whole area will have been redeveloped. As this occurs, businesses claim ownership of not only their property but the entire area (Mr McLaughlin, interview, 19 August 2013). However, this is not without its problems. Working class users of Salt River do stand to benefit from the MyCiti rapid bus system and upkeep of certain infrastructure, but they incur the bulk of the costs of this regeneration. Planners must press for egalitarian solutions because such piecemeal development, if not properly directed, could result in the affordable housing being bought up and gentrification occurring. There is a great risk of gentrification as land values, and consequently rates, in the area increase. There is disagreement amongst residents and businesses owners on whether or not the regeneration of Salt River will lead to gentrification, as is the case in Woodstock.

4.5.3. Assessing Salt River based on criteria for democracy

Users of Salt River have a long history of protesting political and economic injustices. A number of individuals who were instrumental in the struggle against apartheid, such as Imam Doctor Rashid Omar and Judge Siraj Desai, are originally from Salt River. The African National Congress (ANC) and a number of workers' unions have their offices in Salt River. Marches to and from the trade union offices are common in Salt River as various groups actively demonstrate for fairer labour practises and increased wages. The Salt River Residents Association (SRRA) also organises its own marches against drug use in the area. These actions illustrate the agency of users of Salt River and their ability to resist both the local and global forces of decline and regeneration acting in the area (Abu-Lughod, 1994). Participation by less powerful groups in decision-making is undertaken through the Salt River Residents Association (SRRA). This collective governance structure (Fanstein, 2010) has only been lawfully constituted in terms of the city's processes. The SRRA can now have a representative sit on Councillor Herron's ward committee. This offers Salt River residents with a greater opportunity to influence decision-making (Dahl, 1967 cited in Fanstein, 2010). However, this increased opportunity to influence decision-making comes with a decreased ability to influence outcomes, as Mr Nasir (interview, 14 August 2013) argues:

We're dealing with a lot of rough elements at the moment. You know, you voice your opinion and you don't know what's going to happen the next time. So you'd rather just keep quiet. You know you can't speak out because then people take offence ... so you'd rather just keep quiet.

This is not necessarily indicative of a failure to provide all residents with the opportunity to communicate their ideas and concerns (Sandercock, 1998). This finding also calls into question the extent to which the SRRA can speak on behalf of residents, since residents are afraid to express their concerns in meetings. These unexpressed concerns weaken the SRRA as an institution as it cannot fairly represent the area's residents (Abu-Lughod, 1998 cited in Fanstein, 2000). However, as Fanstein (2010) argues, there is no need for everybody to participate. This is because community-based organisations and civil rights group operating in the area can be tasked to represent the individuals within the area of operation. Although the CoCT values citizen participation, the SRRA illustrates that this is difficult to execute in practice. The result of this is that individuals with low or no income are not involved in the shaping of their cities (Gorgens, 2011). This means that working class and lower-middle class households in the area are not able to exercise their rights to the city (Lefebvre, 2003) and consequently transform themselves and their city (Harvey, 2008).

Nevertheless, the SRRA provides an opportunity to continually engage Salt River users throughout the regeneration process, rather than only when decisions are made (Lupton, 2003). This means that users of Salt River must be included in the implementation and operational phases of initiatives (Fanstein, 2010). The research findings suggest that this has not been the case in Salt River. Firstly, not all the residents are aware of the CoCT's plans to upgrade the Salt River Market precinct, even though they have noticed that one of the walls has been lowered (Ms Ali, interview, 18 July 2013). It has taken approximately ten years for this small change proposed in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* to be effected. Ms Ismael (interview, 18 July 2013) notes:

I don't think they know what to do with it. Because they don't know who and what the population is within the boundaries. And that makes it difficult because they never consulted the residents. Unless they consulted the residents' association and it never filtered down. [SD] Raises the question of who the RA really represents.

The revelation that very few users of Salt River know of the proposals contained within the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* also calls into question the communication channels through which the SRRA disseminates information to the users of Salt River. The SRRA holds public meetings every two or three months. Secondly, the research findings indicate that Salt River residents are not being used to work on the construction sites. This means that very few users of Salt River are taking part in the area's regeneration. The layers of regulations and the concomitant costs they entail makes participation by small businesses too costly. This suggests that it may not only be the case that the UDZ scheme is not fully understood by the market, but that there are high financial barriers to participation for small businesses. This finding also confirms that the regeneration of Salt River is externally driven.

4.6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to analyse my research findings against the criteria established in chapter 2. The discussion in the first part of this chapter highlighted that the residential parts of Lower Salt River are in decline. Capital reinvestment, particularly along the main access routes, indicates that the commercial and industrial parts of Salt River are regenerating. The second section of this chapter, which assessed Salt River against the criteria for urban justice, highlighted that there is a disparity between what is desired and envisioned for the area in the plans and frameworks and what actually occurs on the ground and/or the outcomes of the proposed interventions. The aim of the economic strategies put forward primarily in the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* and the *Table Bay District Plan (2012)*, as well as the Main Streets Project that is currently being planned, is to reinforce existing economic nodes and concentrate economic activity where infrastructure already exists. The CoCT's current strategies meet the needs of big business and consequently the middle class. The findings, which are summarised in table 4.4, indicate that the working class stand to benefit very little, if at all, from all the changes occurring in the area.

Table 4.4: Summary of chapter 4 research findings

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA | SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR DECLINE | | | |
| Decrease in capital investment | Little or no new construction | Is Salt River in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The residential portions of Lower Salt River are in decline - Capital reinvestment along the major routes indicates that the commercial and industrial portions of Salt River are regenerating |
| | Abandonment of buildings | | |
| | Closure of shops and businesses | | |
| Aging or Deteriorating Housing Stock | Decrease in median household income | | |
| | Falling rental prices | | |
| | Dumping of household items/rubbish | | |
| Development of an informal settlement | Poorly maintained common areas | | |
| | Inadequate housing | | |
| | Overcrowding | | |
| | Lack of basic services | | |
| OVERARCHING "JUST CITY" CRITERIA | | | |
| Diversity | Diverse and mixed land uses | Are different land uses and activities finely mixed? | - Different uses and activities are not finely mixed and efforts by planners to keep commercial activities out of the residential parts of Salt River are preventing the development of a fine grain |

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA | SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | mix of uses. |
| | Widely accessible and varied public spaces | Is there a variety of public spaces in Salt River? How accessible are these spaces? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are very few recreational facilities that are open to the public in the area - The streets and sidewalks are a key public space particularly for children however poor maintenance of these and dumping prevent the use of these for playing. |
| | Porous boundaries between neighbourhoods | Are there any barriers between Salt River and its adjoining neighbourhoods? | - The railway line acts as barrier between Salt River and Maitland. |
| Equity | Affordable housing units to be kept in perpetuity | Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The CoCT does not have a one-to-one replacement policy for affordable housing even though they do want more affordable housing opportunities in the area. - A number of affordable houses in the area have been sold recently. - The clearance of Pickwick Road informal settlement has reduced the amount of affordable housing available in the area. - There are plans to develop some affordable housing as |

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA | SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | part of an inclusionary housing project on The Pickwick Road site. |
| | Economic development programmes should prioritise small businesses and employees | What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the Revitalisation Framework? | - No provisions are made specifically for small businesses. The only provisions made for informal traders are through the upgrade of the Salt River Market precinct. |
| | Intra-city transport fares to be kept low | What investment has the CoCT made in terms of transport infrastructure? | - The CoCT has introduced the MyCiti rapid bus service in the area. |
| | Planners must press for egalitarian solutions | Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River? | - Big businesses and property developers primarily as well as the CoCT through the higher rates that it can collect. |
| Democracy | Everybody should participate directly in decision making | Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework? | - Very few Salt River residents participated in the drafting of the framework but representatives of the Salt River Coordinating Committee, Salt River Fire Station, NGOs and the Principal of Salt River High school. |

Let us now turn to the final chapter of this dissertation in which policy recommendations – aimed at addressing some of the findings derived from this research – are put forward.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This dissertation aimed to assess the manner in which the neighbourhood of Salt River is changing, and how the CoCT has facilitated and managed this change. Specifically, and in relation to the main and subsidiary research questions asked, my research examined the implications and outcomes of the changes occurring in Salt River. This examination was undertaken by employing the theoretical framework established in chapter 2. This framework was founded on the concept of the 'Just City' and its three principles of diversity, equity and democracy, which, in turn, became the overarching criteria used to evaluate neighbourhood change in the case study area.

