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Reimagining urban public space: The impacts of urban renewal in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town

By

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Abstract

Cities are economic growth engines that have the ability to increase investment and employment opportunities in the urban space. They allow access to institutions and better services to its population. Because of this reason, a high number of people are moving to the city for the opportunities that cities can offer. The increase in the number of people that reside in the city without proper development of infrastructure and services may result in urban decay. This study examines the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space. The study used a qualitative research approach. Eight in-depth interviews were conducted. Non-participant observation and document analysis were also used as tools to collect data. The research data were analysed using thematic content analysis. The study area of Bellville forms part of the Tygerberg District strategy and has been undergoing renewal since 2012. Respondents indicated both positive and negative impacts. Findings show that urban renewal implementation in Bellville has contributed towards formal employment opportunities, and safety and security in the area have improved. However, there is a concern that urban renewal interventions are more into economic development and profit making than redevelopment. Furthermore, these interventions contribute to gentrified, financialized, and captured urban public spaces in Bellville. They have segregated the area. As a result, other spaces are considered safer than others.

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Keywords: Urban renewal, public space, redevelopment, VRCID, right to the city, exclusion

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Declaration:

I declare that 'Reimagining urban public space: The impacts of urban renewal in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town' is my work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or assessment in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged using complete references.

_____

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my mother: Ms. Nomakwezi Francisco Sitshi. A single parent who never gave up on me even when I lost hope in myself. She taught me never to leave anything unfinished, as she believes that if one leaves things not finished, it will be like that for the rest of their life.

I further dedicate this work to Francis Mhlawuli who has always been there for me and my daughters Somila-Sonke Sisipho Sitshi and Mbalentle Asenathi Dineo Sitshi

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To the whole of the aMampondo clan, I say Camagu boo Ziqelekazi.

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List of Acronyms

AFDB	African Development Bank
CBD	Central Business District
CCDS	Central City Development Strategy
CIDs	City Improvement Districts
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CTSDF	Cape Town Strategic Development Framework
DHET	Department Higher Education and Training
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
GTP	Greater Tygerberg Partnership
MURP	Mayoral Urban Renewal Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAPS	South African Police Services
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resource Agency
TASP	Tygerberg Association for Street People
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
VRCID	Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District

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1 CHAPTER ONE: Urbanisation, decay, and renewal

1.1 Introduction

Cities are economic growth engines that have the potential to contribute towards investment, employment opportunities, as well as access to institutions and services. They attract people searching for better opportunities (AFDB, 2019). Today, because of this, more than 50% of the world's population resides in urban areas, and these numbers are expected to double over the coming years (AFDB, 2014). An increase of 57% in the world's urban population is expected by 2050, and African cities are anticipated to experience the highest of up to 85% growth by 2025 (African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2019, and Santoro, 2018). This rapid urbanisation will have an impact on both developing and developed countries, posing challenges to delivering services while limiting the realization of a sustainable urban future (AFDB, 2019). According to Pieterse (2011), Africa will more than double its urban population over the next two decades, from 294 million in 2000 to 742 million in 2030 and 1.2 billion by 2050. The rate of this transition in urban population is almost unimaginable as the majority of existing urbanites are living under miserable conditions caused in part by state neglect, skewed economic development patterns, limited resources, and administrative incompetence (Pieterse, 2011: 5). Population growth and urbanisation without parallel development of infrastructure and services may lead to urban decay (Friedmann & Miller, 1965). To respond to urban decay, urban renewal programmes were introduced as policy responses to transform African cities.

This study examines the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space. Urban renewal is traced back to the 1950s in the United States. The aim was to regenerate the declining inner city and slum clearance. Since the end of the Second World War, policies of the global North were more focused on modernization, upgrading, and reconstruction. In the 70s, because many cities faced socio-economic decline and deterioration, there was a need for new policy intervention (Massey, 2020).

Freed from the clutches of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has experienced large-scale renewal programmes as a response to the years of neglect, poor planning, ineffective decision-making, and leadership from apartheid policies (Massey, 2020). To deal with challenges such as housing

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shortages, inadequate infrastructure, and urban decay urban renewal was adopted. However, many urban renewal programmes in South Africa evidence a shift from economic-based production to consumption, increasing inequality, exclusion, and change in the arrangement of urban governance and urban space (2020:266). Some renewal projects included- the renovation and reuse of obsolete buildings, infrastructure development, more involvement and development of public spaces, and the implementation of City Improvement Districts.

Because the city of Cape Town is a fast-growing city like cities elsewhere, urban planners and leaders recognized the importance of managing the developmental trends in terms of the growing city population and challenges that occur because of this growth as a way of ensuring that the city grows beneficially and sustainably (City of Cape Town, 2012). As a result, there is a need to develop infrastructure that will not only accommodate the growing population within the city but also allow the city to grow economically to provide services and opportunities to the city population. In her State of the Province address in 2010, Premier Helen Zille announced a partnership between the City of Cape Town, Transnet, and the national Department of Public Works for a five-year partnership to develop the city through new infrastructure. The partnership goals were to i) accelerate growth, ii) attract investment, and iii) generate more jobs and business opportunities (Western Cape Government, 2011). There was also a need to address the existing spatial inequality in the city due to historical reasons that perpetuated segregation and enforced segregation between various city population groups. A Spatial Development Framework was introduced, outlining a 20-year vision for the city for the desired spatial form and structure of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2018: 8).

After the introduction of the Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP) by Patricia de Lille, Bellville formed part of the areas that were to be redeveloped. The objective of the MURP was to uplift formerly neglected and dysfunctional areas, such as CBDs, town centres, community nodes, and commercial corridors that are deteriorating rapidly by stabilizing Bellville by improving safety, quality of life, and the socio-economic situation within the shared public environment (Status report: Implementation of Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP) Projects in Sub Council 5, 2017: 2). This was to be done through the introduction of a sustainable system of operations and maintenance of public infrastructure and facilities in partnership with communities while providing a platform for effective public and private investment (City of Cape Town, 2018). The development for Bellville includes the

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regeneration of the Bellville Transport Interchange as well as the Voortrekker Road Corridor, and the external stakeholders and entities that form part of the developments of the area include:

- The Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP);
- Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID);
- Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA);
- Golden Arrow Bus Company (GABS);
- Metrorail;
- Other spheres of Government and their applicable Departments;
- South African Police Services; and;
- Community Policing Forum (CPF) and Neighbourhood Watches (NHW)

(City of Cape Town, 2018: 4).

1.2 City Improvement Districts

City Improvement Districts (CIDs), also known as Special Rating Areas (SRA), are specific geographic areas approved by the City Council in which property owners get into an agreement to pay the additional levy for top-up services as a means of enhancing the physical and social environment of the area. According to the SRA by-law, CIDs collect levies from the ratepayers over 'normal' rates, and the extra collected funds are used to cater to the CID's needs (Miraftab, 2007, Rink and Gamedze, 2016). They can be commercial, residential, industrial, or sometimes a combination of both. The CIDs operate with their board of directors and are forms of communication in the public-private partnership that is working together for the development of the city. In Bellville, there was the establishment of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in 2012.

1.2.1 The Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID)

The Voortrekker Road, established in 1845 as a hard-pack road, was the first major road to connect Cape Town to the northern-eastern surroundings. The name Voortrekker Road was given to this road in 1938 in advance of a centennial re-enactment of the Great Trek inland of white settlers that passed along what was then known as Maitland Road (Brown-Luthango, 2019: 4). The Voortrekker Road Corridor stretches 17km west to east from Salt River Circle to Stikland Bridge and is centrally located in the city region. Currently, there are strategic interventions by public and private interests on the corridor (Fieuw, 2016). Martin (2001) refers

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to a "corridor as a linear strip of land connecting large activity nodes, traversing urban or inter-urban areas, surrounding a major transport facility or facilities providing an appropriate regional level of mobility and accessibility to adjacent areas that have high population concentration and mixed land uses" (2001, 5). As a critical tool to realize a more inclusive and integrated Cape Town, the City of Cape Town declared the Voortrekker Road Corridor (VRC) and the Metro-South East Corridor (MSE) as integration zones. According to the National Treasury Report (2013), quoting Brown-Luthango (2020), integration zones are “prioritized spatial focus areas within the urban network that provide opportunities for coordinated public intervention to promote more inclusive, efficient and sustainable forms of urban development” (Brown-Luthango, 2020: 9). City Improvement Districts is one of the renewal intervention established to redevelop the area.

The VRCID was introduced by Hardus Zevenster, who was the CEO of Radio Tygerberg, in support of the Bellville Sakekamer (Piet Badenhorst, Laubscher & Hattingh Attorneys, Councillor Leonore van der Walt and Gert Snyman), as an initiative to seek solutions to the problems that were identified by a group of stakeholders within the Voortrekker Road corridor (VRCID, 2011: 3). The VRCID was established in 2012 and started operating on the 1st of August the same year with the vision to create and maintain a clean and safe urban environment along the Voortrekker Road Corridor with the following goals 1) reducing crime by proactive patrolling in partnership with the South African Police Services and Law enforcement; 2) creating a safe and clean public environment; 3) providing jobs for homeless people; 4) promotion of the VRCID as a safe and clean environment to work and live in, and 5) the sustainable and active management of the Voortrekker Road Corridor (SA Property News 2012). The Voortrekker Road corridor is approximately 16 km long, located between Salt River Circle and Stikland Bridge (Silverman, 2014). However, the VRCID only covers a small area of the Voortrekker Road Corridor extending from Strand Street near Stikland through Bellville up to Parow CBD. It excludes the Bellville station and taxi rank. Because of its uniqueness in connecting Cape Town and Bellville CBDs, Voortrekker Road Corridor is referred to as the urban core. The area covered by the VRCID also includes Durban Road, starting from Voortrekker Road up to the N1 highway. Under urban renewal projects, the Voortrekker Road Corridor was identified as an integration zone, and it became the focus of the City of Cape Town Strategy and Investment Plan development process, intending to determine the best location for catalytic public sector investment along the corridor to enforce the regeneration of adjacent neighbourhoods and commercial nodes (Uppink, 2016). This investment plan resulted

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in the establishment of the non-profit organization known as the Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) in 2012. GTP is wholly funded by the City of Cape Town and is one of the economic partners that aim at leading the collaborative effort in the revitalization and economic development of the Northern Suburbs, namely the Voortrekker Road Corridor. This study discusses the impacts of the VRCID in the Bellville CBD on the formation of and practices in public spaces.

Below is the map indicating the boundaries that are covered by the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. The area from Salt River to Parow falls under precinct 1, precinct 2 is from Parow East up to the N1 and the last precinct 3 is from Bellville CBD up to Stikland Bridge.

Figure 1.1 VRCI boundary map (Indicated with red boundary)
https://vrcid.co.za/urban-management/

1.3 Background and study area

The study site is located within the Bellville Central Business District. More specifically, the VRCID is a demarcated area straddling the main thoroughfare in Bellville known as Voortrekker Road (see Figure 1 above). Bellville is a suburb situated 20 kilometres from the Cape Town CBD, founded on the site of a railway station on the line linking Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Strand. It is a former wagon halt for farmers who were bringing their products to Cape Town and was known as the 12th Milestone. In 1860, Bellville was established as a village and was renamed in 1861 in honour of Charles Davidson Bell, a former

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surveyor-general of the Cape from 1848 to 1872 (SAHO: 2017). After 1940, town councillors were determined to exploit Bellville's potential, as it was a big and rapidly expanding town with railway developments. A decision to get professional help was made in 1945, commissioning Thornton White and partners to draw up a town plan for Bellville. The instructions were to free up the town centre for commercial development and place industrial areas for future railway development (GTP, 2015). The same year, the prevalence of private vehicles began to dominate the city growth, resulting in sprawling growth towards the northern suburbs and the construction of high-speed movement routes such as the N1 highway in the 1950s. Later, this led to the expansion of decentralized office and retail mall development (CoCT, 2014). According to Legassick (2006), the decade of the 1950s was when Cape Town became a test case for influx control and racial segregation. This was the same time the Government policy was implemented by local authorities to forcibly remove all the African population to official 'locations' or endorsed them out of the area altogether. Like other parts of Cape Town, Bellville also went through racial segregation (2006: 1). "In May 1954, the police raids in the Northern suburbs included orders to take up single accommodation in Nyanga, and in March 1955, the so-called 'bachelor' Africans in these areas were ordered to move into compounds in Nyanga. By October of 1955, families in Bellville had received notices to move, and then in December 1955, it was reported that all 'bachelors' had moved from Bellville" (Legassick, 2006). Bellville was then declared a whites-only area. All the non-whites were to access the area for work purposes carrying their passbooks as proof of not only their identity but also served as a sort of work permit granting them access to the area (2006: 7-8). This area has now taken a turn and today is referred to as a community of migrants because of the number of migrants that constitute the majority of Bellville's population (Brudvig, 2013). Bellville was declared a City in 1979. After the construction of the shopping centres like the Tygervalley Centre, N1 City, and Canal Walk / Century City along the N1 highway, the retail and economic development along the corridor experienced a decline (Duncan-Brown, 2016). In the post-1994 environment, Bellville was integrated into the Tygerberg Municipality, only to be merged within the unified City of Cape Town Municipality in 2000. While the suburb was integrated into the City of Cape Town, it has a history of separation and segregation.

According to the 2011 Census, "Bellville's population was 44 209, including 21 055 males and 23 155 females. The number of households was 15 453, and the average household size was 2.86 people" (SDI, GIS, & CoCT, 2013). Thousands of people from different African countries

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choose to settle in South Africa because of the quality of life, the climate, and business opportunities. Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) argue that, “South Africa is becoming a multi-cultural melting pot, alive with possibilities. Amongst that flood of migrants are Somali nationals fleeing conflict in their home country” (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010: 385). Because of the number of Somali nationals settling in Bellville at times, Bellville is referred to as "a safe haven for Somalis, and sometimes 'Little Mogadishu'. Bellville today is comprised of a mix of African nationalities and composed of a heterogeneous mix of identities. The area is rated the second-largest hub after Cape Town CBD. The Bellville area is growing fast in sectors like tertiary education, health services, retail, and financial services, increasing the potential of the area to be a mature city (GTP, 2015). The area is said to be situated where the new and old South Africa meet (Casas, 2015). Bellville symbolizes the change but also serves as a site of contemporary conflicts, blundered perceptions, and mistrust. An area such as Bellville also offers new opportunities only possible in cosmopolitan urban centres. The table below indicates the demography of Bellville as per the Stats SA 2011 report.

Table 1. 1 Demographic Profile- 2011 census (SDI&GIS, 2013)

	Male		Female		Total %	
Population	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Black	3810	8,6%	3674	8,3%	7484	16,9%
Coloured	3418	7,7%	4057	9,2%	7475	16,9%
Asian	292	0,7%	307	0,7%	599	1,4%
White	12491	28,3%	14396	32,6%	26887	60%
Other	1044	2,4%	721	1,6%	1765	4,0%
Total	21055	47,6%	23155	52,4%	44210	100%

1.4 Research Statement

In the context of rapid urbanisation, African cities are faced with the related challenges of growth, decay, and urban renewal. While plans for renewal, and development may be beneficial for the economy of the city, they impose both negative and positive impacts on urban dwellers. These impacts are noticeable in land use management, space management, and having rights to the city. In today's constantly changing world, urban renewals have been one of the most recent changes in urban governance and urban space management in African cities. Urban renewal aims to make African cities compatible with other cities elsewhere. Watson (2013) suggests that African cities are imagined and likened to cities such as Dubai and Singapore. These plans driven by such imaginaries may benefit the city's economy, but they ignore the

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people on the ground. One of the most noticeable forms of urban regeneration in some cities is the implementation of the City Improvement District (CID). They serve as a response to the city's crisis and are sometimes referred to as a rescue service to African cities. For Bellville, the effort to inclusively regenerate the Voortrekker Road Corridor region has resulted in immense tension between the broad goals of integration and socio-economic inclusion and the interests of the powerful stakeholders involved (Uppink (2016). Private and political elite interests that threaten the genuine outcome of the development of the area have influenced the organizations responsible for the development of Bellville highly. This study serves to answer the question: What is the impact of urban renewal interventions on the formation of- and practices in public space in the Voortrekker Road?

1.5 Research aim

This aim of this study is to explore the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space.

1.6 Research objectives

Related to the principal aim of this study are three associated objectives. These include:

- To explore public perceptions in terms of the transformation of public space in the VRCID.
- To examine contestations of spaces in the VRCID through the analysis of exclusions and inclusions enacted under the VRCID scheme; and
- To understand the role of public and private sector institutions in the management and governance of public spaces in the VRCID.

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1.7 Scope of the Study

The study site is located within the suburb of Bellville in Cape Town, South Africa. The geographical scope of the study is limited to this area. While literature and some of the information discussed may be related to urban renewal interventions elsewhere, this study is based only on the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID).

1.8 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of five chapters. The following Chapter Two reviews the existing literature about the study objectives to build a theoretical basis that evaluates the research question.

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Chapter Three presents the methods applied to the study. Next, Chapter Four presents and analyses the study findings related to the research aim and objectives. Finally, Chapter Five discusses the study findings and presents conclusions that respond to the research aim and objectives.

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2 CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

In the context of rapid urbanisation and global change, urban renewal has been one of the constant transformations befalling urban governance and urban space management in African cities. Intending to awaken African cities and make them compatible with cities elsewhere, Watson (2014) suggests that African cities are imagined and likened to cities such as Dubai and Singapore, and regrettable, while plans driven by such imaginaries may be beneficiary for the economy of the city, they tend to ignore people on the ground (Watson, 2014).

Rapid urbanisation is caused by population growth in the form of natural growth (more births) as well as migration. The impacts of this growth are urban sprawl and urban decay. However, other known aspects such as rapid unemployment rate, overcrowded cities, competition for urban resources, and economic decline tend to put pressure on the urban sphere, as a result, the world today is in the process of redeveloping urban areas to save cities that are deteriorating and facing urban blight. As cities are considered the economic engines of the country, there are beliefs that due to crime and grime, cities are not performing at their full capability, and, this has to be dealt with. Urban renewals were proposed to combat the situation.

The last two decades have witnessed significant changes in urban governance, growth, and the maintenance of public space at both local and international levels. One of the most noticeable changes is high privatization of developments, security, and maintenance of spaces of interest to the private sector (Heimann & Oranje, 2008). This chapter reviews existing knowledge associated with urban renewal and management of urban public space on local, regional, and international scales. Theories of urbanisation in African cities, urban revitalization, city improvement districts, and space management's impacts on the 'right to the city' are presented in this chapter. The transformation of the cities in South Africa is influenced mostly by government policies, and the discussion on urban renewal is shaped by the country's two economic worlds, which are i) the country being the prosperous first-world economy and ii) the country being the third-world economy of poverty and under-development (Mbeki, 2001). Literature on urbanisation, urban decay, renewal, and the right to the city is presented below to frame this chapter and the chapter will conclude by discussing the concept of public space.

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2.2. Urbanisation

Most of the world's population resides in urban areas. These numbers are expected to double by 2050 (Avis, 2016). It is estimated that, between the years 2000 – and 2024, the world's population will grow by 1.76 billion persons, and 86% of this will happen in towns and cities of developing countries. This will result in little rural growth in developing countries. The process whereby the urban population increases through the movement of people from rural to urban areas is known as urbanisation.

