

CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION: THE CASE OF MABONENG



Louise Gardner Meek MKXLOU002

Submitted to the University of Cape Town, Department of Civil Engineering, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Philosophy specializing in Urban Infrastructure Design & Management.

June 2017

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATIONS

1. I am presenting this dissertation in full fulfillment of the requirements for my degree.
2. I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all of the work in the dissertation, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own.
3. This dissertation has been submitted to the Turnitin module (or equivalent similarity and originality checking software) and I confirm that my supervisor has seen my report and any concerns revealed by such have been resolved with my supervisor.
4. I hereby grant the University of Cape Town free license to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever of the above dissertation.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

Date:

15 June 2017

Table of Contents

1.	INTRODUCTION	5
2.	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	9
3.	LITERATURE REVIEW	15
4.	JOHANNESBURG CONTEXT	28
5.	MABONENG DATA	52
6.	ANALYSIS OF MABONENG	70
6.1.	STORY 1: SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION	71
6.2.	STORY 2: PHYSICAL RENEWAL	82
6.3.	STORY 3: ECONOMIC REVIVAL	86
6.4.	SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS	88
7.	CONCLUSION	94
8.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	98

Abstract.

This dissertation utilises a case study of Maboneng in Johannesburg central business district (CBD) to make a case for culture-led urban regeneration in South Africa. The City of Johannesburg is still to a large extent locked into Apartheid-era spatial planning whereby most neighbourhoods' reflect the Group Areas Act's racial profiles of the past. Given this historical context, a more nuanced approach to culture-led regeneration is required in assessing the complexity of urban regeneration in South Africa.

This dissertation analyses to what extent Maboneng has undergone a process of culture-led urban regeneration, examining the transformation in terms of social, physical and economic outcomes. It also seeks to uncover to what extent the case of Maboneng aligns with global literature- and to what extent it departs? Chapter 2 introduces the research method, which is case study based, and relies on Property company data for the purposes of this paper, which is outlined as a gap that could be addressed in a future study of the area. Chapter 3 defines culture-led urban regeneration and focuses on a literature review, with Florida's (2002) creative class theory at the core of the discussion around urban regeneration, which is critiqued by Peck (2007) who believes it leads to further prioritization of the middle class at the expense of the poor. Moulaert, Demuyne & Nussbaumer (2004) suggest a nuanced perspective to culture-led urban regeneration that adopts a socially-rooted view which values the multi dimensional role of culture in urban development. The case of Maboneng uses this nuanced perspective from the literature as a framework to categorise the data in chapter 4, and analyse the data in chapter 5, using the three dimensions of urban regeneration (namely social, physical and economic transformation) in order to assess the culture-led urban regeneration in Maboneng. The findings highlight that Maboneng is socially-rooted in its approach to both the social and economic transformations that are occurring in the neighborhood with success in the establishment of a mixed-race neighbourhood that is reflective of the City of Johannesburg racial profiles, as well as the establishment of a local economy. It is argued that more could be done to ensure the physical dimensions and aesthetics of place that are less 'curated' by the property developer and more focused on co-creation of aesthetics.

1. Introduction

The topic of culture-led urban regeneration will be explored using a local case study of a regenerated neighbourhood in the City of Johannesburg, called 'Maboneng'. The aim of this research is to contribute to both the local and global debate on the subject.

Urban regeneration is defined as the “renewal, revival, revitalisation or transformation of a place or community” (Miles & Paddison, 2005, p.835). Often, regeneration is a response to decline, or degeneration. Regeneration can be both a process and an outcome: It can have “economic social and physical dimensions, and the three can commonly coexist (Evans & Shaw, 2006: p.1). Therefore, when we talk about ‘culture-led’ urban regeneration we are referring to the idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic, social or physical growth (Miles & Paddison, 2005, p.835).

The history of South Africa and the development story of the City of Johannesburg is important in contextualizing the debate, as even twenty years after democracy, the urban planning of Apartheid¹ continues to leave its mark on the spatial form of the city (Bremner, 2000). The entrenched urban form of Apartheid continues to perpetuate the segregation between the have-nots from the have-lots along racial lines (Bremner, 2000). This context is important to highlight upfront, as it frames the issue of South African culture-led urban regeneration in a very different way to other global cities. For South African's, urban regeneration cannot be discussed without talking about racial and social integration of communities within a place.

Therefore, the key questions this dissertation aims to answer, are as follows:

1. Has Maboneng undergone a process of culture-led urban regeneration?
2. To what extent does this align with global literature? And to what extent does it depart? Is the case of Maboneng more nuanced?

Chapter 2 outlines the research methodology. The Maboneng data was company data collected from

¹ Apartheid was a system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination in South Africa between 1948 and 1991 (Bremner, 2000).

Propertuity. Propertuity is the private development company that conceptualized, marketed and developed 'Maboneng' in 2009. The data collected was provided for by Propertuity and does not include data from other buildings or competitor developments that fall within the 'Maboneng' area. This needs to be highlighted as a research limitation, as it does not provide a holistic perspective of the entire neighbourhood. It is recommended that more data should be collected on the broader area, to better understand the dynamics that are at play. Over and above the Propertuity company data, personal observations, desktop research and photography were used as methods of collecting additional content on Maboneng.

The literature review in chapter 3 is grounded by the concepts explored in Florida's (2002) seminal work on the rise of the creative class and its role in culture-led urban regeneration. Both positive and critical perspectives on culture-led urban regeneration are presented in the review of literature. The review includes perspectives from Peck (2007) and Miles and Paddison (2005) whose critique of culture-led regeneration highlights the socio-economic inequalities that emerge from such transformations. A 'nuanced' view on culture-led urban generation is then considered as a means of foregrounding the aim of the dissertation which is to present a complex interpretation of Maboneng's social, physical and economic attributes that have gone through a transformation since 2009.

It is imperative to situate Maboneng within the broader historical development context of the city of Johannesburg. Chapter 4 explores the context of the City of Johannesburg and its urban development past. The history of South Africa, and Apartheid in particular are used as a lens to frame the discussion. A timeline framing the city's many transformations through the related themes of removal, influx, exodus, generation and decline is explored. In the mid 2000's, within the context of a declining inner city and a policy environment that was encouraging inner city investment (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007) (Republic of South Africa, 2006) the opportunity for a development like Maboneng was made possible, as property in the city was relatively cheap, and policy further incentivized developers to invest. This dissertation focuses on the new neighbourhood known as Maboneng as a case to evaluate what is happening in this part of the inner city in terms of culture-led urban regeneration. The chapter explores

how 'Maboneng' started in 2009, and explores public opinion to get a better understanding of how people feel about the development.

To strengthen our understanding of the nuanced ways in which Maboneng has developed, it is imperative to collate and unpack the empirical data available on the area. Chapter 5 documents the Propertuity company data. The data section is categorized into three parts: 1) social data, 2) physical data and 3) economic data. Social data refers to the demographic profile of people living in Maboneng, as well as community networks, organisations and institutions, as well as security networks. Of these people living and working in Maboneng, the data reflects a youthful (18 – 34 year old), mixed-race consumer group. However, when it comes to assessing 'mixed income' the data reflects a relatively homogenous group of middle class consumers buying into rental or property ownership in Maboneng. The data also explored lifestage and nationality, reflecting a largely single rather than married consumer base that is majority South African (Propertuity, 2016). Physical data refers to the spatial location of Maboneng, the building uses, street art and infrastructure transformation in the area. Given that Maboneng was 'created' by developers, it does not fall within a specific municipal area. Therefore, the data explores the spatial location of Maboneng, which actually falls within four separate suburbs, namely City and Suburban, Jeppestown, New Doornfontien and Doornfontien. Since 2009, the Propertuity developers have developed or acquired 34 buildings that house 9,528 people who either live or work in Maboneng (Propertuity, 2016). Economic data refers to the renewal of food-related businesses, property prices, rental prices and policy conditions that supported the financing of Maboneng.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of Maboneng, drawing together insights from empirical data, the City of Johannesburg context and the literature review. Three storylines are discussed, namely social transformation, physical renewal and economic revival. The first storyline, '*Physical Transformation*' examines the demographic breakdown of people living and working in Maboneng, using age, race, lifestage, property and rental prices, as means to better understand them. The second storyline explores the '*Physical Renewal*' in Maboneng, whereby the area is well positioned for increasing (mixed use) building densities in a well-connected part of the city close to the economy and broader city networks.

The urban streetscape is examined in detail, to better understand the impact of pavement upgrades, traffic calming measures, tree planting and increased street parking on the street life in Maboneng, which has brought with it 26 new food and drink destinations, excluding the less formal retailers found at Common Ground (Propertuity, 2016). The aesthetics of place in Maboneng has been created and curated by Propertuity to a very specific aesthetic, which is globally appealing and in line with other culture-led urban regeneration in global cities like London, Berlin and New York (Zukin, 1995). Within the aesthetics of place, the question is posed: Whose culture are we consuming? And is it socially-rooted culture-led urban regeneration? The third and final storyline is that of *'Economic Revival'*, looks at the financial model explores the Rand Merchant Holdings (RMH) investment in Propertuity in 2016, and looks at the city policy and the Inner City Regeneration Charter as an additional point of departure to frame the analysis for Maboneng within existing city policy (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

To conclude, it is argued that Maboneng departs from the conventional culture-led regeneration narrative. It is an 'in-between space', and one that is far more complex than immediately meets the eye. The true success of Maboneng is that in the South African context of spatial inequality along race lines, Maboneng has been able to attract consumers across race, thereby creating a mixed racial profile living and working in the neighbourhood. Maboneng has not yet successfully created wholly inclusive public spaces and still manifests a limited socially-rooted culture, whereby it is more top-down and led by Propertuity than bottom up culture led by community. In short, Maboneng displays a multiplicity of outcomes that makes for a more complex and unique case.

2. Research Methodology

A case study approach was developed in order to magnify the culture-led urban regeneration taking place in the neighbourhood of Maboneng in the City of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Maboneng was identified as a suitable case study, as the author had already done a research study in the Maboneng neighbourhood for property developers, Propertuity, and had personally collected the company data in 2016. The author led the study, titled "*Maboneng Census: Analytics behind Neighbourhood Building*" (Propertuity, 2016) where the growth patterns of the neighbourhood since the inception of the regeneration process in 2009 were analysed, using existing company data. The study examined the growth of residents moving into Propertuity-owned buildings in the neighbourhood of Maboneng from 2009 – 2016, and then forecast what the residential population growth would be for 2020, given the pipeline of new building acquisitions.

The Propertuity study was then published publically on their website in March 2016 and later published as a book, titled "*Maboneng: Developing a neighbourhood economy*" where the author is listed as the editor (Propertuity, 2016). In 2017 the data from the study was used again in a smaller published booklet titled "*Maboneng 2020 vision: The Unfinished City*" (Propertuity, 2017). Propertuity gave their consent² for their company data from the above-mentioned book to be used as key data for this dissertation.

Given that the author has worked closely with the private developers during the collection and analysis of the data, a critical reflection on the embedded nature of research and the researcher as well as personal bias has been taken into consideration during the writing of this paper.

² Jonathan Liebmann, CEO of Propertuity, granted such consent.

Maboneng Data Collection:

This dissertation drew on and further analyzed data previously collected on Maboneng by Propertuity. All of this data is company data.

The original data collection process was led by the author and supported by a number of employees working at Propertuity³. A major source of most data collected came from the Propertuity company databases, namely '*MDA Propertuity database*' and '*SiMS database*', which are online management tools used by Propertuity for the ongoing management of the properties they own in Maboneng. The author was provided with access to both of these databases in order to obtain the relevant data for the study. This access allowed for the collection of data, which was cross-referenced in order to illustrate the physical make-up of the neighbourhood and how it has changed over time. Data such as the number of buildings under management, the number of apartments under management, the number of apartments owned versus rented - as well as demographic data that provided strong insight into the demographic makeup of the area - was obtained through signed offer to purchase (OTP) documents and signed lease agreements. For the purposes of the report, an anonymous random sample⁴ of 100 OTP documents and 100 lease agreements were used, providing insight into who was renting/owning property in Maboneng.

The OTP documents and lease agreements provided the following demographic data on owners/tenants:

- *Age: 18 – 24, 25 – 34, 35 – 49, 50+*
- *Lifestage: Married, single, divorced, living with partner etc.*
- *Race: Black, White, Indian, Coloured, Asian etc.*
- *Nationality: South African versus foreign*
- *Property price: Purchase price or rental price*

When it came to tracking growth regarding factors such as the number of trees planted, sidewalks

³ I would like to thank everyone at Propertuity and affiliate companies for assisting me with company data collection over this period. In particular, Jonathan Liebmann, Shruthi Nair, Catherine Richmond, Neville Bear, Ricky Luntz, Stephen Du Preez, Carol Miller, Aruna Maharaj and William Montse (Stallion Security).

⁴ In this random sample, the identities of individuals mentioned in the OTP and rental agreements remain anonymous throughout the study, with only their demographic details shared in the report.

upgraded or security and street cleaning services provided, a combination of visual counting, Google Maps measurement and information from Stallion Security⁵ was used as a means to gather all the correct data. The data mentioned above can be found in the book “*Maboneng: Developing a neighbourhood economy*” (Propertuity, 2016: 18-65).

Desktop research:

Extensive reviews of academic papers relating to culture-led urban regeneration was included for the literature review section in chapter 3, as well as newspaper articles, opinion pieces and blogs to add an element of ‘public opinion’ to chapter 4. In the literature review, the urban regeneration global debate is summarised, highlighting the positives, the negatives, and the nuances of culture-led urban regeneration arguments. In chapter 4 the context of South Africa, and the city of Johannesburg is explored in greater detail, with a development timeline, as well as maps of the Johannesburg and of Maboneng being developed by the author. This method of data, content, and narrative collection was used to qualify whether or not Maboneng displays any positive, negative and/or nuanced attributes of culture-led regeneration. Desktop research was used to better understand how the context of Johannesburg from a policy and governance perspective has also has influenced Maboneng.

In order to get greater insight into how people feel about Maboneng, desktop research was used to provide additional data, which provided qualitative insights into the regeneration process in Maboneng. This included number of newspaper articles, online editorials and social commentary from leading publishers such as Al Jazeera (2015); Daily Maverick (2015); Sowetan (2013); Sunday Independent (2013); and The Daily Vox (2015), which had more critical perspectives on the area, and which ultimately provided a more balanced view on the public opinion surrounding the regeneration in Maboneng.

⁵ Propertuity outsources Stallion Security to manage the security of their buildings, as well as the streets in Maboneng, and they kindly shared their company data with me.

Personal observation:

Personal observation was used as a means to illustrate the physical examples of culture-led urban generation. Photography was initiated as a means to document the changing urban landscape of Maboneng, highlighting street art, sidewalk upgrades, and street life in general. The process of mapping the City of Johannesburg and Maboneng was used as a means to illustrate urban regeneration and development patterns specific to the area. And finally, methods such as visual counting, were used, to provide data on certain metrics that may not otherwise have been available (such as the square meter area of upgraded sidewalks in Maboneng).

Case study approach:

Yin (1994) and Bhattacharjee (2012) describe a case study as an observational inquiry into a specific phenomenon that takes place within closed boundaries (Sarantakos, 2005). Maboneng provides the case study boundaries for a local Johannesburg inner city neighbourhood, providing the platform to review this neighbourhood using the global literature on culture-led urban regeneration as an analytical framework.

The case study approach allows for the comparison of the global literature on culture-led urban regeneration with a real case in Johannesburg. An assessment can then be made, to see whether or not the case of Maboneng displays any unique attributes or whether it simply manifests much the same outcomes as observed in developed nations regarding culture-led urban regeneration. The case study also aims to provide hyper-local data on the Maboneng neighbourhood that can either validate, or contradict culture-led urban regeneration theory with a 'closed geographical boundary'.

Content and narrative analysis:

The analysis drew on narratives from the literature review (chapter 3), the context of Johannesburg (chapter 4) and on the company data provided by Propertuity on how it has defined culture-led urban regeneration within Maboneng (chapter 5). The above-mentioned research methodologies allowed for a narrative analysis to uncover whether or not Maboneng was a unique case given the context of Johannesburg and what role the property developers played in the manner with which they regenerated the area. The data was analysed by categorizing the data into three areas which illustrate whether or not a renewal, revival or transformation of place and community occurred, namely 1) social data, 2) physical data and 3) economic data on Maboneng. This categorization allowed the findings to be understood within the framework of social, physical and economic transformation, all of which can occur simultaneously.

Research limitations:

There are three identified research limitations. Firstly, all company data⁶ collected relates to Propertuity buildings only. It should be noted, that a more comprehensive study of the broader area should be done to include non-Propertuity buildings. This would allow for a holistic understanding of the entire neighbourhood, which currently is not available. However, upon noting this limitation, an attempt is made to supplement this shortcoming with personal observations (in the form of photographs, newspaper articles and academic references), which have been used where relevant in an attempt to highlight what is happening in and around Maboneng.

The second limitation is that within the demographic data collection of people living and working in Maboneng, there is no data collection on household income, making it difficult to analyse consumers according to income classes. Linking the data to the literature review is crucial to the argument on culture-led urban regeneration, as Florida's (2002) seminal work on the creative class relied heavily on

⁶ It must be noted that all company data collected in the report (Propertuity, 2016) refers only to Propertuity-owned buildings and/or buildings that they have developed, which results in a limited view on the broader Maboneng neighbourhood.

household income, which is a feature of class. The only data that loosely relates to household income is the OTP documents and their associated property prices, as well as lease agreements and their monthly rental costs. Given this limitation in having no access to household income data, an attempt is made to cross correlate OTP and lease pricing with affordability data from the Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa in order to 'assume' income levels and estimate which income classes are as a result included or excluded from Maboneng developments (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016).

Finally, personal bias is a concern, given the working relationship of the author with the private developers, Propertuity. Critical reflection has been attempted throughout the research process to provide an objective assessment of the global debate on culture-led regeneration and to use the data collected as a means to show how Maboneng fits within the broader debate, placing personal views to the side.

In summary, this case study research approach provides the substance to form an academic view on what type of culture-led regeneration is manifesting itself within the boundaries of the neighbourhood of Maboneng. Combining all the data, content and narratives together provides a framework from which an evaluation can be made on how the case of Maboneng stands against the literature, as well as whether or not Maboneng is a unique case given the context of Johannesburg and the role of the property developers in regenerating the area (Evans & Shaw, 2006).

3. Literature Review

Voices in the culture-led urban regeneration debates often fall into two polarising camps on the impact and implications of culture-led regeneration on city-making and urban development. Advocates of culture-led urban regeneration regard the rise of the creative class (Florida, 2002) as a core stimulant for this change, endorsing the creative economy as the future driver of economic growth and city competitiveness.

Conversely, critics of culture-led urban regeneration highlight its contribution to socioeconomic inequality (Peck, 2007). Indeed, they argue that in most instances, while it increases city competitiveness, culture-led urban regeneration further entrenches inequality, as those without the skills of the creative class are excluded from the regeneration and economic growth and the creative class is used to 'prime' degenerated spaces for future investment and speculation.

A further critique is that culture is merely a place branding exercise used by the super elite to drive real estate prices, disguised as culture-led regeneration (Klunzman, 2005). To close off the critique, there is a body of work that also questions the impact of culture-led regeneration as a 'fuzzy' concept, which cannot be easily defined or measured (Bell & Jayne, 2003). Despite these two polarising schools of thought, the final section of the literature review hopes to shed light on a more nuanced narrative that takes into account the placemaking and urban identity building that can come about through socially rooted cultural development (Moulaert, Demuyne, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

For ease of understanding, the following terms are defined as follows:

“Regeneration’ is defined as the renewal, revival, revitalisation or transformation of a place or community. It is a response to decline, or degeneration. Regeneration therefore is both a process and an outcome: It can have “economic social and physical dimensions, and the three can commonly coexist” (Evans & Shaw, 2006: p.1).

'Culture' is defined to include the arts, architecture, museums, libraries, archives, heritage, food and cultural tourism (Zukin, 1982). In this case it excludes sport.