Chapter 4 presents and analyses the research findings in relation to the main and subsidiary research questions. My research findings illustrate that parts of Salt River are, indeed, in decline. However, the commercial and industrial parts of Salt River, which are part of the UDZ, are regenerating. The outcomes of these two different processes of neighbourhood change present distinct challenges to the attainment of a 'just' neighbourhood, in the sense as outlined by Fainstein (2010) (see chapter 2). In a bid to foster the regeneration of the area, the CoCT has implemented the UDZ. The municipality's assumption is that the benefits of this scheme will, eventually, trickle down to the parts of Salt River that are not included in the UDZ. When this finding is assessed against the three overarching criteria for a just city, the overall conclusion is that the working class residents and small business operators in Salt River are likely to benefit very little from the implementation of a UDZ. In fact, they will bear the brunt of the cost of the changes that are brought about by both the decline and the regeneration of the areas within the UDZ.

The aim of this chapter is to synthesise the research findings. In so doing, the answers to the main and subsidiary research questions will be provided in the first and second sections of this chapter. The third section will provide recommendations for planners and policymakers within the CoCT in particular. These recommendations, if implemented, might promote more 'just' outcomes for Salt River's diverse residents and users. This section will also identify some avenues for future research in relation to some of the recommendations that are made. The fourth section details the limitations to the study. Lastly, the final section of this chapter is a reflection on the research process and findings.

5.2. Answers to the research questions

5.2.1. Is Salt River in in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline?

In order to answer the main research question I had to establish, firstly, if Salt River is in decline. This question is asked with the additional aim of understanding whether or not calls for the regeneration of the area by the CoCT are warranted. My research findings indicate that only the residential parts of lower Salt River meet the criteria for 'decline', as established in chapter 2. A process of regeneration is taking place in the commercial and industrial parts of Salt River. These dual processes create a challenging environment in which efforts that promote the criteria for urban justice – diversity, equity and democracy – cannot be thought of as secondary to economic development.

5.2.2. Inadequate planning for, and facilitation of, diversity

The CoCT's policies and frameworks include the *idea* of 'planning for diversity'. However, as Jacobs (1964) argues, diversity cannot be planned for. It needs to be respected and facilitated by allowing diversity to emerge organically. The City's policies and frameworks are also crafted to 'promote diversity'. However, there are no clear strategies in the frameworks and plans on how this diversity is to be promoted or maintained. Furthermore, the extent to which the CoCT seeks diversity in the area is questionable. This is because the CoCT, through its development approval processes, hinders the fine grain mixing of different land uses and activities. In particular, actions by municipal planners to prevent commercial activities from being established within the residential portions of Lower Salt River illustrate an unwillingness to disrupt the existing visual order of the area by creating a fine grain mix of uses in Salt River.

This lack of a fine grain mix of uses has, in many respects, restricted the flow of people through Salt River to peak times alone (cf. chapter 4). This has had the adverse effect of leaving smaller streets empty for most of the day. Put differently, there are no “eyes on the street”, as Jacobs (1964) argues, outside of peak pedestrian traffic times. This absence of pedestrians has negatively impacted small businesses in the area. It has also impacted the extent to which available public spaces—namely, parks and sidewalks—are utilised for informal trading and playing by children, for example. The streets and sidewalks are not acknowledged by the CoCT in its plans and frameworks as a key

public space which can be utilised for anything other than the through-movement of traffic. This again calls into question the CoCT's commitment to diversity, as the CoCT neither promotes nor facilitates the usage of public spaces in multiple and unplanned ways.

Findings indicate that unplanned activities, namely informal trading, are not encouraged by the CoCT within Salt River. But neither are they explicitly discouraged in any of the policies, plans and frameworks for the area. However, a failure to respond positively to these and other unplanned activities, by, for example, providing street traders with mobile stalls, indicates that the plans and frameworks fail to promote diversity.

5.2.3. Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies, provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity?

As a working class neighbourhood, it is imperative that a pool of affordable housing be retained in perpetuity. However, the CoCT does not have any policies in place that provide for the maintenance of affordable housing in perpetuity. This is particularly worrying as the regeneration policies rely on the market to drive regeneration in areas such as Salt River. The lack of an affordable housing policy, or a one-to-one replacement policy within Salt River, allows for the pool of affordable housing in the area to be bought up. It also increases the possibility that gentrification could take place. Property prices are already rising in the area, and this is likely to increase as regeneration continues. The absence of an affordable housing policy or a replacement policy is therefore highly problematic.

5.2.4. What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the Revitalisation Framework?

Salt River is in a state of flux. The changes occurring within the area are not sudden, despite perceptions that they may have been. The area's ideal location and high permeability make it an ideal location for both commercial and residential purposes. The area is no longer appealing for manufacturing activities due to the high rental prices for industrial spaces in Salt River. Small businesses may also be forced to close down as high rental prices make it unaffordable for them to operate their businesses in Salt River.

The CoCT has not made any explicit provisions for small businesses, particularly those that cater for the needs of the local residents. The only provision made for small businesses is the upgrade of the Salt River Market. However, this upgrade may disadvantage traders who are currently operating there, as rental prices for space in the Market precinct will rise. Small businesses and informal traders will also be further disadvantaged by the implementation of the CID. The CoCT has made no provisions to reduce or subsidise the rates that small businesses must pay. This additional financial burden will severely hamper small businesses' efforts to meet the needs of their clients without increasing prices, thereby making their goods and services unaffordable for working class households.

5.2.5. What investment has the CoCT made in terms of transport infrastructure?

The CoCT has extended the MyCiti rapid bus service into Salt River. This bus service offers an affordable alternative mode of travel for individuals coming from, particularly, the northern suburbs, such as Table Bay, who do not have the option of using rail transport. The Salt River station is scheduled for an upgrade, but this is going to be undertaken by the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA).

5.2.6. Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River?

The CoCT and big businesses have and will continue to benefit from the regeneration of Salt River. The implementation of the UDZ scheme, in particular, has given big businesses tax benefits for any redevelopments they undertake in the area. Businesses also benefit from the maintenance and upgrading of existing infrastructure, including a broadband cable, in Salt River. The CoCT will, in turn, benefit from the increased rates that it will receive. The CoCT will also benefit from leasing land for parking facilities if the proposal to privatise parking is implemented. Residents, in particular working class households and small businesses, stand to benefit very little from the regeneration. In fact, they will bear the cost of regeneration as the occupants of most households are tenants, as opposed to homeowners. Increased property rates will lead to an increase in rent and residents will be forced to relocate. As most working class households are leasing, they will not benefit from the increase in property prices.

5.2.7. Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework?

The majority of individuals consulted in the drafting of the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)* were residents of and owners of businesses in Woodstock. Very few residents of Salt River were consulted. It is unclear whether or not the SRRA was consulted in the drafting process as they are not mentioned in the document or in the appendices that list the groups and individuals consulted.

The fact that the majority of the people consulted were residents and users of Woodstock is both telling and worrying. Woodstock has gentrified (Garside, 1993). It is now a middle class suburb. The finding that Woodstock residents were the majority of individuals consulted accounts, in part, for the downplaying of social issues in the plans and frameworks as these issues, namely drugs, plague the working class who are ill-equipped to pay for help from the private sector. Working class households rely on the State to help them curb these ills. It is evident that the CoCT relies strongly on the private sector to provide some of the services that it should be providing. This is evidenced by the reliance on non-governmental organisations (NGO) to address social concerns in the area such as drug usage and homelessness. This is also seen in the existence of policies that facilitate the implementation of CIDs which consequently seek the services of private security firms.