Currently, Asia has the largest share of urbanisation by continent, and Africa is expected to take the lead by 2025 (Montgomery, 2008: 762). African cities are showing a rapid increase in their population compared to rural Africa, and urbanisation is growing in both developing and developed countries. According to the African Development Bank (2012), in the developing world, Africa has shown the highest urban growth in the last two decades at 3.5% per year, and this growth in urban population will continue until 2050. Projections by (ADB) also indicate that between 2010 and 2025, some cities in Africa will account for up to 85% of the urban population, confirming the statement by Avis (2016) that the highest rates of urban growth are expected mostly in low and middle-income countries (2016: 4). Even though that is the case, Africa is still more rural than it is urban, and it is not unreasonable to predict that there will be high rates of rural outmigration over the next three to five decades. It is also predicted that African cities will grow twice as fast (by 100 million) just through the natural increase in the existing urban population (Parnell & Walawege, 2011). In South Africa, urbanisation was shaped by apartheid policies that controlled the movement and settlement of native people. These policies attempted to limit access by South Africans classified as 'Africans' to cities, keeping them in homelands, predominantly rural with limited economic bases. However, during the 80s, a change happened, there was a movement of people from rural to the cities, even though the shift was not as rapid as expected (Todes, et al, 2010).

There are many reasons causing people to leave their rural homes for urban areas. These reasons are referred to as push and pull factors. Pushing factors included demographic, economic, and socio-cultural factors, and the most common leading push factor is less opportunity in the socio-economic situation in the areas of origin. The pull factors vary depending on the area. At times, they may include factors like high demand for houses, environmental-related issues, shortages of land, and lack of access to day-to-day basic needs. According to Thet (2014), migration is not only an African issue, but also a global phenomenon

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caused not only by economic factors, but also by social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education, and transportation factors. Urbanisation commonly happens because of the push factor of fewer opportunities in the socio-economic situation and because of pull factors that exist in more developed areas. The rate at which the city urbanizes poses challenges that bear on the environment and housing, population health and social cohesion, and the rights of individuals, particularly those marginalized in the process (Thet, 2014; Collinson et al., 2007). Urban settings have better health outcomes than rural ones in most sub-Saharan African countries. Some exceptions arise from the concentration of poverty in slums and squatter settlements. This spatial concentration with people's reliance on common but limited public resources, can make urban residents particularly vulnerable to communicable diseases.

2.2.1 Effects of urbanisation in Africa

Africa, a continent characterized by high rates of poverty, is also demonstrating unequal access to decent housing. As a result, most of its urban and peri-urban poor tend to live in ecologically fragile zones where they overexploit the surrounding lands (Arouri, Youssef, Nguyen-Viet, & Soucat, 2014). Due to urbanisation in Africa, a high proportion of urban poor lives in slums, and in Sub-Saharan Africa specifically, more than 60% of the urban population is slum dwellers. This population tends to lack basic urban services such as access to sanitation, clean water, energy, and solid waste disposal" (El et al., 2014: 6). However, according to some scholars, as much as urbanisation is a result of overcrowded cities, this also serves as a strategy to reduce the economic distance between rural producers and their markets through the improvement of infrastructure. According to Turok & McGranahan (2013), there is a relationship between urbanisation and industrialization, and this is a crucial policy concern for continents like Africa and Asia.

As much as African countries are experiencing rapid urbanisation, there are arguments that, in South Africa, urbanisation has declined post-apartheid. Results from South Africa's first post-apartheid census in 1996 demonstrated that over half of the South African population lived in urban areas by that time, and the number only grew by 2.4% during the second census in 2001, keeping the post-apartheid urbanisation steady (Todes et al., 2010: 332). Even though this has been the case, the records differ from city to city. Some cities in South Africa are faced with high urban growth, like Cape Town. Cape Town is recorded to be the most urbanizing city, with the majority of its population residing in informal settlements, making housing shortages one of the implications of rapid growth in the urban population. The demand for housing and

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the increase in property prices have resulted in the mushrooming of slum dwellers in African cities. This has implications for the city's lives in South Africa and Africa at large. As a result, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened. The growth of urban centres without proper development of basic infrastructure and services leads to the deterioration of existing infrastructure, leading to urban decay. As a response to the challenges, African countries have adopted urban renewal programmes.

2.3. Urban renewal: an introduction of change to the cities

Urban renewal was established by the landmark Housing Act of 1949 as urban redevelopment to clear slum areas and build public houses as a replacement for demolished settlements. However, the Housing Act of 1954 changed the term from redevelopment to urban renewal with intentions to respond to blight and slum neighbourhoods. The difference between the two was the emphasis on urban renewal, which was more on the rejuvenation of buildings than the clearance of slums. It also encouraged the privatization of housing for low-income and the displacement of public houses (von Hoffman, 2008: 281). According to Zhang & Fang (2004), the original idea behind urban renewals was to build housing for the urban poor population. In their comparative study between the United States and China, they argue that, in the United States, many houses were built for people. However, the later government changed this process and used a renewal programme to build luxury housing to boost the economy of the cities. This change resulted in the displacement of the urban poor population. This careless, if not ruthless, eviction of the urban poor population highlights the commonality between the United States and China Programmes. In both countries, the United States and China's removal of the people is considered by policymakers to be "no more than a hurdle which is to overcome to implement the urban renewal plan (Zhang & Fang, 2004: 288-289). This statement agrees with Gotham's (2003) argument while quoting Logan and Molotch's (1987) theory that in a market economy, the space used and inhabited daily, is not only a human necessity but is also a commodity to generate revenue. From 1970–to 1990, the retail sector was concentrated in smaller and larger chains of stores that sell food, electrical goods, clothes, shoes, toys, and other products. Later, the internet's growing adoption accelerated this consolidation and has made independent and small retailers suffer a relentless decrease with thousands of shops closing yearly. This discouraged investment in cities causing the decline of urban areas (Grimaldi, Fernandez, & Carrasco, 2019).

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2.3.1 Defining urban renewal

As it has mentioned in the section above that the programme started in the late 1940s intending to clear slums, but, over time, things took a turn resulting in the programme being utilised as a response technique to urban blight, making it difficult to incline urban renewal to one definition and term (Engelbrecht, 2003). Depending on the region or area, some refer to urban renewal as urban regeneration, redevelopment, revitalization, and restructuring. Urban renewal is a process whereby a place is renewed or regenerated with an emphasis on re-developing economic infrastructure and is done most of the time in cities that have experienced a decline. In support of this statement, Grodach and Ehrenfeucht (2016) refer to urban renewal as "a rebirth or a revival in the conditions and character of a place that has endured a period of decline" (2015: 4). According to Donaldson & du Plessis (2013), "the process of renewal targets identified underdeveloped geographic areas to achieve sustainable development by bringing a balance between the social, economic, environmental, and infrastructural aspects of city life" (2013:295). A city is re-developed in a way that will respond to its economic, social, and physical decline and decay (Massey, 2020), and, in most cases, this includes demolition and upgrade of buildings that are out of fashion, construction of new buildings, such as shopping malls, entertainment centres as well as sporting events sites (Richard, 2014). There are different types of renewals, and the biggest is infrastructure development (such as roads, electricity supply, water, and sanitation). It is also important to note that urban renewal is not a new term, it comes as far back as the 60s, and as the years progressed, the transformation taking place in most cases allows the city to rejuvenate itself naturally and organically (Broudehoux, 1994:4).

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2.3.2. Forms and strategies of renewal

There are different forms and strategies used to carry out urban renewal programmes, and these depend on the environment and the intervention needed for the city. With the motive to adjust cities and transform them to respond to current as well as future requirements of urban life, urban renewal has three principles. The three principles in the renewal programme are 1) redevelopment, in the form of demolition and reconstruction of buildings; 2) rehabilitation, including the improvement of the original structures; and 3) conservation and preservation, where the main focus is on preserving historical monuments outside of residential areas (Massey, 2020).

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- **Redevelopment**: redevelopment strategy is used in most cases when the state of decay is believed to pose a threat to the health and safety of the residents and where rehabilitation will not solve the problem (Uwadiegwu, 2015). Under redevelopment strategies, the existing buildings are destroyed, and the cleared land is re-used to implement new projects. The problem with this strategy is that the former residents of the area in question are removed to open the way for new developments (Broudehoux, 1994).
- **Rehabilitation**: unlike re-development, where the area in question is demolished, in rehabilitation, the site is improved from its original structure and conserved. Rehabilitation is only done when the state of deterioration is not severe and the site can be kept with other forms of intervention. The intervention involves developing existing infrastructure to improve the living standards of the community members (Njoku & Okoro, 2014; Uwadiegwu, 2015). This includes upgrades of basic infrastructure and services like water and sanitation, electricity, and waste management. Rehabilitation respect and conserve the existing social connections.
- **Conservation and Preservation**: this strategy is about the preservation of historical monuments outside of residential areas. It involves strategies of rehabilitation and redevelopment by rescuing what can be saved, as well as reconstructing areas that are deteriorated (Njoku & Okoro, 2014). Under conservation and preservation strategy, both heritage and, the environment can be conserved while the neighbourhood is being regenerated. This strategy is considered the best because it allows old communities to be renewed with the element of preservation (Broudenhoux, 1994).

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2.3.4 Urban renewal in the South African context

In South Africa, it was in the 1960s when several downtown revitalization projects were initiated, as a way to draw back interest to the CBD. This served as a good marketing strategy to attract retailers and the population back to the city. This has a positive contribution to the city's economy. It is because of such reason that today, there is a great deal of speculation about the booming economies in sub-Saharan Africa due to urban revitalization. In 2001, after six years of developmental interventions, the Urban Renewal Programmes, with Integrated Sustainable Rural Development, were launched in South Africa after the approval by the national cabinet sitting held in October 2000. Before 2001, urban renewal was driven by different institutions in different ways. In 2001, during his State of the Nation address, former

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president Thabo Mbeki announced the launch of the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) as an area-based approach to assist in alleviating poverty, in ensuring economic growth by increasing employment and environmental sustainability. The emphasis was on improving partnerships in planning and implementation governance. Eight urban townships were identified for a 10-year pilot scheme to open the way for national implementation after the 10-year pilot phase (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2012).

However, due to its socio-political history South Africa is unique in terms of the spatial and urban context. This is because of the apartheid urban spatiality that favoured the 'whites-only' in terms of the distribution of social and economic resources resulting in the marginalization of non-white residents socially and economically (Massey, 2020:155). Even though this was the case, like most cities elsewhere, there was a need for renewal in South African cities. Unlike other countries, the concept of urban renewal in South Africa goes beyond physical upgrades. It specifically targets the alleviation of poverty as a means of restoring people's dignity in an urban environment (Zack, 2002: 2).

It is important to note that before 1994, the conditions of rural underdevelopment and urban exclusion and degeneration were underpinned and managed by a complex apartheid bureaucracy (DPLG, 2002: 2). Implementing urban renewals in South Africa involved the response from the government in breaking the legacy of apartheid in societies living in urban townships as well as how to create favourable conditions for previously excluded urban communities to access growth and development opportunities (DPLG, nd: iii). There are various forms of urban renewal taking place in contemporary South Africa. According to Massey (2020), these forms are pro-poor and pro-growth. Pro-poor focuses on the improvement and provision of basic services like water, electricity, housing, etc. Pro-growth relates to the attraction of external investment and upper to the middle population to the area (2020: 267).

2.3.5 Pro-poor urban renewal

In South Africa, the urban spaces that were neglected during the apartheid era are still under neglect. To introduce change into these spaces, the South African government introduced several socio-economic strategies to combat the situation. There was the implementation of different forms of renewal (Massey, 2020 & Donaldson; Du Plessis, 2012). These forms include:

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- **Township Renewals:** The geographical landscape of South Africa is influenced by apartheid policies characterized by an unequalled form of socio-spatial structuring. The focus of the apartheid policy was on separating localities and grouping them in a manner that it be easy to control (Bonner & Lodge, 1989:1). Townships were used by the apartheid government to control the population, and until today, these spaces are a reflection of the legacy of apartheid. The renewal of these urban spaces is one of the methods utilised to rejuvenate these spaces. The renewals include Local Economic Development Projects, tourism, retail, and private sector projects. Under the Local Economic Developments, government, private sector, non-governmental organizations, and the community work together to improve the economic growth inclusiveness, and competitiveness of the area (Rogerson, 2010).
- **Area-Based Approach:** Area-based renewal comes as far back as the 1990s and has been the face of new urban governance. This approach with international origin includes cooperative partnerships and public-private sector collaboration in dealing with public administration (Donaldson, et al. 2013). As mentioned above area-based approach launch was announced by former President Thabo Mbeki in 2001 during the State of the Nation Address. The focus of the approach was on poverty alleviation in urban areas suffering from substantial service backlogs, and that were struggling with the social exclusion that was limiting development within communities (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2012). There were eight townships identified to pilot the project to extend to other townships in the future.
- **Informal Settlement Upgrading:** It is a known fact that the majority of the urban population, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, are residents of informal settlements. In most cases, the urban population that resides in informal settlements lacks basic services such as water, sanitation, and electricity because sometimes the land is occupied illegally, making it difficult to have land tenure. The South African government started a large-scale process of formalization, through the provision of houses. Post-1994, because of the increase in informal settlements, there was a need for the development and implementation of the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme. The programme allowed municipalities the opportunity to apply for funds from the provincial government to upgrade informal settlements through the provision of basic services, infrastructure, and tenure security (Massey, 2020).

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2.3.6 Pro-growth urban renewal

Because of the pressure from national sphere authorities, local governments are forced to fund their activities and services while attracting external investments. This has placed pressure on local officials to pursue urban renewal policies and programmes that favour maximum economic growth by adopting the following renewal strategies:

- **Gentrification**: Gentrification is a process whereby middle-class spaces or vacant land is regenerated to cater to middle-class or affluent residents (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). In this process, the urban poor population is displaced from the land to cater to the new developments. As much as this process is beneficial for the middle-class people, it disregards people on the ground as it often leads to evictions, forced removal, displacement, and the exclusion of urban poor who cannot afford the property prices, local rates, and taxes, as well as the general cost of living in the renewed areas (Watson, 2013). Because of gentrification, there is an increase in population segregation, and the gap between rich and poor is widened, raising the number of evictions, leaving the city spaces only affordable to a few elites (Visser & Kotze, 2008).
- **Inner City Renewal**: Until post-Second World War, before the majority of retailers and the population moved out of downtown locations for suburbs with the wide availability of automotive transportation, retail played a vital role in cities. The development of the first suburban shopping centres offered a strong economic incentive for retailers with diverse goods causing them to abandon their downtown locations and agglomerate in central locations" (Visser & Kotze, 2008:7-8). The abandonment of urban centres resulted in urban blight and decaying downtown locations. In South Africa, the inner cities started experiencing a decline in the 1970s because of the increase in suburbanisation, deindustrialization, and the collapse of the apartheid white flag. The urban centre decline resulted from the withdrawal of retail and property sector investment because of poor public transport links, poor administration, and poor planning (Massey, 2020). From the 2000s, local municipalities started working towards policies that would assist in the rejuvenation of the inner cities to attract public sector investments and draw back the middle and affluent residents to the inner city. (Massey, 2020:273). However, the implementation of renewals reflects a lack of balance between economic development and the consideration of people, as the majority of the urban poor population is affected. This results in conflict in the existing city population because of the displacement of poor

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people to make way for the new developments. According to Hyra (2012), many African Americans were displaced during urban renewal in America in the mid-twentieth century resulting in severe emotional and psychological trauma because of the damage to their social networks, communities, and roots.

The housing diversification that is also happening during redevelopment has an impact on urban lives as the policies associated with it are strongly oriented to the housing stock of urban residential areas, with great importance attached to housing diversification and social mix in neighbourhoods (Kleinhans, 2004). The housing diversification includes demolition, upgrading, or sale of council or socially rented housing and the construction of new ones that are more costly than owner-occupied or privately rented housing. As a result, the low-income population leaves the city centres, and those left reflect variance in social life patterns by tenure and generally little interaction between owner-occupiers and tenants. This makes urban renewals the inventors of social disconnection in such spaces. Lees et al, (2008) argue that the introduction and implementation of renewals have created none or less social mixing in the cities with the impact mostly felt by the low-income population. The movement of middle-income groups into low-income areas due to gentrification is creating an overwhelmingly negative effect such as the displacement of low-income groups because of low political inputs. According to AlSayyad (2004), liberalization has had political implications in which most new informal settlements are located on cheap land far from the city centre, and their residents cannot dominate the politics or economy of the city like residents of older informal settlements once did. He furthers his argument by saying that liberalization has transformed old forms of informality and given rise to new forms that focus mainly on the new middle class. However, many members of this class are now rejecting the global order through political and religious practices. According to van Kempen, Bolt, & van Ham (2016), neighbourhood decline does not form part of the political agenda but rather a responsibility of neighbourhoods but this is a challenge because of every day struggles like cultural diversity, mistrust and a risk of being victims of crime that neighbourhoods are faced with (Kempen et al., 2016:662). There are different programmes under urban renewals, and they differ area by area and city by city. For Johannesburg and Cape Town, as part of the inner-city redevelopment, City Improvement District (CID) approaches were implemented.

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2.3.7 Introduction of urban renewal in Bellville

In the 2000s, after the Tygerberg region was linked to the City of Cape Town Municipality things started taking a turn. The transition happened after two decades of witnessing a significant change in urban governance and development locally and abroad. The most prominent change has been the rise but highly selective privatization of development, securitization, and maintenance of the spaces valued by the private sector (Heiman & Oranje, 2008:14). Bellville is part of the Tygerberg area, a city identified as in need of intervention in terms of redevelopment and regeneration. In late 2012, organizations were established to assist in the renewal of the area to attract external and local investors to Bellville.

Urban renewal as an urban management programme is considered a strategy to address the increasing demand for land, housing, and over-burdened infrastructure to support the rising urban population (Egolum & Fidelis, 2017). For several years, urban renewal has been a vital aspect of the inner city and post-industrial spaces development internationally (Massey, 2020). During the late Nineteenth and early twentieth century retail was an integral part of the city's economy and social climate (Padilla, 2008). However, post-Second World War, a change took place causing a decline in the economic and social stability of CBDs, forcing the majority of retailers to abandon their downtown locations for the suburbs (2008:7-8). With the growth in cities in Africa, as elsewhere, comes the drive for urban regeneration. In the 1960s, a few downtown revitalization projects that incorporated urban retailing were initiated to attract shoppers to the CBD. The main core of economic activities and focus of revitalization efforts concentrate on the central business district (CBD) where retail stores, offices, and cultural activities are concentrated. This is a section with building densities that are usually high and where transportation systems converge" (Meredith, 2008:277). During the 70s, it became evident that there was a need for new urban policy interventions to combat the socio-economic decline and deterioration of the cities. The urban challenges include but are not limited to area degeneration, overcrowding, deepening levels of poverty, and lack of access to health services and economic opportunities (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2013:295; Zielenbach & Levin, 2000:4). For the cities in the global North, the focus of renewal was more on modernization, upgrading, and reconstruction of the city (Massey, 2020:265). According to the review by Engelbrecht (2003), urban renewal usually includes large scales of development in urban areas rather than fractional rebuilding of individual buildings, and the final point of renewal is improving the urban environment and layout, infrastructure development, and road networks. Looking into South Africa since 1994 (the year the country regained freedom), there are several renewal

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interventions implemented to respond to years of decay and neglect accompanied by poor planning practices and ineffective decision-making. However, according to McGregor & McConnachie (1995), the approaches to urban renewal have resulted in social inequality and increasing population segregation in the cities. In South Africa, for example, the implementation of urban renewal has led to an increase in inequality and exclusion, contributing to a change in the setting of urban governance and space in the country (Massey, 2020: 266).