'Culture-led urban regeneration' is defined as "the idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth"; and it is with this mind-set that culture has become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position (Miles & Paddison, 2005, p.835).

Positive perspectives on the culture-led urban regeneration debate:

Culture-led urban regeneration is a growing field, with strong academic and political interest in regeneration processes, led by the arts, culture, creativity or the creative industries, which is growing both in scope and geographic coverage (Evans & Shaw, 2006). The emphasis on culture owes much to current debates on the relationship between culture, creativity, and the city. The positive views on culture-led urban regeneration are framed through Florida's (2002) creative class concept and creative capital theory. In this way, we see a trend in cities investing in attracting the creative class, hoping to be rewarded with desirable outcomes such as economic growth and competitiveness (Evans, 2005; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009; Global Creativity Index, 2015).

The narratives that have emerged to conceptualise the relationship between creativity and cities are notably theories of creative clusters, creative cities and creative class theories (Flew, 2013). In the last two decades, there has been a groundswell of work done on the subject, including a number of international initiatives such as UNESCO's global alliance for cultural diversity's creative cities (UNESCO, 2007), comparative policy studies, such as strategies for creative spaces (Evans, Foord, & Shaw, 2006) and academic journals that are devoting special issues to the topic, such as *Cultural Policy* (2004), *Local Economy* (2004), *Urban Studies* (2005) and *Cities* (2006). As such, the urban regeneration agenda has

moved from the margins of academic and policy discourse to the mainstream (Wilks-Heeg & North, 2004).

A seminal book titled '*Loft Living*' by Sharon Zukin (1982) highlighted the meeting of art and real estate markets and exposed the growing contradictions between a discourse of cultural empowerment where artists and ethnic diversity are seen as the catalysts for vibrant urban centers, and the less obvious discourse of a new urban political economy managed by elites according to the interests of land speculators and corporate investors (Zukin, 1982). Zukin (1982, 1995) has led the way in discussions around new forms of understanding the cultural- symbolic - economy of cities.

Much of the more recent theory behind culture-led urban regeneration hinges on the body of work written by Florida, outlined in his book, '*The rise of the Creative Class*' (Florida, 2002). Since 2002, this body of work has played a significant role in underpinning the theory that "cultural inputs translate into social and economic outputs" (Miles & Paddison, 2005) which, in turn, has had an effect on policy.

Advocates of culture-led urban regeneration argue that the creative classes are viewed as major contributors to the growth of the knowledge economy in post-industrial cities. In such arguments, clustering of human capital is seen as the critical factor in delivering regional economic growth and is the key to the successful urban regeneration of cities (Florida, 2002). According to Florida's theory, this new creative class is categorised by having professional careers in creative industries⁷ (Florida, 2002):

The super-creative core: The first grouping of professionals are known as the super-creative core who are fully engaged in the creative process (i.e. Artists, designers, actors, comedians, musicians, media, chefs, scientists and engineers)

The creative professionals: The second grouping, and by far the larger group, became known as the creative professionals who are knowledge-based workers (i.e. Healthcare, business, finance,

⁷ 'Creative industries' are defined as those, which have their origin in individual creativity skill and talent (UNESCO, 2007).

law, and education, all of which require a high degree of education)

These creative professionals, working in creative industries, have the potential to deliver wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (Creative London, n.d). An increasingly popular view taken by policy makers and urban planners is that “creative industries contribute to a city’s social fabric, cultural diversity and enhance the quality of life, [they also strengthen] a sense of community and helps define a shared identity” (Creative City Network Canada, n.d ; UNESCO, 2007). Therefore, in an age of global competition, it is argued that the creative class is increasingly playing a role in the future success of neighbourhoods, cities, and city-regions (Florida, 2002).

Florida introduces a concept of ‘creative capital theory’, which affects regional economic development, whereby regional economic growth is stimulated through “creative people clustering in places that are perceived to be tolerant, diverse and open to new ideas” (Florida, 2002). Given that the creative class are mobile and free to choose a city or neighbourhood that best reflects their lifestyle choices, Florida argues that cities and regions should focus on promoting creativity, and on attracting creative industries, by designing a creative city offering, which he defines as the ‘three T’s’ (Florida, 2002):

Talent: cities must have highly skilled, ambitious people and institutions;

Tolerance: cities must be inclusive and open to diversity; and

Technology: cities must have the right technological infrastructure in place to allow entrepreneurial activity and innovation to prosper.

It is argued that high concentrations of the creative class in one geographic area leads to a higher rate of employment, innovation, high technology business formation and economic growth (Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Florida, 2002). This trend of talent following talent, tolerance attracting further tolerance and technology creating exponential opportunity, has demonstrated how the creative class actively seek out

and desire to move to cities with a favourable 'people climate' (Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009). This movement is typically the movement of the creative class from suburbia into inner city locations that are walkable, allowing them to live and work in the same neighbourhood. They are a segment of the global population who value lifestyle and community highly. They like to participate in local activities and enjoy 'street level culture', which can best be described as "a vibrant street level meeting place with busy cafes, side walk musicians, small galleries, boutique retail, bike riding and running". (Florida, 2002, p. 404)

What makes culture-led urban regeneration so attractive to some policy makers and planners is that they see it as the 'Holy Grail' against future decline. Further, investors (both private and public) see it as a "value-added distinction and as an accelerator of development" (Evans & Shaw, 2006). Within this context, Florida's work deeply resonates with the global regeneration agenda. Whilst it might be argued that Florida's work is "more concerned with developing an understanding of the indicative conditions favourable to the creation of urban economic growth than it is in providing a critical appreciation of them, there is no doubt that his work has played a significant role in capturing the imagination of global policymakers" (Miles & Paddison, 2005).

Policy makers have adopted the theories of culture-led urban regeneration as a means to ultimately stimulate economic growth (Creative London, n.d ; Creative City Network Canada, n.d ; UNESCO, 2007). Those cities that are best able to respond to the needs and desires of this new creative class are rewarded with job creation and the economic value-add to their city-regions, but are also given the ability to produce an ecology and economy of entrepreneurialism, innovation and creativity, which are very attractive to both inward investors and other creative people (Florida, 2002, p. 404).

In order to quantify the impact of the creative class on economies, an index known as The Global Creativity Index (GCI)⁸ was developed, which is published annually. The GCI demonstrates the impact the creative class (using talent, tolerance and technology as indicators) has on economic development,

⁸ 'Global Creativity', as measured by the GCI, is closely connected to the economic development, competitiveness, and prosperity of nations. The GCI is a broad-based measure for advanced economic growth and sustainable prosperity based on the 3Ts of economic development; talent, technology, and tolerance. Countries that score highly on the GCI have higher levels of productivity (measured as economic output per person), competitiveness, entrepreneurship, and overall human development. Creativity is also closely connected to urbanization, with more urbanized nations scoring higher on the GCI (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015).

competitiveness, and prosperity of nations. It rates and ranks 139 nations worldwide on each of these dimensions and on an overall measure of creativity and prosperity (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015).

Overall Highest Ranked Nations (GCI, 2015):

1. Australia
2. The United States
3. New Zealand
4. Canada
5. Denmark and Finland (tie)
7. Sweden
8. Iceland
9. Singapore
10. The Netherlands

Table 1: Overall Highest Ranked Nations in the Global Creativity Index, 2015 (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015)

In 2015, the Global Creativity Index (GCI) demonstrated that countries that scored high in their overall rankings (see top 10 countries ranked in Table 1) typically also tended to deliver the greatest economic output⁹. This highlights a correlation between economic output and the GCI (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015).

Therefore, for countries seeking out economic growth in knowledge-based economies, supporters of culture-led urban regeneration argue that the three T's (talent, tolerance and technology) are crucial to increased innovation, entrepreneurialism, competition, and therefore economic output (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015).

⁹ The GCI and each of the 3Ts are positively associated with economic output per capita (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015). Tolerance has the strongest association of the 3Ts followed by talent and technology. The strongest correlation is with the GCI overall score, indicating the combined effect of all 3Ts working in unison. In the 2015 GCI, the report shows how individual nations stack up in terms of the connection between the GCI and GDP per capita. Nations like the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the Northern European and Scandinavian countries score high in both overall GCI scores and economic output, whilst nations like Liberia, Uganda, Haiti, Ethiopia, and Bangladesh score poorly in overall GCI scores and in economic output (Florida, Mellander, & King, The Global Creativity Index, 2015).

Negative perspectives on the culture-led urban regeneration debate:

In contrast to the view that the creative class is the driver of culture-led urban regeneration, improving economic growth, city competitiveness, and prosperity, here I outline the negative perspectives from the global debate. Critics argue that culture-led urban regeneration prioritises the middle class and further entrenches inequality and displacement (Peck, 2007), and is used as a 'branding exercise' designed to improve property markets and commoditise the urban (Miles & Paddison, 2005), and finally 'culture-led regeneration' is argued to be a fuzzy concept (Bell & Jayne, 2003).

Peck, in response to Florida's 'creative city' theory, argues that the creative class disbands the classical division between the productive bourgeoisie and the bohemian thereby giving rise to a new creative subject (Peck, 2007). As a result, in contemporary cities, capital investments intended to attract the creative class to the city prioritize an urban middle class at the expense of the urban poor (Peck, 2007).

Returning to the GCI, critics argue that it is not necessarily associated with higher levels of equality. According to the annual study, nations that rank highly on the GCI also tend to be, on balance, more equal societies (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015). However, what is notable is that there seem to be two approaches to balancing creative economic growth and inequality. There is a so called 'high road path', associated with the Scandinavian nations which combines high levels of creative competitiveness with relatively low levels of inequality. And then there is a 'low road path', associated with the United States and the United Kingdom, which combines high levels of creative competitiveness with much higher levels of inequality" (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2015). Peck (2007) argues that particularly with the low road approach, "creativity strategies have been crafted to co-exist with urban social problems, not to solve them. It should come as no surprise, then, that the creative capitals exhibit higher rates of socioeconomic inequality than other cities" (Peck, 2007).

The speed of culture-led strategies adopted by government and local development agencies as a means to improve the urban economy, as well as the way in which culture-led development has been globally

diffused within the space of little more than two decades is considerable (Miles & Paddison, 2005). The initiation of culture-driven urban regeneration has come to occupy a pivotal position in the new urban entrepreneurialism and in the headspace of city mayors, government agencies, and policy makers (Miles & Paddison, 2005). The adoption of this narrative has gone mainstream in the media, with a number of American, British, Australian, and Canadian newspaper articles demonstrating the 'add culture and stir' school of thought (Gibson & Stevenson, 2004, n.p). Global headlines such as "Cool cities may defy planning: leaders believe new image could boost state economy"; "Mid-sized cities get hip to attract creative professionals"; and "Can the arts cash in on cities?" (Gibson & Stevenson, 2004, n.p) reinforce this sentiment, which is also becoming apparent in local South African media with headlines such as "There're bucks to be made in urban renewal" (SA Commercial Prop News, 2016, n.p).

Critics are scathing of this use of cultural policy for a purely economic agenda, calling it crude and divisive, a 'carnival mask' (Garcia, 2004) worn by the city center to serve the needs of business or wealthy tourists that hides the social deprivation in the peripheries, and disregards the real culture of their residents (Evans G, 2003; Mooney, 2004; Garcia 2004). Despite this criticism, globally we see cities have started to make themselves more attractive to the 'creative class' in an effort to capture these fast growing, high human capital sectors (human capital, knowledge economy, business and consumer services) (UNESCO, 2007). Cities investing in these fast-growing creative sectors are seeing rapid growth, not only in high-tech and finance- related sectors, but also in the rise of employment in art, design, film, and other creative industries (Creative City Network Canada, n.d; Creative London, n.d; UNESCO, 2007).

A critique of this approach is that culture-led regeneration, whilst improving a city's competitiveness in the global economy does not necessarily solve the issue of inequality and displacement at a local level that can go hand in hand with this form of regeneration (Peck, 2007; Miles & Paddison, 2005). Therefore it is argued that it is unclear whether the culture-led urban regeneration agenda is authentic or simply being used as a means of commodification of the urban (Klunzman, 2005).

Bell and Jayne offer a critical perspective on culture and design-led urban regeneration arguing that it is a fuzzy concept used to describe a diverse raft of economic and development strategies (Bell & Jayne,

2003). There is no clear definition of what culture-led urban regeneration is and, furthermore, there are no best practice guidelines on how culture-led urban regeneration can deliver impact, which makes policy and planning troublesome. Bell and Jayne argue that more research into the actual impact of culture-led urban regeneration is required, as well as a better understanding of the broad economic impact, such as employment, structures, scale and scope, earnings and business and public expenditure on design and culture-led initiatives (Bell & Jayne, 2003).

International case studies of Barcelona, Berlin, and London confirm the spatial concentration of creative industries in these cities, but also the continuing dependency on public intervention in what is projected as a growing economic sector worldwide (Foord, 2009). As with the argument posed by Bell & Janye (2003), policy emulation and confusion over classification and social objectives is evident in most culture-led urban regeneration projects. Pratt (2005) poses the question: are cultural industries and public policy an oxymoron? Pratt reimagines the space of cultural industries and their governance by developing an argument that seeks to open up a space where the hybrid nature of cultural production can be addressed by policy (Pratt, 2005).

Negative views associated with culture-led urban regeneration are perhaps best summarised by Klunzman, who states: “each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate” (Klunzman, 2005: 176).

Nuanced perspectives of culture-led urban regeneration:

Whilst the dominant academic and popular voices argue for or against culture-led regeneration, there are a handful of voices that view culture-led regeneration as something far more complex. Adopting this perspective allows for an understanding of culture-led urban regeneration through the lens of placemaking and urban identity debates rather than focusing on economic impact. These debates see the culture of a neighbourhood and the community within a place as defined in part by its ‘broader spatial

and social ecology' (Nowak, 2007). Therefore, it is not self-referential, it is continually changing, emerging and re-organising. It is argued that a multi-dimensional view on urban regeneration needs to be taken, whereby a top-down as well as bottom-up approach to culture is taken, known as 'socially rooted' development (Moulaert, Demuynck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

Observing culture-led urban regeneration initiatives through the lens of placemaking and urban identity building, rather than economic impact or competitiveness, offers an opportunity to construct a more grounded foundation for understanding the ways in which culture and the arts have an impact on the development of neighbourhoods (Moulaert, Demuynck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

A *'place'* is a manifestation of human culture. Culture is a social process where people create meaning to give themselves a sense of identity (Cohen, 1994).

'Cultural spaces' are essential to building 'place identity' as these spaces allow people to express a way of living where they can engage in cultural activities (Lai, Said, & Kubota, 2013).

'Placemaking' is a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces. Placemaking capitalises on a local community's assets, inspiration, and potential, with the intention of creating public spaces that promote people's health, happiness, and well being (Cohen, 1994).

Urban regeneration involves the process of remaking places (Cohen, 1994). In this process, regeneration initiatives are planned to improve the physical conditions of places, increase economic growth and environmental sustainability, in order to facilitate better social life for people (Roberts & Sykes, 2000). Nowak (2007) argues that social creativity is rediscovered as a main change vector of the urban fabric, whereby each neighbourhood becomes a potential breeding ground for popular arts and culture.

A multi-dimensional view of neighbourhood regeneration is taken whereby the arts and architecture play a role along with socio-cultural, economic, political, ecological initiatives. This nuanced perspective is given by Moulart, Demuyneck and Nussbaumer who acknowledge that whilst most culture-led development literature stresses the positive effects of large-scale architectural projects on local employment and economy, these effects are difficult to quantify and can often be exaggerated - unless the physical structures created host sustainable cultural activities that are “territorially defined and mentally located at the level of urban society as a whole” (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

Bearing this in mind, the traditional role of culture in urban regeneration refers to culture with a ‘capital C’, whereby Culture promoted by and led by dominant elites: grand projects such as the Haussmannian avenues in Paris, the Rome of the Renaissance Popes, or the contemporary Waterfront developments, post-modern shopping centers as architectural hypes, temples of culture such as the Guggenheim museums’, museum parks in Rotterdam and Berlin and so on (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

Cultural initiatives that are linked more directly to a specific community or neighbourhood seem to be more socially, economically and artistically successful than large-scale cultural projects (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004), on the condition that they seek to support an existing identity or build a new distinctiveness that will carry the neighbourhood community forward into the future.

On a neighbourhood level, the promotion of culture can refer to cultural infrastructure developments such as the development of a building for theatre groups or dance schools or exhibition space that is often an asset for sustainable socio-economic programming, with lasting direct and indirect employment effected in the city (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

Moulart, Demuyneck and Nussbaumer argue that there are two limited conceptions of urban regeneration

that have merged into a limited perspective on the subject, namely:

A physical(ists) view which undervalues the importance of interaction with the urban communities; and

A purely material view which underplays the existential and communicative role of culture and the arts.

Taking this approach results in “physical achievements, including artworks, as the main if not the only basis of city and neighbourhood development” (Moulaert, Demuyck, & Nussbaumer, 2004: 153).

Moulaert, Demuyck, and Nussbaumer (2004) who offer instead a socially-rooted perspective challenge this limiting view on culture:

A socially rooted view is a view which values the multi-dimensional role of culture in urban development and requires top-down as well as bottom-up development agendas.

Therefore, culture is democratically decided, and created by a neighbourhood. Culture-led regeneration can be viewed as a means to ‘refresh’ the urban space: “culture as mode of communication, as a ground for rediscovering social identity, as day-to-day activity in community-building, as creativity of local artists; by themselves or in co-operation with neighbourhood communities or social groups within the city” (Moulaert, Demuyck, & Nussbaumer, 2004: 155). Within the culture-led urban regeneration debate, the term ‘beautification’ is used to describe the regeneration process, and it holds many negative connotations of socially destructive gentrification, including the dislodging of poor people (Peck, 2007; Evans G. 2003). Moulaert, Demuyck and Nussbaumer argue that ‘beautification’ as a terminology should be avoided in this context of urban development landscape, and perhaps start using the word ‘refreshing’

to describe the impact of culture-led development in cities, which takes into account the socially-rooted view of regeneration.

Binns (2005) sees the rise of an economic rationale for cultural policy and urban regeneration projects as a response to the rapid decline in urban inner cities globally. As a result, Binns argues that there are two forms of urban regeneration, one that relies on cultural production models of renewal (namely artists, architects and members of the 'creative core' who can produce culture and cultural assets) whilst the second relies on cultural consumption models of renewal (for example, events that are hosted in an area to attract people who will 'consume' culture and stimulate the economy) (Binns, 2005).

Binn's argument echoes that of Zukin (1995) who states that culture is indeed a "motor of economic growth for cities" and forms the basis of what she terms of the 'symbolic economy' which comprises of two parts: firstly, the production of space whereby aesthetic ideals and cultural meanings and themes are incorporated into buildings, streets and parks which in turn inform how these spaces are consumed – and by whom; and secondly, how public spaces are identified with particular, often commercial themes driven by powerful forces, which begs the question: "whose culture? Whose city?" (Zukin, 1995).

Both Binns (2005) and Zukin (1995) offer a word of caution to culture-led urban regeneration, and reinforce the sentiment that a purely top-down approach to culture does not provide for an inclusive and authentic culture of place.

4. Johannesburg Context

The context of Johannesburg, and that of South Africa, is important to better understand what conditions were in place to allow for the development of a neighbourhood like Maboneng. Firstly, the history of Johannesburg as a city outlined by an urban timeline reveals the high level developmental changes that happened to the city from the 1940's to present, which can be examined through the themes of influx, exodus, generation and decline. City maps spatially illustrate how these changes transformed the face of the city, for better or for worse. Within this history and context, conditions for the development of Maboneng on the Eastern side of Johannesburg CBD were formed. This section aims to outline the form of culture-led urban regeneration in the area; as well as review opinions of how people feel about this new urban regeneration initiative in the inner city.

Johannesburg History:



Figure 1: Aerial view image by photographer Johnny Miller highlighting the well-serviced properties of the middle class residential areas in stark contrast to the less-well-serviced townships in South Africa.