The finding that very few residents and small business owners in Salt River participated in the process of drafting the revitalisation framework calls into question the CoCT's commitment to ensuring that the outcomes of regeneration are equitable. Although public participation was undertaken by the consultants who drafted the framework, it is the responsibility of the CoCT to ensure that all residents are adequately represented. This does not appear to have been done. Consequently, the CoCT missed an opportunity to find out what the users of Salt River really want and how they use the space. The issues raised in section 4.5.3 in relation to the SRRA also call into question the extent to which subsequent plans have captured the concerns of the working class.

5.2.8. How should municipal planners and policymakers engage more effectively with processes of decline and regeneration that are leading to the spatial and socio-economic fabric of Salt River?

From the findings, the study has found that the CoCT—despite claims in the various plans and frameworks that they are pro-diversity and pro-mixed use—prioritises economic development at the expense of social development. The current ‘trickle down’ approach to the residential portions of Lower Salt River is inadequate, particularly in light of the fact that CoCT planners strive to keep commercial developments outside of the residential areas. This negatively impacts efforts to attain a diverse, mixed use environment (cf. chapter 4). Furthermore, this has the (unintended) consequences of promoting spatial segregation of the middle and working classes. This, in turn, suggests that economically-oriented plans and frameworks promote, to some extent, racial segregation in Salt River. When we consider the legacy of apartheid in South Africa, such findings hamper attempts to redress this legacy.

It is therefore imperative for planners to lead regeneration efforts, rather than leaving the market to its own devices. Planners must engage more critically with the processes of decline and regeneration that are occurring in Salt River. In particular, planners need to engage more directly with the processes of decline that are occurring in the residential parts of Salt River where the majority of the working class households are located (cf. chapter 4). The benefits for working class residents from current economic regeneration strategies, namely the UDZ scheme, are minimal at best. Whilst the CoCT views Salt River as an area in which minimal investment of public funds is needed to help the area reach its full potential, this view does not hold true for all parts of Salt River. Additional investments of public funds must be made in the residential parts of Salt River. Arguably, these portions of Salt River have better infrastructure than poorer parts of Cape Town, such as Khayelitsha and Mitchell’s Plain. However, Salt River faces significant social challenges. Working class households need the (financial) support of the CoCT and the Western Cape Provincial Government (WCPG), since big businesses do not have the concerns of working class households at heart. Thus far, the CoCT’s investment and the economic developments made in the area have done very little to improve the socio-economic conditions for the majority of working class households.

The recommendations outlined in the next section detail some of the actions that municipal planners might need to consider in order to address some of the concerns raised by my research.

5.3. Recommendations

Most of the recommendations in this section relate to some of the proposed 'solutions' derived from the literature (cf. chapter 2). The other recommendations made in this section are suggested by the research findings. The latter will be clearly indicated.

5.3.1. Recommendations for diversity

Research findings indicate that Salt River is a very diverse neighbourhood in terms of the people who reside there. For example, the number of foreign nationals who live in Salt River has increased over the past ten years. This increase has been accompanied by an increase in the number of shops catering to their needs. This has also resulted in a decrease in the number of shops catering for the South African users of Salt River. The implications of this are two-fold and are based on the fieldwork findings. Firstly, the decrease in the number of shops catering to the South African segment of the Salt River population compromises the ability of working class households to access food. This is because some of the foreign-run shops sell non-Halaal foods, whereas others sell food that does not form part of their staple diet. The CoCT must therefore conduct a study to determine the food (in)security levels of working class households in Salt River. A neighbourhood level plan for food security in Salt River must be created to accompany the city scale *Urban Agricultural Policy (2007)*. This policy suggests that individuals grow their own food. However, this is not entirely feasible in Salt River, where properties are very small and there is not enough space to grow fresh produce. Households may be able to grow their own foods if community gardens can be created. Two possible locations for these gardens include school yards, in particular the Salt River Moslem Primary School whose fields are lying unused at present, and the open space behind the Spencer Road Community Clinic. If these spaces are to be utilised as community gardens, residents must seek permission from the school authorities, the Provincial Department of Education and the CoCT. The SRRRA assist residents to get the necessary permission and coordinate gardening activities.

Secondly, as foreign nationals establish themselves, perceptions that foreign nationals are taking over 'all' the shops, and, consequently, taking away jobs from South Africans may arise. This has the potential to increase tensions between South Africans and foreign nationals. Tensions, in turn, may manifest in xenophobic attacks. It is imperative that the CoCT, in conjunction with local NGOs and religious institutions, create strategies that seek to integrate all residents by addressing any tensions that may arise due to differences of a cultural, religious or nationality nature.

The discouragement of commercial activities along the main routes of Salt River has failed to create the fine grain mix of activities that Jacobs (1964) argues for. The implication of this is that individuals need to get into their cars or commute to other areas to meet all their needs. It is not 'bad' to concentrate business and retail activities along the main thoroughfares of an urban system, where such activities benefit from the traffic generated by the access routes. Businesses, even small scale businesses, need to be located where activities take place. But this is not to suggest that we segregate residential and business uses via a zoning plan. I, therefore, recommend that the CoCT rethinks its current policy by relaxing heritage regulations in the residential portions of Lower Salt River to allow for a mix of uses, including opportunities to work from home. This does not necessarily entail rezoning the area to mixed use (M1 – M3) under the CoCT zoning scheme as these have higher rates attached to them. An overlay zone can be created to allow for these 'different' uses, namely home-based activities such as tailoring services, to cater for the needs of local residents. These activities do not generate much traffic and do not require delivery trucks to drop off supplies.

The location of parks on the fringes of Salt River makes these public spaces difficult to access. As such, they are severely underutilised. Research findings indicate that the streets and sidewalks are key public spaces in which children play. I recommend that landscaping and non-physical traffic calming measures, such as additional road signage, should be introduced by the CoCT on the streets that go through the residential parts of Salt River. Non-physical interventions are proposed because the roads in Salt River are already narrow and most of the roads branching off Albert Road and Victoria Road are one-ways. If, and when, streets begin to be utilised for more activities then physical traffic calming measures such as speed humps and speed tables can then be introduced. The CoCT and the CID can work together with community residents to clean up these streets and create a healthier environment for children to play in and for residents to meet. In this regard, public spaces can begin to be used for more than one purpose (Jacobs, 1964).

5.3.2. Recommendations for equity

At present there is no policy that mandates that affordable housing should be maintained in perpetuity. There is also no policy to suggest a one-to-one replacement of affordable housing if such housing is to be demolished so that the site can be used as a location for another activity. The lack of such policies is worrying. This does not, however, prevent middle class individuals and/or property

developers from buying the affordable housing in the area and reselling it at higher prices. This will result in the displacement of working class households (cf. chapter 4). I recommend that the CoCT create an affordable housing policy which mandates that, firstly, affordable housing should be maintained in perpetuity and is subject to a one-to-one replacement policy (Fanstein, 2010). Secondly, this policy should stipulate a minimum percentage of development costs that should be set aside by developers for the maintenance of existing affordable housing in the area. Additional policies should be created that require large developments, exceeding five million Rands for example, to employ local residents both during and after (re)development is complete (Fanstein, 2010).

The current prioritisation of economic development over social development is leading to the magnification of social ills in the residential portions of Salt River. It is also (unintentionally) promoting the segregation of the middle class from the working class. I recommend that the CoCT create a social development strategy for Salt River that is cognisant of the new realities that working class households face in the present day. This framework should be drawn up and implemented by the CoCT in conjunction with residents, local NGOs, small and big businesses, the SRRA as well as civic and religious leaders.

The CoCT has done very little, if anything, to accommodate small businesses and informal traders. With particular respect to informal traders, the CoCT can provide informal traders with mobile and/or fixed stalls from which to operate their businesses from. In so doing, traders will be expected to rent these stalls from the City, thereby making it unaffordable. Rather, I recommend that greater flexibility should be applied in the enforcement of the City's by-laws to allow informal trading to occur in strategic locations. It is also recommended that the CoCT and the CID should not force these traders to move from their current locations, particularly once the Salt River Market Precinct is complete, as this would adversely impact the amount of money that the traders can earn each day.