2.4 City Improvement Districts

According to some of the existing knowledge from urban studies, there is an indication of transformation in the urban environment due to urban renewal. However, different scholars share different sentiments concerning this urban transformation, some saying that previously the dynamics between urban quality and residential structure were clear, however, today, due to rapid urbanisation, cities have lost their character as they are not able to adapt to the changes making it difficult for them to cater for their everyday lives (Hosseini et al., 2017). The ability of cities to cater to daily life is caused by urban blight that causes societal challenges (2017, 113). At the global, national, provincial, and local scales, governments have been experiencing problems maintaining and improving urban centres. This led to the growth in partnership arrangements in which communities and public and private sectors work jointly in tackling these challenges. One of the primary means of preventing urban decay and promoting revitalization in many South African cities was the establishment of City Improvement Districts (CIDs).

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According to Himann & Oranje (2008), CIDs originated in Canada and the USA in the mid-1960s after retailers and property owners decided to take on the responsibility of paying for the development of the city's public spaces. They come in different terms. Other areas refer to them as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), Community Improvement Districts, Special Improvement Districts (SIDs), etc., and the reasons behind their establishment in most cases include fighting crime, grime, and decay in the specified areas (2008:15). The first SRA in South Africa was established in Cape Town in 2000. The city of Cape Town is a fast-growing metropolitan city due to both natural and in-migration as a result leaders in planning have realized the need to manage its developmental trials in a way that will benefit the city in terms of growth and functions. With this comes a need for infrastructure development to accommodate the growing population and also grow the city economy to decrease

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unemployment. According to Massey (2020), Infrastructure development might be useful if it is thought of as what makes the city, and what makes infrastructure different from other material forms of the city is its role in connecting the city. Infrastructures are things and also the connection between those things. These things can only be infrastructure when connected and function within the broader network (Massey, 2020 & Larkin, 2013). Because Cape Town's spatial planning is rooted in apartheid policies, it encourages segregation and exclusion widening the gap between population groups. Such is noticeable in the design of the city in which medium to higher-income residential developments are on the periphery of the city (City of Cape Town, 2012:18 &20). The City Spatial Development Framework (CSDF) addresses these challenges through its 20-year vision and plan for the desired urban form (City of Cape Town, 2012:8).

2.4.1 Impacts of the City Improvement Districts

CIDs provide additional services in a specified geographical area. The services offered include additional security, cleaning services, and fighting or decreasing crime and grime. These additional services also serve as bait to attract investors to the city. Having people investing in the area assists in developing the economy. For others, this is a good thing as it brings life back to the area. However, others believe that places with CIDs lack a balance between economic generation and societal consideration. Miraftab (2007) associates CIDs in South Africa with apartheid spatial planning. Comparing processes that occurred during colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa, Miraftab argues that there are no differences. Urban renewal is only a new term introduced to the same processes of the colonial and apartheid eras. During the colonial period, native people were displaced to cater to the needs of colonialists, and the same happened during apartheid under the Group Areas Act. Years later, since the country regained freedom, history seems to be repeating itself. There are new bylaws regulating the use and management of public spaces in the cities. Such bylaws, in some instances, result in the displacement of the urban poor population to cater to urban renewal. In most cases, it is the urban poor who suffer as they are the ones who are removed from their land because the urban rich have an interest in the land they occupy. The difference between the three times is that in the new South Africa population is segregated based on class rather than race, as was the case during the colonial and apartheid SA.

Heimann & Orange (2008) agree with this statement by saying that the primary purpose of City Improvement Districts remains as to maintain and enhance the social and physical

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environments of specified areas in cities by providing 'top-up' services in addition to those offered by local authority/government. This process promotes social inequalities between the citizens of the city, and urban citizens in general. Rink & Gamedze's (2016) findings on their empirical evidence demonstrate that CIDs promote social and spatial inequalities through their power to control human mobility based on one's ability to transfer capital—thus ensuring that such enclaves are sites of privilege and inequality. In doing so, CIDs emerge as significant players shaping the South African urban landscape. They threaten to perpetuate apartheid spatial injustice and fractured senses of belonging and citizenship. CIDs promote social inequality and exclusions within the city. According to Watson (2013), these exclusions commence in the planning stage where the public, in most cases the urban poor is excluded in the decision-making processes of these programmes. To support this argument, Watson states that "…the new urban visions and development plans for the cities appear to disregard the fact that the bulk of the population, specifically in sub-Saharan African cities, the population is extremely poor with settlements that are on well-located urban land that happens to be attractive to property developers (2007:216). As a result, the urban poor are disposed of their land and displaced to open ways for the development of high-cost properties that original landowners cannot afford. This process keeps widening the gap between the rich and the poor in the cities. This gap can be seen through inequalities and exclusions in the cities. Such inequality and exclusions also affect the use of public space, land use management, and one's rights to the city.

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2.5 Right to the city

According to Harvey (2008), we are living in times when the basis of human rights has moved centre stage both politically and ethically. The times when a lot of political energy is put into promoting, protecting, and articulating their significance in the construction of a better world. The right to the city is a new paradigm that provides an alternative framework to re-think cities and human settlements based on principles of social justice, equity, democracy, and sustainability (Harvey, 2008). The "right to the city" concept was introduced in 1968 by Henri Lefebvre and has been used and interpreted in many ways. In most cases, the term is utilised in association with human rights and human access to urban resources. In defining "right to the city" Lefebvre (1968) explains the term as the demand for a transformed and renewed access to urban life. While this is seen today as a very romantic notion, using Lefebvre, one can understand the 'right to the city as the right to information, the right to use multiple services, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in urban

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areas as well as the right to the use of the centre (Lefebvre, 1991:34). However, according to Harvey (2012), the concept of the right to the city is far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies but a right to change and reinvent the city. It is a collective rather than an individual right since reinventing the city depends upon the exercise of collective power over the process of urbanisation. He furthers his argument by saying that the freedom to make and remake our cities is one of the most vital yet neglected human rights. Claiming the right to the city is to claim some kind of shaping power over the process of urbanisation over how the cities are made and remade (Harvey, 2012: 4 & 5). In his 2008 paper, Harvey explains that the right to the city goes beyond the basic human rights and access to resources. It is more than one's freedom to access urban resources, but a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is a freedom to make and remake cities as well as renewed access to urban life that allows and encourages city residents to shape the city as per their needs (Harvey, 2008: 2). Having the right to the city means that all inhabitants have a right to use, occupy produce, govern as well as enjoy inclusive, safe, and sustainable cities (UCGL, 2019). However, according to Huchzermeyer (2013), having rights to the city are being ignored in African cities. South Africa is a country with a rich history of colonization and apartheid, yet nothing has changed in South Africa since the colonialization and apartheid regime.

2.5.1 Urban revitalization: Impacts on 'right to the city'

Public space is considered an essential element to the sustainability of the city for political, social, economic, health, and biodiversity reasons (Banerjee, 2001). However, there are views that public spaces are shrinking rather than expanding because of privatization, giving rise to the presentation of city forms as not so open to the diversity of the urbanites. Highways, park developments, surveillance, shopping malls, and gated communities are practical examples of the continuing enclosure of the urban world (Low and Smith, 2006). Nemeth (2012) furthers this argument by saying that once a public space is privatized or securitized, it ceases to exist as a truly public forum, characterized by (relatively) open access, unmediated deliberation, and shared participation. Nemeth (2009) states that since some of our most vibrant public spaces are privately owned malls and corporate plazas, profit-minded owners and managers can now limit access and behaviour in these spaces to produce a desirable public composed of well-heeled consumers, and the absence of, say, loitering teenagers. There are noticeable externalities because of urban space management. Externality refers to an economic term used to refer to the effects or impact of something on the other. Externalities can be negative or positive. Anderson (2012) refers to an externality as "an effect that the actions of one economic

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agent have on another agent in the absence of any payment or compensation. Some of these effects include one's right to the city.

2.6 Urban public spaces: Transformation, inclusions, and exclusions

Urban public space makes the city, and Bodnar (2015) refers to public spaces as a clear expression of the urban predicament where the tension between physical proximity and moral remoteness of city dwellers is divulged. They are to be open to all, and some are accessible free of charge. UN-HABITAT (2015) refers to them as areas of social interaction, economic exchange, and cultural expression where safety and security are vital dimensions and need recognition when such spaces are designed (2015:5). According to Rouge (2007), most democratic countries public spaces are used by most as a way of expressing themselves politically, and, it is in such spaces where people can live their lives out within the law. Public spaces are perceived to be free, open, and accessible to everyone with few sets of rules attached to them like the prohibited use of alcohol, no dogs allowed, and the monitoring of noise levels. Some public spaces are bombarded with surveillance cameras to ensure safety, and this indicates the level of control within such spaces (2007 :). Mela (2014) argues that in most urban contexts, we are witnessing the intensification of strategies that imply the fragmentation of the public space as the increase of zoning practices that do not correspond to the public plan but more to the demands of the market urban sprawl and the commercialization of places. Some cities' urban plans force people to use cars or other means of transportation to access public spaces, and others are designed to segregate people from other social classes by minimizing the risk of being confronted by strangers. These strategies present two different, seemingly opposing versions that are, in reality, complementary: one that aims at seducing the various types of consumers and tries to domesticate urban places, and one that is expressed through explicit control and exclusion. Bodnar (2015) argues that inclusions and exclusions in public spaces are the results of the commercialization and privatization of public space, and both commercialization and privatization were identified as the two main trends in the transformation of public space causing its decline. He furthers his argument by saying that it is easy to forget that public space thrives on diversity, and the lack thereof can kill it. Because of these two factors, streets and sidewalks are the only remaining sites of public expression and 'unscripted political activity, and their main function is to make poverty and inequality visible (Bodnar, 2015:2095).

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2.6.1 Inclusions and exclusion in urban public space: Impacts of urban renewal programmes

In the last 20 years, public spaces have been receiving attention from urban planners as a vital ingredient for urban sustainability because of the role they play in the creation of inclusive communities, and formation of public culture, and the enrichment of cultural diversity. Such spaces are not only places where activities take place but are also places of movement for people. Until the mid-20th century, streets, plazas, and squares were an essential element of movement that resulted in the major cultural, social, economic, and political life of the city. However, the introduction of automobile society has changed the meaning of public spaces. To manage the demands there was a need to change the form of the city to satisfy the needs of the motorized population. This shift resulted in streets becoming spaces for cars. Urban spaces turned into parking spaces rather than spaces of social interaction, diversity, and exchange (Ravazzoli et al., 2017). Because public space is considered a vital element in urban renewal, marketing of the city, place, and identity-making, social inclusion, it has an obligation of accommodating a wide range of different expectations of the users (Carmona et al., 2008).

2.6.2 South African public spaces

South Africa has a history of segregation, and during the apartheid era, South Africans were segregated according to their race. Certain races were not allowed in urban spaces. There were white and non-white zones, enforced by the apartheid policies like the Group Areas Act of 1950. Under this Act, the urban population was divided according to their race. In the process of this discrimination, a large number of natives were dispossessed of their lands for different reasons. Until today, twenty-seven years after the country has regained its freedom, there are still noticeable traces of the legacies of apartheid and apartheid policies that have an impact on one's right to the city. In support of this argument, Huchzermeyer (2013) argues that in South Africa and many other former colonial countries, the struggle for a right to the city formed an integral part of the fight against colonialism and apartheid. However, the political transitions that followed did not resolve these struggles as exclusionary legislation was finally repealed as the market forces and the relentless drive to attract global investors have been barring the poor people from living and making a livelihood in the city, as well as from having any meaningful involvement in shaping it. She furthers her argument by saying that today just like in the colonial and apartheid times, informal or shack settlements remain a form of defiance in the face of that exclusion.

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Lemanski (2014) states that post-apartheid spatial governmentality is playing an integral part in affecting one's right to the city in South Africa. The majority of the urban poor cannot afford to purchase property in some areas because of the high socio-economic class and gentrification processes that have resulted in the physical and economic displacement of lower-income groups as higher-income owners drive up property prices to such an extent that not only are original occupiers displaced but low-income potential owners are ultimately excluded" (Lemanski, 2014:2946). The post-apartheid governmentality in South Africa favours the rich over the poor, resulting in inequality and class segregation in the urban population. The post-apartheid application of the land use management system has not fundamentally overturned apartheid principles or practices. For this reason, in many of the new areas of low-income development in Cape Town, including the flagship project of the integrated human settlement programme, the N2 Gateway, apartheid-style land development has continued to be applied even 15 years after democracy, and, they call this dual system of urban management as arguable apartheid in everything but the name" (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010).

2.6.3 Management of urban public space

As mentioned above, public spaces are essential ingredients of a successful city. They are vital in building a sense of community, identity, and culture, and they facilitate social capital, economic development, and community renewal. Anderson (2016) argues that the 'correct' use of public space as a public good results in a well-maintained, healthy urban environment, and safe making the city attractive to live and work in. However, there is a need to support local and national governments in developing legislation and policies that support the government in adopting a holistic approach to planning, development, creation, protection, and management of public spaces. For this to be successful, cities need to invest in public space and the spirit of the new agenda. The recent urban policy focus on issues of sustainability, social exclusion, economic competitiveness, place image, culture, gender, and ethnicity, reveals an increasing awareness of the multidimensional nature of the challenges facing cities, their managers, and inhabitants (Carmona et al., 2008).

2.6.4 The significance of public space management

All public spaces, no matter how inclusive, democratic, and open they are, still require some form of management to fulfil their roles effectively. According to Carmona et al. (2008), the procedure and practices that attempt to ensure that public space fulfil all its roles whilst managing the interactions between its multiple functions in a way acceptable to its user is

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referred to as public space management. They further their argument by saying that the idea of public space and public space management is associated with the public sector, more specifically with local government. However, the demographic and cultural changes have placed new diversified and often conflicting demands on public spaces with corresponding new pressures on management systems.

2.6.5 Models in space management

According to Carmona et al. (2008), there are three models in space management. The first model represents a modified version of the current framework of public provision of public space services. In this model, public agencies serve as the coordinators, regulators, maintainers, and funders. This means that under this role, public agencies are fully responsible for all the tasks in public space management. Under the second model, private sector organizations are the ones that are responsible for partial or complete delegation of those roles through contractual agreements and reciprocal agreements. These arrangements are over a specifically agreed time frame. The third model is similar to the second, but under this model, roles are devolved to voluntary and community sector organizations. This process reduces the distance between the user and the provider of services (Carmona et al., 2008:71).

2.6.6 The importance of public space management

In conclusion, as much as public spaces are to be considered open to all, areas governing and rules within the public space create social exclusions and inequality within the urban population. The creation of malls and other public spaces in the name of urban revitalization has pushed the urban poor off their land in the name of urban renewal, resulting in the segregation of the urban population, in which most of the urban poor end up in informal settlements and the rich in gated communities. There are enclaves in the urban areas. Kotzen (2015) argues that poor people must have equal rights in the city. She advises that this is possible only by building institutional and planning systems that conceive urban citizenship beyond democratic rights. To make this possible there is a need for a universal right-based agenda that will serve as the basis from which the development role of the state should be defined by including socio-economic rights, such as the right to basic services, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to safe public spaces and the right to participation". Because of the high unemployment rate in African cities, a massive number of the urban population is working in the informal sector. Meaning that this population is not registered as employed. This number includes people working on farms, shops, and some factories and

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earning salaries or wages that they are spending on necessities for livelihood. Because they are in the informal sector, this population is not recognized as working. Cities must start taking the informal sector seriously and make peace with the fact that African Cities are African cities and will always be different from Western cities. People on the ground must be involved in the city planning strategies as they make the city. Pieterse (2010) quotes Robinson by saying that in the mainstream of urban development, the policy frameworks are generally inappropriate as they fail to come to terms with the specificity of particular cities and places. African cities will only work if those in power stop comparing or likening them to Western cities. Development and change are good only if everyone, especially those affected the most by the change is involved in the planning process. It is a known fact that when such big projects are to be implemented there are processes to follow, and the public is given a chance to voice their views through the public participation process. The question is who is participating in these processes? What is their role in changing the experience of urban life?

2.7. Conclusion

Rapid urbanisation has been an issue in most developing countries, and this has been the same for South Africa. The increase in urbanisation has resulted in rapid population growth in major metropolitan cities, and secondary cities in the country, causing an increase in urban residence. This increase in urban residents affects local municipalities, as they are not able to provide clean, safe, and attractive urban environments to the residents anymore. This increase in population resulted in the decline in South African cities, increasing the unemployment rate as the majority of commercial activities left the cities for the suburbs in the 70s. Retail relocated to the cities in the '80s, and the '90s, major companies also left, leaving the cities concentrated with a high crime rate, poor infrastructure, and an increase in a number of vagrancy (Goldberg, Jansen Van Rensburg & Van Staden 2019: 2). The physical structure, economic efficiency, social equity, and environmental sustainability of cities were also affected (Heimann & Oranje 2008, & Liebenberg, 2002). Since the '90s, City Improvement Districts were established to rescue the cities. This chapter presents different interpretations of urban renewal interventions in South Africa. It includes the strategies and approaches to urban renewal. The concentration is more on the central as well as business nodes. The reason for this is that urban centres offer strong transportation hubs, retail, cultural, and limited residential components. However, the planning law in South Africa had a great influence on creating the Apartheid City as a result there have been several redevelopment challenges in the country post-1994 (Liebenberg, 2002).

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A number of interventions were introduced and implemented in Cape Town, including Bellville. One type of intervention in Bellville was the introduction of VRCID and other private-public organization that works towards the redevelopment of the area. The impacts of these projects varied per different people. One impact of the programme, indicated by the previous studies, is the exclusion and segregation of the city's population. The following chapter presents the research methodology of the study. The focus is on the research methods and approaches used to conduct the study.

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3 CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted in investigating the impacts of urban renewal programmes on the formation of and practices in public places in the Bellville CBD. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, a qualitative research approach was utilised, employing qualitative research methods. The study explored the relationship between urban renewal and public space formation and practices. The purpose of the qualitative research approach, motivation for use of the research tools, and limitations are included below.

3.2 Research Approach

According to Creswell (2014), a research approach depends on the researcher's expectations about the subject investigated. In his 2003 paper, he mentions three ways to approach research. These are quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods design. In the mixed methods design qualitative and quantitative research methods can be used in combination. As a response to the study objectives, this study followed a qualitative research approach by developing concepts that helped in understanding the social phenomena of natural settings of the research study rather than experimenting by emphasizing the meanings, experiences, and views of respondents (Pope & Mays, 1995). Qualitative research differs from quantitative research by its aim, which relates to understanding aspects of social life, and its methods that generate words and expressions, rather than numbers for analysis. Qualitative research involves explaining a phenomenon through words by describing a real-world act or process. This approach can also serve as a mechanism to explain behaviours, actions, feelings, perceptions, and interactions among people. Qualitative research assumes that people observed have unique views of their personal experiences or the surrounding environment and is used to help us understand lifestyles and cultural values, actions, and symbols (Pope & Mays, 1995:42-45).

The aim of this study is to explore the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space. Adopting a qualitative research approach was appropriate as it is the best approach for collecting direct views and opinions on the subject investigated. This research answers the empirical research question "What are the impacts of urban renewals in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District? Based on the research question, sub-questions were formulated using

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the three objectives of the study. Because the sample size of the research is small, other qualitative research methods like archival research methods and content analysis were utilised for data collection. The below section explains briefly the characteristics of the qualitative research approach and methods used for the study.

3.3 Understanding qualitative research, disadvantages, reliability and validity

This study on Bellville public spaces takes a qualitative approach because of the social nature of the topic investigated. The subject matter is the impact of urban renewal interventions on the formation of and practices in public spaces. According to Mayrin (2000), qualitative research focuses on developing meanings and understanding the social environments and interpretations that people bring into the experience of that specific environment. Unlike the quantitative research approach, qualitative research focuses on the individual rather than the general (Mayrin, 2000), and generalizing the population is not the goal of qualitative research. It aims to understand and explore certain contexts (Bryman, Becker, & Sempik, 2008).