“If Johannesburg is to prosper and provide a place where people can live decently, it must allow people to belong as well as to become, that is, enable people to make connections and associations across space and social groups.” (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner, & Magcu, 2003, p. 1).

Johannesburg is a city that erupted as thousands of opportunists made their way across the rolling plains of the Highveld to a nondescript part of the country during the gold rush in 1886. After the discovery of gold, the City of Johannesburg became, within a very short period, the financial and commercial hub of sub-Saharan Africa (Bremner, 2000). Situated in the province of Gauteng, Johannesburg is currently South Africa's largest city. Gauteng is the smallest province by landmass yet it is home to 24% of the nation's population, or 12,3 million people (PwC, 2014; Statistics South Africa, 2016). Johannesburg is a city of great contrasts. Even twenty years after democracy, the urban planning of Apartheid¹⁰ continues to leave its mark on the spatial form of the city (see Figure 1 which highlights the serviced suburbs of the middle class versus the poorly serviced townships, separated by a highway). The entrenched urban form of Apartheid continues to perpetuate the segregation between the have-nots from the have-lots along racial lines (Bremner, 2000).

Bremner (2000) argues that the "new security aesthetic" of post-apartheid Johannesburg reinforces segregation through a "multiplicity of worlds in a divided city." Therefore, from the leafy gated suburbs to the destitute sprawling informal settlements, from the glittering new central business district of Sandton to the decaying heart of Johannesburg's CBD - Johannesburg is known as a city divided (Dirsuweit, 2002).



Figure 2: City of Johannesburg map outlining key neighbourhoods and developments in the city's history (by author)

¹⁰ Apartheid was a system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination in South Africa between 1948 and 1991 (Bremner, 2000).

The context of Johannesburg and that of South Africa is important, in order to better understand what conditions were in place to allow for the development of a neighbourhood like Maboneng?

Johannesburg Timeline:

1940's - 1950's

Height of Sophiatown as a cultural hub in Johannesburg

- 1948 Nationalist Government comes to power and Apartheid begins
- 1950 First Group Areas Act passed
- 1950 Immorality Amendment Act¹¹ passed
- 1952 Jan Smuts airport founded near Kempton Park
- 1954 Sophiatown renamed Triomf
- 1959 Foundation of Randburg from amalgamated suburbs

1960's

City of Johannesburg is in a boom, with massive re-building
Beginning of armed struggle

- 1960 Sharpeville Massacre
- 1963/4 Rivonia Trial in which Nelson Mandela was sentenced to Robben Island
- 1969 Sandton established

1970's

Increased development of infrastructure in the northern suburbs
Global trend towards de-centralization of industrial buildings

- 1971 Hillbrow Tower constructed
- 1973 Sandton City Shopping Centre constructed
- 1974 Carlton Centre constructed
- 1975 Ponte Towers constructed
- 1976 Soweto Uprising
- 1976 Rosebank Mall constructed

1980's

Exodus from the inner city by White middle and upper classes
Influx of Black working class into the city

- 1985 National State of Emergency and international economic sanctions against South Africa

1990's

City develops a reputation for crime and grime
Decline of inner city fabric and services (hijacking of bad buildings becomes commonplace)
Influx of African nationals¹² into the inner city
Proliferation of 'gated communities'¹³ in suburbs in response to high levels of crime

- 1994 First democratic elections
- 1997 Triomf reverts back to Sophiatown
- 1999 Gandhi Square bus and taxi rank transport node completed

2000's

Beginning of service delivery protests
Beginning of urban regeneration and development of City Improvement Districts (CID's)

- 2000 City of Johannesburg has a vision of becoming an 'African world class city'¹⁴

¹¹ The Immorality Amendment Act made it illegal for people of different races to live together (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner, & Magcu, 2003)

¹³ 'Gated community' is a generic term referring to an area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings with access control and privatized public/communal spaces inside. Since the early 1990s gated communities have experienced significant growth in South Africa, especially in Johannesburg where gated communities have become popular primarily as a response to high levels of crime and the fear of crime (Landman, 2004).

¹⁴ In 2000, the city of Johannesburg had a vision of becoming a 'world class African city' defined by increased prosperity and quality of life

	Montecasino established in Fourways
2001	Founding of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) Melrose Arch Phase I completed
2002	Vision for city redefined to a ' <i>world class city</i> ' ¹⁵ Soweto incorporated into the city of Johannesburg
2003	44 Stanley and adjacent developments in Auckland Park founded Nelson Mandela Bridge built, improving the connection between the city and Braamfontein
2006	Vision redefined again, this time as a ' <i>world class African city for all</i> ' ¹⁶
2007	The Inner City Regeneration Charter came into effect Inner City Streetscape/Public Environment Upgrade Plan Alexander Theatre re-opens in Braamfontein
2009	Rea Vaya Johannesburg's bus rapid transport system launched Maboneng founded with the development of Arts on Main
2010's	
2010	FIFA World Cup comes to South Africa Gautrain phase I is launched 70 Juta Street and Randlords in Braamfontein are launched
2013	Corridors of Freedom ¹⁷ launched

Figure 3: Johannesburg city timeline (by author)

Figure 3 summarises the trends that have shaped the development of the City of Johannesburg over the decades. During this period, the city has experienced rigid segregation policies on the basis of race, class and space (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner, & Magcu, 2003) therefore entrenching over time a white middle class within the suburban lifestyle (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012) and containing the black working class, set apart by apartheid legislation, in sprawling townships on the edges of the city (Bremner, 2000).

An examination of development patterns clearly demonstrates that there are racial divisions, which are still firmly rooted in the spatial order of the post-Apartheid Johannesburg city. These development patterns have been compounded over time, resulting in the current location of significant urban facilities, notably shopping centers, offices, cinemas and restaurants being more concentrated in the previously 'white' residential Northern suburbs than ever before (SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2005).

Given the context of the inner city, some would argue that Johannesburg CBD has deteriorated to the

through sustained economic growth for all of its citizens' (LSE Cities, 2015).

¹⁵ In its 2002 long-term economic development strategy for 2030, the City said that in future it would like to be 'a world class city with service deliverables and efficiencies that meet world best practice' (LSE Cities, 2015). The word 'Africa' was removed from the vision.

¹⁶ In the 2006 Growth and Development Strategy, the city re-emphasised the desire to become a 'world class African city for all' (LSE Cities, 2015).

¹⁷ In 2013 the corridors of freedom are launched as a means to crowd in investment, supporting transit-orientated development along the corridors, improving access to job opportunities through public transport and to minimize urban sprawl (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

level of a 'no-go' zone, especially for middle-classes (Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016). This investment in the suburbs rather than in the City of Johannesburg was largely due to the high levels of crime, violence and instability in the inner city from the 1980's onwards (see Figure 3) resulting in the move of capital to new business districts such as Sandton, Rosebank and Hyde Park and the rapid securitisation of gated communities in the suburbs (Bremner, 2000).

Since democracy in 1994, the City of Johannesburg has looked at ways to put a stop to the declining condition of the inner city and put policies and structures in place in order to encourage attract reinvestment in the inner city. Since 2004, Urban Development Zones (UDZ's) were implemented as a tax incentive initiative to encourage private sector investments back to the inner city to stimulate urban renewal in specific areas that have declined (Huchzermeyer, 2014) in order to address the severe capital flight from the inner city since the 1980's. A 'Regeneration Charter'¹⁸ went into effect in 2007 in conjunction with an Inner City Streetscape/Public Environment Upgrade Plan¹⁹, which aimed to make streets more walkable. Upgrades of the public environment were intended to occur in certain areas to support the walkable initiative in the city.

Therefore during this period, culture-led urban regeneration developments like Maboneng became increasingly important to the City of Johannesburg, as it attempted to demonstrate success in obtaining private sector reinvestment in the city, and validating that Johannesburg is indeed a '*world class African city*'²⁰. Despite the inner city being perceived as a 'no-go' zone for most middle class suburbanites, Hoogendoorn & Gregory (2016) argue that the exponential rise of social media, combined with the increased momentum in urban renewal initiatives implemented by the private and public sphere in many cities in South Africa have resulted in an interesting outcome whereby some middle class people (mostly white suburban youth, often part of the creative class) now regularly access the inner city through

¹⁸ The Regeneration Charter had a vision for Johannesburg to be a city which could be "livable, safe, people-centered, accessible, vibrant, dynamic, well managed, celebrates cultural diversity, operates around a 24 hour basis, is welcoming to tourists, entrepreneurs, residents, workers and learners, respects heritage and social differences, a globally competitive city that can capitalise on its position in South Africa and Africa as a whole, a trading hub, values public-private partnerships, embraces the spirit of Ubuntu and allows for fair and equal participation processes" (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

¹⁹ Street upgrades included new paving, better street lighting, planting of trees, better drainage, street trade and informal trading management, better facades and building edges, street furniture and clean amenities provision, refuse bin provision, better maintenance of sidewalks and better integration of pedestrian linkages with public transport nodes and stops (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007).

²⁰ Since 2000, the city of Johannesburg has been through different iterations of positioning and branding the city, with straplines such as 'world class African city' (2000), 'world class city' (2002), 'world class African city for all' (2006) and more recently, a vision for Johannesburg in the year 2040 as a 'World Class African city of the future' (COJ, 2012 ; LSE Cities, 2015).

InstaMeets²¹ (Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016). However, this process is argued to be a double-edged sword. It is argued that while there are tangible benefits to renewed access to the inner city, in some cases; it can be considered voyeuristic and lead to displacement of residents with vulnerable livelihoods if not managed correctly (Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016).

Maboneng, place of light:

“Ten years ago, looking toward the Eastern fringe of the inner city of Johannesburg you would have found a dangerous and dirty warren of streets and neglected industrial buildings with little street life or local economy. It would have been difficult to imagine then, that in less than a decade, a new vibrant youthful neighbourhood called Maboneng would be rising out of the city decay and redefining what contemporary city living in Johannesburg is all about” (Propertuity, 2016, n.p).

Maboneng is a privately funded urban development situated on the Eastern side of Johannesburg's CBD. Maboneng was founded in 2009 when property developer Jonathan Liebmann bought a cluster of warehouses in a run-down city block bordered by Main Street, Fox Street, and Berea Street. Liebmann named his first development 'Arts on Main' and filled the space with galleries, restaurants, retailers and prominent artist studios (Mason, 2015). From the outset, Liebmann's real estate company, Propertuity, targeted older inner city buildings that were previous industrial, soft manufacturing or old office buildings. After the development of Arts on Main, Propertuity went on to acquire a number of other buildings in the area thereby creating a cluster that would over the coming years transform the area into a regenerated neighbourhood. Propertuity named this new space 'Maboneng', meaning "place of light" in Sotho.

The neighbourhood has been strongly branded (see Figure 5, p 34) by Propertuity, who define themselves as the 'creators of Maboneng' (Propertuity, 2016). Since 2009, the physical, social and economic transformation of Maboneng has been to a large extent led single-handedly by Propertuity (see Figure 4,

²¹ An 'Instameet' is where people gather in a pre-determined place, at a set time, to take photos then upload them to Instagram. Instagram is an online mobile photo-sharing site that allows its users to share pictures and videos either publicly or privately on the app, as well as through a variety of other social networking platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, and Flickr (www.instagram.com)

which highlights in yellow each city block developed by Propertuity). Propertuity has gone on to develop a large range of residential, commercial, industrial and institutional real estate offerings. Each development displays elements of mixed-use design, with a strong focus on city living and street culture. Their flagship development, Arts on Main, hosts a Sunday morning artisan market, called Market on Main. This market has assisted with the conceptual success of Arts on Main and quickly turned Maboneng into one of Johannesburg's top inner-city destinations (Mason, 2015).

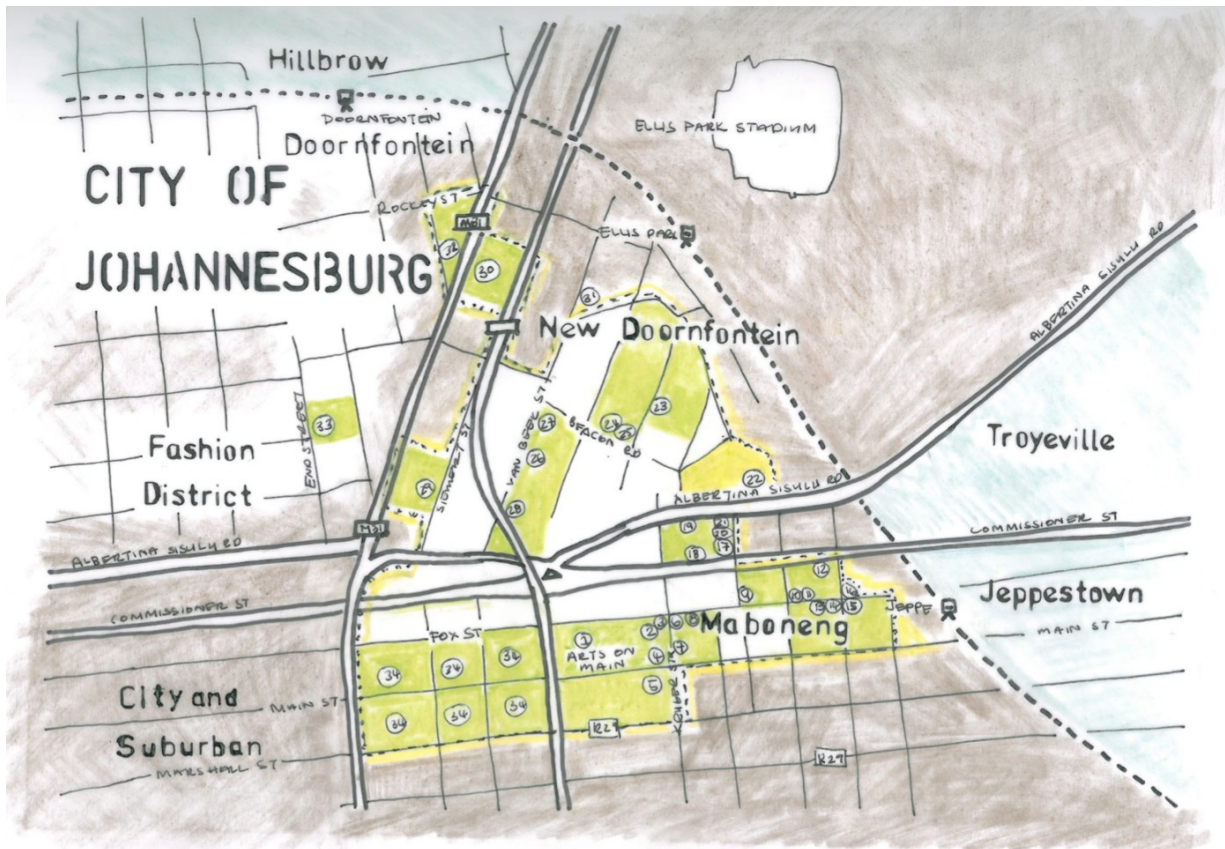


Figure 4: Map of Maboneng, with Propertuity developments highlighted in yellow. This map illustrates how Maboneng falls within 4 municipal areas: City and Suburban, Jeppeshtown, New Doornfontien and Doornfontien.



Figure 5: Place branded of Maboneng on Kruger Street in Maboneng

Before 2009, before the neighbourhood of Maboneng was conceptualised, the area was known as four pre-existing municipal suburbs, namely City and Suburban, Jeppestown, New Doornfontein and Doornfontien (see Figure 4, p 34).

- *City and Suburban* is a relatively small residential area, with light industrial businesses operating in the area. It has a low population density of 2532 per km², with 99,4% of the total population being African black (Statistics South Africa, 2016; Frith, 2016).
- *New Doornfontien* is a predominantly industrial area has a low population density of 2273 per km², with 97,6% of the total population being African black (Statistics South Africa, 2016; Frith, 2016).
- *Jeppestown* is an older residential neighbourhood, which was established in 1886 and is currently a residential and business area. It has a population density of 8084 per km² with 89,3% of the total population being African black (Statistics South Africa, 2016; Frith, 2016).
- *Doornfontein* is a high population density neighbourhood housing Ellis Park Stadium, and two tertiary education institutions, University of Johannesburg and Technikon Witwatersrand. It has the highest population density in comparison to the other three areas, with a population density of 9683 per km², with 97,2% of the total population being African black (Statistics South Africa, 2016; Frith, 2016).

Therefore, pre-2009, the makeup of the now Maboneng area was a combination of industrial (New Doornfontien), light industrial (City and Suburban) and residential (Jeppestown and Doornfontien) neighbourhoods.

As such, the current neighbourhood known today as Maboneng actually occupies buildings and city blocks within four neighbouring municipal areas, namely *City and Suburban*, Jeppestown, *New Doornfontien* and *Doornfontien*. Maboneng is also within close proximity Troyeville to the East, and Hillbrow, the Fashion District and Johannesburg CBD to the West (see Figure 4: Map of Maboneng, p 34)

Culture-Led Urban Regeneration in Maboneng:

“Our vision is to create one of the world’s most diverse and dynamic neighbourhoods that has a unique offering of integrated mixed income and mixed use space within a framework of both old and new buildings. We feel that we have laid a good foundation for this over the last seven years. It is now our responsibility to make this foundation a launching pad for Maboneng to become an even better place for the community with a continued focus on creating an environment that connects people to the heart of Johannesburg city.”

– Jonathan Liebmann, Propertuity CEO (Propertuity, 2016: n.p)

The timing of the Arts on Main (Propertuity’s first development establishing what is now Maboneng) development dovetailed with incredibly low property prices in the inner city, and the UDZ’s, which provided tax incentives to bring private sector investments back to the inner city to stimulate urban renewal in specific areas that have declined (Huchzermeyer, 2014). The area now defined as Maboneng fell within the UDZ for the inner city as it was seen as an area that had undergone significant depreciation and dilapidation through the 1980’s, 1990’s and early 2000’s (Huchzermeyer, 2014).

Therefore, the area of Maboneng is by definition, an example of urban regeneration as it illustrates “the transformation of a place that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline” (Evans, 2005) to one that is now displaying symptoms of a physical, social and economic boom.

From the outset, the vision of the developer was to nurture an artistic community and an area with creative entrepreneurship at its core (Propertuity, 2016). ‘Arts on Main’ as the name suggests, uses art associations to build social capital and interest in the development, attracting acclaimed artists such as William Kentridge²² to move into artist studios, signaling to others that this is the place for creativity, artistic self-expression and inner city life (Propertuity, 2016). The Sunday ‘Market on Main’ is a popular Sunday destination where consumers can shop, eat out and enjoy live entertainment and salsa dancing from a number of pop up vendors selling clothing, art, food, drinks, curios and unique design. This Sunday market has done a lot to attract the “young adventurous middle class back in to the city” (Al Jazeera, 2015, n.p).

²² William Kentridge is arguably one of South Africa’s most famous living contemporary artists, best known for his prints, drawings, and animated films (<http://www.goodman-gallery.com/artists/williamkentridge>)

Propertuity sees itself as 'leading inspired development'. Their core purpose is to "inspire a new way of being through enlightened development" (Propertuity, 2017, n.p). Propertuity claims to work intuitively in response to the needs of the community by creating unique concepts and mixed-use spaces that will meaningfully engage people with their urban environment. Through architecture, planning, design, art and investment, Propertuity seeks to "regenerate the culturally rich and dynamic neighbourhood by combining core principles to activate communities, promote transformation and create spaces with character and a lasting quality" (Propertuity, 2016, n.p).

Propertuity's development goal is for Maboneng to become a high-density, mixed-income community housed in mixed-use buildings, with a lively street and public space culture that is safe and clean. Propertuity intends to further densify the existing buildings they own, as they believe "density increases the number of people living and working in the area and creates energy. Propertuity believes it is vital that Maboneng be a mixed-income community that encourages a reduction in the disparities of income by facilitating more frequent interactions between people that have means and people without, which will in some cases allow for a more even flow of resources and will perform a balancing act for the now unjust social economic climate in South Africa (Propertuity, 2016). Through density, Propertuity believes it can stimulate a '24/7' neighbourhood economy and provide a walkable lifestyle where people can "live, work and play" in the inner city.