5.3.3. Recommendations for democracy

The limited consultation of Salt River residents during the development of the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework* (2002) illustrates that ensuring all voices are heard is a difficult task. However, it is one that must be undertaken. Residents of Salt River should be consulted during the

drafting of the new social development framework. This will ensure that their concerns are heard and incorporated into the framework. This also serves to ensure that proposed strategies are culturally appropriate. If a consultant is appointed to create the social development framework, then it is the responsibility of the CoCT to ensure that public consultation is undertaken. Meetings need to be held at appropriate times of the day to ensure that working class individuals do not have to take time off from work to attend participatory gatherings.

Residents of Salt River should also be consulted on the kinds of small scale businesses that they will permit into the residential parts of Salt River (see figure 5.1). Even though the area is protected from a heritage perspective, it would be beneficial from a diversity point of view to permit some mix of land uses in suitable locations. This will also make it easier for individuals to operate small businesses within their homes.

University of Cape Town

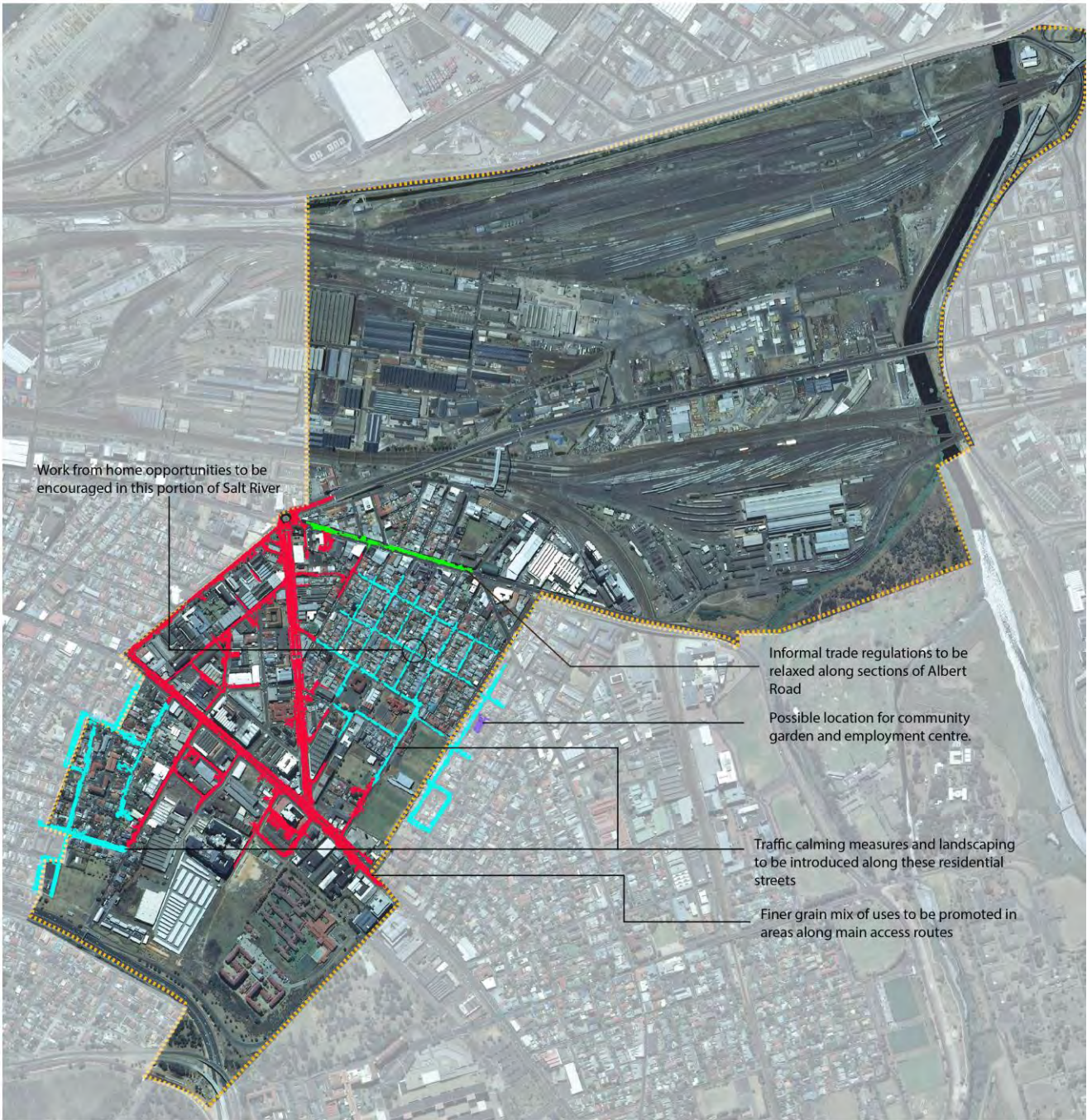


Figure 5.1: Spatialisation of the Recommendations (Aerial Image Source: NGI, 2013).

5.4. Limitations to the study

A key constraint to this research is time. Time considerations made it necessary to limit the number of research participants involved in the research. Although the research participants included in this research offered a wealth of information, this research would have benefitted from the inclusion of

the voices of the homeless residents who are 'absent' from the case area during the day; residents who have relocated, either voluntarily or forcibly from Salt River; a representative from NM & Associates who drew up the *Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (2002)*; foreign nationals; and students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) who live in student residences in Salt River. Secondly, the time factor also curtailed the amount of in-depth fieldwork that I could undertake. Additional time in the field could have been spent with different users of Salt River – including with many more working class households, the homeless and foreign nationals who have recently moved into Salt River – to gain a greater understanding of how they perceive and use Salt River.

A second limitation was the unavailability of certain statistical and qualitative information. This included statistics on the number of foreign nationals residing in Salt River as well as the cultural and/or religious affiliation of Salt River residents in 2011. This information was collected by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) during the census. However, the information was not processed at the neighbourhood scale, and, as such it was unavailable. Additional information that I was unable to obtain was the precinct plan for the Salt River station, which is scheduled for upgrade. This information would have enhanced the research findings and consequently the recommendations made in this chapter.

5.5. Reflections and conclusion

Very early on in my fieldwork I was stopped by a police officer as I was walking down Albert Road. The police officer wanted to make sure that I was not lost and that I was okay. It was at that moment that I became fully aware of how much of an outsider I was in Salt River, and how evident my 'outsider' status was to those observing me. Even as I walked through some of the more deserted streets, I felt as though someone was watching me. This perception added to the anxiety that I felt in the early days as I walked through streets that were, at that time, unfamiliar to me. The police officer's warning to keep all valuables tucked away, and to be extra vigilant, did not help allay my fears. These fears dissipated over time as I became more familiar with the area. Salt River is a very vibrant neighbourhood. It is not difficult to imagine that it could be even more vibrant once social development is prioritised, and the benefits of regeneration are distributed equitably to all users of Salt River.

The streets have become, and may continue to become, less important, because streets seem to serve only as thoroughfares. This is because the area has undergone some cultural devitalisation, even if research participants do not explicitly say so. The underutilisation of public spaces (including the streets of the neighbourhood) is a possible indication that cultural devitalisation has occurred in Salt River. Smith (1996) argues that cultural devitalisation of working class neighbourhoods is a consequence of gentrification. My research findings suggest that this is occurring in Salt River. Social activities are conducted indoors in dining rooms and lounges, as opposed to outdoors on sidewalks and streets. Research findings indicate that the reason for a retreat to private spaces is due to dumping. The non-physical traffic calming measures and landscaping I recommend may, therefore, help re-orient streets around pedestrians by making the public spaces and streets more inviting and 'livable'.

I note above (section 5.4) that time is a key constraint to my research. There has not been enough time for me to step back and critically reflect on the research process and findings. In conclusion, Chapter 1 presented the problem under study. The chapter provided an overview of the processes of urban regeneration in Cape Town. The chapter looked at how the outbound flow of private and public capital gave rise to perceptions, by the CoCT, of Salt River as an area in decline and consequently in need of regeneration. On the basis of this perception, the main research question was established.