Due to the nature of this research paper, qualitative methodology seemed appropriate as it enabled the researcher to interpret and give meaning to connect with the subjects under study. However, achieving reliability in a qualitative research study is very difficult. According to (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998), achieving reliability is more difficult when attempting to produce a valid interpretation of the real world. Lampard and Pole (2002) argue that in qualitative interviews, reliability is often a challenge as the data received reflects the circumstance under which the interview was conducted. A proposal by Silverman to measure the reliability of the qualitative study is for the researcher to display the research process and be transparent on his/her choice of theory, and this will allow the readers of the researched paper to access the observation made rather than just using the generalization (Silverman, 2006). This research study has followed this process by conducting in-depth interviews, recording the interviews, transcribing them, and using some interview quotes in this paper. The interview platform gave the researcher a platform to gain insight and the ability to test the inconsistencies that arose during discussions. Taking notes and audio recording also helped capture the correct views of the participants as expressed.

Just as reliability, validity in qualitative research is as complicated. The question of validity is that of whether a study accurately measured what it intended to measure (Silverman 2006).

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Bryman (2008) advises that the validity of a qualitative research study is significant and that the observations made fit the theories generated out of them.

3.4 Research Steps- Study Site Selection

The researcher was exposed to the area for more than six months before the study. However, the researcher's interest in the subject matter developed in 2015 while studying for a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Degree. The researcher's paper of 2015 was on the strategies utilised by people to access land for residential accommodation in one of the informal settlements in Cape Town. The study findings resulted in the researcher wanting to investigate issues associated with land use policies and public space management in a different scene of informal settlement. The honours module offered at the University of the Western Cape, "Urban Change" fuelled the excitement and curiosity of wanting to know more about these urban challenges, and this is how the researcher ended up investigating urban renewals in Bellville. Urban renewal and mushrooming of informal settlements in the cities have a link to rapid urbanisation.

It is also significant to mention that in the same year (2015), the researcher was offered a research student assistant job by the Greater Tygerberg Partnership, a non-profit organization based in Bellville. It was through this student employment that the researcher was introduced to the Chief Operations Officer of the VRCID, making the researcher interested to know more about Bellville public spaces, its management, and the impacts of renewals in and on public spaces. The researcher started to attend the stakeholders' meeting on the development of Bellville that would sit every first Tuesday of the month at the GTP offices. Being part of the meetings allowed the researcher access to different representatives of Bellville as the GTP student rather than the researcher. Topics like crime, homelessness, grime, and vagrancy were discussed in these meetings. Because of these discussions, the researcher's interest grew and wanted to know more about what was happening in Bellville.

3.5 Data Sample Explanation

According to Daniel (2012), sampling is "the selection of a certain number of people to include in a study. Two types of sampling are probability and non-probability sampling where probability sampling gives every element in the target population a known and nonzero chance of being selected, while non-probability sampling does not" (2012: 7 & 8). This research study is of probability sampling, meaning that every individual in each group had a chance to be selected as a participant in the study. The sample size is eight participants, with four female

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and four male respondents. The purposive sampling approach and snowball sampling were utilised to select the study participants. Because this is a qualitative study with a small sample, purposive sampling seemed appropriate. The aim was to increase the depth of understanding of the subject matter. According to the researcher, the selected participants were most likely to share rich and useful information to answer the research question (Campbell, et al., 2020).

3.6 Recruitment of participants

Participants were selected through purposive sampling research methods, using a snowball approach starting with businesses, private and public institutions, residents of Bellville, and representatives from the strollers and street people in the study area. The research study respondents are categorized as follows: Business workers or owners, Private and public institution representatives, residents of Bellville, and homeless people. Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao's (2011) paper says that in purposive sampling, the researcher deliberately seeks out participants with particular characteristics based on the needs of developing analysis and emerging theory. At the beginning of the study, the researcher does not know enough about the subject matter, making it difficult to predetermine the sample. It is only midway through data analysis that the researcher realizes a need to interview participants who were not envisioned as part of the study at the beginning of the project. The same thing happened in this study. The original study proposal called for six participants from businesses and local institutions. During the analysis, the researcher realized that there was a group that was not represented that also plays a vital role in the public space, which is the homeless and strollers.

3.6.1 Accessing Public and Private Institutions

The participants for this group were identified during the stakeholders' meeting at GTP using a purposive sampling approach. Calls had to be made by the researcher as a master's student at the University of the Western Cape and not as a research or student assistant at GTP. Out of the first 18 calls, four appointments were secured. Out of the four appointments, two appointments were cancelled, and only one person agreed to participate at the first attempt of the call. The researcher ended up getting two respondents from this group, with one of the participants working for a government institution and one working for an NGO in Bellville.

3.6.2 Accessing strollers, residents, and business people

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Identifying participants from these cohorts was not easy. None of them were part of the monthly meetings. Only representatives from night shelters, social workers, and other organizations working with street people were part of the meetings on behalf of the street people and strollers. The trust had to be built before permission was granted to do interviews. The first two to three visits no interviews were granted until a bit of trust was built with the respondents. It was after the third and fourth visits that some of the business representatives granted the first appointment.

The same thing happened with the strollers. Strollers in this research paper refer to people living on the street for different reasons. In November 2018, the City of Cape Town recorded approximately 4000 people living on the street while 2000 were at the shelter. It was vital for the researcher to include this group as they also play a part and spend most of their time in public spaces (COCT, 2022). Getting this group to participate was not easy until the researcher visited the homeless camp situated under the Tienie Meyer Bridge. Even after managing the access to the camp, homeless people mistook the researcher for an investigating officer from the law and were not ready to participate at first. A few visits had to be made to the night shelter where the camp is situated close by for the participants to build trust in the researcher. It is vital to mention that this camp was identified during the stakeholders' meeting at the GTP, as was always mentioned in meetings for different reasons. There is more than one homeless camp in Bellville, but the camp under the bridge is the biggest. Choosing this camp allowed access to a large group of individuals living on the site. Even though this camp was big, it was challenging to access it as a female, because of the criminals and activities reported to be taking place in this area. After a few visits to the shelter, some homeless started noticing the researcher and would chat with them until the day one of the ladies decided to assist by participating in the study. From this group, two people were unemployed staying in the camp, two were shop owners/ manager in Bellville while the other two were not working in the area but were there for shopping

3.7 Data Collection

Research is an organized, systematic, database or process undertaken by people (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill-Essex, 2003:3 & Cavana, Delahaye, & Sekaran, 2001:5) as a means of acquiring knowledge or an attempt to get to know things that go beyond common sense (Pole & Lampard, 2002). To receive this required information, instruments or tools had to be used. Creswell (2003) says that qualitative research engages a system of investigation using

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narrative, phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory studies, or case studies to construct reality or come up with a theory (2003:18). This research study is an empirical nature, and ethnographic- participant observation design was used, in response to the objectives of the study. It took a qualitative research approach to understand the experiences and perceptions of the subject matter. Data collection from real-life issues is best done using open-ended questions to give the respondents the liberty to express themselves without restriction and preconceptions. This research study utilised semi-structured interviews as a means of the data collection process to ensure access to first-hand information based on the understanding, views, and perspectives of study participants. To capture the interviews, a sound recorder was used after getting permission from the study participants to record. The recordings enabled the researcher to reflect on the recorded interviews and retrieve any missing information during the interview process.

The study used primary and secondary data collection sources to collect the information. The primary data were collected using in-depth interviews combined with participant observation in the area and document analysis. The open-ended questions were developed and asked as the response to the research's main question. The study is based on the sample size of eight respondents who participated in responding to the interview questions. The research study was conducted in a setting where the subject matter investigated was taking place, allowing the researcher to get more information on the issue investigated. The interviews were administered in the study area (Bellville) and were conversational, allowing participants to express their thoughts fully and even "ramble" (Ballard, 2002). The unstructured and semi-structured interviews focused on the respondents' opinions and experiences to get rich in-depth data (Bryman, 2008). It was also through interviews that the researcher had the flexibility to follow the study participant's responses with additional questions to get in-depth clarity and knowledge of the researched matter. This research study used interviews, documents, and observations to collect data.

Harvey (2012) defines in-depth interviews as interviews in which the researcher tries to go deep into some aspect of the participant's feelings, motives, attitudes, life history, etc. The respondents talk deeply about a particular issue and their experience with it. In-depth interviews are conversational and they allow participants to express their thoughts fully and even to “ramble” and sometimes used to develop sensitizing concepts and get the respondent’s everyday categorization (Ballard, 2002, & Harvey, 2012:18). As per Johnson (2011), in-depth

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interview seeks deep information and understanding of the subject matter, and these kinds of interviews begin slowly, with small talk in which the researcher gets to explain the purposes of the research. They begin with simple planned questions (often referred to as icebreakers) that are intended to "get the ball rolling". It is significant for the researcher not to move quickly into the key interview questions as this might destroy the trust between the interviewer and the interviewee (2011, p. 5 & 8).

Interviews seemed to be one of the suitable methods to conduct this study as they allow open speaking and asking of questions to a small sample and deal directly with the individual experiences based on the research objectives. The qualitative interviews are flexible. Unstructured and semi-structured interviews focus on the respondent's opinion and experience to get rich in-depth data (Bryman 2008) and have the characteristics of conversations while dealing with the individual case (Pole and Lampard 2002). Interviews provided a suitable method of data collection for this study as they first allowed for a relaxed atmosphere as they took place at the respondent's place of comfort. The interview guide made it possible for the researcher to manage the process of collecting data. The interview process was not rigidly structured, but rather allowed for open conversation where respondents expressed their opinions freely and fully. This method assisted the researcher as did not have to probe some responses as they were addressed already by participants.

3.7.1 Interview Questions

The study used open-ended questions to gather information from the eight participants. Open-ended questions are said to be questions that cannot be answered by yes or no but rather allow the respondents to dwell on the subject matter. This process allowed the researcher to see things from the participant's perspectives. Open-ended questions do not provide respondents with a predetermined set of answers but allow respondents to provide their views on the subject matter. Open-ended responses allow the respondents to give their opinions, giving the data more diversity than answers to closed questions. Another advantage of an open-ended question is that the language used is easily understandable by the respondents and this allows the participant to share their views and opinions rather than representing forced views. The set of questions asked were all related to the three objectives of the study. The first eight questions were associated with the first two objectives of the study, which were about the transformation due to urban renewal and public space. The last questions were about the role of public and private institutions in urban renewal (see Appendix 4 below as an example).

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Using unstructured interviews for the study was vital as the researcher believes that structured interviews would have limited the information shared with the researcher during the interview process. Just like other data collection methods, interviews have their limitations too. (Pole and Lampard, 2002) argue that because interviews are socially constructed they depend on the particular situation of that interview and are artificial therefore they cannot be expected to *"uncover the truth or the essence of individual belief, experience or opinion"* (Pole and Lampard 2002:127). Because of the small sample size, other qualitative data collection tools were used in conjunction with the interviews, and two are observations and document analysis.

3.7.2 Non-participant observations

The researcher spent about six months in the area, five days a week before undertaking the study. The observations and experiences in the area have motivated the researcher to take this study to understand people's views on the subject at hand. Even though some studies of this nature would have used a transect walk as a data tool collection, this study has used non-participant observation to collect data. Using observations as a data collection tool means being aware of the environment and always being on the lookout for what is happening, as sometimes observation can assist with picking up some of the information missed during and after the interview process. The observations were on people, streets, public parks, and parking lots. This assisted in getting a better understanding of the environment and to observe social activities within these spaces. Through non-participant observations, the researcher aimed to get a better idea and views of the meaning of these public spaces to different users. The study sample size is small, and other means of data collection had to be adopted to avoid incorrect interpretation of the results (Hackshaw, 2008). There is a possibility that the information received during data collection may not be representative of the total Bellville population. However, other means of data collection were used and are explained below. Using different sources or tools in data collection process allowed the researcher to compare and contrast information received from interview with that was collected using other ways of data collection.

3.7.3 Documents analysis

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Document analysis was used to collect data for this research paper. Bowen (2009) refers to document analysis as a systematic process of reviewing or evaluating documents, whether they are printed or internet-based material. Just like most of the other qualitative research methods, data collected through document analysis is to be analysed and interpreted to elicit meanings, gain understanding, and develop knowledge (2009:27). However, according to Karppinen & Moe (2012), the borders between document analysis and literature review are rather blurred, and, the difference between the two has to do with the researcher as many actors are influencing the policy discourse (2012:6). There was a need to get information on the background of urban renewal, City Improvement Districts as well as public spaces in general. Because of this reason, different documents such as organizations' annual reports from the GTP and VRCID, Integrated Development Plan, Spatial Development Framework, policy documents, and government gazettes on public spaces, and municipal documents such as the minutes of council meetings are among the documents used to collect information as primary data sources. These documents were used to expand the study findings, as only eight people participated in the study.

3.8 Fieldwork

The fieldwork for the study began in October 2017. Because this was an ethnographic study, the process of interviews took about a year to complete. Data were collected in the form of in-depth interviews and participant observation. All the interviews happened in the respondent's place of comfort, like the place of work for business representatives as well as private and public sector, at the homeless camp for homeless people, and in the homes of residents as well as the street for the Bellville residents. For the first three months of research, the researcher visited the study frequently, about three days a week. Toward the end of the following year, the visiting days were four days a month and mostly weekends. In 2019, the research days dropped again to two Saturdays per month and this continued until 2020. In 2021-2022, only observations and document analysis were taking place until the finalization of data collection.

3.8.1 Fieldwork Challenges

Not all interviews were voice recorded during data collection. Some interview answers were written in a book by hand, while others were recorded using the phone. The reason for the different types of recording was the perception that Bellville CBD has a high rate of phone and

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bag snatching. This influenced a researcher's decision on what to take to what site for recording. The writing down answers made the interview process longer than recording them through the phone. The researcher visited the participants and the site a few times before the first interview was granted. This number of visitations helped the researcher to build trust and relationships with the participants. Some participants needed more time and visits than others before they could participate, which affected the researcher financially. One study respondent could not understand English, and the interview had to be in IsiXhosa. This also prolonged the process as the interview questions had to be translated into Xhosa to allow a more relaxed atmosphere and better understanding between the researcher and the respondent. At times some participants did not understand some terms, and further explanation was required.

3.8.2 Lessons learned during fieldwork

Keeping an open mind when going to the field is vital as it might happen that what you proposed might not work as you perceived. Because of unforeseen challenges and circumstances before the research started, the researcher might decide to change the research approach. It is important to note and record such changes in the research paper. In the proposal of this research paper, about six respondents were supposed to participate in the research accompanied by participatory and mind mapping. However, the responses from respondents during the interviews resulted in the cancelling of mind maps. The cancellation of mind mapping was to avoid repetition, as the researcher noted that the findings on mind mapping were the same as the information received from the interviews. To make up for the cancellation, the researcher added two respondents to participate, as this group was not included in the proposal. Because the sample size is too small, the study had to be ethnographic to get a deeper insight into the subject matter from the identified respondents. The scholarly articles, newspapers, and annual reports were secondary data sources.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are moral principles that aim at safeguarding participants during the research. This study received ethical clearance [Ethics Reference Number: HS/17/6/11] from the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at the University of the Western Cape. With this approval, the researcher is bound to uphold a set of ethical standards to protect respondents' interests, rights, and the information they provide (Creswell, 2009:198). A researcher has to inform the participants of their rights and keep them informed at all times of what is expected of them. The study participants were informed that participation is voluntary.

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They are allowed to withdraw whenever they feel like it. The researcher framed the questions that were asked in a way that was not offensive to respondents. The purpose of the research was explained to the participants, including the nature of the research for clear understanding, and voluntary participation, as this was done through signing a consent form. The forms also stated that respondents could be audio recorded with their consent. Of the eight respondents, two were not audio recorded, as they were uncomfortable with audio recording. Notes were written in a book while sitting next to the respondent for transparency and to allow the respondent to see that what was on record was what they were saying. Some respondents had no problem with the use of their real names, and some declined the use of their names. The researcher decided to categorize participants as Respondent One up to Respondent Eight. All interviews were conducted face to face with only two declining audio recordings. Respondents were also guaranteed anonymity. None of the respondents participated by force; they signed consent forms before the interviews.

3.9.1 Informed Consent

The researcher explained the nature of the research to the participants that participation was voluntary, and if they agreed with the interview, they had to sign a consent form. Consent had to be given to be voice or audio recorded, and their names would be pseudonyms. As mentioned in the section above, two respondents did not approve of audio voice recording, and detailed notes had to be recorded in a book. While conducting the research, the researcher got the consent form signed by the respondents.

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3.9.2 Anonymity

The researcher guaranteed the participants' anonymity and informed the participants. All respondents wanted to be anonymous. The researcher used pseudonym names in the research. Participants are addressed as Respondent One to Respondent Eight. The assurance of anonymity also gave a platform for the strollers to participate even though they were sceptical at the beginning, worrying that the research might be an undercover investigation by the government to get information on them.

3.9.3 Voluntarily Participation

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All participants were informed and aware that participation is voluntary. They have a right to withdraw anytime they are uncomfortable in the process. The agreement was verbal and indicated on the consent form. However, some respondents were not educated enough to be able to read the consent form but understood the verbally explained information. Respondents were informed and aware that no form of compensation would be made to participants for participating.

3.10 Limitations and challenges of the study

Because the schedules of some of the respondents were affected by their roles at work, some interviews had to be rescheduled for later days and times. The changes had implications for the researcher's finances as the researcher had to travel to the area more than anticipated. In some of the offices, especially the government offices, respondents were in a shared office space, and sometimes colleagues would step in and out during interviews. As a result, there have been delays because of the destruction caused.

Also, some of the respondents, especially the strollers were sceptical initially, but after further introduction and explanation of the research purpose and its objectives, they became interested. The reason for the hesitation was that, at first, some thought the research was one of the government's strategies to collect information on them. There was also a language barrier where some respondents did not understand English well and had to have another person interpret now and then. As a result, one of the interviews was in IsiXhosa. Another limitation is that the study is limited to the Bellville CBD, even though it may be relevant to what happened or is happening somewhere. Only eight participants were selected to participate in this research; two business people, one private institution representative, one public institution representative, two homeless people, and two shoppers/ residents of Bellville. The answers to the questions were on the participant's experiences, opinions, and knowledge about urban renewals and urban public spaces. It is also important to note that during document analysis and request, some documents such as the Mayoral Urban Renewal Programme of Bellville, contained minimal background information on the programme.

3.10.1 Contacting the study respondents

Contacting the study respondents was not much of a problem with representatives from the public and private sectors, as the researcher received their contacts from the GTP stakeholder's meeting register. Even though the attempt to contact some was unsuccessful as there was no

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response to phone calls. Some respondents gave alternate people to participate because of their busy schedules. Even though this was not a constraint, the project had to be re-explained to the next person as it was the first time they heard of the research project.

3.11 Data Coding and Analysis

After collecting the research data, it had to be analysed to make sense of them. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2008), analysing data means engaging with the information received from participants and risking one's everyday knowledge and attitude to acknowledge the liminal experience of living between familiarity and strangers. As said above, one of the interviews had to be conducted in IsiXhosa and interpreted into English. Knowing what I would encounter in the process has encouraged me to explore the data with flexibility and open-mindedness, improvisation, creativity, planning, and adherence to rules (Denzin, 2000). The study has taken a thematic content analysis to analyse the data. The thematic analysis involved the analysis of interview transcripts, data coding, and identifying themes during the transcription process. The thematic analysis method classifies the collected data in a more organized and simplified manner and is the most common form of analysis in qualitative research (Guest & Guest, 2012; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes were inductively formed from the collected data to create established and meaningful patterns that summarize the data. The analysis of data assisted the researcher with the familiarization of the collected data, theme identification, interpretation of data, and charting and mapping. The data were analysed manually.