Through design, Maboneng encourages the use of public space, with more outdoor gyms, parks, trees, street furniture, and public art that enforces "the concept of the street becoming an extension of one's living and working space" (Propertuity, 2016, n.p). And finally, Maboneng aims to be safe and clean and has invested heavily in improving the streetscapes, from pavement upgrades, to street security and waste management.

In terms of geography, most creative industries in Johannesburg are scattered across the northern suburbs of the city. Over the past few years, however, there is "evidence of creative enterprises re-

centralising and clustering in inner-city fringe areas such as Maboneng” (Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016). Each building that was developed in Maboneng by Propertuity was given a building name, which continues the rhetoric of emphasizing artistic expression and creativity, through building names like “Artisan Lofts, Revolution House, The Main Change, Craftsman’s Ship and Maverick Corner” (see Table 3, p 61).

Public opinions on Maboneng:

Within the local context of Johannesburg there have been a number of urban regeneration projects in the inner city that have come about since the 1990’s. Typically, these projects have been led by the state, the city, or urban development agencies. These developments include: Ghandi Square bus and taxi rank terminal; Newtown Precinct; and the construction of Nelson Mandela bridge, which better connected Braamfontien to the CBD (Bremner, 2000; Joburg Development Agency, 2015).

What makes Maboneng unique is that it has been established, and strongly branded, by a single private developer, Propertuity, which has been able to in a sense ‘rename’ a part of town that traditionally would be named after their municipal suburb names: City and Suburban, Jeppestown, Doornfontien and New Doornfontien.

Much like the global literature arguing in favour of, or fiercely disagreeing with the role of culture-led urban regeneration, the case of Maboneng is no different, with starkly contrasting opinions being expressed. This section aims to air public opinion on the neighbourhood of Maboneng.

Positive opinions talk about improvement in living conditions and increased feelings of personal safety; a place that is a melting pot of young people from different races; a destination for creative professions; a globally recognised tourism destination; and more recently a major destination for foodies.

A young South African female student living in Jeppestown recalls the area before “Maboneng” was developed, saying that she can remember how underdeveloped and dirty it was and how she never felt safe. For her, she felt it was good for the regeneration of the inner city to continue through spaces such as Maboneng, arguing that it should be expanded because the conditions are so much better now than before (The Daily Vox, 2015, n.p).

An international travel blogger paints a bright picture of the Maboneng neighbourhood, describing it as a “new urban wave where people of every skin colour are mingling together.” The blogger described Maboneng as attracting a young generation (with all their races intertwined) who don’t remember the divisions of the past and see a future beyond the poverty and crime of their early years. “They will make Johannesburg city great again” (Time Travel Turtle, 2015, n.p).

A tenant in Revolution House, one of the first residential developments in Maboneng said: “Main Street Live is packed with radio, TV people, musicians and actors and academics. All sorts of people! It is definitely like a little village; full of young people who want to party!” (Sunday Independent, 2013, n.p).

In 2015, Maboneng was voted as ‘*one of the world’s coolest new tourist attractions to visit*²³’ by Travel + Leisure, a leading New York-based travel and tourism magazine with more than 4.8-million readers (Joburg Development Agency (JDA), 2015, n.p)

“Maboneng is a tangible example of an urban industrial area in transformation. The creative re-use of predominately vacant post-industrial space has reshaped the built environment into hybrid architecture. This regeneration has provided an infrastructure for collective encounters, new engagements, and an energetic neighbourhood contributing to a unique African urban experience. Today, Maboneng sits on an international platform of entrepreneurial creative and cultural production”(Gregory, 2015, n.p).

²³ An accolade shared with the Shanghai Tower in Shanghai, China; Eiffel Tower in Paris, France; ICE Krakow Congress Centre in Krakow, Poland; and the Starry Night Bicycle Path in Nuenen, the Netherlands (Joburg Development Agency, 2015)

Maboneng is now viewed as a major inner city destination, reports the UK's leading daily, The Times; "This is not the place for tourists looking for beautiful architecture and city walks. It's for people prepared to uncover the diamonds in the rough - and when they do, they'll find a city that is alive and kicking." (Joburg Development Agency (JDA), 2015, n.p).

Food 24, Africa's biggest food website writes: "Call it a creative hub, a place of inspiration, the cool kid's playground or the home of the hippies, whatever floats your boat the; Maboneng Precinct is a neighbourhood renowned for the arts, the infectious vibe and food so good you'd think it's God sent." (Food 24, 2016, n.p)

These opinions of Maboneng mirror much of the global literature on the positive aspects of culture-led urban regeneration, such as the transformation of a place that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social or economic decline, using culture to transform it to one that is better than before (Evans, 2005). Similarly, the idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth is emphasised, and it is with this mind-set that culture has become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position (Miles & Paddison, 2005). Superficially, at least, it seems that Maboneng is certainly attracting the *super creative core* of creative class working professionals as a starting point to kick off this growth (Florida, 2002).

In contrast, negative opinions speak to displacement of the poor in favour of the elite, as well as feelings of not belonging by those from poorer neighbouring streets. Indeed, the privatisation of public space has been criticised in Johannesburg as being responsible for the making of privatised enclaves (Murray, 2011). Broader issues of inequality have become central to Maboneng, as Maboneng can be found next to Jeppestown. Jeppestown has one of the highest numbers of hijacked buildings in Johannesburg inner city (Al Jazeera, 2015, n.p).

Maboneng's rise to fame in Johannesburg is not good news for everyone. The Daily Maverick, a South African news publication, quoted an informal trader's perspective; he sees the city as trying to "turn Maboneng into a white-owned penthouse enclave at the expense of the poor". He sees the regeneration of Maboneng as the elite taking control and branding the poor as illegal (Daily Maverick, 2015, n.p).

A young unemployed man living in a nearby hijacked building says he knows what Maboneng is, though he has never been there, "I don't know if I'm allowed there? It's a nice place. There are nice things, but how to get in, I don't know?" (Al Jazeera, 2015, n.p).

It is very difficult to ascertain the extent and scale of exclusion or displacement happening in Maboneng. What is evident, however, is that Maboneng has come to reflect the growing disenchantment and frustration, which many inner city residents feel. In 2015, members of the crumbling Jeppestown men's hostels, a few blocks from Fox Street, marched through Maboneng while chanting: "*We want to eat sushi in Maboneng!*" (Lupindo, 2015, n.p). The local residents from Jeppestown were demanding that the then Mayor, Parks Tau, and City of Johannesburg officials hear their concerns regarding access to affordable housing, as well as their grievances on recent changes to Jeppestown and neighbouring city blocks, home to Maboneng, a contrasting upmarket urban neighbourhood development in comparison to their hostel²⁴ accommodation (Lupindo, 2015, n.p).

This incident highlights the tension between low cost/affordable housing provision, which is typically provided for by the State, and the range of medium to higher end housing options provided for by private developers like Propertuity.

Property speculation has increased in the area around Maboneng. Other property developers are buying buildings at auction, letting them, and while they may not be charging exorbitant rents, it's still too much

²⁴ Whilst Jeppestown men's hostel is not owned or managed by Propertuity it does lie within close proximity to the regeneration occurring in the area. Despite this, to these men, their living conditions have not improved, nor their access to economic opportunities despite the regeneration in nearby Maboneng (Lupindo, 2015).

for the poor, which results in poor tenants facing eviction, usually because new owners want higher rents (Al Jazeera, 2015). To echo this sentiment, many columnists decry Maboneng as an “insular sphere of gentrification amidst a sea of poverty, an urban playground for the rich to develop at the expense of the poor” (Mason, 2015), or as an ‘exclusive social enclave’ (Kluth, 2014).

These views of Maboneng align with much of the critical global literature on culture-led urban regeneration, such as the argument that it prioritises the middle class and further entrenches inequality and displacement (Booyens, 2002; Peck, 2007). Indeed, is Maboneng simply a branding exercise (Miles & Paddison, 2005) designed to improve property markets and commoditise the urban?

Whilst Maboneng has been controversial, it seems it is not to blame for protests that started in Jeppestown due to widespread fears of eviction. “The tension has been fuelled by local inequality, but the spark has come from other property developers and a municipal system that regularly side-lines the poor on its path to regeneration” (Daily Maverick, 2015, n.p).

The Daily Vox described Maboneng as a double-edged sword. A local community member deliberated on Maboneng, saying: “of course you want to see under-served communities developed, but we need to be really careful about the ways in which they are developed. Middle-class people come in on weekends, holidays and evenings, but we never see them here any other time. To what extent are people who actually live in the community benefiting? Maboneng offers a platform that doesn’t exist in Sandton, Rosebank and other places; this is a good thing for emerging entrepreneurs, but the question is how is it done and how is the local community benefiting?” (The Daily Vox, 2015, n.p)

An architect, Alex Opper says that the rhetoric surrounding Maboneng assumes that it is the center and treats the surroundings as the periphery. He argues it might make sense to invert this model in order to better integrate with the surrounding neighbourhood that is still in decline. Opper says that he is loath to criticise gentrification projects such as Maboneng, as they can have intended and unintended positive spinoffs for the city. “It is possible for Propertuity to get it right. They are making use of the skills of urban practitioners, so the scheme could still turn into something that is more inclusive and organic rather than

limited by the prescriptive rhetoric they currently employ” (Sunday Independent, 2013, n.p).

Local radio DJ, Ngwako Malakalaka, thinks it is a misconception that Maboneng is only for the well to do. He believes that middle class visitors in Maboneng illustrate a brave shift in mind-set: “This is us saying we love our city despite its flaws and we’re trying to make something of our city. It’s changing the mind-set of our peer group of what our city is about” (Al Jazeera, 2015, n.p).

As the Maboneng Precinct continues to expand into the gritty, low-income suburbs of Jeppestown, Doornfontein and New Doornfontein that surround it, we do need to question who is being excluded from the culture-led urban regeneration in Maboneng, this ‘place of light’, and who is being left in the darkness. What sort of speculation on proximal properties might be taking place, whether it is through low cost housing agencies, other private developers or Propertuity, or a combination of players? The dichotomy within spaces like Maboneng is that for some, it is a place where local residents in Jeppestown feel excluded and for others it is a new playground for business opportunities²⁵.

Does Maboneng demonstrate a socially rooted urban regeneration view which values the multi-dimensional role of culture in urban development which requires top-down as well as bottom-up development agendas? Alternatively, is it force-feeding the culture of elite property developers in a top down approach?

In the next two sections, these questions will be discussed in greater detail. Chapter 5 hopes to answer these questions by examining the data collected in Maboneng and chapter 6 provides an analysis of the data, providing answers that draw insights from the data, the context of Johannesburg and the literature on the debate of culture-led urban regeneration.

²⁵ The “we want to eat sushi” hostel protests in Maboneng focused their attention on the one and only sushi restaurant, called ‘Blackanese’ which is owned by a young black South African entrepreneur called Vusi Kunene. His dream is to run a successful business and to introduce sushi to more black South Africans. His story is the classic rag to riches story, starting out his career as a car-guard at events to finally being the owner of a growing business, situated in the heart of Maboneng (Sowetan, 2013). “I felt that Maboneng Precinct was the perfect place for our business. I thought this is where we belong, the lifestyle complimented Blackanese because it’s very young and trendy.” Said Vusi Kunene (Sowetan, 2013). This story highlights the exclusionary tension between those who are able to ‘make it’ in the neighbourhood and those, like the men living in the hostels, who feel excluded from the sushi-eating high life of those frequenting Maboneng.

5. Maboneng Data

As highlighted in the research methodology section, the data collected for the purposes of this dissertation can be found in Propertuity's book titled '*Propertuity: Developing a neighbourhood economy*' (Propertuity, 2016) which aimed to capture the growth story of the Maboneng neighbourhood since its inception in 2009²⁶. This data section therefore draws purely on Propertuity company data from the 2016 book that was published, as well as personal observations and photography in order to demonstrate change in the neighbourhood.

For ease of understanding, the data section will be reviewed within three categories that form part of the definition of urban regeneration²⁷, namely the social, the physical and the economic regeneration. The first category refers to social data, which is data relating to demographics, organisations and institutions that operate in Maboneng. The second category refers to physical data, such as data relating to buildings, streetscape and physical transformations in Maboneng. The final category will explore economic data, relating to property prices, rental prices, the number of businesses, and the number of restaurants, providing a view on the local economy.

5.1. Social Data

Social data in Maboneng explores data relating to demographics such as age, race, lifestage and nationality. Social data also refers to people-orientated networks, such as organisations, NPO's and institutions operating in Maboneng. Crime statistics and security are also explored in the social data section to better understand urban safety in Maboneng.

²⁶ To reiterate what was outlined in the research methodology section of this paper, the neighbourhood of 'Maboneng', refers only to Propertuity buildings and to the data provided by Propertuity in Maboneng, and not to the broader neighbourhoods, which consist of both Propertuity owned buildings as well as others developments both old and new. The data in this section specifically focuses on residential ownership and rental data, focusing on age, race, property prices, lifestage and nationalities. This data assists in outlining the demographics of the people living and working in Maboneng, as well as how the urban form changed to provide the public realm with a new street culture that did not previously exist (Propertuity, 2016).

²⁷ According to Evans & Shaw (2006), 'urban regeneration' is defined as the renewal, revival, revitalisation or transformation of a place or community. "Regeneration is both a process and an outcome: It can have "economic social and physical dimensions, and the three can commonly coexist"(Evans & Shaw, 2006: p.1).

Demographics - Age:

Data on ownership of residential units is split into four core age segments; namely 18 – 24 year olds, 25 – 34 year olds, 35 – 49 year olds and 50+. Currently in Maboneng, the 25 – 34 year old age segment owns 47% of all residential units, followed by the 35 – 49 year old segment that own 31%. As of 2016, only 34% of all residential units sold by Propertuity were occupied by the owners (Propertuity, 2016), which illustrates that the *'buy to rent'* model in Maboneng is popular with 66% of the residential owners preferring to buy property to rent out for profit, rather than buying the property to live in.

Maboneng is therefore a predominantly rental market. In this light, the data demonstrates an even younger age skew amongst tenants with 25 – 34 year olds being the most dominant age segment, leasing 44% of all rental units. The 18-24 year olds are the second largest rental segment at 25%. Therefore, in total, the 18 – 34 year old age segments combined rent 69% all residential rentals (Propertuity, 2016).

Notably, the CEO of Propertuity, Jonathan Liebmann also falls into the 25 – 34 age category, meaning that the conceptualization of Maboneng as a neighborhood was also youth-led (Propertuity, 2016).

Demographics - Race:

In terms of race, property ownership of residential units reflects a diverse racial split. There is a bias towards White ownership, with 47% of all units being purchased by White owners. Black ownership comes in at 27% and Indian ownership follows at 14%. The remaining 12% of owners opted not to disclose their race in the OTP documentation (Propertuity, 2016).

Regarding the rental breakdown of residential units, the data shows that the vast majority (66%) of all rentals are leased by black tenants, followed by 22% being leased by White tenants, and 8% leased by

Indian tenants (Propertuity, 2016), the remaining 4% of rentals were company rentals and did not disclose tenant information relating to race (Propertuity, 2016).

Lifestage:

Ownership by marital status provides data on the lifestage of the owners, which based on the findings, reflects a predominantly single ownership status of 57%, followed by married couples at 22%. 19% of owners preferred not to disclose their marital status²⁸. A small proportion of owners (2%) were either divorced or widowed (Propertuity, 2016).

In contrast to ownership, the rental market in Maboneng by marital status gives an indication of the lifestage of the tenants, which similarly reflects a predominantly single (47%) marital status, followed by the second largest segment defined as “friends/couples living together” at 32%. Only 10% of tenants were married. 9% of tenants preferred not to disclose their marital status, and 2% were either divorced or widowed (Propertuity, 2016).

Nationality:

Ownership within Propertuity developments is largely held within South African hands with 85% of all residential units owned locally in contrast to 15% being owned by foreigners. Based on the data, foreign owners come from Australia, Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States (Propertuity, 2016).

Likewise, South Africans similarly dominate rental within Propertuity developments, with domestic tenants accounting for 78% of all rentals in comparison to 22% being rented by foreigners. Foreigners identified in the data come from Australia, Netherlands, United States, United Kingdom as well as a number of SADC countries such as Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Propertuity,

²⁸ The data also showed that private companies or trusts purchased 10% of units.

2016). 9% of residential apartments are leased out by private companies on behalf of their employees and as a result provided no nationality data (Propertuity, 2016).

Neighbourhood ‘cultural’ organisations/activities:

A number of companies, organisations and institutions have popped up in Maboneng since 2009, which are neighbourhood initiatives setup by community members or companies (see Table 2 below).

Social Initiative		Type	Focus Area
1.	Trim Park	Public gym	Outdoor training facility
2.	Common Ground	Public park	Green space/playground
3.	Skatistan	NPO	Youth empowerment. Skateboarding.
4.	Lalela	NPO	Youth empowerment. Art after school.
5.	I was shot in Joburg ☺	Business	Street kid empowerment. Photography.
6.	Spark School	Junior school	Affordable education
7.	African School of Excellence	High school	Affordable education
8.	MOAD	Museum/gallery	Art
9.	POPArt	Theatre	Performance
10.	Bioscope	Business	Entertainment
11.	Rooftop Salsa	Business	Dancing
12.	Main Street Walks	Business	Inner City Tour. Culture. Food. Architecture.

Table 2: List of cultural organisations or activities in Maboneng (Propertuity, 2016)

Propertuity has invested in public spaces such as Trim Park and Common Ground Park (see Figure 6, p 56). Trim Park is a Propertuity-led sidewalk development designed on the street level directly outside the entrance to the Access City building on Beacon Street. Trim Park is a public gym designed to be accessible to anyone interested in exercise and is fitted with workout structures, boxing bags and a running track that wraps around Access City (Propertuity, 2017). Common Ground, another Propertuity development, is Maboneng’s first public park and informal vending development. It is a new green space that provides relief from the inner city grittiness, a green oasis lined with trees, a playground and a café in the interior.

Whilst the exterior of Common Ground has small-formalised vending stations that are street facing, catching the busy pedestrian footfall in the area. The stations were designed for previous ‘informal traders’ who provided pedestrians with on-the-go food and refreshments, thereby creating security of tenure for traders that now access electricity and can lock up their stores in the evenings. On weekends, the park sometimes becomes a small concert venue (Propertuity, 2016).



Figure 6: Photographs of Trim Park (left) and Common Ground Stalls (center and right). Images by author.

The growing Maboneng area has also managed to attract two new educational institutions, namely SPARK schools and the African School of Excellence (ASE), to setup their school campuses in Maboneng (Propertuity, 2017). SPARK schools offer an affordable private school education to junior school students (Spark Schools, 2017). The ASE is set to open in 2017. ASE is known for providing affordable, scalable high school education with an international signature academic model, advanced professional development programme and enhanced operational approach (The African School of Excellence, 2017).

Propertuity currently supports community-led projects such as Skateistan and Lalela. Skateistan is a community project and a non-profit organization (NPO) that operates in Van Beek Street in Maboneng. Skateistan uses skateboarding as a tool for empowering youth, to create new opportunities and the potential for change (Skateistan, 2017). Propertuity had provided financial support to this NPO by giving them a 20-year rent-free lease (Propertuity, 2016). Lalela is a community project and NPO, which provides a center for art and innovation, aiming to give at-risk youth access to creative thinking, awakening the entrepreneurial spirit. Lalela is situated within the Common Ground building, next to the Spark School (Lalela, 2017).

Other community-led initiatives include 'I was shot in Joburg', POPArt Performing Arts Centre, the Museum of African Design, the Bioscope Independent Cinema, Rooftop Salsa and Main Street Walks. I was shot in Joburg 😊 is a creative platform to provide street children with skills and the ability to generate income. Using disposable camera's street children were encouraged to capture beauty in their immediate environment, even when they thought there was none. These images were then translated into a product range, which is sold in the Arts on Main building to visitors. The space doubles up as a skills development center as well as a retail space (iwasshot in Joburg 😊, 2017).