Chapter 2 contained the theoretical framework through which the case study area was analysed. The theoretical framework was based on a review of relevant literature. Using the invasion-succession model and Hoover and Vernon's (1959) neighbourhood life cycle model, criteria for assessing neighbourhood decline were established. Criteria for urban justice were also established in this chapter on the basis of Fanstein's (2010) concept of the Just City.

Chapter 3 outlined the research methods and techniques used to gather the data. The chapter explained the methods and techniques, and how they were used to undertake this study. The limitations of each of these methods and techniques were also discussed.

Chapter 4 presented my research findings and analysed the data using the assessment criteria established in chapter 2. The chapter began by assessing whether or not Salt River is in decline, as the CoCT had suggested it was. The findings indicated that only the residential portions of Salt River met the criteria for decline. The commercial parts of Salt River are now regenerating. The research findings presented in Chapter 4 were then synthesised in this chapter. Recommendations were drawn from the research findings and presented in this chapter. They are summarised in table 5.1 below. Before presenting this table, I wish to end my dissertation with a quote from the book titled *The Delmonico Two O Five*. In the book Jermieson (1991: 125 - 126) writes:

Although a great deal of what I write about has vanished, a surprising amount remains, if you are prepared to look [for it]. I hope you will. But don't look for the treasure under the Fisherman's Field stone ... that has already been done.

University of Cape Town

Table 5.1: Summary of Chapter 5 recommendations

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA | SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS | RECOMMENDATIONS |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR DECLINE | | | | |
| Decrease in capital investment | Little or no new construction | Is Salt River in need of regeneration? In other words, is (or was) Salt River in decline? | -The residential portions of Lower Salt River are in decline -Capital reinvestment along the major routes indicates that the commercial and industrial portions of Salt River are regenerating. | - Social development needs to be prioritised. To this end, a social development framework must be drafted and implemented. |
| | Abandonment of buildings | | | |
| | Closure of shops and businesses | | | |
| Aging or Deteriorating Housing Stock | Decrease in median household income | | | |
| | Falling rental prices | | | |
| | Dumping of household items/rubbish | | | |
| Development of an informal settlement | Poorly maintained common areas | | | |
| | Inadequate housing | | | |
| | Overcrowding | | | |
| | Lack of basic services | | | |
| OVERARCHING "JUST CITY" CRITERIA | | | | |
| Diversity | Diverse and mixed land uses | Are different land uses and activities finely mixed? | - Different uses and activities are not finely mixed and efforts by planners to keep commercial activities out of the residential parts of Salt River are preventing the development of a fine grain mix of uses. | - Small scale work from home opportunities that will be of benefit to local residents should be permitted within the residential portions of Salt River. - Streets and sidewalks need to be reimagined as multi-purpose public spaces that are more than thoroughfares. |
| | Widely accessible and varied public spaces | Is there a variety of public spaces in Salt River? How accessible are these spaces? | - There are very few recreational facilities that are open to the public in the area - The streets and sidewalks are a key public space particularly for children however poor maintenance of these and dumping prevent the use of these for playing. | |
| | Porous boundaries between neighbourhoods | Are there any barriers between Salt River and its adjoining neighbourhoods? | - The railway line acts as barrier between Salt River and Maitland. | |

| | ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW | SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA | SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS | RECOMMENDATIONS |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Equity | Affordable housing units to be kept in perpetuity | Does the CoCT, through its regeneration policies provide for affordable housing to be maintained in perpetuity? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The CoCT does not have a one-to-one replacement policy for affordable housing even though they do want more affordable housing opportunities in the area. - A number of affordable houses in the area have been sold recently. - The clearance of Pickwick Road informal settlement has reduced the amount of affordable housing available in the area. - There are plans to develop some affordable housing as part of an inclusionary housing project on The Pickwick Road site. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An affordable housing policy should be developed which mandates that affordable housing should be maintained in perpetuity and is subject to one-to-one replacement. - Appropriate provisions should be made for informal traders including the relaxation of informal trade regulations along sections of Albert Road. |
| | Economic development programmes should prioritise small businesses and employees | What provisions, if any, are made for small businesses in the Revitalisation Framework? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No provisions are made specifically for small businesses. The only provisions made for informal traders are through the upgrade of the Salt River Market precinct. | |
| | Intra-city transport fares to be kept low | What investment has the CoCT made in terms of transport infrastructure? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The CoCT has introduced the MyCiti rapid bus service in the area. | |
| | Planners must press for egalitarian solutions | Who has (and is) benefitting from the regeneration of Salt River? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Big businesses and property developers primarily as well as the CoCT through the higher rates that it can collect. | |
| Democracy | Everybody should participate directly in decision making | Who was consulted in the process of drafting the Revitalisation Framework? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very few Salt River residents participated in the drafting of the framework but representatives of the Salt River Coordinating Committee, Salt River Fire Station, NGOs and the Principal of Salt River High school. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Salt River residents, in particular working class households, must be consulted in the process of drafting of the social development framework; the types of businesses that should be permitted in the residential portions of Salt River. |

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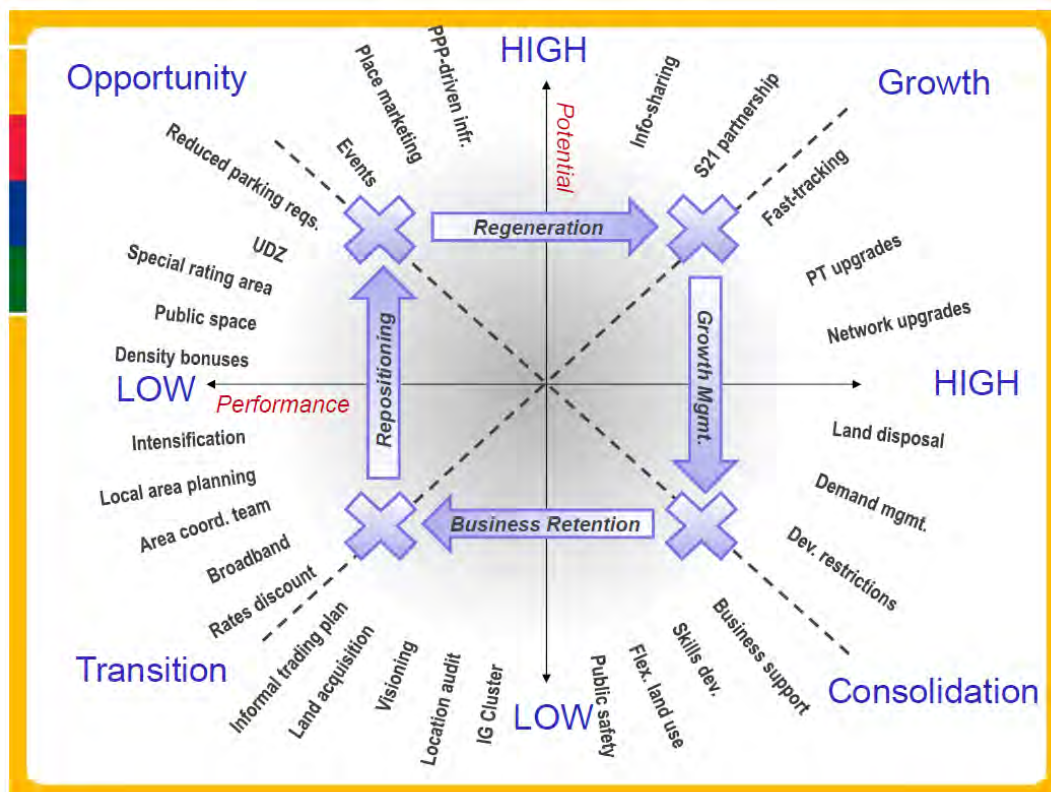
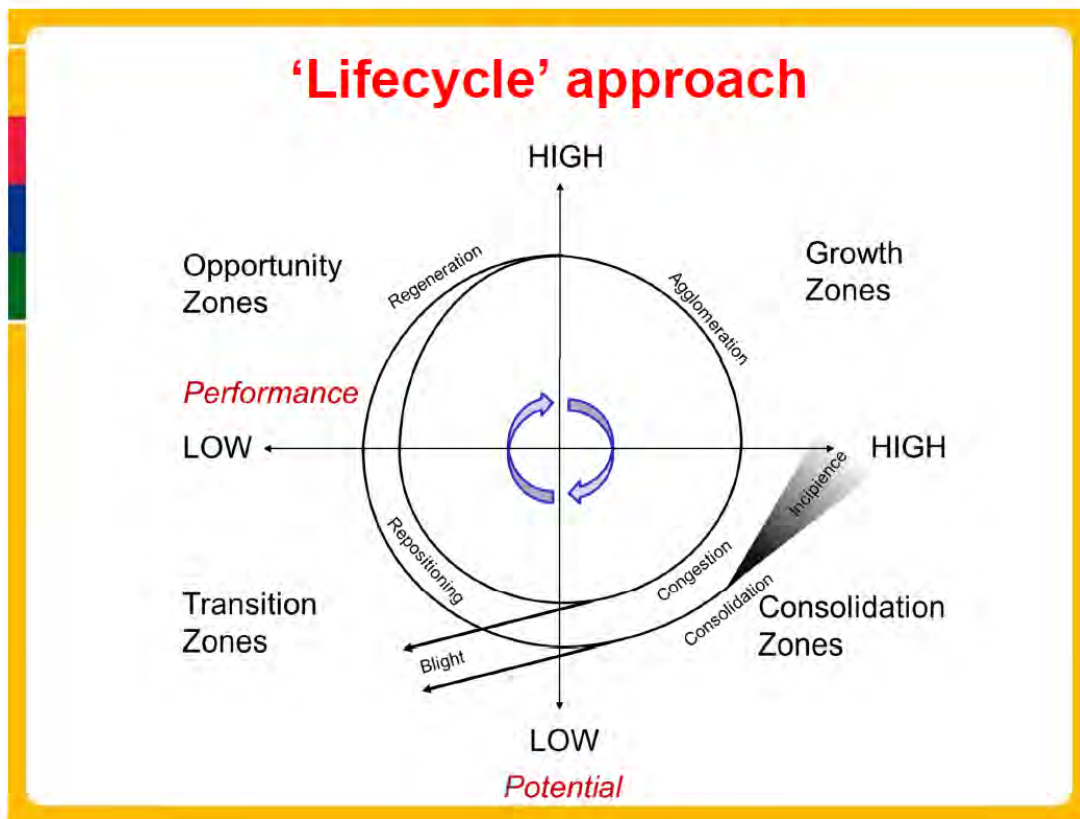
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Appendix