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The data analysis started during the data collection process, where the researcher familiarized herself with the collected data. Daily, after the fieldwork, the researcher listened to the audio recordings, looked at the field notes, and transcribed more data to familiarize herself with the information. This process assisted with the identification of key concepts and themes examined against the study objectives.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter presented the research methodology adopted to complete the study. The research approach utilised to answer the research question was explorative research. In-depth semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis were used as the primary means of gathering data. Ethical considerations were observed after the fieldwork to ensure the accuracy of the research. Just like any other research, there were challenges and limitations for this research paper as well. The following chapter presents the study findings.

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4 CHAPTER FOUR: Renewal and space contestation in the VRCID

4.1.Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the study findings obtained from the qualitative data analysis of the structured interviews conducted with eight respondents in collaboration with the document analysis and non-participant observation to expand the research findings. The research methodology that the study followed is explained further in chapter three, and the reasons behind this research approach. As mentioned in Chapter One, the study aims to explore the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public spaces. Themes and sub-themes are used to structure the chapter and were generated during data analysis from the interviews, observations, and documents. The data were coded manually to allow the easy process of synthesizing and developing a conclusion that is in line with the aim of the study. Some of the themes that emerged from the data analysis include the following:

- Participant's engagement with the area
- Bellville in transition
- Understanding urban renewal in the Bellville context as per respondents
- Inclusion and exclusions in Bellville public spaces

These themes are below following the introduction of the study participants.

4.2.Introducing the study participants

Eight people participated in this research study. Of the eight respondents that participated in the study, four were females, and four were males. The age group of the participants ranged between twenty and sixty years. The high representation was the age group forty-one and fifty years with three participants. The lowest was from the group older than fifty years, represented by one participant. Of eight respondents, five were South Africans, followed by one respondent from Somalia, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The observation is that some foreign nationals were more informed about the area than some South Africans. The participant's years of exposure to Bellville was between two and twenty years. However, the observation is that being exposed to the area for longer, in this case, was not an indication of being well-informed about the area. For example, some respondents have been staying in the

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area for more than five years, but there are sections of Bellville that they know nothing about. The activity and the role of each participant determined the familiarity of one with the area.

Looking at the economic activities and contributions of the eight respondents, four participants were employed, two were self-employed and two were unemployed. The self-employed participants were the street vendors in the area, while the unemployed depended on the non-profit organizations in the area, like the shelter and "safe space". The data showed that South Africans were employed, while most foreign nationals were self-employed. None of the participants were students. The data reflects the willingness of the working class to participate in the study.

4.3 Foundation of Bellville - Participants' engagement and views

To begin the interview process, as a means of breaking the ice, after the researcher introduced herself and the study, respondents were requested to give their views and understanding of the area in general. To respond to the question, participants presented their views and ideas, including their personal experiences with the area. Most participants explained their ideas based on their engagement with the area. They drew from historical experiences of the area, while others gave their views based on their current observations and understanding of the area. Some participants went as far as explaining their future predictions and wishes for Bellville. Table 4.1 indicates responses from the participants while presenting their understanding of Bellville.

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Table 4. 1 Respondents' engagement and understanding of the area.

	Historical experiences	Current Views	Future Aspirations
Understanding Bellville	Former white, upmarket area	Afrocentric	Area safe for both business and residential purposes
	Businesses and residential spaces owned mostly by the white majority	Nature, face and culture changed	Decrease in crime
	Police Visibility	Increase and introduction of informal trading	Decrease in number of homelessness
		Security visibility	
		Underworld and confined space	

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The above table reflects different views of the respondents about the area. As mentioned above, participants gave answers based on their personal experiences of Bellville, drawing from their historical and current experiences. To some respondents, Bellville used to be an upmarket, white-dominated area. The population statistics records extracted from the census 2011 report, released by the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, support this statement by indicating that about 60% of residents in Bellville were white during this period, followed by black African, and coloured population with only 16.9% population each (SDI&GIS & CoCT, 2013:3). However, the late 2000s introduced a change in the population of Bellville due to the influx of African people from different countries of the African continent. This increase in the African population residing in the area resulted in a transition in property ownership and business landscape.

The area is one of the busiest areas in Cape Town because of what it can offer to different people. People come to Bellville to buy products at a stock price that they sell on the streets, while others come to reside in the area because of the affordable accommodation Bellville offers (Respondents One, Three, and Four). Even though this change is good for the economy of Bellville, some respondents showed concern by saying that now that the area is busy, there has been an increase in the number of illegal and criminal activities. There is also an increase in the number of homeless people in the area. Today, others refer to Bellville as the underworld. They are saying that because Bellville is the busiest, criminals are using this opportunity to carry out illegal activities (Respondent Two).

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4.4 Urban renewal Programme, a new way of urban governance

This section presents the study participants' views on the URP and its impact on the study area. It begins by giving information on the history of urban renewals globally, scaling it down into the South African context, and lastly, Bellville as the study area. For many years, urban renewal has been a vital feature of city development internationally. In many cities during the 1970s, it became evident that new urban policy interventions were needed as cities faced socioeconomic inertia and deterioration. South African inner cities and CBDs started experiencing a decline in the 70s due to the rapid suburbanisation, deindustrialization, and failure of apartheid. The decline in cities was encouraged by the withdrawal of property and retail sectors imposed by poor public transport links, weak administration, and poor planning ideologies (Massey, 2020, p. 273). Since 1994 (when the country regained freedom), South African cities have also been part of the large-scale process of renewals as a response to the years of decay and neglect that

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the cities experienced, accompanied by poor planning processes and ineffective decision-making. In February 2001, President Thabo Mbeki announced the Urban Renewal Programme with the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme. The purpose of URP was to conduct a sustainable campaign against urban poverty and under-development, bringing in resources from all three spheres of government in a coordinated manner. While launching the Urban Renewal Programme it was introduced as an intended programme of action rather than a policy framework (RSA, 2001, p.17 & 22). Since then, local municipalities have worked hard on making and placing policies and programmes to renew the South African inner cities to attract public sector investment and encourage middle-class residents to the inner city (Massey, 2020, p. 265& 273).

Looking at the City of Cape Town, the city that is considered internationally a wealthy and prosperous city, one does not have to travel far to notice that the prosperity referred to is not the reality for most communities in the city. To combat this problem, the Executive Mayor of Cape Town, Patricia de Lille, introduced the Mayoral Urban Renewal Programme (MURP) in 2012 to address inequalities between the communities (City of Cape Town, 2012). The programme was launched as a strategy to improve safety, quality of life, and socioeconomic status in ten different focus areas, including Bellville Transport Interchange and the Voortrekker Road Corridor (Uppink, 2018).

Like most of the other cities in South Africa, according to the respondents, Bellville has also undergone a decline in the 2000s. This was due to a decrease in diversity and value of business activities, industrial regression, deteriorating public spaces, and poor urban management caused by urban blight and decline. According to the Cities Network (2003), the dysfunctional urban environment and settlement forms that are associated with high infrastructure backlogs and spatial isolations between towns and townships have placed political pressure on cities to develop urban centres as a strategy for redressing issues that are related to equity, economic activities, and place-making (South African Cities Network, 2003). Due to Cape Town's historical spatial planning that continues to enforce segregation between different groups, the City Spatial Development Framework has considered this matter and outlined a 20-year vision plan for the "desired spatial form and structure for Cape Town" (City of Cape Town, 2012:8). In addressing the spatial inequality, the City of Cape Town identified the need to focus on infrastructure development in older areas including the plans to develop Bellville.

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The CTSDF is a policy used to guide the design process and formulation as a way of responding to the segregated nature of the cities that were inherited from apartheid. Two integration zones were identified by the City of Cape Town Municipality for urban renewal namely the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement, (which forms part of the study area) and the Metro South Integration zone to implement a new and approved transit-oriented development strategic framework. The focus of the Strategic and Investment Plan was to determine locations for catalytic public sector investment along the VRC to start urban regeneration of the neighbourhoods and commercial nodes along the corridor. Voortrekker Road Corridor in Bellville forms part of this study, and this paper's focus is on the VRCID and not the Metro South Integration Zone.

4.4.1 Awareness and understanding of urban renewal

As mentioned above, cities in developing and developed countries are faced with various challenges like urban decay, environmental deterioration, economic decline, and lack of infrastructure. This made urban renewal part of the urban agenda (Zheng, Shen, Wang, Hong, & Li, 2017). Urban renewal is an approach used to promote land values and the improvement of environmental degradation. It aims at improving the urban economy and improving the city's reputation (Kleinhans, 2004). In South Africa, there are three categories of renewal:

- Urban Centre management
- Informal Settlement Upgrade and
- Exclusion Areas

The Department of Provincial and Local Government (RSA, 2001) explains the above further by referring to urban centre upgrades as the inner-city areas that have experienced capital flight and decline. Informal settlement upgrades are the renewal of large informal settlements, often near the urban periphery. They define exclusion areas as areas that suffered high levels of economic, social, and political exclusion from the mainstream (2001, 23).

When the study participants asked about urban renewal, some were not familiar with the term but could mention some of the developments they observed happening in the area. However, others gave some information based on their understanding, and the table below indicates the participant's awareness of urban renewal.

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Table 4. 2 Participant's Awareness of Urban Renewal Programme

Awareness	• Only five respondents out of eight knew about renewal • They started in 2012 in the area • Has been happening in most cities in SA • Three never heard about such • Do not even know what they are • Have been noticing developments happening in the area though
How did they know about them	• In the stakeholder meetings Tygerberg area stakeholders • Others got the information through newspapers (Die Burger) • Word of mouth- posters distributed in the area • Others just saw things happening in the area and were not aware of any community consultation before renewals

The majority of participants indicated that they were aware of the urban renewal programme and the developments happening in Bellville, as this was communicated through local newspapers. Others got to know about this through word of mouth. Others indicated that received the information during the monthly stakeholder meetings, including Respondent Six who noted the following:

Yes, we know about urban renewal programmes that are happening in the area. Newspapers such as Die Burger have been writing about them. (Respondent six).

The above indicates that even though some respondents had no idea about urban renewal, some were aware of the programme. Of the few unaware of the renewal programme, they indicated that they only see the developments happening in the area and have no idea who is involved in the process and who is not. Amongst them was Respondent Four, who said that:

I know nothing about urban renewal; no one has informed me about it. However, one of the buildings that used to be a hospital is renovated. I am not sure if it is part of what you are talking about (Respondent Four).

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Even though the above participants were not familiar with the term urban renewal, they noticed the developments happening in the area. According to these respondents, they were not aware of urban renewal and were not even informed about the re-developments, but saw the changes taking place in Bellville.

4.5 Impacts of urban renewal

Many Central Business Districts of South African cities have experienced a decline due to sub-urbanisation leading to several businesses leaving the inner cities for nearby suburbs. Once the CBD declines, deterioration of the inner city follows increasing crime in the city. Watson (2014) states that urban renewal programmes in South Africa started as a strategy to rescue declining cities and combat urban blight to make South African Cities compatible with cities elsewhere. It was in October 2000 when the National cabinet approved the urban renewals in the country, and until then, different institutions drove renewals in different ways (Western Cape Govt, 2003). The emphasis was on improving joint planning and implementation governance. The focus was on the eight identified urban townships. The aim was to conduct a 10-year pilot scheme to pave the way for urban renewal to be implemented nationally after the 10-year pilot phase (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2012). For the Tygerberg area, established in 2012, the Greater Tygerberg Partnership was mandated to promote the redevelopment and upliftment of Bellville and surrounding areas to make the area an attractive commercial centre for business owners, vibrant, inclusive, and safe. Bellville had to be transformed into a modern hub for residents, students, and the general public. In the 2016/17 financial year, the "City of Cape Town allocated about R350 million for infrastructure development projects in the Voortrekker Road Corridor for revitalization to improve urban conditions and opening the area for investments. The funding of the project targeted not only to make the city attractive but also to ensure that Bellville is the second-largest business district in Cape Town" (City of Cape Town, Media Office, 2016). The Metro South-East and Voortrekker Road Corridor were nominated to receive the infrastructure and public space upgrades grant. From this amount, about R5 million was for Bellville Transport Interchange, and R2 million was for the upgrade of Elsieskraal River from Elizabeth Park to Jack Muller Park.

Even though some respondents did not understand the term urban renewal and its processes, they were aware of some of the few developments happening in the area, and most participants had something to say about these changes. Because this research paper focuses mainly on urban public spaces, the impacts on public spaces are included in this section. According to the UN-

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HABITANT (2018), public spaces define the character of the city. They take many spatial forms, including parks, streets, sidewalks, and footpaths that connect, playgrounds of recreation, marketplaces, but also edge space between buildings or roadsides, which are often important spaces for the urban poor (2018:3). Public spaces are spaces of interaction, economic exchange, and cultural expression. The essential dimensions to be considered when designing them include safety and security (UN-HABITAT, 2015). The study participants indicated some positive and negative impacts caused by the implementation of the programme in the area. Below are the impacts as per the study participants.

4.5.1 Positive impacts of renewal

When asked about urban renewal, the participants acknowledged that there are positive outcomes from the URP. The majority of responses indicated that the URP had improved safety and security in the area, contributing to the attraction of the young population to Bellville. The interventions have resulted in the cleanliness of Bellville. There are people almost every day who are sweeping and cleaning the streets. They also indicated that URP had uplifted the face of the area by revamping old buildings and destroying those that could not be fixed, converting these sites and some buildings into new uses. Public parks are revamped, and the streets are kept clean. Urban Renewal has also created a better understanding and great partnership between public and private entities in the area.

Table 4.3 Participants' perceptions of the impacts of URP – What worked in Bellville

Safety and Security	• More security guards in the area • Police visibility • Safe parking lots • Fixed streetlights • Installation of surveillance cameras
Job creation and Partnerships	• Formal employment for car guards • Different organization working in developing the area • Streets cleaned daily
Infrastructure development	• Painting of old buildings and demolition of problem buildings • Development of public parks

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	• Improvement of roads and pavements • Re-activation of heritage sites • Office developments

As indicated in Table 4.3, some of the areas improved through the urban renewal intervention on the Bellville public spaces included the installation of surveillance cameras on some of the busiest streets, upgrading of public parks, installation and fixing of streetlights, the installation of relaxation chairs relaxation and trees for shelter, converting old buildings to new use.

- **Historical landmarks and heritage sites**

During the interviews, some participants mentioned the renewal of heritage and historical sites in the area. One of the comments that drew the researcher's attention was the mention of the XII Milestone situated in Voortrekker Road. See below the quote from the participant concerning the XII Milestone.

I am not sure if you know that there is a stone and light in Voortrekker Road that forms part of Bellville history, I saw that they have painted them (Respondent one).

The below image is of the two mentioned properties. What attracted the researcher the most is that these properties are used as tourist attractions by the GTP during the food tour, even though this is the situation, these properties are still not easily noticeable by the public.

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Figure 4.1 Oil lamp & XII Milestone (by author).

The researcher captured the above image, on 16th March 2021. Situated on the corner of Voortrekker Road and Durban Road, the two properties are not only historical landmarks but are some of the national monuments in Bellville. They were declared national monuments under the National Monument Act of 1969 (Act 28 of 1669) on 22nd August 1986 by then Minister of National Education Frederick Willem de Klerk (SAHRA, 1986). Even though these properties have been at this intersection since 1843, they are not easily noticeable. Their meaning is undermined by their reality of being short. They are dominated by the buildings and other objects around them towering over the stone as well as the busiest traffic that occurs at Voortrekker Road (Abrahams, 2018:10). The researcher's interest in this particular site was drawn because the site is one of the historical landmarks that were mentioned by the participants. The 12th Mile forms part of Bellville's History. Before the city was named Bellville, it used to be called 12th Mile because of its location and the distance between Bellville and Cape Town. For the people working and walking in the area where the two are situated, it is not easy to notice or even recognize these two landmarks. The only time the two get recognition is during the Greater Tygerberg Partnership food tours happening on the first Saturday of the month. These two not-so-popular properties formed part of the GTP 2020/2021 business plan that included the activation of the functioning of some of the historical landmarks

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and upgrading them as part of urban renewal intervention. According to Taylor (2016), urban heritage is vitally important in our cities as they are the source of social cohesion, factors of diversity, and drivers of creativity, innovation, and urban regeneration (2016: 474).

On the far right of the image, one notices the entrance to Elizabeth Park through Durban Road. During the collection of this information, this entrance and all other entrances to the park were closed, and only one gate was open at that time, the entrance on AJ West Street. The reason behind locking some of the other entrances to the park at the time was influenced by various things like the COVID-19 regulations limiting the number of people allowed in an outside public space.

- **Public Parks**

According to the provincial government of Western Cape (2010), a public park is any "botanical or other gardens, playground, zoned public open space managed by the Department of City Parks in the City. A park is owned or leased by the City, including any portion thereof and any facility or apparatus therein or thereon, but excluding any public road or street; and (b) any botanical, other garden or playground which is lawfully controlled and managed in terms of an agreement by a person other than the Council (2010, 1539). According to the respondents, there are noticeable developments in some of the Bellville Public parks. The mentioned public parks included Jack Muller Park and Elizabeth Park. Before the decline, Elizabeth Park was one of the public spaces that attracted public attention to the area. Many people from different corners of Cape Town visited the park for their wedding photos (Respondent Four). According to respondent two, this is not the only thing they missed about the park but also that they used the park during their lunch times at work for relaxation and to connect with nature as the park has different types of trees, birds, and the river running through it.

The image below reflects the area where Elizabeth Park is situated. The section covered with trees is the park. On the right side of the park, one sees student accommodation which forms part of the new development in Bellville. On the left side of the street view is the Bellville library. On the far-left side of the image, the red roof is a safe space. This is where homeless people spend their days and nights and have to pay a fee for food and accommodation.

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Figure 4.2 MES safe space, Elizabeth Park and Theresa Court (Student Accommodation)

Due to the decline of Bellville in the early 2000s, the park also started deteriorating, and many people stopped using the park. Not being used, the park opened a gap for criminals to use the park for illegal activities like selling drugs, and illegal dumping and strollers and homeless people started using the park as a site for rest and sleep. However, the introduction of a renewal programme in the area saw Elizabeth Park being approved for an upgrade of R1, 5 million between 2018/19. Its redevelopment included fencing, building walls along and around the park, planting more trees, and putting benches in the park. Figure 4.6 below captures Elizabeth Park after the completion of redevelopment.

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4.2 Elizabeth Park (by author)

The researcher took the above image in 2020 after the completion of the park redevelopment. The park formed part of the City of Cape Town's project of revamping green areas with water. During this time, the Greater Tygerberg Partnership and the City of Cape Town Municipality were in conversation about who would manage the park. The image was taken outside the park to capture the fence. There are two entrance and exit areas to the park, both with security guards at the gates to ensure and offer safety and security to the park users. Regarding the fencing and security of the park, the other respondents say that it indicates a high level of control over the movement of the park users. It also indirectly shows discrimination between the users as some would be allowed in and others not for the safety of others. Inside the park, there is a bridge that crosses over the river that connects Bellville users from AJ West Street to the Library and Voortrekker Road.