POPArt Performing Arts Centre is an independent theatre, production company and performing arts center. POPArt stands for 'People of Performing Art' and they provide a platform for the showcasing of some of the freshest work and ideas from some of the hottest emerging and established performing arts talents in Johannesburg (POPArt, 2017).

The Museum of African Design (MOAD) is the first museum on the African continent dedicated to design. MOAD is more of a cultural hub, than a collecting institution, and devotes itself to exploring the ever-changing African continent and diaspora. MOAD manifests its commitment to this vision by documenting the dynamic world of African design; presenting exhibitions and educational programs; by collaborating with partner institutions around the world; and by supporting unparalleled scholarship on African design (Museum of African Design, 2017, n.p).

The Bioscope is a single screen 62-seater independent cinema that strives to create an independent and sustainable cinema theatre for interesting and engaging media in Johannesburg. Since the Bioscope is independent, it has the freedom to exhibit exciting, risky and provocative work across all media platforms. This creative programming has in the past included: art house classics, contemporary world cinema, classic blockbusters, documentaries, South African films, experimental films, shorts digital arts and new media, music videos, animation, and film education programmes for inner city schools (The Bioscope Independent Cinema, 2017, n.p).

Rooftop Salsa is the home of salsa, bachata, kizomba and other dance forms on Sundays in Johannesburg. Rooftop Salsa provides an inner city space for scores of dancers (and aspiring dancers) to spend their Sunday afternoons swaying to Afro-Cuban rhythms (Rooftop Salsa, 2017, n.p).

Main Street Walks encourages people to rediscover the inner city on foot and using public transport. These walking tours claim to “go beyond mere tourist rubbernecking, with guided tours commencing in the Maboneng Precinct and providing walkers direct access to the people and happenings of the surrounding community. Main Street Walks currently offer an Inner City Tour, Picnics in the Sky, Art and Justice Tour, Maboneng Precinct Tour, Corporate Tours, Underground Pub Crawl and an East City Cycle Tour (Main Street Walks, 2017, n.p).

Crime and security:

Given the level of crime in the inner city, a Central Improvement District (CID) was developed which covers a large area from Ellis Park to Maboneng in order to create a safe and clean environment where residents, retailers and all visitors to the broader area feel safe enough to walk the streets without fear. Propertuity, along with other stakeholders based in area, pay for and monitor the CID, providing street cleaning, security and dealing with the city council on issues relating to the public space management. Propertuity, in partnership with other stakeholders, also raise funds from the private sector for public space upgrades and art installations (Propertuity, 2016).

Over and above the CID management of Maboneng, Propertuity has, since 2009, worked with Stallion Security in order to provide security to all its buildings and adjacent streets. In 2016, the number of security employed full time in Maboneng was 58 people.

2016 Statistics:	Johannesburg Central	Randburg
Murder	75	3
Attempted Murder	70	22
Common Robbery	1322	200
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	1694	448
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	1471	774
Car jacking	131	29

Figure 7: Comparison of Johannesburg Central (inner city) with Randburg (suburbs) (Crime Stats SA, 2016)

Figure 7 outlines key crime metrics taken from Crime Stats SA (2016), and compares two areas in the City of Johannesburg, the downtown part of Johannesburg called ‘Johannesburg Central’ with a middle class suburb called ‘Randburg’. Comparing the inner city to a suburb like Randburg illustrates the high levels of exposure to crime still found in the inner city.

5.2. Physical Data

Physical data in the section refers to data pertaining to Maboneng’s spatial location within the broader City of Johannesburg, Property buildings and streetscapes.

Maboneng’s spatial location:

The boundaries of Maboneng, according to Property, are defined by the hard boundary of the railway line running across the North Eastern side of the neighbourhood, acting as a physical separator between Maboneng and suburbs to the East such as Troyeville and Jeppestown (see Figure 4: Map of Maboneng, p 34, which illustrates these geographic areas). To the West, End Street becomes a softer boundary line, with the suburb of Hillbrow lying to the West of End Street and Maboneng to the East of End Street. Similarly, a softer Southern border can be defined by Marshall Street.



Figure 8: Spatial clustering of Maboneng Developments over time (Propertytuity, 2016; Daffonchio and Associate Architects, 2017)

The data in Figure 4 (page 34) and Figure 8 (page 60) illustrate on a map how Maboneng developments such as Arts on Main started in the suburb defined as 'City and Suburban' in 2008-2009, which contains low population density figures of 2,532 per km². Since then, Propertytuity developments have expanded North East into Jeppestown (with population density figures of 8084 per km²) and New Doornfontien (with even lower population density figures of 2,273 per km²).

Since 2013 Maboneng has also been expanding to the North, into Doornfontien (with substantially higher population density figures of 9,683 per km² (Statistics South Africa, 2016; Frith, 2016). The high population density statistics in Doornfontien reflect a higher existing residential housing market provided by the City to the North West of Maboneng. Similarly, to the West of Doornfontien lies Hillbrow, an area with an extremely high population density figure of 68,418 per km² (Statistics South Africa 2016; Census 2011; Frith, 2016), which is due to high-density residential properties that were built in Hillbrow in the 1970' and 1980's (Bremner, 2000).

Flanked on it's North Western border by the highly dense neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Doornfontien,

as well as Jeppestown to a lesser extent on its Eastern border (Frith, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2016), the neighbourhood of Maboneng is poised as an rapidly growing residential neighbourhood in a currently 'low population' dense area.

Number of buildings:

In 2009 Arts on Main was launched and Propertuity founded the neighbourhood of Maboneng. From 2009 to 2015, Propertuity developed 34 buildings in Maboneng, using the principles of mixed-use design and increased building densities (see Figure 4, p 34). These 34 buildings currently house 9,528 people who work and reside in Maboneng (Propertuity, 2016). Table 3 (page 61) lists and names the buildings in Maboneng, outlining building uses such as Arts and Culture, Public Art, Restaurants, Retail, Fitness, Entertainment, Commercial etc.).

Building Name	Building Uses
1. Arts on Main	Art & Culture, Restaurants, Retail, Entertainment, Public Art
2. Urban Fox	Residential, Retail, Fitness
3. Evolution House	Residential, Retail, Restaurant
4. Revolution House	Residential, Retail, Restaurant
5. Craftsman's Ship	Residential, Retail, Restaurant, Public Art
6. Fox Street Studios	Restaurant, Retail
7. The Main Change	Commercial (Offices) Entertainment, Art & Culture
8. Main Street Life	Restaurant, Retail, Residential (Hotel), Art & Culture
9. Maverick Corner	Restaurant, Retail, Art & Culture, Public Art
10. Betty Fox	Arts & Culture, Restaurant, Retail
11. 305 Fox	Arts & Culture, Entertainment, Restaurant
12. Remed's View	Residential, Retail, Restaurant, Public Art
13. Curiosity Backpackers	Residential (Backpackers), Retail, Restaurant, Public Art
14. Communalilty	Residential, Retail
15. Situation East	Residential, Public Art
16. Sandhill	Residential, Public Art
17. MOAD	Gallery, Public Art, Retail
18. Rocket Factory	Retail, Residential, Restaurant
19. The Trinity Sessions	Commercial (Office), Art & Culture
20. Living MOAD	Residential, Public Art, Restaurant
21. Artisan Lofts	Residential, Restaurant
22. Drivelines	Residential, Retail, Restaurant
23. Vuja De	Art & Culture, Retail
24. Access City	Commercial, Retail, Public Art, Fitness, Entertainment, Restaurant
25. Trim Park	Fitness
26. New Now	Commercial (Office), Art & Culture, Public Art
27. Common Ground	Restaurant, Retail
28. Market Up	Commercial (office), Art & Culture, Public Art
29. Aerial Empire	Residential, Entertainment, Public Art, Restaurant
30. Hallmark House	Residential, Hotel, Retail, Entertainment, Restaurant
31. Transport Square	Public Art

32. W+A	Commercial (Office), Restaurant, Art & Culture
33. August House	Commercial (Artist Studios), Residential
34. Jewel City	Commercial, Public Art

Table 3: List of Propertuity buildings and uses

Over and above the buildings that have been developed, Propertuity currently has over 50 commissioned murals and/or art installations throughout the neighbourhood (Propertuity, 2016), most of which are painted onto the facades of buildings that Propertuity owns, which are described as ‘public art’ in Table 3 and shown in photographs in Figure 9.



Figure 9: Examples of public art in Maboneng (Images by author).

Streetscapes:

In line with the Inner City Streetscape/Public Environment Upgrade Plan set by the City of Johannesburg, Propertuity has been co-invested in the improvement of the overall image of the neighbourhood (see Figure 10, p 63) through streetscape upgrading, which involved investment in the planting of indigenous trees, the repaving of sidewalks and an increase in security and street cleaning services (Propertuity, 2016). Between 2009 and 2015, Propertuity planted 1007 indigenous trees in Maboneng, lining the sidewalks of recently developed buildings and parks (Propertuity, 2016). Similarly, between 2009 and 2015, Propertuity upgraded 6,800 square meters of sidewalks (see Figure 10, p 63).



Figure 10: Photographs of sidewalk upgrades, tree planting and CID cleaning and security services in Maboneng. (Images by author)

Traffic-calming measures were taken by Propertuity to slow down the flow of traffic by turning two-lane roads into one-lane roads and creating more street parking for visitors. From 2009 to 2015, Propertuity created 516 new street (uncovered) parking bays and 54 new covered bays (see Figure 10).

Streetscape lighting was improved, with each building façade owned by Propertuity, fitting with additional lighting, making the streets less dark. On Fox Street palettes were re-purposed into street seating that is used by people passing through the precinct, as well as those that live within it day and night (Propertuity, 2016).

5.3. Economic Data

The economic data refers to property prices, property rental prices, the number of businesses and dining/food related businesses that have opened in Propertuity buildings since 2009.

Property Prices (Ownership & Rental):

Per square meter, buying property in Maboneng is still relatively affordable in comparison to similar sized

apartments in Johannesburg's leafy suburbs. As such, property prices²⁹ are viewed as relatively accessible and attainable to young working professionals, with entry-level loft apartments starting under R500,000 (Propertuity, 2016).

In terms of the cost of purchasing residential units in the Maboneng Precinct, 45% of the residential properties purchased by 2016 cost less than R500,000 with 26% costing between R500,000 and R750,000, and 22% of the units costing between R750,000 and R1 million. Only a handful of residential units, namely penthouses or large 2 bed loft apartments, cost more than R1 million, equating to 7% of the total residential market in terms of price (Propertuity, 2016).

With respect to rental pricing for residential units, the largest rental segment, making up 37% of total rentals cater to the student and/or low-income market³⁰ that is seeking accommodation for less than R3500 per month. The second largest rental segment, making up 24% of the rental category, provides housing for R3500 - R4500 per month to young professionals. The third largest segment, making up 18% of the rental market, provides leases priced between R4500 – R5500; and 17% of leases come in between R5500 – R7000. Within the sample from the study done by Propertuity, only 4% of all rentals exceed R7000 per month, namely penthouses or large 2 bed loft apartments (Propertuity, 2016).

Food destination:

Calmer streets, upgraded sidewalks and trees, as well as the establishment of street retail on ground level which has resulted in a high number of restaurants, coffee shops, cafes and bars popping up in the neighbourhood since 2009 (see Table 4, Figure 11, p 65).

There are currently 26 food and drink destinations listed on the Propertuity website (see Table 4) with a number of different dining out options available such as Ethiopian, Greek, Asian, Argentinian, Mexican as well as a

²⁹ Property purchase prices were taken from a random sample of 100 Offer to Purchase documents across a number of Property residential units in the 2016 study of 'Maboneng: Building a Neighbourhood Economy'. (Propertuity, 2016)

³⁰ Remeds View and Craftmen's Ship are two developments in Maboneng that specifically cater to the low-income/student market. (Propertuity, 2016)

number of South African restaurants and cafés offering everything from pap and chops to sushi (Property, 2016).



Figure 11: Maboneng has established itself as a food destination (Food 24, 2016). Images by author.

Table 4’s list excludes the smaller food stalls at Common Ground Park, which are less formal retailers than the dining out destinations mentioned in the list.

Name of establishment	Street Address	Building Name
1. Joe Home Made Pizza	306 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
2. Uncle Merv’s	Cnr Kruger and Fox Street	Evolution House
3. The Precinct	50 Siemert Road	Aerial Empire
4. Love Revo	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
5. Thalys Roadside	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
6. James 16 ³¹	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
7. Che Argentine Grill ³²	303 Fox Street	Betty Fox
8. Origin Artisan Coffee Roasters ³³	268 Fox Street	Arts on Main
9. Soul Slouvaki ³⁴	18 Albrecht Street	Maverick Corner
10. Mama Mexicana	264 Fox Street	Arts on Main

³¹ James XVI serves authentic Ethiopian food. The owner is Ethiopian.

³² Che serves traditional Argentine asado. The owner is Argentinian.

³³ Origin is a well-known South African coffee brand. This coffee shop in Maboneng provides free Wi-Fi and has become a popular hangout for young entrepreneurs to work during the day.

³⁴ Soul Souvlaki is a Greek restaurant/café.

11.	The Blackanese	20 Kruger Street	The Main Change
12.	Cocobel	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
13.	The Canteen	264 Fox Street	Arts on Main
14.	Shap Braai	20 Kruger Street	Revolution House
15.	Pata Pata ³⁵	286 Fox Street	Main Street Life
16.	Lenin's Vodka Bar	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
17.	Eat your heart out	Cnr Kruger and Fox Street	Main Street Life
18.	Chalkboard Café	286 Fox Street	Main Street Life
19.	Stuff Café	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
20.	La Musa Restaurant	264 Albertina Sisulu Street	Artisan Lofts
21.	Industry – Bar Lounge	305 Fox Street	Betty Fox
22.	Shakers Cocktail Bar	300 Commissioner Street	Maverick Corner
23.	Time Anchor Distillery	7 Sivewright Avenue	Aerial Empire
24.	Babette's Bread	274 Fox Street	Urban Fox
25.	Living Room ³⁶	20 Kruger Street (5 th floor)	The Main Change
26.	Little Addis Cafe	280 Fox Street	Main Street Life

Table 4: List of restaurants, cafes, coffee shops and bars in Propertuity buildings in Maboneng (Propertuity, 2016).

Policy conditions fuelling development:

To date, Propertuity has only invested in inner city areas that are part of the UDZ tax incentive in Johannesburg. The tax benefit allows a buyer to reclaim 30% of the purchase price as a tax deduction against taxable profit over 5 years (6% per annum) where it is linked to the buyer's business. The

³⁵ South African owned Jazz bar, a restaurant and bar on Fox Street.

³⁶ Upmarket events venue on the 5th floor of The Main Change, with panoramic city views

result effectively boosts yields by approximately 2% per annum over each of the first 5 years of an investment, providing the investor does not sell (Propertuity, 2016; COJ, 2007).

In 2016, Rand Merchant Bank Holdings (RMH) took a 34% equity stake in Propertuity for an undisclosed amount. The deal between RMH and Propertuity immediately boosted investor confidence in the Johannesburg CBD (SA Commercial Prop News, 2016). In respect of the RMH investment, Jonathan Liebmann said, “We are very pleased that RMH will become a significant shareholder in Propertuity. Their investment will create the foundation for our next phase of growth, which will see us further developing Johannesburg and Durban cities, as well as looking for opportunities in new cities” (SA Commercial Prop News, 2016, n.p).



Figure 4: Examples of bulk addition to original buildings in Maboneng (maintaining the charm of the old with new modern additions of glass and steel)

Looking forward to the future plan in the Maboneng neighbourhood, Propertuity’s development intention is to add bulk³⁷ to the existing cluster of buildings they own (see Figure 4, p 34), with the vision to increase densities and expand on the numbers of people living and working in Maboneng (see Figure 12, p 67). With the RMH, Propertuity anticipates that by the year 2020, they would have developed a total of 74 mixed-use buildings in Maboneng, which will house businesses, residents and institutions, equating to a forecast total of 27,564 people living and working in Propertuity-owned buildings (Propertuity, 2016).

In line with these development objectives, by 2020, they aim to have planted a total of 3,000 trees, as

³⁷ Adding “bulk” refers to the addition of more residential units on top of existing buildings, thereby increasing the overall height of the building, as well as the number of residents and workers on that city block.

their urban planning agenda for the area is committed to increasing the amount of 'green space' in the precinct (Propertuity, 2016), as well as upgrading 15,068 square meters of sidewalk, increasing their street cleaning and security to 58 permanent staff, and increasing the number of street parking to 763 street parking bays and 90 covered bays by the year 2020 (Propertuity, 2016).

5.4. Data Limitations

As mentioned in the research methodology section, the data provided by Propertuity does not speak to the rest of the neighbourhood and what kind of communities shares space in Maboneng. In order to illustrate an extreme contrast of a Propertuity development, so some of the rougher neglected buildings in the neighbourhood, a photograph was taken from Situation East, a Propertuity development at the top of Fox Street (see Figure 13, p 68), which illustrates the stark contrasts between new Maboneng developments and the conditions of neighbouring buildings where waste pickers use dilapidated buildings to run informal collective waste collection.



Figure 13: Waste collectors consolidate their waste in a high-jacked 'bad' building on Fox Street (image taken from Situation

East)

This image is in extreme contrast to the residential development of Situation East, separated literally by one street. The residents living in Situation East are confronted on a daily basis with people living across the street in a hijacked building that provides no basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity, and vice versa. The people in this photograph are waste pickers, who work long hard hours collecting recyclable waste in order to provide for their families. This is an example of the harsh contrasts highlighting inequality, which is evident in the City of Johannesburg, and which are equally evident in Maboneng.

Another data limitation is that whilst there is data on property prices (rental and purchase prices) for Maboneng, there is no data on household incomes of people living and working in Propertuity buildings. This becomes a challenge as we attempt to analyse income diversity in Maboneng. This data limitation will be addressed in the analysis chapter, as an attempt is made to 'assume' income based on the cross referencing of property data provided by Propertuity and data from the (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016 ; Propertuity, 2016)

6. Analysis of Maboneng

This section provides an analysis of the culture-led urban regeneration processes that are unfolded in Maboneng. Based on the data in the previous chapter, it is clear that Maboneng has undergone, and is still going through a process of urban regeneration. The transformation currently manifesting in Maboneng is a response to the decline, or degeneration of the neighbourhood. For the purposes of this analysis, a reminder of the definition is helpful, as “urban regeneration can be viewed as both a process and an outcome: It can have economic social and physical dimensions, and the three can commonly coexist”(Evans & Shaw, 2006: p.1).

6.1. Maboneng’s process of urban regeneration – to what extent it is culture-led?

The analysis focuses on three main storylines, which touch on how culture-led urban regeneration renewed, revived, revitalized or transformed the social, physical and economic dimensions of place and community in Maboneng.

As such, the process of urban regeneration will be assessed according to the three storylines of 1) social transformation 2) physical renewal and 3) economic revival, as well as, to what extent each storyline of social, physical and economy regeneration was culture-led³⁸.

- Story 1 will focus on findings that relate to social transformation, such as demographics of people living and working in Maboneng, as well as other organisations and institutional networks, assessing to what extent it was culture-led.
- Story 2 will focus on findings that relate to physical renewal, such as streetscapes, buildings and urban form.
- Story 3 will focus on findings that relate to the economic transformation of urban regeneration on place and community in Maboneng, and to what extent it was culture-led.

³⁸ According to Zukin (1982), ‘culture’ is defined to include the arts, architecture, museums, libraries, archives, heritage, food and cultural tourism.

Over and above the question of culture-led urban regeneration, this section also seeks to assess where Propertuity has achieved their vision of making Maboneng “one of the world’s most diverse and dynamic neighbourhoods that has a unique offering of integrated mixed income, mixed race and mixed-use space within a framework of both old and new buildings” (Propertuity, 2016, n.p).