University of Cape Town

Appendix A: CoCT Life Cycle Model



Appendix B: EBE Faculty Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects

University of Cape Town

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects (Rev2)

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee: submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za; Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791).
NB: A copy of this signed form must be included with the thesis/dissertation/report when it is submitted for examination

This form must only be completed once the most recent revision EBE EIR Handbook has been read.

Name of Principal Researcher/Student: Nobukhosi Ngwenya

Department: School of Architecture, Planning & Geomatics

Preferred email address of the applicant: nobukhosingwenya@gmail.com

If a Student, degree: Master's of City and Regional Planning (Dissertation by course work)

If a Research, indicate source of funding/sponsorship: N/A

Supervisor: Dr Tanja Winkler

Research Project Title: Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation as a Process in need of Management: An Exploration

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|
| Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)? | | NO |
| Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2. | YES | |
| Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3. | | NO |
| Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4. | N/A | |

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate. Ensure that you refer to the EIR Handbook to assist you in completing the documentation requirements for this form.

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 and signature | Date |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Principal Researcher/Student: | Nobukhosi Ngwenya | 27 May 2013 |

This application is approved by:

| | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------|
| Supervisor (if applicable): | | 28 May 2013 |
| HOD (or delegated nominee): <i>Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.</i> | | |
| Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions. | | 26/08/2013 |

ADDENDUM 2: To be completed if you answered YES to Question 2:

It is assumed that you have read the UCT Code for Research Involving Human Subjects (available at <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/educate/download/uctcodeforresearchinvolvinghumansubjects.pdf>) in order to be able to answer the questions in this addendum.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----|
| 2.1 Does the research discriminate against participation by individuals, or differentiate between participants, on the grounds of gender, race or ethnic group, age range, religion, income, handicap, illness or any similar classification? | | NO |
| 2.2 Does the research require the participation of socially or physically vulnerable people (children, aged, disabled, etc) or legally restricted groups? | | NO |
| 2.3 Will you not be able to secure the informed consent of all participants in the research? (In the case of children, will you not be able to obtain the consent of their guardians or parents?) | | NO |
| 2.4 Will any confidential data be collected or will identifiable records of individuals be kept? | | NO |
| 2.5 In reporting on this research is there any possibility that you will not be able to keep the identities of the individuals involved anonymous? | | NO |
| 2.6 Are there any foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might occur in the course of the research? | | NO |
| 2.7 Does the research include making payments or giving gifts to any participants? | | NO |

If you have answered YES to any of these questions, please describe below how you plan to address these issues:

Sample List of Questions:

The sample list of questions is presented below. It is important to note that not all the questions may, and need not, be asked. They merely serve as a guide.

Main question:

- What has changed in your area in the time that you have been living and/or working here?

Additional Questions:

- How big or small is this change?
- Is this change/are these changes problematic?
 - Why?
- Are there specific parts of your neighborhood that have undergone greater change than others?
 - Which areas?
- When did this change begin?
- How do you explain these changes?
- Is there anything that should be done to address these changes?

Clarifying Questions:

- Can you expand a little on this?
- Can you give me some examples?

Interview Format:

1. Introduction to the research:

- overview of the purpose of the interview
- intended uses for the interview data
- measures to ensure confidentiality
- seek permission to voice record the interview and take notes

2. Seek background information:

- Who is the respondent?
- Does he/she live in the area and/or work in the area?
 - Since when?
 - What influenced your decision to live and/or work in the area?

3. Main part of the interview:

The aim in this part of the interview is to obtain information related to the topic under study. The questions may be phrased differently in the various interviews in a bid to adapt them to the respondent's position.

4. Concluding the interview:

- Are there any other changes that we have not addressed that you find problematic?

The purpose of this question is to ensure that any aspects of changes to the physical fabric of the study area that I may have overlooked can be raised by the respondent. This also serves to provide the researcher with some more general knowledge about the study area.

University of Cape Town

Appendix C: 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

June 2013

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF A MASTERS DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it, so keep copies with you.

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

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Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 13/07/2013



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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

June 2013

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(_____
Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 14 8 2013



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Signature of student

Date: 16/08/2013



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Signature of student

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Signature of student

Date:

19/9/2013

Appendix D: Salt River Area Profile

| ECAMP Area Profile | | Salt River | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------------|
| | Sub-Indicators | Input Value | Class | Descriptor | |
| PERFORMANCE | Industrial rentals 2012 (1000 sq. m2) | R 33 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Industrial rentals growth 2005 - 12 (nominal) | 72.8% | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Industrial rental growth 2009 - 12 (nominal) | -2.4% | 1 | LOW | |
| | Office rentals 2012 (A Grade) | R 90 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Office rental growth 2005 - 12 (nominal) | 0.0% | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| | Office rental growth 2009 - 12 (nominal) | 28.6% | 5 | HIGH | |
| | Street-front retail rental (100m2, 2009) HI | R 60 | 1 | LOW | |
| | Street-front retail rental (100m2, 2009) LO | R 55 | 2 | BELOW AVERAGE | |
| | Street-front rental (2012) | R 68 | 1 | LOW | |
| | Industrial vacancy index 2012 | 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| | Office vacancy index 2012 (Grade A, %) | 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| | New industrial building development, m2 (2005 - 11) | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| | New office building development, m2 (2005 - 11) | 93435 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| | New shopping development, m2 (2005 - 11) | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| | New building development, all types, by floor area (2005 - 11) | 93435 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Subm. for new industrial buildings, by floor area (2009 - 11) | 4255 | 2 | BELOW AVERAGE | |
| | Subm. for new office buildings, by floor area (2009 - 11) | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| | Subm. for new shopping, by floor area (2009 - 11) | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| | Subm. for all new buildings, by floor area (2009 - 11) | 4255 | 2 | BELOW AVERAGE | |
| | Compl. non-residential adds and alts, by floor area (2005 - 11) | 29813 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Subm. non-res. adds and alt, by floor area (2009 - 11) | 6724 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Demolitions (2005 - 11) | | | FALSE | |
| | Property churn (excl. single dwelling res.) (2005 - 8) | 26.0% | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| | Property churn (excl. single dwelling res.) (2009 - 12) | 18.0% | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| | Industrial vacant land sales (volume 2005 - 12) | R 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| | Industrial vacant land sales (volume 2005 - 12) | 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| | LOCATION POTENTIAL | Office, by gross floorspace (2009) | 184 851 | 3 | AVERAGE |
| | | Street-front, by gross floorspace (2009) | 131 608 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE |
| | | Shopping, by gross floorspace (2009) | 0 | 1 | MINOR |
| | | Industrial, by gross floorspace (2009) | 492 576 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE |
| | | Warehousing, by gross floorspace (2009) | 225 904 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE |
| | | Light industrial, by gross floorspace (2009) | 42 231 | 3 | AVERAGE |
| | | Conventional industrial, by floorspace (2009) | 223 993 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE |
| | | Commuter arrivals (all modes) | 107 867 | 5 | MAJOR |
| | | R/m2 for improved industrial property (2009) | R 2 670 | 5 | EXPENSIVE |
| | | R/m2 for improved commercial property (2009) | R 5 761 | 3 | AVERAGE |
| Total value of improved industrial properties (2009) | | R 1 075 719 500 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| Total value of improved commercial properties (2009) | | R 1 627 806 925 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| Average value of improved industrial properties (2009) | | R 4 677 041 | 2 | SLIGHTLY CHEAP | |
| Average value of improved commercial properties (2009) | | R 2 787 341 | 1 | CHEAP | |
| Count of improved industrial properties (2009) | | 230 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| Total internal floor space, all industrial uses (2009) | | 492 576 | 4 | LARGE | |
| Total extent of improved industrial properties (2009) | | 402 958 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| Net change in extent of improved industrial land (2000 - 2009) | | -53 733 | 1 | MAJOR CONTRACTION | |
| Net change in extent of improved industrial land (2006 - 2009) | | -60 209 | 1 | MAJOR CONTRACTION | |
| Average size of improved industrial property (2009) | | 1 752 | 1 | SMALL | |
| Average size of improved commercial property (2009) | | 964 | 1 | SMALL | |
| R/m2 of vacant industrial land (2009) | | R 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| R/m2 of vacant industrial land (2006) | | R 544 | 4 | SLIGHTLY EXPENSIVE | |
| R/m2 of vacant industrial land (2000) | | R 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| CPI-adjusted % increase in R/m2 of vacant industrial land (2000 - 9) | | 0.0% | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| CPI-adjusted % increase in R/m2 of vacant industrial land (2006 - 9) | | 0.0% | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| Nett change in extent of vacant industrial land (2000 - 9) | | 0 | NO DATA | NO DATA | |
| Nett change in extent of vacant industrial land (2006 - 9) | | -2 942 | 1 | MAJOR CONTRACTION | |
| Vacant industrial land as % of total industrial land (2000) | | 0.0% | 1 | LOW | |
| Vacant industrial land as % of total industrial land (2006) | | 0.6% | 1 | LOW | |
| Vacant industrial land as % of total industrial land (2009) | | 0.0% | 1 | LOW | |
| Extent of vacant industrial land (2000) | | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| Extent of vacant industrial land (2006) | | 2 942 | 1 | LOW | |
| Extent of vacant industrial land (2009) | | 0 | 1 | LOW | |
| R/m2 for improved industrial property (2009) | | R 2 670 | 5 | EXPENSIVE | |
| R/m2 for improved commercial property (2009) | | R 5 761 | 3 | AVERAGE | |
| Regional business nodes | | 24 | 5 | HIGH | |
| Logistics proximity index | | 23 | 5 | HIGH | |
| Composite proximity index | | 24 | 5 | HIGH | |
| Congestion index (net differential) | | -49 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| Infrastructure risk: Electricity | | 3 | 3 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| Infrastructure risk: Water | | 2 | 2 | BELOW AVERAGE | |
| Infrastructure risk: WWTW | | 3 | 3 | ABOVE AVERAGE | |
| Infrastructure risk: WW Reticulation | | 3 | 3 | ABOVE AVERAGE RISK | |
| Public transport level-of-service, 1km buffer | | 0.6 | 4 | ABOVE AVERAGE LOS | |
| Business burglaries per parcel (2011/12) | | 0.15 | 2 | SLIGHTLY SAFE | |
| Business robberies per parcel (2011/12) | | 0.01 | 1 | SAFE | |
| City Improvement District | 3 | 3 | AVERAGE | | |
| Urban Development Zone | 5 | 5 | HIGH | | |
| Broadband | 5 | 5 | HIGH | | |
| MyCiti | | | | | |

(Source: CoCT, 2013)

Appendix E: Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework

University of Cape Town

Salt River Precinct

Explore the possible westward expansion of the station facilities

Improve the visual and physical accessibility of Salt River market through; the removal of the WC, the creation of a forecourt to lower Voortrekker Road

Establish a vehicular exit and entry (and possibly future pedestrian link) from the market to Junction Street

Provide a public edge on the southern edge of Voortrekker, adjacent to the Market and in memory of the location of the old market

Reinforce the pedestrian route along Salt River Road

Reinforce the pedestrian route along Cecil Road

Establish a public forecourt to the sports grounds and an area that accommodates commuters

1. COMMUNITY RESOURCES

- 1.1 Salt River hall and creche
- 1.2 Salt River Market
- 1.3 Cape College
- 1.4 Salt River Community House
- 1.5 Old Salt River Post Office (vacant)
- 1.6 Wesley Training College
- 1.7 Cecil Road Primary School
- 1.8 Salt River School
- 1.9 Shelley Street Nursery School
- 1.10 Salt River Fire Department
- 1.11 Beth Urial Home
- 1.12 Salt River High School
- 1.13 Ruth Prowse Art School

2. GREEN / RECREATIONAL SPACES

- 2.1 Black Pool Sports Grounds and Park
- 2.2 Moslem Cemetery
- 2.3 Cape Technicon sports grounds
- 2.4 Local Parks

3. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

- 3.1 St Luke's Anglican Church
- 3.2 Mosque
- 3.3 Church
- 3.4 Payne Chapel Church