- **Streets and Pavement**

Streets are among the most vital shared spaces, even though they are taken for granted and are the most contested. Streets have important historical values rather than the fact that today are only recognized for the transportation of goods and zones of parking and cars. In urban history, streets played a vital role in social, commercial, and political structures, as they were the first foundation of the city. Mackenzie (2015) believes that even though we do not recognize it, streets are still a powerful force in shaping the physical and mental landscape. They are sites of celebration and rebellion as they are named in remembrance and memory of fallen heroes. Activities such as protests, police brutality, and racial injustices emerge on the streets. Well-

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functioning streets have the opportunity to connect people in a way that no other public space can (Mackenzie, 2015). It is also important to note that different street users have various understandings and preferences about the environment of the street, making it vital to consider users' preferences to make any changes on the street. The commercial streets are among the most significant components of a city's urban heritage because of their organic growth, but because of rapid developments, nowadays a lot of them have lost their importance and have been subjected to many informal uses and lost their historic identity in the process (Mehanna & Mehanna, 2019: 1132).

According to the study participants, some of the streets in Bellville have also benefitted from renewal interventions. The mentioned streets include Kruskal Avenue and Teddington Road. Kruskal Avenue redevelopment included the widening of the pedestrian crossing, putting on additional lights, installation of new benches, installation of surveillance cameras, and planting trees. The Teddington Road upgrade was from Vrede Street to Voortrekker Road and from Voortrekker to De Lange Road. The works included removing of paving area to create a single surface and adding benches and additional lighting. The construction of these streets began in January 2019 and was completed in February 2020. This was the first phase of the project, and the second phase is to commence in 2022 (City of Cape Town, 2020). Below is an image of Kruskal Avenue after the completion of the redevelopment.

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Figure 4. 4 Kruskal Avenue (by author)

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The above image of Kruskal Avenue was on a Saturday morning. The section is not as busy as it is during the week. Looking at the picture, one can see a few people (shoppers) sitting on one of the benches. The benches were placed in this section as part of the Kruskal renovation. Some trees were planted in this section to offer shade to the people using and walking in this section of Bellville. On the left side of the image, one sees informal trader's stalls, and on the far left and right, there are several formal stores. The upgrade of Kruskal Avenue forms part of the Mayor's Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP), Bellville Community Action Plan (CAP), Voortrekker Road Corridor revitalization, and the Voortrekker Road Corridor Integration Zone project. There are also other activities that are taking place on the Bellville streets that were never there before. The new programme is called Open Streets. Open Streets is a program offered by the company named Open Streets, and it takes part in four different areas of Cape Town, including Bellville. On the Open Streets day, the street is closed to all kinds of vehicles, allowing the public to experience the street free of vehicular traffic. Different types of activities take place on the open street day. Parents come with their kids to play on the streets and do everything they love to do on the streets without worrying and fearing about cars. According to several respondents, people play soccer, netball, skateboard, take photos, and get to run on the streets that are only open to people on open street days. The open street programme is supported by the City of Cape Town. It aims to help different types of communities connect, support local businesses, and expose people to healthy and creative ways of utilizing the streets as public spaces (Open Streets Cape Town, 2015). The below image was taken during one of the open street events that took place on Voortrekker Road. On the day of the event Voortrekker Road, Durban Road, and Robert Sobukwe Road are closed to cars between 9:am and 2:PM and open to people for the packed programme of activities. In the image, one can see people walking, playing, and enjoying Voortrekker Road vehicle-free. Kids are playing and people are walking with their dogs on the road, a rare sight on Bellville busy roads.

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Figure 4.5 Voortrekker Road during an Open Street event (by MapMyWay) on https://mapmyway.co.za/open-streets-belville-25-november-2018/

- **Public Buildings and Office Developments**

The built form of cities is crucial to the welfare of citizens and patterns of human interaction and social integration. Urban structure affects the productivity of city economies and the long-term financial viability of city governments (SACN, 2011). The City of Cape Town's intention is to build a more inclusive, integrated, and vibrant city that addresses the legacies of apartheid concerning the built environment, rectifies the inequality in the distribution of different types of residential development, and avoids the creation of new structural imbalances in the delivery of services (City of Cape Town, 2017). As Cape Town continued to experience rapid urbanisation because of people moving to the city for better opportunities, Bellville continued experiencing a decline. This decline has harmed investment in Bellville (Cape Argus, 2021). Something needed to be done to reawaken the area, and this is why revitalization projects were proposed. Today, Bellville is known as a second city because of its growing sectors like health, tertiary education, and small business. Bellville is presenting itself as a city within a city. With one of its objectives to attract investors, especially those interested in affordable housing, Bellville has become the biggest development area. Bellville has seen a rise in informal traders' market for more than 59% informal traders operating in the Bellville CBD over the ten years

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and more" (Charles .M, Cape Argus, 2019). According to Yıldız, Kıvrak, Gültekin, & Arslan (2020), urban renewal practices with a well-designed and well-constructed environment have the potential to improve urban social sustainability. It is the role of every building to send a message to people around it, some buildings in Bellville have undergone renewal, and some demolished after experiencing a decline. Examples of the revamped buildings include the below building on Durban Road and the new University of the Western Cape (UWC) building on the corner of Church and Blanckenberg Street. Figure 4.4 below is one of the buildings that recently underwent regeneration.

Figure 4. 6 Park Central Lifestyle – Student village (by author)

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The above building is one of the buildings that underwent revamping. The report released by the Department of Higher Education and Training in 2011 reviewed the state of student accommodation in South Africa, stating that there has been a backlog in the provision of student accommodation, and the DHET saw the need for the private sector to assist in closing this gap by providing affordable residence to students (Massey, 2020). The above image of Park Central along Durban Road captured by the author on a Saturday morning is an example of one of the student accommodations in Bellville. The building, which used to be Nedbank on Durban Road, was purchased by a private investor, rehabilitated, and converted to student accommodation, contributing to the attraction of a new and young population to Bellville. Because of the renovated buildings for student accommodation in the area, there are a lot of feet and new faces now in Bellville. Not only are students attracted to the area, but four respondents noted that there has also been an increase in the number of criminals, as they like taking chances with the students. Park Central is not the only building that was rehabilitated in the area, and its use was converted, but there is a new UWC Community of Health Faculty

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building in the centre of Bellville. The building cost about R244 Million, opened in 2018 by the University (UWC) for the community health sciences faculty. The building used to be an informal trading store and accommodation, before that, the same building used to be a hospital. The article written by Cape Argus (2019) indicated that in July 2018, in this same building, the South African Medical Research Council launched a state-of-the-art genomics centre (Cape Argus, Marvin Charles, 2019). This building has also contributed to attracting a new and young population in Bellville. See Figure 4.5 below.

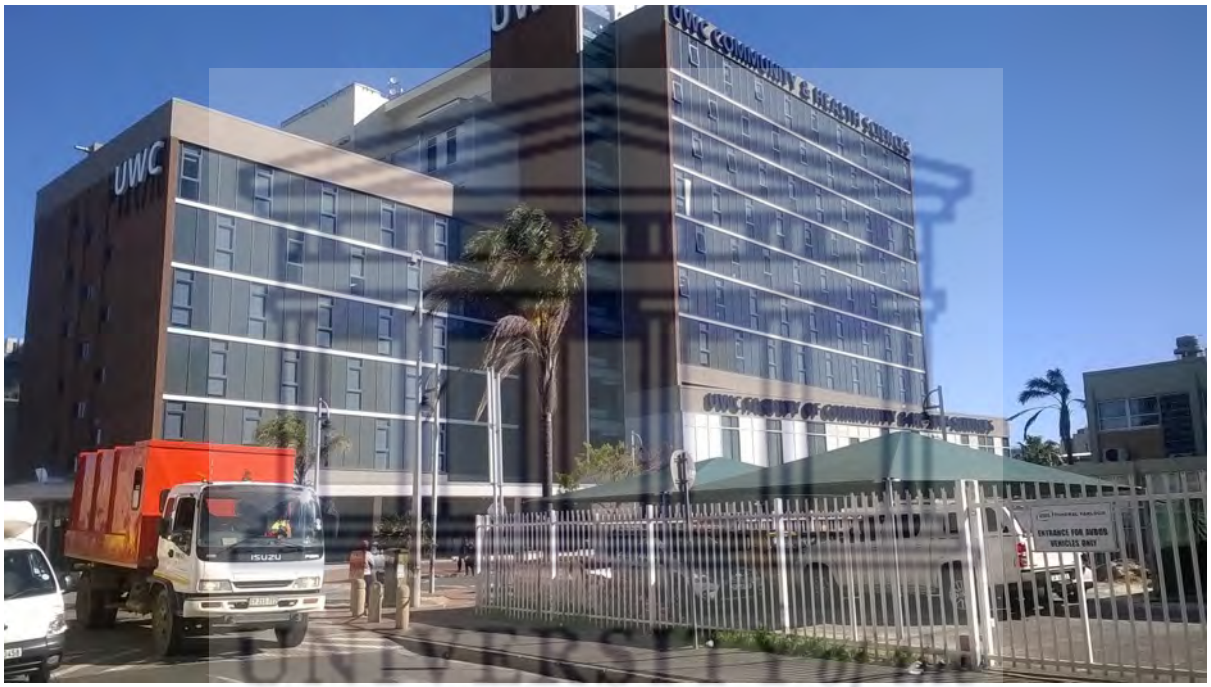

Figure 4. 7 UWC Faculty of Community & Health Sciences (by author)

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- **Safety and security**

Safety and security are some of the things that were mentioned by the study participants as improved since redevelopment. According to Massey (2020), Johannesburg and Cape Town's inner-city areas are using the City Improvement District (CID) approaches as part of their renewal. Quoting the Central Johannesburg Partnership (2001), Massey (2020) defines CIDs as "a geographic area with property owners and tenants agree to pay for certain services supplementary to those supplied by the local authority and which will enhance the physical and social environment of the area. They are non-profit companies that support and participate in the sustainable urban management of public space within their jurisdiction" (Massey, 2020, p.274). The same has happened for Bellville as well. When the area was experiencing a decline and the realization of the problems along Voortrekker Road, such as homelessness, crime,

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grime, begging, prostitution, and drug dealing, Radio Tygerberg with the Bellville Sakekamer started an initiative to seek solutions to these challenges. Property owners formed a committee to establish the need and support for Special ratings with the following goals:

- Reducing crime significantly by proactive visible patrolling and cooperation with existing SAPS efforts in the area
- Creating a safe and clean public environment by addressing issues of maintenance and cleaning of streets, pavements, and public spaces
- Seeking to rehabilitate and provide jobs for the homeless
- Enhance property values
- Support the promotion of the VRCID neighbourhood as a safe and clean environment to live and work
- The sustained and effective management of the VRCID

That is how the VRCID was established and resumed as a security component in 2012 with the vision to create and maintain a clean and safe environment along the corridor with the mission to improve and upgrade the public environment for the benefit of all (VRCID, 2011). Some of the contributions mentioned by the respondents concerning the establishment of the VRCID in Bellville are security visibility and that the streets are kept clean now than before VRCID.

"*There is a Security and cleaning Company working in the area. They keep the area safe and clean. In most cases, it is easier to reach them than going to the police and can help you while you are waiting on the police"* (Respondent three).

According to the above statement, since the establishment of VRCID, safety and security have improved in Bellville. They also mentioned that even though the City of Cape Town still offers its services in the area of cleaning, the CID is also keeping its promise to keep Bellville clean by having people clean the streets.

We are happy with the developments that are taking place here in Bellville. The area is cleaner than before as there are people that are always cleaning and security that are walking around making it easy for people to ask for directions than asking strangers that might end up robbing you (Respondent one).

Besides clean streets, respondents also indicated that security visibility in the area because of VRCID is reducing the number of criminal activities as people now ask security for directions rather than strangers who might take advantage of them. Besides cleaning the streets, urban renewal has also introduced pedestrianization in Bellville. All this is good for the area as the

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economy of Bellville has also improved. However, there are also negative impacts mentioned by respondents.

4.5.2. Urban Renewal, Gentrification and Segregation

Public spaces need to be taken care of as they define the character of a city and are assets to a city. South African cities are growing, but it is difficult for them to deal with the legacy of apartheid. The country's land-use policy and public space management indicate this problem. For example, one of the objectives of urban renewals is to target generating the economy for the city by attracting investments to the city. Because of these reasons, urban renewal programmes are seen as the cause for less or no social cohesion in public spaces and are referred to as a new order of apartheid because they enhance segregation. The new clean and organized spaces are perpetrators of population segregation in urban areas. It is a fact that urban renewals result in attractive, redeveloped, clean, and organized public space, but they are also contributors to less or no social cohesion as well as gated communities in the city. As per Mehanna & Mehanna (2019), the current changes that are taking place in urban centres force them to lose their historic values as they are exposed to the pressures of the contemporary urban environment, and such contributes to the change in the physical structure, social structure and economic structure of urban centres. The construction of gated communities for the middle class widens the gap between rich and poor, and public institutions like schools and libraries are like fortresses damaging the originality of the cities (Mehanna & Mehanna, 2019). Study participants also indicated some negative impacts as per their views and understanding. They refer to public spaces as privatized spaces, captured spaces, spaces of segregation, and financialized spaces.

- **Captured Spaces and spaces of safety**

The potential of public space in South Africa is grounded on historical dimensions. During the apartheid era, the non-white population was denied the right to access quality public spaces, and today, the legacy of apartheid policies is still showing in the Country (Safer Spaces, (2023), Public Space: More than 'just a space'). The launch of the Central City Development Strategy (CCDS) in Cape Town central city in 2008 has transformed Cape Town's public spaces by forcing some street people to leave Cape Town centre for mostly Bellville and other surrounding areas. Since then, the number of strollers and street people in Bellville has been skyrocketing, and the increase made it difficult to manage. Public-private partners collaborated to tackle this issue as it continued threatening the city. Different approaches and strategies were

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implemented to combat the situation. Safe spaces and homeless shelters were open, with spaces and shelters that existed before this transition tasked to increase the intake to minimize the number of people staying and sleeping on the street. Djohari, Pyndiah, & Arnone (2018) define a Safe Space as a location of physical safety that is free from. They are not shelters as people might think, but safe spaces are transitional spaces where street people can spend the night and be safe. Safe spaces offer shelter space, basic amenities, and access to social services for persons living on the street (Payi, 2023).. This definition suits one of the respondents' responses, saying Safe Spaces is a step down from the shelter but a step up from the streets. What makes it different from the street is the services it offers. People sleeping in safe spaces qualify for services such as access to health services, rehabilitation, and development opportunities, and at times integrated with the community and families (Respondent Four). Safe spaces also offer basic services such as water, storage lockers, ablution services, and health services to street people (City of Cape Town, 2018). Safe spaces are developed to offer the homeless dignified spaces to sleep. For Bellville, the most mentioned safe space by the respondents was MES.

- **Safe space- spaces of safety**

For Bellville, the first safe space was established in 2017 as a pre-shelter service. Today that space is offering dignified sleeping places to about 286 homeless. It is mostly used by people that are not ready to go through all the processes to be a shelter client because of their role of offering vulnerable populations accommodation and keeping them safe from crime. Daily, the users are offered a skills development programme to increase their employability chances to combat unemployment. However, there is a fee attached to this help. Between the years 2018/19, a person had to pay R10 to spend the night at the safe space and R5 for a meal. This is of great help for those employed under the skills development programmes. However, for those that are not employed under the skills development programmes their amount is covered by the funds received from the donors, but they have to pay it back by assisting with day-to-day activities in the shelter like cleaning, cooking, working on the garden, and so on (Respondent Four). For others, this is seen as a good thing as it offers people shelter and other opportunities, but for others, safe spaces discriminate against people and favour others over others. For those that know the process already, it is easy to get space in such Safe Spaces, but for new users, it is a different story. Because they have no relationship formed yet with the staff, they feel excluded from using such space. They are less preferred over regular users.

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Even though this is the case, because the process of getting a space at a safe space is not as complicated as securing a place at the shelter, most people prefer a safe space.

- **Captured spaces**

Even though safe spaces and shelters offer homeless safety and security, they are referred to and seen as captured spaces where one's movement is controlled, limited, and monitored daily. For homeless people and strollers who are used to roaming and experiencing the city freely with no limitations, residing at the shelter means less freedom for them. Every movement needs to be reported to the shelter personnel. Even the kind of employment they get is always organized and managed by the shelter personnel, including the control and management of employment contracts. While getting into an employment agreement, the talks are between the employing organization and the night shelter or safe space. The employee (shelter resident) will be informed verbally by the night shelter representative of where one will be working on what day and times. This statement, supported by three respondents, indicates a high level of control as all the decisions, rules, and shelter managers rather than individual preferences make regulations.

- **Privatized and Financialized spaces**

Public spaces are vital aspects of successful cities because of their ability to "facilitate social capital, economic development, and community revitalization. In cases where the municipalities are not doing well financially, investing in public spaces may be a great response. Any investment in quality public spaces, no matter how small, has great returns to the city by contributing to the community socially and monetarily" (UN-HABITAT, 2012). Term privatization refers to a public-private partnership whereby private entities, with city officials, get into a conversation, leading to some of the public interests becoming privatized. In most cases, the talks lead to public spaces like shopping malls, playgrounds, and coffee bars being privatized (Nasution & Zahrah, 2012). The factors that result in the privatization of public space are always financial issues like the government's budget cut and the decrease in the quality of open public space. The best way to solve these issues is by privatizing public spaces. The private sector invests an amount to improve the quality and management of public open space. The study respondents indicated the same for Bellville. They mentioned that financialized and privatized public spaces in Bellville include parking lots, public parks, residential areas, community halls, and stadiums.

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- **Parking Bays**

Parking bays are one of the most financialized public spaces under urban renewal, and before urban renewal, parking bays were open, and people could park along the road without worrying. Urban renewal introduced fenced and renewed parking spaces in Bellville. Parking bays refer to demarcated areas for vehicle parking, be it on the street or demarcated areas for only that use. Before renewals, parking a vehicle was never an issue as vehicle owners and drivers could park wherever they considered safe to do so with no problem, but because of the pressure on the road network, competition between different vehicles' parking functions started rising. To fight this problem, the City of Cape Town approved its first parking policy in 2014. The parking policy was revised and approved by the City Manager in December 2020. Parking policy introduced a new and formalized system of parking. Before urban renewal, because of the high unemployment, some people used to work as informal car guards who worked on a verbal agreement between other car guards on who was responsible for what section. However, the introduction of urban renewal brought the new formalized system of managing and controlling parking bays. This system started with the fencing of these parking areas, and a new formalized form of employment was created for car guards. This new way of doing things benefited others while kicking out of the new system those who were not meeting the employment requirements under a formal system. The parking system made it easy to control, manage, and count the average number of vehicles entering Bellville and those using the parking area. This caused a problem for some of the former car guards who were not meeting the requirements as they lost means of income. Another mentioned disadvantage of the new parking system is the fee payable for occupying the parking.

Between 2018/19 in Bellville, the parking fee ranged from R5 per thirty minutes in some areas to R23 for a full day of working hours. The total amount per week was added to R115 for a five-day working shift and more for those working weekends. This influenced the number of people using their cars to work as they have to pay for parking and fuel. Many people resorted to using public transport. About 90% of respondents acknowledge the transformation of parking bays and are happy that vehicles are safe in the fenced spaces, but the payable fee was a problem. This excluded several people from using parking lots as they could not afford the fees. The system benefits mostly those who visit the area for shopping and other businesses that do not keep them long in Bellville.