6.1. Story 1: Social Transformation

In many ways the people of Maboneng fit with the conventional creative class argument put forward by Florida (2002). Maboneng is a typical inner city development that has successfully attracted the creative class who have a desire for inner city living. So what does the data tell us about the demographic makeup of people of Maboneng?

Maboneng contains a youthful demographic:

The data reflects a youthful group of people choosing to live in Maboneng. In terms of property ownership of residential units, 47% of buyers are between 25 – 34 years old. There is a strong buy to rent dynamic, with many owners opting to lease their investments. This dynamic makes the rental market in Maboneng is even more skewed towards a younger market, with 69% of rentals being in the 18 – 34 year old segment (Propertuity, 2016).

Maboneng reflects a mixed-race demographic:

Unlike the assumptions made in the critical opinions section, which describes Maboneng as a space for “middle class white people only”, the data demonstrates a mix of racial living together in Propertuity buildings.

The data shows a more nuanced and complex picture of race in Maboneng. Amongst rentals, which make up the majority of housing in Maboneng, Black/Indian tenants made up 74% of rentals whereas White tenants made up 22%. When looking at the ownership data, we see a different picture, with 47% of all ownership being White (Propertuity, 2016). This data illustrates that the ownership data in terms of race representation in Maboneng is not yet reflective of the demographics of the broader Johannesburg profile, where 75% of the population is Black, 12% is White, 10% is Indian/Coloured and 2% is other (Frith, 2016).

When combining both the rental and ownership data, it is clear that Maboneng has been able to achieve a mixed-race demographic profile. In particular when looking at the Maboneng rental data, which almost mirrors the racial demographic data for the City of Johannesburg.

Therefore, it can be argued that, given the context of South Africa, the Apartheid history, and spatial segregation that is still apparent today in the City of Johannesburg, Maboneng as a small geographic neighbourhood, has done well to be representative of the broader City of Johannesburg demographics with regards to race, and move towards a more integrated neighbourhood along racial lines.

Maboneng reflects a homogenous 'mixed-income' middle class demographic:

Property prices, in both ownership and rental categories in Maboneng allow for a spectrum of income groups to reside within Propertuity buildings. Many of the buildings were intentionally designed to offer a cross-section of apartment sizes ranging from one-bed student rooms, to studio apartments, to large penthouses, in order to cater to a wider range of income categories. As a result, the makeup of people living in Propertuity buildings in Maboneng display a unique mixed-income combination relative to other parts of the City (Bremner, 2000 ; Statistics South Africa, 2016).

This generally seems to be in line with Maboneng having a vision to be a neighborhood that has 'integrated mixed income' (Propertuity, 2017). What does Maboneng mean when they say they strive to be mixed-income?

The Maboneng data chapter provides no income data on owners and renters, which is a shortfall for making a meaningful assessment. Bearing this in mind, what was in the data was the OTP and rental agreements collected in Maboneng which indicate bands of property affordability. This analysis therefore needed to extrapolate what the incomes of the people of Maboneng 'could look like' in order to better profile the household income of the neighbourhood.

What does this mean for Maboneng property ownership?

When looking at Propertuity ownership data from 2009 - 2016, we see the following pricing trends:

- 45% of the residential properties cost less than R500,000. Assuming properties below R500,000 were in a price category of between R400,000 - R500,000 range (given that the minimum cost of mortgage financed properties is typically about R400,000), this would therefore require a minimum household income to purchase a property in Maboneng to be around R15,000 per month.
- 55% of all residential properties cost more than R500,000 and would cater purely to a middle class or affluent class consumer.

In order to make these extrapolations, a clearer sense of household income segmentation is required. According to a Standard Bank report (2016), using data compiled by the Bureau of Market Research (BMR), South African consumer's annual income classifications are as follows (Business Tech, 2016):

Annual income	Monthly income	Classification
R0 – R11 600	R0 – R967	Lowest
R11 601 – R49 000	R968 – R4 083	Second lowest
R49 001 – R109 000	R4 084 – R9 083	Low emerging middle
R109 001 – R234 000	R9 084 – R19 500	Emerging middle
R234 001 – R378 000	R19 501 – R31 500	Lower middle
R378 001 – R783 000	R31 501 – R65 250	Upper middle
R783 001 – R1 693 000	R65 251 – R141 083	Emerging affluent
R1 693 001+	R141 084+	Affluent

Table 5: Data from Bureau of Market Research (BRM) on class classification in South Africa (Business Tech, 2016)

In South Africa, according to the Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (Table 5) we see the following (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016):

- 46.9% of South African households have incomes of less than R3,500 per month and can only access subsidized housing (the maximum housing subsidy is up to R160,000) (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016 ; Business Tech, 2016). In effect, what this means is that consumers falling into the 'lowest' income classification and would not be able to afford access to Maboneng real estate from a rental or purchase perspective.
- 28.8% of South African households have incomes of between R3,500 and R9,000 per month and can afford to purchase properties that cost between roughly R170,000 and R290,000. This group would be a combination of the 'second lowest' to 'low emerging middle' class consumers (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016 ; Business Tech, 2016). Similarly, this group would have limited to no access to Maboneng real estate from a property purchase

perspective, however, the higher earners within this income group could potentially access the bottom-end of the rental market in Maboneng, with rental units available for less than R3,500 per month in Remed's View and Craftman's Ship, which in 2016, made up 37% of total rental units within the Propertuity portfolio (Propertuity, 2016).

- 24.2% of South African households have incomes greater than R9,000 per month and can afford to purchase properties that cost more than R290,000. (The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF), 2016 ; Business Tech, 2016).

Therefore, given the data we see on property prices in Maboneng, the buyer of property must fall into the high earning band of the emerging middle class (earning a monthly income of R15,000 – 19,500) or more, in order to purchase property. This analysis therefore highlights that when it comes to property ownership, the lowest class, the second lowest class, the low-earners of the emerging middle, are automatically excluded from purchasing property in Maboneng on the basis of affordability and access to debt.

In comparison, the lower middle, the upper middle, the emerging affluent and affluent classes could afford rental units or mortgages to purchase property that exceeds R500,00.

What does this mean for Maboneng rental property?

When looking at rental affordability, we do see Maboneng being able to serve some of the less well off tenants:

- 37% of rental units in Maboneng provided accommodation for R3,500 or less. These units would be affordable to the 'emerging middle' class, which are typically households earning between R9,000 – R19,500 per month. (Assuming tenants spend 25% of their total household income on rent). Within the Maboneng context this category of rentals was made up of students studying in Johannesburg as well as low-income households.
- 42% of rental units in Maboneng provided accommodation for between R3,500 – R5,500. These

units would serve the emerging middle (earning a monthly income of R9,000 – R19,500), as well as the emerging middle R(earning a monthly income of 9,000 = R19,500).

- 17% of rental units in Maboneng provided accommodation for between R5,500 – R7,000 and catered to the low middle class (earning a monthly income of between R19,500 – R31, 500)
- 4% of rental units in Maboneng provided accommodation for between R7,000 + which would cater to all income classes from emerging middle class and upwards.

In summary, what this means regarding rentals, is that the picture is similar, however it is slightly more inclusive, with some tenants falling within the low emerging middle (classified as earning a monthly household income of R4,000 – R9,000). All income classes earning less than this are automatically excluded from property rentals in Maboneng.

This analysis on understanding what Maboneng means when they say that they are being a “mixed income” neighbourhood highlights the need for a more rigorous discussion of what “mixed-income” means in South Africa. What this analysis clearly illustrates is that Maboneng caters to all levels of the middle class consumer (which itself is a broad range of income levels) far more than it caters to the lowest, second lowest and low emerging middle class consumers - who are largely excluded from Maboneng due to affordability.

Peck (2007) argued that in contemporary cities, capital investments intended to attract the creative class to the city prioritize an urban middle class at the expense of the urban poor. This income analysis confirms Peck’s perspective. This analysis suggests that Maboneng provides for a strong mixed-income solution to a relatively homogenous group of middle class consumers, and that within this segment of middle class consumers, there is still a high variance in incomes, which could qualify as ‘mixed income’ but within context of levels of the middle and affluent classes only.

Maboneng is not an exclusive enclave (yet):

Rather than being an impenetrable enclave within the inner city, Maboneng is a space with porous boundaries that are intentionally kept open. This stands in conflict with global literature, which argues that most culture-led regeneration projects are seen as 'exclusive enclaves' designed by developers to benefit the wealthy middle class (Kluth, 2014).

The development and investment in public spaces like Trim Park (public gym) and Common Ground (permanent facilities and shop fronts for informal vendors), along with the attraction of educational institutions, support of NPO's and community projects, illustrate how permeable the neighbourhood of Maboneng is to outside influences, and also, how open the private developers of Maboneng are to collaboration with these sorts of initiatives (see Table 2, p 55 & Figure 6, p 56).

Whilst Maboneng shows no signs of becoming a gated community in the physical sense, it is managed by a privately run CID, making the regenerated areas feel safer, cleaner and to an extent privately managed in comparison to areas not under CID management. Some note that it almost feels like "security can decide who is welcome and who is deemed unsavoury" (Al Jazeera, 2015: n.p).

So whilst not being gated in the physical sense of the word, there is still an element of tension regarding the public street spaces becoming increasingly privatised over time by Propertuity and CID management. A common argument against CIDs' is that the "territorially bound strategy tends to displace crime to areas that cannot afford to purchase the additional safety, and to move street kids to areas where there are no NGOs paid to do outreach" (Miraftab, 2007: 616).

CID's result in the creation of zones of advantage and disadvantage (Wilkinson 2004: 227). This is a trend that is typical in post-apartheid cities which is persistent in the uneven spatial development and arguably instrumental, not accidental, to a capitalist mode of growth and wealth accumulation (Harvey 2005;

Smith 1996; Maraftab 2007). It is recommended therefore that more research should be done on the rise of security and CID management in Maboneng, in order to assess if it is not in fact widening the gap between haves and have nots, and helping to fragment and polarize urban public space?

Maboneng captures a 'like-minded' creative class:

What truly makes the people of Maboneng more unconventional in comparison to the global literature is the context of South Africa and in particular Johannesburg as a city. This is a creative class choosing to live, work and visit Maboneng. This group as 'like-minded' because they are making the choice to live in the inner city of Johannesburg comes with major security risks, which makes this a self-selecting group of inner city residents who could be seen as a bold and courageous sub-culture of the Johannesburg creative class.

In order to make a comparison of the heightened security risks associated with living in the city, a comparison can be made between Johannesburg Central (the inner city) and Randburg (a largely middle class suburb). The middle class consumers choosing to live in Maboneng, could just as easily be choosing to live in middle class neighbourhoods like Randburg. However, this 'like-minded' creative class are choosing Maboneng over the suburbs, despite the security risks that come with living in the inner city.

Figure 7 (page 56) makes a comparison of Johannesburg Central with Randburg and it clearly illustrates the increased exposure to crime in 2016 in the inner city of Johannesburg (Crime Stats SA, 2016).

- The murder rate in Johannesburg Central is 25 times higher than in Randburg.
- The attempted murder rate in Johannesburg Central is 3,2 times higher than in Randburg.
- The common robbery rate in Johannesburg Central is 6,6 times higher than in Randburg.
- The robbery with aggravating circumstances rate in Johannesburg Central is 3,8 times higher than in Randburg.
- The theft out of or from motor vehicle in Johannesburg Central is 1,9 times higher than in

Randburg.

- The car jacking rate in Johannesburg Central is 4,5 times higher than in Randburg.

Instead of choosing to live behind the protection of high walls and electric fences common the suburbs of Johannesburg where they would have a statistically less likely chance of experiencing crime, this group desires to be more connected to the city and to a community, despite the potential dangers that come with it (Dirsuweit, 2002), despite South Africa's entrenched social norms and perspectives about inner city living. To illustrate the point, a stones throw from Arts on Main are hijacked buildings with no electricity, no running water or sanitation and overcrowded structures (Bremner, 2000). The people in these buildings are living in absolute poverty, recycling waste or doing what they can do survive (Kluth, 2014; see Figure 13, p 68). Therefore it is clear that this like-minded 'creative class' is redefining their own identities through their choice in wanting to live in the inner city.

What makes this story of people living in Maboneng different to the global literature is that many of the dangers that exist within the City of Johannesburg are simply not comparable to those in many of other more developed cities such as Barcelona, Chicago or London. The creative class that Florida speaks of live in developed cities that do not have to deal with the extreme inequality, poverty, hijacked buildings and violent crime that is prolific in Johannesburg Central. This like-minded creative class in Maboneng, South Africa, find themselves confronting these realities of inner city living on a daily basis, and yet, despite all this they want to claim space in their city rather than run away from it, which is a somewhat brave life choice, considering the entrenched spatial, social and often psychological segregation created by Apartheid. This like-minded group could very easily opt out of city living for something safer, like a gated community in the suburbs – yet despite all this – they continue to buy into the live, play work dream that has been sold to them by Property.

Clustering of the Creative Class:

Since 2009, Figure 8 (page 60) and Table 4 (page 65) illustrates the increasing number of creative

industries starting to set up their businesses from Maboneng. Florida (2002) argued that the rise of the creative class was a core stimulant for change and regeneration, and that the clustering of the creative core would be the driver for economic growth and city competitiveness. A strong example of one particular form of creative clustering is the high number of businesses opening in Maboneng that support dining and food. As a result, Maboneng has established itself as a dining out destination (Food 24, 2016), with a wide variety of restaurants, cafes, coffee shops open throughout the week (see Figure 11, p 65 & Table 4, p 65) as well as the well-known Sunday Market on Main, which has a variety of additional pop up food and drinks vendors. The types of food and drinks on offer are diverse and eclectic, with styles of cooking come from Africa, South America and Europe, as well as the many local South African styles (i.e. *shisa nyamas*). Food is most certainly a form of cultural expression and Maboneng is becoming a strong player in the food scene in Johannesburg.

As a result, Maboneng is an in-between space:

On one street, in one minute, you will see a waste picker pulling a heavy load of recycling, whilst young children from the neighbouring Jeppestown rip down the same street on their skateboards, a hipster cycles his no gear bicycle to a coffee shop to get his caffeine fix and passes a group of Italian tourists taking a 'selfie' on Kruger street, where the iconic M-A-B-O-N-E-N-G lights hang across the street. Entrepreneurs gather in open workspaces and film crews soak up the textured walls of buildings and public art that make this space so exciting to photograph.

It is evident that through its culture-led regeneration, Maboneng has successfully attracted the super creative core such as artists, chefs, musicians, graphic designers, architects, and media. Indeed, the physical environment facilitates the desires of creative professionals to be part of this new youth-led Maboneng identity.

Maboneng has successfully created a thriving street level culture, which, like all other creative cities in the world, is a key attribute that this segment of the population is looking for. And yet, Maboneng is also

attracting and engaging with young people who are unemployed or at-risk youth, through a number of cultural activities led by the community (see Table 2, p 55 which lists cultural organisations in Maboneng).

Maboneng is an example of a place that seems to be attracting people from differing demographic backgrounds who are likeminded in their desire to live in the inner city. They do not aspire to the suburban living of their counterparts, and find city living far more attractive (even though city living comes with a whole new set of risks and challenges). This is a new community of likeminded people choosing to live work and play in Maboneng (Al Jazeera, 2015). It has been equally successful in capturing the imagination of many tourists, who are similarly attracted to the Maboneng inner city destination.

Maboneng, in its early development, has managed to create a distinctiveness that is evident in the people who are selecting to live in Maboneng. They are young creative knowledge workers that are seeking out something new that does not exist elsewhere. “They are expressive and like to be thought of as unique, unconventional and part of the city” (Sunday Independent, 2013, n.p).

Therefore, Maboneng reflects a space that has a favourable ‘people climate’ (Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009), meaning it is perceived to be a place that is tolerant, that attracts creative talent and which facilitates entrepreneurialism (see Table 2, p 55 ; Figure 6, p 56 ; Table 4, p 65) and innovation (Florida, 2002).

In terms of social transformation, this analysis argues that it is socially-rooted (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004), as the social transformation was in a sense stimulated by the developments of Property in Maboneng (top-down approach to culture generation), but the social networks, organisations and institutions that have emerged in response to the development, illustrate a strong community-led bottom up approach to culture generation within the social realm in Maboneng, which illustrates the nuance of Maboneng.

6.2. *Story 2: Physical Renewal*

Spatial location:

What is evident from the Census 2011 data outlining population dynamics by suburb is that to the South of Hillbrow and Doornfontien there are low population density suburbs such as New Doornfontien and City and Suburban which could rapidly increase their residential densities through the development of more residential units. It is clear from the Propertuity investment in Maboneng that they understand the opportunity to densify the neighbourhood of Maboneng to population density levels similar to its neighbouring suburbs of Doornfontien or even Hillbrow.

The UN-Habitat defines high population density as “at least 15,000 people per km²” (UN-Habitat, 2014). When analysing Maboneng, from a density perspective, the area of Hillbrow which lies to the West of Maboneng, is perfect example of an extremely dense neighbourhood with 68,41 people per km² (Statistics South Africa 2016; Census 2011; Frith, 2016).

In contrast to this, Maboneng can be viewed as a relatively low-medium density area based on the population densities that currently exist within the areas of City and Suburban, Jeppestown, Doornfontien and New Doornfontien (Statistics South Africa 2016; Census 2011; Frith, 2016). Arguably, Maboneng as an area has the potential to develop into a denser neighbourhood, in line with the higher dense areas to the North West. Density will be crucial in creating the necessary space for the ‘clustering’ of the creative class in one area. Therefore, as Maboneng gets denser, so the creative class is able to increase their networks within the area.

Spatial form:

The spatial form of Maboneng is mixed-use, supporting the production and consumption of culture. Much

like the global literature on the subject of culture-led urban regeneration, Maboneng has been able to create, through the design of its buildings and its spatial form, a model for the cultural production of renewal (through the attraction of artists and creative industries into the area) as well as a model for cultural consumption (illustrated by the Sunday Market on Main, and a number of cultural activities evident in the neighbourhood). The question posed by Zukin (1995) and Binns (2005) is very relevant: 'whose culture' is being produced and consumed?

To use the upgraded sidewalks of Maboneng as an analogy to answer this question, one could argue that to a large extent, 'culture' is produced and consumed for the people that frequent the newly paved streets of Maboneng, and does not cater to the people that reside on the neglected pavements of the surrounding streets, given that most of the consumption of culture requires you to have disposable income.

Mixed-use buildings:

Table 3 (page 61-62) and Figure 4 (page 34) illustrate the number of buildings (34 in total) that have been redeveloped since 2009 by Propertuity (Propertuity, 2016). What Table 3 highlights in particular is the mixed-use nature of these developments, which provide a combination of residential, commercial, street facing retail and industrial space. In this sense, Maboneng has effectively changed the spatial makeup of the neighbourhood from single-use to mixed-use buildings.

The spatial form of Maboneng makes it physically visible where re-investment has been focused, and where it has not. The City of Johannesburg has been providing sporadic basic services over the last decade to the broader Johannesburg Central area resulting in declining conditions and piles of waste. As a result the private sector (led by Propertuity) has stepped in to form a CID, which provides cleaning services, street and building security as well as pavement upgrades and traffic calming measures to certain areas of interest. The physical result of this is that on one sidewalk, one will see a flourishing street, lined with newly planted indigenous trees and shining newly paved side walks that are cleaned

daily; while on another, in stark contrast, one will see a block which has not received investment and which displays the signs of decline: piles of waste, neglected buildings with people living in dire conditions in hijacked buildings (see Figure 4, p 34 & Figure 13, p 68).

Urban streetscapes:

Propertuity has been incredibly successful in creating a neighbourhood 'feeling' through the consolidation of property in one area, which is evident in the successive ownership of buildings along Fox Street (see Figure 4: p 34). Propertuity has invested heavily in the enhancement of the street level culture through the mixed-use design of their buildings, which has physically transformed the environment.