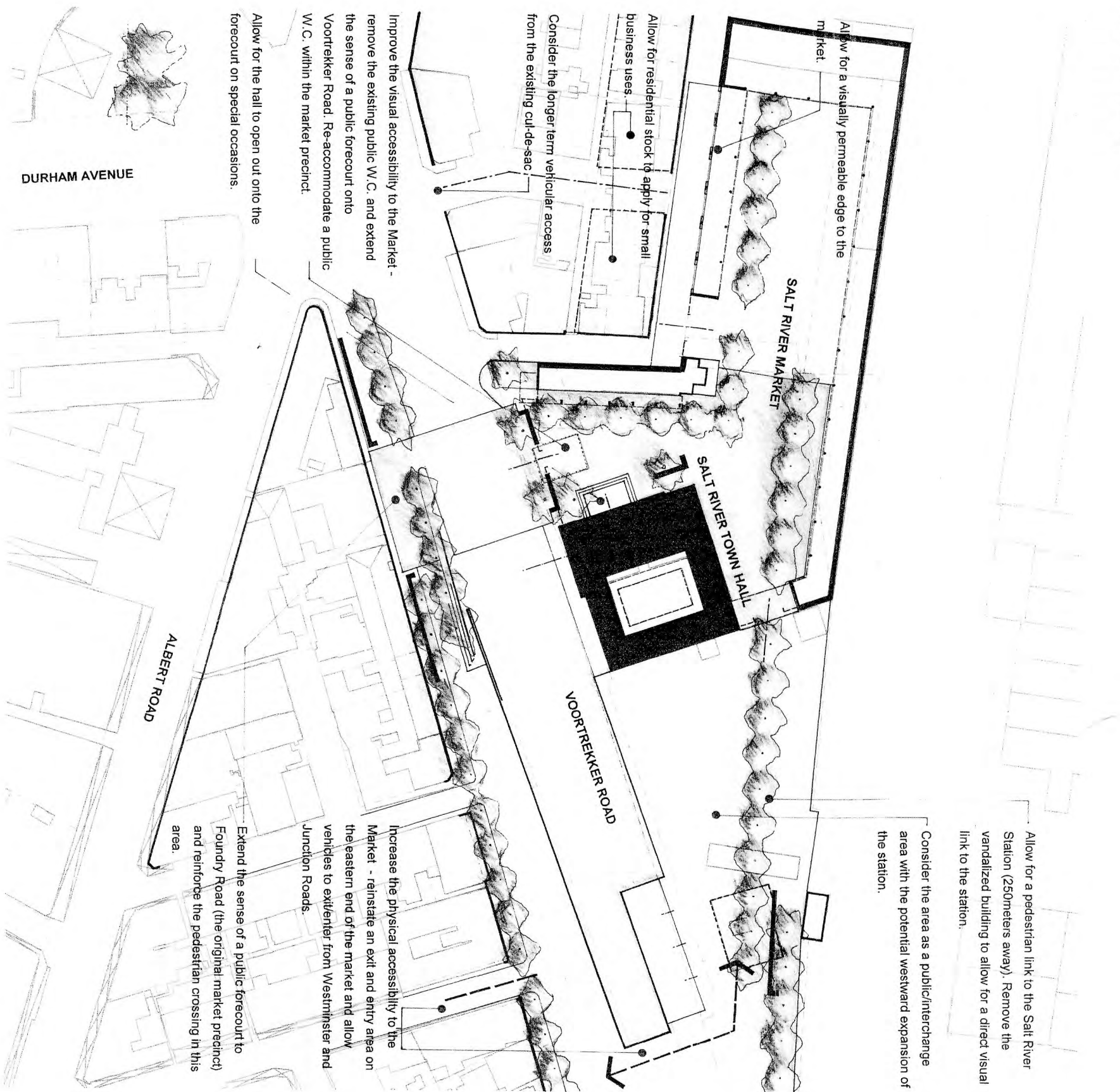
4. HOUSING

- 4.1 Cape Technicon Student Housing (Recently expanded)

5. MIXED USE OPPORTUNITIES

- 5.1 Private warehouse areas present prime 'refurb' opportunities for mixed use
- 5.2 Queens Park mixed-use studio 'refurb'





Allow for a pedestrian link to the Salt River Station (250meters away). Remove the vandalized building to allow for a direct visual link to the station.

Consider the area as a public/interchange area with the potential westward expansion of the station.

Allow for a visually permeable edge to the market

Allow for residential stock to apply for small business uses

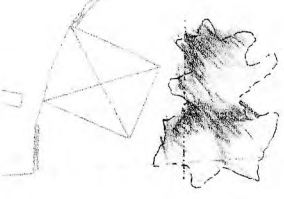
Consider the longer term vehicular access from the existing cul-de-sac

Improve the visual accessibility to the Market - remove the existing public W.C. and extend the sense of a public forecourt onto Voortrekker Road. Re-accommodate a public W.C. within the market precinct.

Allow for the hall to open out onto the forecourt on special occasions.

Increase the physical accessibility to the Market - reinstate an exit and entry area on the eastern end of the market and allow vehicles to exit/enter from Westminster and Junction Roads.

Extend the sense of a public forecourt to Foundry Road (the original market precinct) and reinforce the pedestrian crossing in this area.



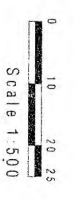
DURHAM AVENUE

ALBERT ROAD

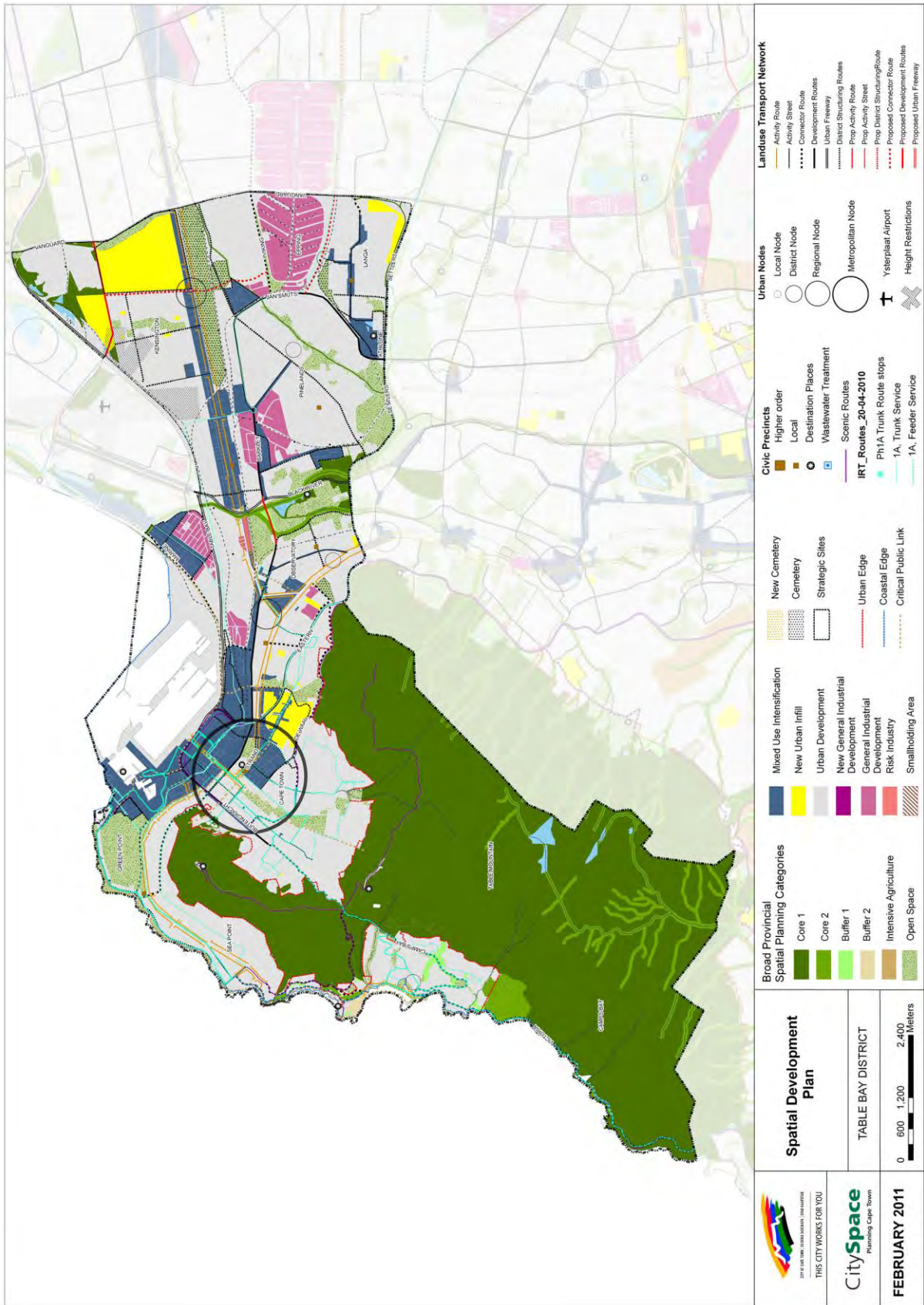
VOORTREKKER ROAD

DUTOIT AND PERRIN ASSOCIATES
MAY 2002

WOODSTOCK - SALTRIVER REVITALISATION FRAMEWORK
FOCUS AREA 3 : SALT RIVER MARKET PRECINCT



Appendix F: Table Bay District Plan



University of Cape Town