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In conclusion, according to some of the participants, the developments that are taking place in public spaces, such as keeping the streets clean and safe, have caused tension between local stakeholders. In Bellville, cleaning urban public spaces does not only mean sweeping streets clean, but it also means cleaning the streets off of street people, strollers, and homeless people. According to one of the participants, “Bellville is a city that will never work for the poor and homeless as homeless people and strollers are excluded in every way, especially when it comes to decision-making. They are excluded from decision-making and even utilizing the public space. Law enforcement, police, and VRCID guards are working hard in chasing homeless people, street people, and strollers out of public spaces (Respondent two). Tosi (2007) agrees with this statement by saying that activities that hinder the use of public space always target different users of the streets, and, in most cases, it is homeless people who are considered undesirable in public spaces. Their presence is associated with danger and or disturbance of "normal" activities in public spaces intended (2007: 226). A revitalization programme transforms public spaces into attractive and fruition spaces, while in the process, they also promote inclusion and exclusions in such spaces. The renewed spaces promote a battleground where lifestyle, interests, values, and norms of city users clash with those of homeless people, for whom public spaces also serve as their private space (Bergamaschi, Castrignanò, & De, 2014).

4.6 Public-Private Partnership a collective governance in the Tygerberg Region

For public spaces to fulfil their roles efficiently, be they inclusive, democratic, and open spaces, there is a need for some form of management. According to Carmona et al. (2008), there are three different ways to address worries of coordination, regulation, maintenance, and investment in public space. The first one speaks to the modified version of the current framework of the provision of public space services where the public agencies play the roles of coordinators, regulators, maintainers, and funders. The second part involves assigning roles to private-sector organizations through contractual arrangements and joint agreements. The third is when the responsibilities are devolved to voluntary and community-sector organizations as part of a move to reduce the distance between user and provider of services (2008: 81). When defining public space management, Carmona et al. (2008) refer to it as processes and practices trying to ensure that public space can fulfil its role while managing interaction and impacts between those functions in a way that satisfies the users (Carmona et al. 2008). For a city to be considered a good city, it should encourage social cohesion, build capital, and engage the community in the design, management, and maintenance of public

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space. Since the introduction of renewal in Bellville, different organizations have played different roles in managing the public space in the area. These include VRCID, TASP, South African Police, GTP, MES, Social Development, Law enforcement, etc. All these organizations have different roles to play in managing public space. According to Projects for Public Space (2019), great public space is not simply made once but is made and remade in the everyday management decisions concerning its maintenance, public safety, social services, programming, and furnishings. Three organizations from the ones listed below were chosen, and interviewed to share information on their role in managing public spaces in the area. The three organizations are VRCID, SAPS, and TASP.

4.6.1 The role of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville

VRCID vision is to create and maintain a clean and safe environment along the corridor with the mission to improve and upgrade the public domain for the benefit of all (VRCID, 2011). The VRCID representative indicated that one of the most important roles they play in Bellville is minimizing crime through security visibility. In the past few years, VRCID has installed surveillance cameras in the Tygerberg region to monitor the area. The cameras have been of great assistance not only to the CID but also been of great help to the Bellville South African Police. The Bellville SAPS utilizes cameras to identify crime hot spots and assist in monitoring the number of vehicles entering Bellville daily. This process assists SAPS in identifying and noting the vehicles accessing the areas after being reported as stolen (Respondent Two). However, the VRCID does not cover taxi rank and station side making some sections unsafe and considered hot spot areas for criminal activities such as pickpocketing, sex work, drug use, and robbery (Respondent Three). The implementation of renewal in Bellville has introduced inequality in Bellville, with other sections receiving better services than the others. Criminal activities are shifting from high-secured spaces to areas that are not covered by the CID. For example, the Voortrekker Road used to be known as the sex work hot spot, but today sex work and related activities are reported on the station road (Respondents Two and Five).

4.6.2 Tygerberg Association for Street People

Tygerberg Association for Street People (TASP), founded in 2001 by Denis Robertson, a DA member in Parliament, is an organization that is working on the rehabilitation of street people. TASP provides street people with life skills, support, and training. The organization is said to

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be the only organization in the Northern Suburbs to be issued a constitutional mandate to liaise with street people (Respondent, Three). TASP's role is to assist by taking in the street people, rehabilitating them, and try to reunite them with their families. Even though this is the case, TASP has a challenge in doing the work. The reasons for this are: i) the building they occupy can only accommodate a limited number of people, making it difficult to house most people; ii) Because of political reasons, the organization found itself in competition for resources with shelters and safe spaces in the area; and iii) During the time of the interviews, the building occupied by TASP was in question. It was alleged that the owner of the building was selling it to the City of Cape Town Traffic Department, hindering the organization from making any plans. There was still engagement between the parties involved to find a solution to this problem. TASP also facilitates the people reaching people tactic in fighting the cold winter battle with the help of VRCID and the City of Cape Town through the winter readiness programmes providing street people with accommodation, blankets, and essential needs such as food, electricity, and water. One of the job creation programmes that TASP is facilitating is the installation of fireballs to assist in killing fire. With the support of the community buying into the project, income generated from this is used for food.

4.6.3 South African Police Services role in the redevelopment of Bellville

Bellville police station is one of the largest stations in the Western Cape and is referred to as a brigadier station because it is equipped with more resources than other stations (Respondent six). This assists with consistency and accountability in servicing the community. The station is on Voortrekker Road, a road with big businesses and government institutions like South African Revenue Services, Home Affairs, and shopping malls. The station used to be an official school in Bellville for the white population. Because Bellville is a transport hub, this is challenging for the station as the services offered attract people from different areas of Cape Town. Concerning the management of public space, SAPS has been in a joint operation with law enforcement and the traffic department to remove vagrancy and homelessness in the area. Even though it is not the responsibility of the police to remove vagrancy, SAPS makes it its duty to assist in the operations related to such safety and peacekeeping in the area. In all SAPS operations, there are collaborations with other public and private entities to make the work easy and manageable, as they cannot have people in all sections at all times. Working together with other parties, even though with limited roles, the police are assisting in keeping the area safe, clean, and attractive.

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4.7 Conclusion

Bellville was established in 1861 as a village and underwent different developments until 1979 when it was declared a city. Like most cities in South Africa, Bellville was also affected by apartheid policies, and under the Group Areas Act, the area was declared a whites-only city. Bellville natives were moved forcefully to different parts of Cape Town. Bellville continued as a whites-only city until the end of apartheid. Post the formation of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality in the late 2000s, Bellville lost its city status due to the prevalence of private vehicles that pushed the growth towards the northern suburbs. Several retailers vacated Bellville for nearby gated communities and shopping malls (Tayob, 2019).

Since then, there have been several changes taking place in Bellville. First, the decline of the area left some parts of Bellville abandoned leading to the deterioration of these sections. In the 2000s, different stakeholders came together and came up with ideas to rescue Bellville resulting in the formation of organizations like the Greater Tygerberg Partnership, the VRCID, and other non-profit organizations. These organizations collaborated with the City of Cape Town Municipality, and other government and non-government institutions in the Tygerberg area to redevelop Bellville and the Tygerberg region as a whole. The Bellville developments formed part of the City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (CTSDF). CTSDF is a policy established to guide the design process and formulation to respond to the segregated nature of the cities inherited from apartheid.

Development programmes under urban renewal were proposed and implemented to draw investors back to Bellville. The face and culture of the area changed as new people and the young population were attracted and started to invest and reside in the area. Health care and education sectors have improved drastically over the years, with the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch having some of their departments and faculties housed in this area. This has improved the Bellville economy, resulting in the employment of people in these newly opened sectors. However, for other people, urban renewals have created and widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Most decisions taken favour the rich over the poor. The development of public spaces has made public spaces political grounds where the elite exercise their power to oppress others and to make statements. As much as it is a good thing to renew public spaces, Bellville public spaces are excluding and segregating the urban population according to their class and are not as easily accessible to all as they should be because of the

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rules attached to them. It is also important to mention that according to the respondents, urban renewal has resulted in the attraction of lots of feet to the area, increasing the economic activities in the CBD. However, this has also impacted the population of Bellville, with other sections overcrowded, resulting in the city infrastructure being unable to accommodate the Bellville population. Even though there are some developments in the area, it is still open to new challenges like increased crime and grime, especially in the city centre. According to respondents, prior renewals, there was never a white beggar in Bellville, but today, almost every traffic light in the area has a white panhandler.

Urban renewal programmes are a result of isolated communities. This means that even after so many years, the apartheid government has lost its power, the legacies of apartheid policies in South African urban spaces, social, and inequalities persist (Morange, 2011). The challenge has been in enforcing multi-stakeholder governance initiatives in a way that achieves inclusive urban development along the corridor without being manipulated by the elite (Levy, 2014). The study has found that there are conflicts in the management of public space in Bellville, especially the acceptance of homeless in the Bellville public space.

Even though respondents and some literature on urban renewal indicate negative consequences, there are positive impacts because of urban renewal. It is said that Urban Renewal has introduced formal employment in Bellville. Unlike prior renewal when vehicles could be parked anywhere on the streets, where they could be exposed to robbery, today there are safe and fenced parking spaces.

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5 CHAPTER FIVE: Urban renewal, expectations and spatial inequalities

5.1 Introduction

In October 2000, after six years of developmental intervention, urban renewal programmes with integrated sustainable rural development were launched in South Africa. In 2001, former president Thabo Mbeki announced the launch of URP as an area-based approach to assist with poverty alleviation, ensuring economic growth, and environmental sustainability. The programme was identified as a critical intervention to save the cities resulting in the adoption of a few renewal strategies in most cities within South Africa's nine provinces. However, according to the study participants, there seem to be mixed views and perceptions about the effectiveness of urban renewal on the formation and practices of public spaces in Bellville. These impacts on the implementation and introduction of urban renewal are captured in Chapter Four. Not all study participants were informed or aware of the renewal programmes happening in Bellville. Some participants indicated that they only saw activities in the area and had no idea who was working on the projects and why. They were unaware of any prior communication and discussions before the implementation and believed that the government and the City of Cape Town Municipality made the decisions without public consultation. However, these views contradict those of the other respondents, who indicated that the implementation of urban renewal programmes in Bellville was a joint decision between the different local stakeholders. They said there was a sitting where Bellville stakeholders were present in discussing the processes, and urban renewal interventions required in the redevelopment of the area. According to the researcher, the topic of urban renewal emerged as a subject of disagreement among the study participants, and in general, more than 50% of respondents agreed that there was proper communication and consultation with the public before the implementation of urban renewal.

Some participants were also aware of the intended outcomes of the programme, such as minimizing crime in the corridor, keeping the Voortrekker Corridor clean, making the area attractive to investors, and making Bellville inclusive and safe for all. However, their views on the project's outcomes were different. Instead of carrying out its objective, urban renewal in Bellville has resulted in contested and segregated public spaces due to how these spaces are managed. Respondents indicated that due to urban renewal, there are visible signs of exclusions and population segregation in Bellville.

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The responses received during the investigation indicate that respondents understood the questions probed even though some responded with emotions because they were dissatisfied about the implementation and effects of urban renewal in Bellville. This section seeks to triangulate the study findings within the context of a theoretical framework. Based on the study findings, two themes were generated and are used to structure this chapter. The two themes are:

- Privatization of public spaces as means of economic development
- A new era of segregation in public spaces

5.1 Public Space Privatization – new means of economic developments

The aim of the study was to explore the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space. The above-recorded theme was generated as a response to objectives one and two of the study, which was to: 1) explore the public perception of the transformation of public spaces in Bellville; and 2) examine contestations of spaces in the VRCID through the analysis of exclusions and inclusions enacted under the VRCID scheme. The first five questions asked were to examine the understanding of the area by the respondents, followed by their ideas of public spaces and their perception of the transformation of these public spaces. The study findings on these questions reflect that 1) Bellville, under the right circumstances, should fall under neoliberal cities. This shift is because of the shifting of markets over time from public to private ownership, but through these changes, there have been some significant changes in the land use and management of public spaces, and these are a) Bellville public spaces are privatized, financialized, and criminalized spaces used to push political agendas. b) It has also been found that Bellville public spaces are safe but also captured spaces through privatization. A public space that is privatized and financialized loses its publicness and is used by profit-minded owners to limit access and behaviour to produce their desired spaces (Németh, 2012). The study also found that urban renewal has introduced gentrified spaces in Bellville. Lemanski (2024) defines gentrification as a class change, rather than a physical environment. It is about class as well as class-based changes in neighbourhood characteristics such as the use of public spaces, cultural amenities, and service provision rather than physical characteristics (Lemanski, 2014). Some respondents indicated that urban renewal interventions have resulted in gentrified public spaces in Bellville. Accessing public parks in Bellville, one enters through gates with security guards that allow access only to certain groups of people. Homeless are not allowed access to

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public parks because they are associated with criminals and people without order. Parking lots are part of gentrified spaces catering to the rich people and low-income income cannot afford them (Respondent Three & Eight). The study has adopted Epstein's (2005) definition of financialization. Epstein refers to financialization as an increase in the role of financial motives, financial markets, financial actors, and financial institutions operating in the domestic and international economies.

In the case of Bellville, it has been found that public spaces such as parking bays, and some of the public buildings are for financial gains. Since the implementation of urban renewal in the area, parking spaces are no longer free of charge. A fee is paid based on the time spent in the parking lot. Before the renewal, this was never the case. There were informal guards that used to look after people's vehicles at a minimal fee. The fee payable was not standardized as it is now. The amount payable depended on what the vehicle owner wanted to give to the car guard. In today's world, the vehicle owner pays between R5 per 30 minutes up to R80 daily fee. This fee applies to everyone who is using the secured parking space. Only those whose employers have allocated parking spaces do not have to pay daily fees as they have a monthly arrangement with the employer. However, it is significant to note that even though urban renewal has introduced a paying parking system, this system is commended by others as they believe that it has introduced safer and more reliable parking spaces. This was done by introducing a new organisation known as Safe2Park in the area. Safe2Park has offered locals formal employment to provide the parking public with the best possible user experience.

Findings also reflect that Bellville public spaces are privatized, financialized, and criminalized because of the high involvement of private-public partnerships in the context of urban renewal development in the area, opening them to political agenda, especially concerning its management. Privatization of public spaces results not only in political conflicts but also in the involvement of other public bodies in economic development projects by forming public-private partnerships and other forms of governance (Bernt, 2009). This reason makes public space something that is not a given but changing because of the involvement of new governing with different agenda from the previous. Therefore, the fact that public spaces are accessible to all does not eliminate it from the political agenda (Bodnar, 2015). Privatizing public space is done to promote, protect, and try to make the cities competitive or a better world (Harvey, 2012). This statement supports one of the respondent's views concerning urban renewal, who indicated that the introduction of urban renewal in the area is benefiting the rich over the poor.

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They are the ones investing in the area, making money, and are the decision-makers. Only the voice of the rich is loud enough to be heard according to two respondents.

As part of urban development, infrastructure provision in the cities is becoming a financial product due to the shift of ownership from local government or state-owned to private ownership. Through the move from public to private goods, urban infrastructure is experiencing financialization (Torrance, 2009). Commercialization and privatization are the two main trends in the transformation of public space. It is also these trends that can bring it to decline as it is easy to forget that public space thrives on diversity and the lack thereof can kill it" (Bodnar, 2015). With regards to the accessibility of infrastructure such as public roads, surveillance cameras, and lighting on the streets, some participants were not sure of whose responsibility it was to rebuild and repair as they would see the City of Cape Town employees, and at times there was also the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement visible on the site. Even though this was the case, they were happy with the improvements and felt that this would make the area safe. According to Respondent two, there are surveillance cameras on Kruskal Avenue and other streets in the area to assist the police in identifying criminals in these areas. This comment is linked to the comment by one of the VRCID staff members who indicated that the installation of additional surveillance cameras in the area is assisting the police, especially with identifying the stolen reported vehicles that enter Bellville. This is one of the positive impacts of the redevelopment on infrastructure in the area.

However, there were negative impacts indicated as well about infrastructure development, for instance, public streets and sidewalks are the only remaining sites of public expression. They are 'unscripted political activity', and their main function is to make poverty and inequality visible Nemeth, (2012). One of the respondents indicated that one of the impacts of urban renewals is that "people cannot walk and sleep free on the street as they used to. It is not even easy for them to sell their products on the street without worrying about law enforcement who will come and take their products and at times get them arrested". According to respondents now, they cannot do as they used to as other people manage and control public spaces in Bellville. One of the respondents that stays on the street said, "There is no public space in Bellville. I miss the days when we used to sleep in public parks with no interruption. These days if we go there, the neighbours call law enforcement, and we will be removed, and our house will be destroyed at times taken away". Both these statements are clear indications and in agreement with the statement that once a public space is privatized or securitized it ceases

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to exist as a truly public forum, characterized by (relatively) open access, unmediated deliberation, and shared participation (Nemeth, 2012). Some of the most vibrant public spaces are privately owned malls and corporate plazas where profit-minded owners and managers can limit access and behaviour to produce a desirable public composed of well-heeled consumers absent of loitering teenagers or other unwanted (Németh, 2009). One participant said, "I cannot walk free in the mall because I always feel like the security is watching me and will come to chase me out of the mall as they always do with us".

Participants also confirmed that Bellville public parks were rehabilitated, mentioning Elizabeth Park and Jack Muller Park. The rehabilitation of parks seems to favour only the rich people as they can enjoy the use of the park freely during the days of events such as movies in the park and skateboard days.

5.2 Public spaces- new era of segregation

Contemporary urban centres have undergone numerous transformations over the preceding decades (Neto, Pinto, & Burns, 2014), so as Bellville. The implementation of urban renewal in Bellville has resulted in changes in the formation, and practices of the public space. Because of this transformation, Bellville public spaces are spaces of safety and captured spaces. The majority of the participants indicated that even though urban renewal has managed to redevelop the area by fencing public parks creating safety relaxation spaces, and parking bays, and renovating old buildings, there is a concern about social cohesion caused by urban renewal. Some participants felt that the renovation and conversion of old buildings to student accommodation changed the face of the area. This transition is good for attracting new and young blood in Bellville, but in the process, unintentionally, older people are pushed out of Bellville, especially the CBD. A few people who used to own some of these buildings in the area sold them to new owners who converted most of them to student accommodation. This conversion means attracting the young population in Bellville while pushing away the natives. This statement supports the statement on the history of Bellville where the first people of the area disposed of their land under the apartheid government.

Today, almost three decades after apartheid, the same thing that happened in the 1950s is happening again in Bellville under urban renewal. The interventions have uplifted the face of the area while dividing and segregating the population according to their class. For instance, homeless, strollers, and street people are considered undesirable and seen as perpetrators of

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danger and disturbance of "normal" activities in public spaces such as malls. Once they are seen in these spaces, the mentioned group of people is kicked out of the mall because of the belief they will trouble other people. Such perceptions criminalize people through incorrect judgment. This perception and belief indicates class segregation.

There has been redevelopment of old buildings and destroying problem buildings in the name of renewal. This transition is assisting in boosting Bellville's economy, uplifting the face of the area, and attracting new investors to Bellville. The new investors introduced a change in the property and land. In most cases, these changes contribute to creating gentrified spaces that work only for the working class while displacing the poor residents. This has been a global phenomenon. Not only South African cities are experiencing this controversial form of renewal. As much as this is contributing positively to the city's economy it is a result of evictions and forced removals as well as the exclusion of the urban poor population who cannot afford the new property rent rates.

5.3 Conclusion

As city centres were under the strain of the legacy of apartheid, there was a need to introduce new initiatives that included both public and private sectors with the help of community involvement. The introduction of urban renewal strategies was proposed to assist with integrating the cities and managing urban growth. Different strategies were proposed, like the redevelopment of the urban transport system (like the public transport interchange in Bellville), economic development, and environmental management. South Africa launched its first urban strategy in the year 1995 to remake South African cities. Different policy documents such as the Green Paper on Development and Planning (RSA, 1999), Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy, and the Urban Renewal Strategy (RSA, 2001) were proposed and put in place as what would assist as a guide in implementing these urban strategies. These urban strategies were proposed for Bellville in the 2000s and started in 2012.