All Propertuity developments are alike in their desire to create a 'strong street level culture' by ensuring street level economy through the design of coffee shops, hair salons, retail, and restaurants in their buildings, and commissioning artists to create bold murals on the exterior walls of their building. This form of development has resulted in the creation of a "vibrant, people centered streetscape, where workers, residents and visitors are able to explore the area on foot with a number of destination attractions (see Figure 9, p 62 & Figure 11, p 65), such as an eclectic mix of retailers (mostly independent boutiques rather than franchises), an array of food and drink destinations, Museum of Art and Design (MOAD), an independent cinema called The Bioscope - all which visitors can enjoy any day of the week" (Propertuity, 2016, n.p).

Such development illustrates the intent of a private developer to soften and 'refresh' the streetscape with trees, upgraded sidewalks, road calming measures and street parking combined with street and building security. Arguably, this is not necessarily the role of the private developer to invest heavily in the public realm, however, given the extreme clustering of buildings within a small physical location (and the relative inaction of the City of Johannesburg), this allows Propertuity to connect building to building through the 'green lines' of trees and new side walks, making the streetscape feel more inviting and hospitable than before, which "brings a street culture to a part of the city that previously did not exist"

(Propertuity, 2016, n.p ; see Figure 10, p 63).

A vibrant street culture is seen as a key attribute for the creative class when seeking out a neighbourhood to live and work in (Florida, 2002), however unlike Florida's developed world perspective of inner cities, Maboneng's street culture, whilst certainly vibrant, still displays vast inequality typical of Johannesburg. Due to the lack of service delivery from the City of Johannesburg, the visible street culture only exists on the sidewalks that have undergone urban regeneration. Step one block off the upgraded sidewalk, and one will find oneself in an entirely different neighbourhood that enjoys none of the benefits of Maboneng.

Propertuity claims to have been building a neighbourhood identity and local economy in Maboneng through the acquisition and development of properties clustered close together within one area, which they were then able to transform into mixed-use buildings, thereby changing the urban form of the neighbourhood and, according to them, "inspiring urban transformation" (Propertuity, 2017, n.p). In this regard, they have been successful in clustering creative industries and changing the urban form to mixed-use.

In summary, unlike the social transformation, which illustrates a top-down as well as a bottom-up approach to cultural production, we see the physical renewal in Maboneng being led by one single developer, who tends to push a top-down cultural aesthetic of place. The community in Maboneng have limited to no voice when it comes to development design, street upgrade aesthetics, as well as the sort of street art that is commissioned by Propertuity. In terms of the physical renewal of Maboneng, it is therefore argued that more could be done to engage with the community, to co-create the look and feel of the physical spaces in Maboneng, and therefore providing a distinctiveness that could carry the neighbourhood forward (Moulaert, Demuynck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

6.3. Story 3: Economic Revival

Maboneng is not a state-led urban regeneration project, but rather an urban regeneration project led by the vision of one private developer. What makes the story of Maboneng unique is that the current Maboneng footprint is so large that some argue it may be the world's largest privately led regeneration project by size (Propertuity, 2016), which has in turn resulted in the crowding in of capital from other investors to join in the culture-led regeneration of the area. The current population growth of Maboneng is believed to amount to a neighbourhood of over 20,000 new residents by the year 2020 (Propertuity, 2016).

Neighbourhood scale:

Typically, culture-led urban regeneration is a policy led by the State, identifying flagship projects that can facilitate culture-led renewal (Bell & Jayne, 2003). In Johannesburg, the inner city, and areas like Maboneng received poor or below average service delivery from the State. This demonstrates the breakdown of social contract between city and residents. It was within the context of this breakdown that Propertuity stepped in and started to provide what the City of Johannesburg then, could not. This dynamic illustrates the blurring of the roles between the public and private sector, and how they respectively operate. Propertuity was able to focus on the finer scale of a neighbourhood and were able to deliver a form of culture-led urban regeneration in a different way to the large-scale city initiatives, which has had the ability of driving the local, neighbourhood economy which is evident in the number of new restaurants there are in Maboneng (see Table 4, p 65).

City policy:

Regarding the investment strategy of Propertuity, it has been strategic about purchasing property in the inner

city that benefits from the UDZ tax incentive, showing an effective stimulation of private sector investment through city policy. Similarly, the City of Johannesburg has been effective in attracting private sector investment back into priority inner city areas through their building developments and strong place marketing.

Financing model:

The 2016 RMH investment in Propertuity provided a firm signaling effect that financial institutions are starting to see the value of inner city developments like Maboneng (SA Commercial Prop News, 2016). The RMH investment is poised to unlock Propertuity's potential to hit its forecasted targets for the year 2020 and beyond (Propertuity, 2016). Whilst on the one hand it is exciting to see financial institutions backing this sort of growth, and wanting to see replicable examples of Maboneng being developed in other cities, it has the potential to also dislocate from the place-based regeneration and become a purely profit-driven real estate investment with no concern for socially-led urban regeneration, placemaking or identity building. To maintain a symbiotic mix of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' development, Propertuity will need to remain mindful of this tension and do more to mitigate this risk.

In summary, what we see in terms of the economic revival, is that through property development, a local economy has been stimulated, through the crowding in or clustering of creative industries (see Table 4, p 65) as well as the increase in residential population densities (see Table 3, p 61) which outline the number of buildings that now provide both residential and retail spaces, which further improve the exchange of wealth with people in the area.

Therefore, in terms of assessing to what extent the economic transformation of the area is culture-led, it is argued that there is a push and pull dynamic at play, whereby the property developer creates new spaces (push) and creative class entrepreneurs create businesses (pull) within this new neighbourhood. Like social transformation, this economic renewal illustrates a socially-rooted culture with respect to economic transformation at a hyper local neighbourhood level.

6.4. Summary of Analysis

In summary, what we are seeing in Maboneng based on the above-mentioned analysis is the following:

Maboneng's social transformation is socially-rooted:

- The demographic makeup of Maboneng is youthful in nature.
- Maboneng caters to a homogeneous 'mixed income' middle class consumer, appreciating that within the tiers of middle and affluent classes, there is a high household income disparity (ranging from R9,500 per month to R141,000 per month).
- Maboneng has attracted a 'like-minded' creative class to settle in the inner city, despite the high exposure to crime
- Maboneng has successfully attracted the creative class industries to the neighbourhood (Table 2: List of cultural organisations, NPO's, institutions and public facilities; Table 4: List of restaurants, cafes, coffee shops, and bars).
- Maboneng displays a socially-rooted culture-led urban regeneration particularly with respect to social transformation since 2009.

Maboneng's physical renewal is top-down:

- Maboneng has been developed by one private developer, Propertuity.
- The geographic location is well suited for increased densification. Density is crucial to increase the clustering of the creative class into one location.
- The streetscapes are walkable and people-centered, with street level retail, upgraded sidewalks, trees and road calming measures all adding to a pleasant street culture, which is a key attribute for creative classes when selecting a place to live or work.
- Maboneng manifests a mixed-use spatial form allowing for the production and consumption of

culture.

- However, when we analyse the physical aesthetics of place, it aligns more with a generic look and feel that is typical of most global urban regeneration projects, and does not necessarily depict the aesthetics of place that is specific to Johannesburg.
- The curation of the Maboneng aesthetic is evident in all the building designs, the building names, the pavement upgrades, the commissioned street art, and carefully designed public spaces like Trim Park and Common Ground, illustrating a top-down or (limited) socially-rooted approach to culture-led urban regeneration.
- Maboneng's physical renewal has been led in a top-down approach by Propertuity, and not through the co-creation of physical aesthetics that are embedded in the local community (and currently not being tapped into). More could be done to authentically engage with the neighbourhood and making the physical spaces feel less 'curated'.

Maboneng's economic revival is socially-rooted:

- The sheer neighbourhood scale of the Propertuity development across 34 buildings dominates the aesthetics of the area and creates a clustering of creative industries that drives the local neighbourhood economy.
- The policy environment in the inner city has supported the investment of private capital into private developments like Maboneng, and has not explicitly insisted on inclusive development that caters to all classes. More could be done to address the privatization and commodification of the urban space through policy amendments that demand inclusive development, which does not favour the middle class over the poor.
- The mixed-use buildings, combined with the clustering of creative industries in one location has stimulated a local economy, which is supported further by higher residential densities since 2009, as well as strong social networks and organisations that further attract visitors to the area, which is now considered a major food and tourism destination in Johannesburg.

6.5. The case of Maboneng relative to global literature

The successes of Maboneng are clear in that it has created a culture-led, racially integrated neighbourhood development that displays (limited) 'socially-rooted' culture-led urban regeneration. Key successes are the increased infrastructure and local economy that has developed in Maboneng amongst the creative class, who are like-minded in their belief in inner city living despite the higher risks that come with the territory.

However, the critique of Maboneng is that it is an in-between space that is continuously in contradiction with itself. It has created a vibrant street culture (on the streets that have security or CID management), it has become a popular inner city destination (stimulating economic growth and), and it has created a tolerant 'people climate' for those living and working in Propertytuity buildings. And yet, just up the road, there is no safe, clean, street culture that stimulates local economy, instead, there are destitute people living in bad buildings, where joblessness and crime hang heavy. This contradiction of place highlights the negatives perspectives expressed by Peck (2007) in the literature review whereby culture-led urban regeneration leads to the middle class being prioritised at the expense of the poor.

Given that this is a private culture-led development, how much responsibility should Propertytuity have in ensuring the inner city development in Maboneng is truly inclusive and caters to all classes? Or should more be done by the State from a policy, governance and planning perspective to ensure that adequate and affordable housing is provided to those who currently cannot access it?

Maboneng illustrates a (limited) socially-rooted approach to urban regeneration:

The culture-led urban regeneration spearheaded by Propertytuity, specifically with its real estate development of buildings, demonstrates a largely top-down approach to delivering culture to Maboneng, in the way that buildings are refurbished, streetscapes are 'refreshed', murals are commissioned and

investment is attracted.

However, through the regeneration, it has resulted in the creation of a new urban space, which has created a platform or canvas for the bubbling up of informal, local emergent cultural activities expressed through the owners of the stores, neighbourhood organisations, educational institutes and schools, and entertainment destinations (see Table 2: p 55) which illustrates a bottom-up approach to the production and consumption of culture.

Maboneng therefore is representative of a multi-dimensional view of urban regeneration whereby architecture, real estate development and the arts play a role along with socio-cultural, economic, political, ecological initiatives (Moulaert, Demuyne, & Nussbaumer, 2004). All these emerging community-led initiatives in Maboneng demonstrate a bottom-up approach to culture-led initiatives, which would not necessarily have popped up in the neighbourhood had it not been for the Maboneng development attracting them to this area. Indeed, these cultural spaces allow people to express a way of living where they can engage in cultural activities (Lai, Said, & Kubota, 2013). Therefore, Maboneng can be viewed as a '*cultural space*' where a new 'place identity' is being created from both the top-down and the bottom-up perspective.

Whilst Maboneng certainly manifests the beginnings of socially-rooted regeneration, this is certainly limited in scope, with the majority of decisions being taken by Propertuity rather than the broader community living in the area. A perfect example of this is the 50 curated street murals painted by famous or well-known artists that have been commissioned by Propertuity, rather than by the community in Maboneng. 'Socially-rooted' cultural initiatives are believed to be more successful than top down execution of culture-led initiatives on the condition that they seek to support an existing identity or build a new distinctiveness that will carry the neighbourhood community forward into the future (Moulaert, Demuyne, & Nussbaumer, 2004). Only time will tell whether Maboneng can build an authentic neighbourhood identity and sense of place that is long lasting through a more socially-rooted regeneration process. More could be done to stimulate more conversations with the community to drive a socially-rooted regeneration in the neighbourhood.

Who's Culture?

Given that the neighbourhood of Maboneng was developed by one dominant property developer with a culture-led vision, the aesthetics of the buildings and streetscapes have been carefully curated and managed. This 'curated' aesthetic can be seen as one of Maboneng's greatest successes, as residents and visitors alike seek out this industrial inner city aesthetic. It is clear that the aesthetic in Maboneng, which is comparable to the global aesthetic that is common in urban regeneration projects, has created the demand for residential and commercial space of creative industries within one small neighbourhood.

Alternatively, it can also be seen as one of its greatest downfalls, as the aesthetics of place have been driven by one private developer, and have not taken into account the perspectives of people living in the area. In this way, the arguments made by Zukin (1995) and Binns (2005) come to question "whose culture" is being produced and consumed in this neighbourhood. If we analyse culture-led urban regeneration using Zukin and Binns narrative as a framework, they see urban regeneration as two forms: one that relies on cultural production models of renewal (namely artists, architects and members of the 'creative core' who can produce culture and cultural assets); and one that relies on cultural consumption of renewal (for example, events that are hosted in an area to attract people who will 'consume' culture and stimulate the economy).

In the case of Maboneng, Propertuity has clearly used its buildings as reference points to redefine the look and feel of the space with the assistance of architects, urban planners, and street artists who have determined a certain aesthetic of place (see Figure 9, p 62 ; Figure 12, p 67).

The Maboneng aesthetics of place retain much of the original charm and character of the manufacturing buildings, which were originally purchased, combining the old with new modern elements such as glass, steel, balconies and street access fitted with bold industrial signage. The combination of old with new is not unique to Maboneng and is evident in many global inner city urban regeneration projects (Evans & Shaw, 2006; see Figure 12, p 67) such as those in New York, London and Berlin.

This form of development illustrates a cultural production model whereby a top-down approach to the

aesthetics of the area has been 'curated' by one property developer. Similarly when we look at the cultural consumption model of renewal, we see this cultural consumption being demanded by a demographic with the financial means to consume it, which alienates those without financial means to access the culture, namely residents from the neighbouring streets that are low-income earners or marginalised people. A good example in this case is food. Cultural consumption in the case of Maboneng can be outlined by the means to eat out at the many restaurants bars and cafes in the area, attend the theatres and Bioscope, go to the rooftop salsa and so on, all of which require income above a certain level.

But could a cultural consumption model of renewal in Maboneng exist that is public – and not privatised? Two examples which illustrate public consumption of culture, which Propertuity has invested in, is Trim Park (the outdoor gym) and Common Ground Park, both of which provide spaces for people to enjoy – for free. While Propertuity claims it “will continue to strategically direct Maboneng’s aesthetics of place”, it acknowledges that it cannot command complete ownership and control of the aesthetics of the space – all it can do is try to influence it as positively as possible” (Propertuity, 2016, n.p).

This begs the question as to how the aesthesis of place is determined. The form of cultural production and cultural consumption in Maboneng is still largely driven by one developer, who commissions public street art on behalf of the community in Maboneng, and who creates public spaces without meaningful engagement from the people living, working and visiting the area regularly. In Maboneng we see elements of a 'physicalist approach' to placemaking principles (Moulaert, Demuyneck, & Nussbaumer, 2004). This illustrates a largely top-down approach to culture production and consumption, which makes us question, “whose culture” (Binns, 2005; Zukin, 1995) are we actually seeing in Maboneng? Could more be done in Maboneng to engage in true placemaking and identity building projects that could define the public spaces in a way that could make more people feel included through active public participation, using bottom-up exercises to co-create a cultural production model for renewal as well as a cultural consumption that is relevant to all members of the neighbourhood?

7. Conclusion

This paper has shown how the discourse of culture-led urban regeneration has become increasingly polarised. To begin, the global literature was reviewed, outlining the arguments of those who embrace the virtues of culture-led regeneration (Florida, 2002), and those who critique its outcomes (Peck, 2007). A more nuanced perspective was also introduced, exploring the concept of a socially rooted culture-led urban regeneration (Moulaert, Demuyne, & Nussbaumer, 2004). The case of Maboneng, A South African example of culture-led urban regeneration contributes to the global culture-led urban regeneration debate.

While the paper only examined the data provided by Propertuity on the buildings that they have developed, which provides a limited view on the broader Maboneng area, I acknowledge that a more comprehensive study of the broader area to include non-Propertuity buildings would be ideal to get a more holistic understanding of the entire neighbourhood.

This data limitation notwithstanding, Maboneng does display many of the positive attributes of culture-led urban regeneration; such as clustering of creative professionals in a favourable 'people climate' (Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009) that attracts talent, is perceived as tolerant and which facilitates entrepreneurialism and innovation (Florida, 2002); improvement in safety; street cleanliness and walkability; growing local economy and tourism. However, it also displays some of the negative attributes associated with culture-led regeneration, such as the prioritisation of the middle class, rising inequality and a certain hegemonic cultural projection (Peck, 2005; Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012; Daily Maverick, 2015).

What makes Maboneng a unique case, in comparison to other international examples, is that the city of Johannesburg is still to a large extent locked into Apartheid-era spatial planning whereby most neighbourhoods reflect the statutory Group Areas Act racial divisions of the past (Bremner, 2000). Given

this historical context, it is argued that a more nuanced approach to culture-led regeneration is required in assessing the complexity of urban development in South Africa, when approaching the case of Maboneng.

From this perspective, Maboneng has been able to create the space for a hypothetical bridge to be built that connects different racial groups into one place where these people are collectively redefining their cultural and creative identities. We are most certainly witnessing the rise of a like-minded mixed-race, youthful creative class in Maboneng, but currently this positive outcome of urban regeneration ends where the newly upgraded sidewalk ends. Maboneng as a broader neighbourhood, manifests much of the negative views on urban regeneration with the exclusion of the poor (Peck, 2005) and the overall commodification of the urban (Kluth, 2014) as key concerns, which with more data, could be assessed to a better degree, beyond anecdotal perceptions of the broader areas (see Figure 13, p 68).

Given the research limitations expressed in the research methodology (chapter 2) it is recommended that more research should be done on Maboneng. Firstly, a broader collection of data that includes other data besides Propertuity company data, in order to provide a more holistic view on what is happening in the broader neighbourhood. Secondly, the collection of household income is crucial to the understanding of the creative class literature and should be sought after as part of the broader research on the area. Thirdly, the rise of security and CID management in Maboneng needs to be assessed, in order to analyse if there is a widening of the gap between haves and have nots, and whether or not the CID's are assisting to fragment and polarize urban public space?

Despite this apparent (and often criticised) shortcoming, Maboneng, as a neighbourhood, has managed to do one thing really well, and that is to create a culture-led socially-rooted neighbourhood particularly when looking at social transformation and economic revival, arguably, more could be done in terms of the physical transformation of place in Maboneng to increase community engagement on the aesthetics of place.

The process of urban regeneration is still in motion in Maboneng. The outcomes we are witnessing now, are just the beginnings of a neighbourhood undergoing processes of revitalization. The fact that for the most part we see a socially-rooted approach to culture that has resulted in mixed race residential developments is something that, given the context of South Africa and the development of Johannesburg over the years, should be celebrated as a breakthrough.

The real crux of the Maboneng story will rely heavily on how Propertuity decides to develop the area, and whether they are conscious of the crucial role they play in engaging the neighbourhood, and allowing for the co-creation of culture, in a socially-rooted (top down and bottom up) approach. Should they fail to co-create culture, the concern is that Maboneng becomes a purely profit-driven real estate exercise that drives inequality, displacement of the poor, and the commodification of the urban.

To date, Maboneng has been relatively successful in placemaking and identity building, and getting young people to buy into the dream of “live, work and play” in an integrated and inclusive neighbourhood. Every year more young people are aspiring to move into Maboneng and adopt this new and progressive cultural identity. In this way, Maboneng is reflective of an ‘in-between’ space that allows South African’s to rub shoulders with each other in a way that previous generations were unable to, in a way that today’s youth must if South Africa is to move beyond its past.

In closing, more should be done to support culture-led urban regeneration practices like those exhibited in Maboneng by Propertuity, as long as they are socially-rooted in their approach to urban regeneration. It is argued that more could be done to support community-led bottom up urban regeneration practices, rather than relying on Propertuity to lead all urban regeneration concepts and implementation. Hopefully then, the signs of prosperity will be seen moving further down the street to the currently neglected sidewalks and to those who are not benefiting from the positive impact of culture-led urban regeneration, such that as many South Africans as possible can benefit from this “place of light”.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank her supervisor Lisa Rose Circolia for her support throughout, and Property for allowing their company data to be made public in this dissertation.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship of this dissertation.

8. Bibliography

- Bahmann, D., & Frenkel, J. (2012). *Renegotiating Space: Arts on Main, 44 Stanley + Johannesburg*. Report Series, University of Witwatersrand, South African Research Chair in Development Planning and Modelling, School of Architecture and Planning, Johannesburg.
- Bell, D., & Jayne, M. (2003). 'Design-led Urban Regeneration: a Critical Perspective. *Local Economy* , 18 (2), 121-134.
- Bertaud. (2010). Land Markets, Government Intervention and Housing Affordability. (W. P. 18, Ed.) *Wolfensohns Center for Development* .
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). *Social science research: Principles, methods and practices*. Florida: Textbooks Collection: University of Florida.
- Binns, L. (2005, January 1). Capitalising on culture: an evaluation of culture-led urban regeneration policy. *Futures Academy* .
- Boonyabancha, S. (2005). Baan Mankong: Going to scale with "slum" and squatter upgrading in Thailand. *Environment and Urbanisation* (17:21).
- Booyens, I. (2002). Creative industries, inequality and social development: Developments, impacts and challenges in Cape Town. *Urban Forum* , 23, 43-60.
- Booyens, I., & Rogerson, C. M. (2015). Creative tourism in Cape Town: An innovation perspective. *Urban Forum* , 26.
- Boschma , R., & Fritsch, M. (2009). Creative Class and Regional Growth: Empirical Evidence from Seven European Countries. *Economic Geography* , 85 (4), 391-423.
- Bremner, L. (2000). Reinventing the Johannesburg inner city. *Cities* , 17 (9), 185–193.
- Brundtland Commission. (1987). *Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*. World Commission on Environment and Development . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cervero, R. (2013). *Mobility and Urban Form*. UN-Habitat, Planning and design for sustainable urban mobility: Global report on human settlements . Earthscan, Abington: United Nations Human Settlements Programme.
- Cilliers, P. (2008). Complexity Theory as a general framework for Sustainability Science. In N. Burns, & A. Weaver, *Exploring Sustainability Science: A Southern African perspective* (Vol. 1st Edition, pp. 39 - 57). Stellenbosch: Sun Press.
- Cohen, A. (1994). Culture, identity and the concept of boundary . *Revista de Antropologia Social* , 3.
- COJ 2012/2016 Integrated Development Plan. (2012). *City of Johannesburg* . Retrieved January 12, 2017, from 2012/2016 Integrated Development Plan 2013/2014 Review: Corridors of Freedom: www.joburg.org.za

COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter. (2007). *Inner City Regeneration Charter*. Retrieved January 12, 2017, from City of Johannesburg: www.joburg.org.za

Cooke, P. N., & Lazeretti, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Creative cities, cultural clusters and local economic development*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Cornell. (2016, August 8). Shop owner Cocobel in Maboneng. (*Age 28*). (L. Meek, Interviewer) Johannesburg, Gauteng, South Africa.

Davis, D. (2014). Urban Informality: Remnant of the past or wave of the future. *Havard Design Magazine*, Number 37.

Department of Housing. (2004). *Breaking New Ground: A comprehensive plan for the development of Sustainable Human Settlements*. South African Government.

Dirsuweit, T. (2002). Johannesburg: Fearful city? *Urban Forum*, 13 (3).

Dixon, T. (2011). *Sustainable Urban Transitions to 2050: Complex Transitions in the Build Environment of Cities*. Working Paper, Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford.

Evans, G., & Shaw, P. (2006). Literature Review: Culture and Regeneration. *Arts Research Digest* (37).

Evans, A. (2005). Measure for measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's contribution to Regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42 (5/6), 959-983.

Evans, G. (2003). Hard-Branding the Cultural City- From Prado to Prada. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (2), 417-440.

Evans, G. L., Foord, J., & Shaw, P. (2006). *Strategies for Creatives Spaces*. www.creativelondon.org.uk/

Fernández, E. (2001). *Direito Urbanístico e Política Urbana no Brasil*. Brasil: Livraria del Rey.

FHWA. (1999). *FHWA Course on bicycle and pedestrian transportation*. USDOT Federal Highway Administration, (Lesson 13 Walkways, sidewalks and public spaces, Lesson 23 International approaches to bicycle and pedestrian facility design), Washington DC.

Flew, T. (2013). *Creative Industries and Urban Development: Creative Cities in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Florida, R. (2002). The rise of the creative class, and how it is transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life. 89-98.

Florida, R., Mellander, C., & King, K. (2015). *The Global Creativity Index*. University of Toronto. Rotman School of Management, Martin Prosperity Institute, Toronto.

Foord, J. (2009). Strategies for creative industries: an international review. *Creative Industries Journal*, 1 (2), 91-113.

García, B. (2004). Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: lessons from experience, prospects for the future. *Local economy*, 19 (4), 312-326.

García, B. (2004). Urban regeneration, arts programming and major events: Glasgow 1990, Sydney

2000 and Barcelona 2004. *International journal of cultural policy* , 10 (1), 103-118.

Garner, G. (2011). Johannesburg: Ten Ahead: A Decade of Inner-city Regeneration.

Gibson, L., & Stevenson, D. (2004). Urban space and the uses of culture. *International journal of cultural policy* , 10 (1), 1-4.

Gregory, J. (2015, December 6). Creative industries and urban regeneration – The Maboneng precinct, Johannesburg. *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit* .

Hall, P., & Ward, S. (1998). *Sociable Cities: The legacy of Ebenezer Howard*.

Hansen, K., & Niedomysl, T. (2009). Migration of the Creative Class: Evidence from Sweden. 9 (2), 191-206.

Hardesty, L. (2015, June 4). Why Innovation Thrives in Cities. *MIT News* .

Heylighen, F., Cilliers, P., & Gershenson, C. (2007). Complexity and Philosophy. In J. Blogg, & R. Geyer, *Complexity, Science and Society*. Oxford, UK: Radcliff Publishing.

Hughes, R. (1998, February 13). Culture Makes Communities Conference. Leeds: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Katz, P. (1994). *The New Urbanism: Towards an Architecture of Community*. New York: McGraw Hill Inc.

Klunzman, K. (2005, November 19). Keynote speech to Interag III Mid-term Conference. *Regeneration and Renewal*. Lille.

Kluth, C. (2014). *The design of policy to physically permeate exclusive social enclaves: As applied to Maboneng*. Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, School of Architecture and Planning . Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand .

Lai, L. Y., Said, I., & Kubota, A. (2013). The Roles of Cultural Spaces in Malaysia's Historic Towns: The Case of Kuala Dungun and Taiping. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* (85), 602-625.

Landman, K. (2004). Gated Communities in South Africa: The Challenge for Spatial Planning and Land Use Management. *Town Planning Review* .

Litman, T. (2007). *Economic value of walkability*. Victoria Transport Policy Institute , Victoria.

Miles, M. (2005). Interruptions: Testing the rhetoric of culturally led urban development. *Urban Studies* , 42 (5-6), 889-911.

Miraftab, F. (2007). Governing Post Apartheid Spatiality: Implementing City Improvement Districts in Cape Town. *Antipode* , 39 (4), 602–626.

Mooney, G. (2004). Cultural Policy as Urban Transformation? Critical Reflections on Glasgow, European City of Culture 1990. *Local Economy* , 19 (4), 327-340.

Moore, T., Thorsnes, P., & Appleyard, B. (2007). *The transportation/land use connection (Chapter 2: Market Forces in the history of urban land development)*. Chicago: American Planning Association Planning Advisor Service.

Moulaert, F., Demuyne, H., & Nussbaumer, J. (2004). Urban Renaissance: From physical beautification

to social empowerment. Lessons from Bruges - Cultural Capital of Europe 2002. *City* , 8 (2), 229-235.

Municipality, C. o. (2016). *Spatial Development Framework Review Draft 2015/16*. City of Johannesburg, City Transformation and Spatial Planning.

Murray, M. J. (2011). *City of extremes: The spatial politics of Johannesburg*. Duke University Press.

NM & Associates. (2014). *Urban Hub Design Toolkit: A Practitioners Guide*. The National Treasury, Neighbourhood Development Programme.

Nowak, J. (2007). *Creativity and Neighbourhood Development: Strategies for Community Investors*. The Reinvestment Fund (TRF).

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International journal of urban and regional research* , 29 (4), 740-770.

Peck, J. (2007). *The Creativity Fix*. Retrieved October 2, 2016, from Eurozine: www.eurozine.com

Pieterse, E. (2010). Why is transformative change so Elusive? A roundtable discussion. In E. Pieterse, *Counter Currents* (pp. 243-256). Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Pratt, A. C. (2005). Cultural industries and public policy: An oxymoron? *International journal of cultural policy* , 11 (1), 31-44.

Pratt, A. (2008). Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* , 90 (2), 107-117.

Propertytuity. (2017). *Bringing City Back*. Retrieved January 23, 2017, from <http://propertytuity.co.za/>

Propertytuity. (2017). *Maboneng 2020 vision: The Unfinished City*. Johannesburg, Gauteng, South Africa.

Propertytuity. (2016). *Maboneng Census: Analytics behind Neighbourhood Building*. Johannesburg.

Propertytuity. (2016). *Understanding the makeup of the Broader Maboneng Area: A 1km² study*. Johannesburg.

Randall, T., & Baetz , B. (2001). Evaluating pedestrian connectivity for suburban sustainability. *Journal of Urban Planning and Development* , 127 (1).

Reinikka , R., & Svensson, J. (1999). *How inadequate provision of public infrastructure and services affect private investment*. World Bank, Development Research Group.

Republic of South Africa. (2009). No. 5 of 2009: National Land Transport Act. *Government Gazette* , 526.

Republic of South Africa. (2009). *The National Greening Policy*. Department of Environmental Affairs.

Republic of South Africa. (2006). *The National Land Transport Strategic Framework 2006 - 2011*. Department of Transport.

Republic of South Africa. (2005). *The Rural Transportation Strategy*. Department of Transport.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2004). The Impact of Cultural Events on City Image: Rotterdam, Cultural Capital of Europe 2001. *Urban Studies* , 41 (10), 1931-1951.

- Roberts, P., & Sykes, H. (2000). *Urban regeneration: A handbook*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Rosén, E., Stigson, H., & Sander, U. (2011). Literature review of pedestrian fatality risk as a function of car impact speed. *Accident analysis and prevention*, 43, 25–33.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research* (3rd edition ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sharp, V. (2010, March 28). Delivery and impact of household waste prevention intervention campaigns (at the local level). *Waste Management Research*, 256-268.
- Smit. (1992). The Urban Foundation: Transformation Possibilities. *Development Institutions*.
- South African Cities Network (SACN). (2009). *Township Renewal Sourcebook*. South African Cities Network.
- The New Climate Economy. (2014). *The New Climate Economy*. The Global Commission on the Economy and Climate.
- Tomlinson, R., Beaugard, R., Bremner, L., & Magcu, X. (2003). *Emerging Johannesburg. Perspectives on the post apartheid city*. New York: Routledge.
- UN Habitat. (2012). *State of the World's Cities*. UN HABITAT, Nairobi.
- UN Habitat. (2012). *Streets as tools for urban transformation: A street-led approach to city-wide slum upgrading*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Nairobi.
- UN-Habitat. (2013). *Planning and Design for Sustainable Urban Mobility*. United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Global Report on Human Settlements 2013.
- Van der Sluijs, J. P. (2007). Uncertainty and precaution in environmental management: insights from UPEM conference. *Environmental Modelling and Software*, (pp. 590 - 598).
- Walker, B., Holling, C. S., Carpenter, C. R., & Kinzig, A. (2004). Resilience, adaptability and transformability in social-ecological systems. *Ecol. Soc.* 9, Article 5.
- Wilhelm-Solomon, M. (2016). Decoding dispossession: Eviction and urban regeneration in Johannesburg's dark buildings. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 37 (3), 378-395.
- Wilks-Heeg, S., & North, P. (2004). Cultural policy and urban regeneration: a special edition of local economy. *Local Economy*, 19 (4).
- World Bank. (2014). Economics of South African Townships: Special Focus on Diepsloot. (S. Mahajan, Ed.) *World Bank Studies*.
- Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research design and methods* (2nd Edition ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core. *Annual Review of Sociology* (13), pp. 129-147.
- Zukin, S. (1982). *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Zukin, S. (1995). Whose culture? Whose city? *The urban sociology reader* , 281-289.

Websites:

Al Jazeera. (2015, March 4). *Gentrification in Johannesburg* . Retrieved January 27, 2017, from <http://america.aljazeera.com/multimedia/2015/3/Gentrification-in-Johannesburg.html>

Business Tech. (2016, September 11). *This is what it means to be middle class in South Africa*. Retrieved June 9, 2017, from Business Tech: <https://businesstech.co.za/news/general/136257/this-is-what-it-means-to-be-middle-class-in-south-africa/>

City of Johannesburg. (2013, May 10). *Corridors of Freedom*. Retrieved January 20, 2017, from City of Johannesburg: http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=8623:corridors-of-freedom&Itemid=114

Creative City Network Canada. (n.d.). Retrieved January 23, 2017, from Creative City Network Canada: <https://www.creativecity.ca/>

Creative London. (n.d.). *Creative London*. Retrieved January 23, 2017, from www.creativelondon.org.uk

Crime Stats SA. (2016). *Johannesburg Central*. Retrieved June 11, 2017, from Crime States SA: <http://bit.ly/2rj7Vek>

Daffonchio and Associates Architects. (2017, January 10). *Urban Design: The Maboneng Precinct, Johannesburg CBD*. Retrieved January 10, 2017, from Daffonchio and Associates Architects: <http://www.daffonchio.co.za/urban-design/#/the-maboneng-precinct-johannesburg/>

Daily Maverick. (2015, March 20). *During violent protests, Maboneng is a symbol and a scapegoat*. Retrieved December 4, 2016, from Daily Maverick: http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-03-20-during-violent-protests-maboneng-is-a-symbol-and-a-scapegoat/#.WEP5VmR94_M

Food 24. (2016, August 16). *The only guide you need to eating your way through Maboneng*. (M. Sejake, Editor) Retrieved January 30, 2017, from <http://www.food24.com/Restaurants-and-Bars/Johannesburg/the-only-guide-you-need-to-dining-in-maboneng-20160826>

Frith, A. (2016). *Guateng: City of Johannesburg*. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from Census 2011: <https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/798015>

iwasshot in Joburg ☺. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from iwasshot in Joburg: <http://www.iwasshot.com/>

Joburg Development Agency (JDA). (2015, January 21). *Maboneng Precinct turns heads internationally*. Retrieved January 27, 2017, from <http://www.jda.org.za/index.php/latest-news/1625-maboneng-precinct-turns-heads-internationally>

Jozi@Work. (2016). *Jozi@Work*. Retrieved August 21, 2016, from <http://www.joziatwork.org.za>

Lalela. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Lalela: <http://www.lalela.org/>

LSE Cities. (2015). *Johannesburg: A World Class African City*. (R. Seedat, & G. Gotz, Editors) Retrieved January 20, 2017, from LSE Cities: <https://lsecities.net/media/objects/articles/johannesburg-a-world-class-african-city/en-gb/>

Lupindo, M. (2015, March 18). *We want to eat sushi in Maboneng*. Retrieved December 1, 2016, from Umuzi: <http://umuzi.org/we-want-to-eat-sushi-in-maboneng/>

Maboneng Precinct. (2016). Retrieved August 2, 2016, from <http://www.mabonengprecinct.com>

Mail & Guardian. (2011, April 13). *Thought Leader: Why Jozi's hipsters are good for the economy*. Retrieved August 2, 2016, from <http://thoughtleader.co.za/sarahbritten/2011/04/13/why-jozis-hipsters-are-good-for-the-economy/>

Main Street Walks. (2017). *Inner City Urban Hike Tour*. Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Main Street Walks: <http://www.mainstreetwalks.co.za/tours/inner-city-tour/>

Mason, H. (2015, May 3). *My Maboneng Story*. Retrieved December 1, 2016, from 2summers: <http://2summers.net/2015/05/03/my-maboneng-story/>

Museum of African Design. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Museum of African Design: <http://www.moadjhb.com/>

Next City. (2012, July 11). *Debating the Creative Class—and Missing the Point*. (S. A. Chen, Editor) Retrieved January 23, 2017, from Next City: Inspiring Better Cities: <https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/debating-the-creative-class-and-missing-the-point>

POPART. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from POPART Performing Arts Centre: <https://popartcentre.co.za/>

Propertuity. (2016). *Maboneng: Developing a neighbourhood economy*. (L. Meek, Ed.) Retrieved October 12, 2016, from Propertuity: <http://propertuity.co.za/downloads/Maboneng-Developing-a-Neighbourhood-Economy.pdf>

Propertuity. (2016). *Propertuity Residential*. Retrieved August 2, 2016, from <http://www.propertuity.co.za>

PWC. (2014). *Cities of Opportunity*. Retrieved from <http://www.pwc.com/us/en/cities-of-opportunity/>

Rooftop Salsa. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Rooftop Salsa: <http://www.rooftopsalsa.com/>

SA Commercial Prop News . (2016, July 2016). *There's bucks to be made in Urban Renewal*. Retrieved January 19, 2017, from SA Commercial Prop News : <http://www.sacommercialpropnews.co.za/property-investment/8197-there-a-buck-to-be-made-in-urban-renewal.html>

Skateistan. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Skateistan South Africa: <https://za.skateistan.org/>

Sowetan. (2013, October 21). *Kunene goes from carguard to sushi restaurant owner*. Retrieved December 1, 2016, from Sowetan Live: <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/business-news/2013/10/21/blackanese-kunene-goes-from-car-guard-to-sushi-restaurant-owner>

Spark Schools. (2017). *Spark - Maboneng*. Retrieved January 19, 2017, from Spark Schools:

<https://www.sparkschools.co.za/school/spark-maboneng/>

Statistics South Africa. (2016). *Census 2011: City of Johannesburg*. Retrieved December 12, 2016, from http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=3836

Steyn City. (2016). *Steyn City: Parkland Residence*. Retrieved August 13, 2016, from <http://www.steyncity.co.za/>

Sunday Independent. (2013, March 10). *Inner City Idyll*. Retrieved January 27, 2017, from <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/life/inner-city-idyll-1483754>

Sustainable Cities Institute. (2013). *Transit- Oriented Development (TOD)*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from National League of Cities: Sustainable Cities Institute: [http://www.sustainablecitiesinstitute.org/topics/land-use-and-planning/transit-oriented-development-\(tod\)](http://www.sustainablecitiesinstitute.org/topics/land-use-and-planning/transit-oriented-development-(tod))

The African School of Excellence. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from African School of Excellence: <http://www.ase.org.za/>

The Bioscope Independent Cinema. (2017). Retrieved January 19, 2017, from The Bioscope: <http://www.thebioscope.co.za/>

The Centre for Affordable Housing Finance in Africa (CAHF). (2016, September 21). *South Africa*. Retrieved June 9, 2017, from The Centre for Affordable Housing in Africa: <http://housingfinanceafrica.org/countries/south-africa/>

The Daily Vox. (2015, April 7). *Trendy Maboneng and the Jeppestown evictions no one cares about*. Retrieved December 2, 2016, from The Daily Vox: <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/trendy-maboneng-and-the-jeppestown-evictions-nobody-cares-about/>

Time Travel Turtle. (2015, June 10). *New Urban Wave: Hipster Johannesburg*. Retrieved December 4, 2016, from Time Travel Turtle: <http://www.timetravelturtle.com/2015/06/urban-wave-hipster-johannesburg/>

Urban Design: The Maboneng Precinct Johannesburg. (2017). Retrieved January 07, 2017, from Daffonchio: <http://www.daffonchio.co.za/the-maboneng-precinct-johannesburg/>
Urban Morphology Institute. (n.d.). Retrieved January 27, 2016, from <http://www.urbanmorphologyinstitute.org/>