Since then, the area has been undergoing urban renewal, such as the establishment of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) for safety and security in the area, renovation of public parks, roads, buildings, and infrastructure redevelopment. Since then, there have been noticeable changes that are happening in Bellville. However, participants have different views on the impacts of urban renewal projects in the area. Some have positive and some negative perceptions about these. It seems like for every project, there is more negative

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than positive based on the views of the study participants. In general, they agreed that urban renewal in Bellville has contributed to gentrified, financialized spaces. The program is more concerned about economic development and profit making, resulting in the exclusion of the poor population as renewed spaces are attached to money.

There are other successful projects under urban renewal in the area; however, participants have different views about the impacts of these projects. Others indicated positive implications, while others had mostly negative points to say. The area has been undergoing redevelopment since 2013. The redevelopment is beneficial for Bellville as the area is considered safer and cleaner than it was before renewals. There is the revamping of public parks to make them safe and attractive, renovating old buildings to fit today's standards, destroying problematic buildings, and building new buildings to replace the old ones that were in a state where they could not be rehabilitated. However, other people see this as the return of the new and advanced apartheid era as the renewal contribute to the segregation of people in the city. Other people today have more rights to the city and its public space than others.

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6 CHAPTER SIX: Toward just and sustainable urban renewal

6.1 Introduction

To understand the impact of urban renewal on the formation of and practices in public space in the Bellville CBD, the main aim of the study was to explore the influence of urban renewals in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement on the formation of and practices in public spaces in the Bellville CBD. This was achieved by following the three following study objectives:

- To explore public perceptions in terms of the transformation of public space in the VRCID.
- To examine contestations of spaces in the VRCID through the analysis of exclusions and inclusions enacted under the VRCID scheme; and
- To understand the role of public and private sector institutions in the management and governance of public spaces in the VRCID.

This chapter is a summary of the processes that followed to undertake this study. It provides a summary of key findings, an answer to the research question as well as recommendations for further research. The chapter is presented under the following subheadings: Summary of the study findings, literature review, and the research methodology, main findings of the study, research conclusion, and recommendation for future study.

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6.2 Summary of research Findings

The study focused on the impacts of urban renewal programmes on the formation of and practices in public space in the VRCID. Based on the information collected through interviews, observations, and document analysis, there are different views about the impacts of urban renewal in the area.

In general, the majority of participants were well aware of urban renewal, and others only noticed while the redevelopment was happening without any information about who was doing what and why. The ones that were aware of the programme also knew the intentions of the programme on the Voortrekker Road Corridor, which is a shared commitment to equitable growth for all the stakeholders involved, job creation, poverty alleviation, and opening inclusive economic growth in the area.

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The research findings agree with Watson's (2009) argument that the planning processes in the global South are the "promoters of social ills such as population segregation and exclusion as they favour rich over the low-income population. Many scholars see this form of urban governance as neo-liberal, and this urban entrepreneurialism is said to have negative effects on economic operators who are weakly represented in the city in terms of power in the decision-making process (Tati, 2021). The process promotes environmental degradation". (2009:151). Initially, urban renewal projects were implemented to promote fashionable, attractive cities to investors to promote economic generation in urban areas. However, the impacts are said to differ area by area. Urban renewal is a good attractor of investors and improves economic growth, but they prioritize the economy over social life. Money is prioritized over human lives making cities less inclusive.

The development of South African cities is being narrated around entrepreneurialism, with emphasis on competitiveness, innovation, and partnership between local government and private corporates (Tati, 2021). Many major cities like Johannesburg and Durban are participating in this process. For Bellville, urban renewal started by establishment of a non-profit organization called GTP in 2012. It was established by local stakeholders, as a mechanism to renew the Tygerberg region to make it the most inclusive, vibrant, and economically productive area in the City of Cape Town with the mission to create collaboration between local role players to allow them to partake on the redevelopment of the Tygerberg region. More projects followed. According to the respondents, there has been a transformation in Bellville due to the implementation of urban renewal. Things such as the revamping of public parks, infrastructure redevelopments like road widening, streetlights and surveillance camera installations, demolition of problem buildings, fencing and renovating of parking lots as well as renovation of old buildings were mentioned as some of the results of renewal. However, there seems to be dissatisfaction concerning the social contributions of these changes in the area.

Findings indicate that there indeed has been a significant transformation in the Bellville CBD on the look and feel of the area, and other respondents think that even Bellville's culture has taken a turn. However, there are indications that the intended economic inclusion and growth for all is captured by private and political elites making it difficult to archive the intended economic development impacts. There is an indication of class segregation accompanied by high inequality and power struggles inherited from urban renewal. Referring to the effects of

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renewal to those of the apartheid regime, when people were segregated according to their race, now according to their class, there is a noticeable gap between the rich and poor, and the wealthy have advantage compared to the poor. Decision-making favours the rich over the poor. This capitalist system as referred to by some researchers, is excluding the poor from economic access and decision making resulting in the poor being poorer and the rich richer.

Findings also indicated that accessing public space in Bellville is highly financialized and privatized limiting access for the poor. This is in contrast with one of the objectives of the renewal programme in the Voortrekker Road Corridor, which aims at creating inclusive regeneration and building partnerships between the stakeholders involved. Rather these programmes are marginalizing certain groups, excluding them from the debates around planning and redevelopment of the area. As a result, some of the participants were not even aware of the role of government in the implementation process of urban renewal in Bellville. They did not know whether the government was involved and/ or championing the projects or not. All they saw were developments happening in the area, and who is involved or not. This was less of their concern.

There is also tension between the different stakeholders of Bellville. Some would like the partnership to work for the benefit and development of the area, and some would like to use this opportunity to benefit themselves. Uppink (2018) advises that for these programmes to work in Bellville, GTP, and other stakeholders must utilize micro-level initiatives that will guide the process into genuine and equal multi-stakeholder governance (2018: 58).

6.3 Research Conclusion

According to African Development Bank (2012), in the developing world Africa has shown the highest urban growth in the last two decades. Projections indicate that between 2010 and 2025, some cities in Africa will account for up to 85% of the urban population. Due to rapid urbanisation, a high proportion of urban poor resides in slums, and this population tends to lack basic urban services such as access to sanitation, clean water, and energy. The growth of urban centres without proper development of the basic infrastructure and services has resulted in the deterioration of existing infrastructure leading to urban decay. To respond to the challenges faced by the cities, an urban renewal, programme was adopted to rescue the dying cities, since then, most countries in Southern Africa have experienced a huge transformation of privatization and deregulation. South Africa has been leading this change in Southern Africa.

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These changes have resulted in increased sector-led developments and service provision in the region with public-private partnerships playing a significant role in determining land use management, infrastructure developments, and service provision (State of African Cities, 2014).

Different types of urban renewal projects have been implemented by different cities worldwide to combat urban decay, and this is depending on each region and according to the city's needs. However, there are positive and negative impacts as a result of urban renewal in cities. South Africa provides an appropriate exemplar. After being released from the clutches of apartheid nearly thirty years ago, despite urban renewal programmes, its cities are still battling with the legacies of apartheid. This is more noticeable in big cities like Cape Town, where the spatial division due to colonial and apartheid administration is contributing immensely to the inequalities and segregation of the current urban population. To address these issues, the City of Cape Town developed a 20-year Cape Town Spatial Development Framework to make Cape Town a more inclusive, democratic, and sustainable city. This framework informed eight other different development plans that are directed to eight different regions of Cape Town to meet the needs of each district. The district plan is a 10-year plan that guides the spatial development processed per district with different strategic actions to be taken.

VRCID (the study site) falls under the Tygerberg District Plan with the following objectives: (i) High-intensity concentration on the development and improvement of public transport along the Voortrekker Corridor, focusing on medium to high-density housing, (ii) Prioritise the development of the Blue Downs Rail Link to complete the circular railway network, (iii) Promote non-motorized transport between public transport interchanges and major destinations such as Tyger Valley. (iv) Promote commercial development along north-south development routes such as Durban, Modderdam, and Symphony Way. (v) Reinforce the Cape Town International Airport (CTIA) precinct as a higher-order commercial and industrial hub south of Voortrekker Road. (vi) Protect and upgrade open space systems along Elsieskraal, Bottelary, and Kuils River and upgrade parks such as Elizabeth Park and Nelson Mandela Peace Park. vii) Direct growth away from sensitive environmental and high-potential agricultural areas (Tygerberg district plan, 2012). According to the study findings, two of the objectives of the district plan directed to Bellville were covered, and this is (i) the upgrade and protection of open spaces like Elizabeth Park and (ii) the improvement of public transport along the corridor. As the area was deteriorating in the early 2000s, initiating urban renewal programmes was vital

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to address the issues that were facing the area to improve and develop the social and economic conditions of Bellville. According to the study findings, two of the objectives of the district plan directed to Bellville were covered and this is the upgrade and protection of open spaces like Elizabeth Park and the improvement of public transport along the corridor.

There are two main players in the development of Bellville, but getting assistance from other stakeholders to ensure that the goals of redeveloping the area are met. It is the Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) and the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID). The VRCID is the second busiest and biggest business hub after Cape Town, and it supports the City of Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan that focuses on five pillars. These are (i) an opportunity city, (ii) a safe city, (iii) a caring city, (iv) an inclusive city, and (v) a well-run city. Unfortunately, there is no way that the VRCID can deliver these goals for the city without support from the GTP. Doing this promotes socio-economic growth that is inclusive by reversing the legacy of apartheid spatial planning that instilled and enforced population segregation and economic exclusion of other races.

Even though the intentions of redeveloping the area were good and expected to benefit all, the study findings indicate that urban renewal has not met most of the public expectations of the programme, including one of its main goals is to create inclusive economic regeneration and building partnership. The area is captured by the political elite that influences decision-making, and this is affecting the general outcome of the programme. The domination of the area by the private sector widens the gap between rich and poor by enforcing population segregation and economic exclusion.

The VRCID conducted a study on public perception of the urban management of the area in 2016, with one of the outcomes indicating that safety and security in the area were a problem. This study's findings indicate that the problem remains, but rather this has shifted to certain and known sections of the area. One of the respondents indicated that the Voortrekker Road Corridor used to be a hot spot for sex workers, and today, this has shifted to station road and other sections of Bellville because of police and security visibility in the area. This might also be because the taxi rank and station are not part of the VRCID.

Finally, the study indicates that the participants identified a lack of proper communication and engagement between the locals and government translating to the programme not meeting their

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expectations, especially the use and management of the public spaces in the area. Bellville public spaces are mostly, if not only, beneficial to the rich, opening the gap between the haves and not-haves of the area. The poor cannot experience public spaces freely without being harassed by the police and law enforcement.

Based on the information received during the collection and analysis process, it is recommended that public participation is vital and must be recognized in most decision-making processes as it is the public that is always affected by the decision made. The views of the public are very important in urban renewal as this might be one of the ways to promote economic inclusion and development, especially for the urban majority that is the urban poor. The government and all stakeholders involved in the development of Bellville should utilize public approaches that build and promote partnerships between locals and the government to clear some of the misunderstandings between the two parties.

This study has indicated that different stakeholders are involved in the redevelopment process of the area. It is therefore significant that the area continues to use the micro-level approach that it has adopted to lead equitable multi-stakeholder governance and make it so that everyone has an equal say and the same understanding of the programme and its benefits. Having joint decision-making will help clear the tension between those that would like the program to benefit all and those who would like to be the only ones benefiting mostly from the programme. This would also minimize the gap between the rich and poor and might assist in combating projects that are running over time.

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6.4 Areas of future research

The research scope is limited to exploring the impact of urban renewal in the formation of- and practices of public space in the Bellville CBD. However, not all aspects were covered, and this can be extended to other avenues of study like exploring urban renewal and the right to the city. The role of urban renewal towards economic and public space exclusion can also be examined. Lastly, there could be a study on public-private partnerships in the management of urban public spaces.

6.5 Conclusion

This study focused on understanding the impact of urban renewal interventions in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) in the Bellville Central

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Business District (CBD) on the formation of- and practices in public space. The study adopted a qualitative research approach, semi-structured interviews were utilised and documents were analysed. Literature on urbanisation and the urban renewal process was deployed. The Bellville CBD, including a section of the Voortrekker Road Corridor, was the focus of the study. The study revealed that there is a transition in Bellville public spaces due to urban renewal. However, the transition happened long before renewal while the area was experiencing decline and blight. Bellville lost its city status and its public spaces. There was a need to address the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the area to fight crime and grime in the area that was a result of a declining city.

Implementation of renewal in the area introduced a change, and the study reveals that the spatial planning of the area has impacted investment choices in Bellville. The private sector has been playing a crucial role in the launch of redevelopment projects in the area as they have the resources to make it happen, however, the agenda of the private sector is to generate profit, and this resulted in some challenges. The target for the private sector is affluent areas and business nodes because their focus is on profit-making resulting in less consideration of poor public participation and sustainable development. Having a strategic division of revenue and proper public participation consideration could assist the area to change the views that urban renewal processes in Bellville are captured by political elites, and are only beneficial to the rich and economically and physically excluding the poor. To minimize this issue, urban planners and stakeholders need to involve the public in the decision-making process through public participation. This will help with strengthening the relationship between the private-public partners, and in the end promises to result in inclusive and productive urban spaces for all.

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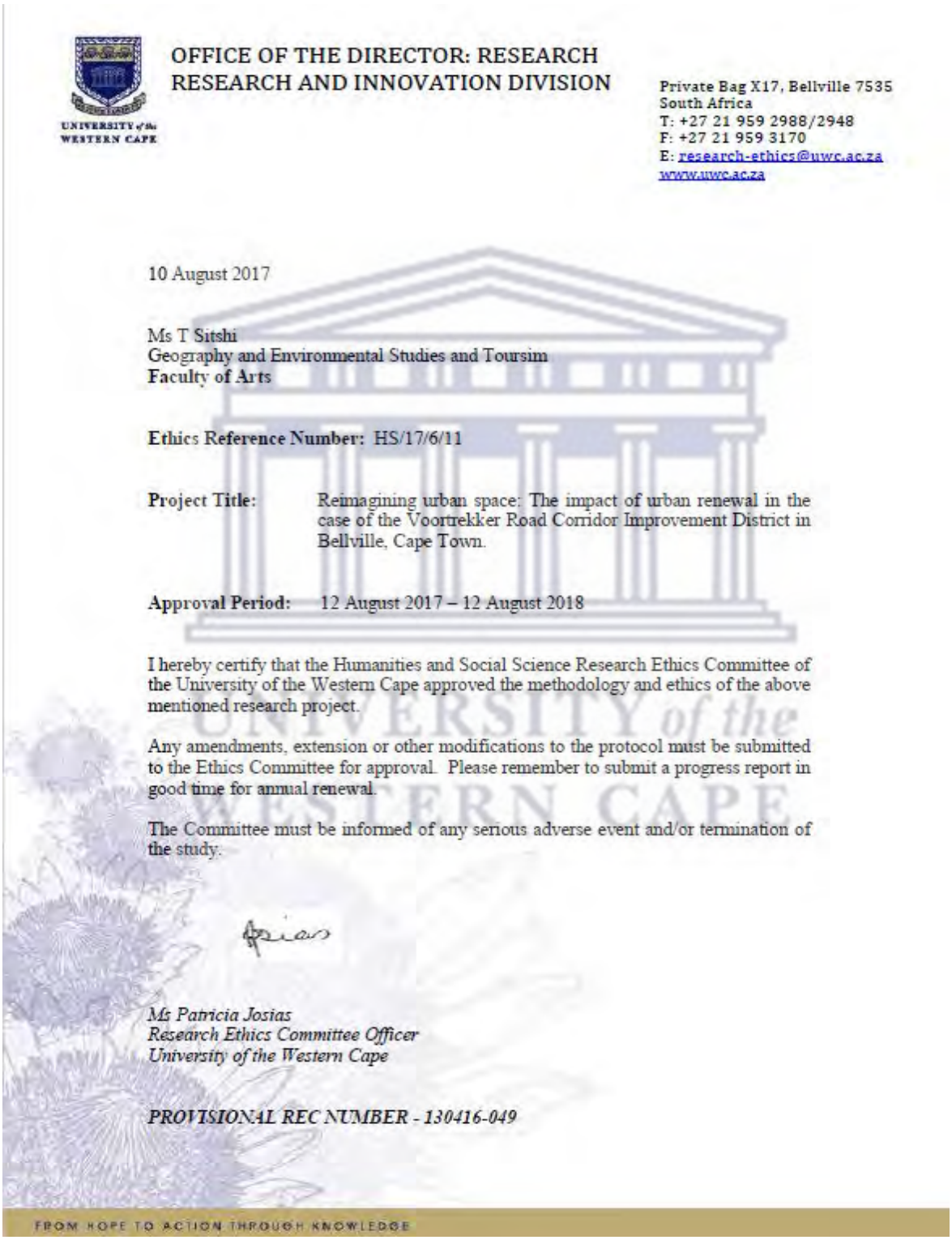
Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Clearance Letter



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10 August 2017

Ms T Sitshi
Geography and Environmental Studies and Toursim
Faculty of Arts

Ethics Reference Number: HS/17/6/11

Project Title: Reimagining urban space: The impact of urban renewal in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town.

Approval Period: 12 August 2017 – 12 August 2018

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval. Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

PROVISIONAL REC NUMBER - 130416-049

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Appendix 2: Consent Form

Consent Form University of the Western Cape

Research Project Title: ***Reimagining urban public spaces: The impact of urban renewal in the case of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town***

Researcher: Ms Thoko Sitshi

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher or supervisor at any time. ☐
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research. ☐
4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group. ☐
5. I give consent to audio recording ☐
6. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research. ☐
7. I agree for to take part in the above research project. ☐

Name of Participant (*or legal representative*)	Date	Signature
Name of person taking consent *(If different from lead researcher)*	Date	Signature
Lead Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:

Thoko Sitshi

Student no.: 2249213
E-mail address:
2249213@myuwc.ac.za

Supervisor:

Prof. Bradley Rink

E-mail address:
brink@uwc.ac.za

HOD:

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E-mail address:
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Appendix 3: Information Sheet Business owners

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

INFORMATION SHEET

Business Owners

Project Title: Reimagining urban public space: The impacts of urban renewal in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town

Description of study: This research will contribute to the MA dissertation of the researcher, Ms Thoko Sitshi, a Masters student in the University of the Western Cape's Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism. This study will explore the influence of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) on the form and usage of public space in the Bellville Central Business District.

Role of participants: You were chosen to be a participant in this study due to your use, services and/ stay on the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. Your participation in this study may include interviews, voice recordings and mind mapping as well as the researcher accompanying you within the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. You may choose not to answer certain questions, and you may end the interviews at any time. If at any time you wish to not to participate, you may decline to do so. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time by request to the researcher or the researcher's supervisor (details below).

Risk: There are no foreseeable risks to potential participants in their taking part in this research. Any potential risks will be mitigated through the use of pseudonyms and the protection of research data.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: Your responses will only be used for the purpose of this research and your personal information will not be divulged. All information gathered will be anonymous and no part of the resultant work would be able to be linked to you. All your responses will be stored in password protected folders and will not be made available to anyone except the lead researcher.

Further questions?

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact me: Thoko Sitshi, Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism, University of the Western Cape, Robert Sobukwe Road, Bellville. My cellphone number is 0733085782 (voice) or 0726389805 (WhatsApp) and my email address is 2249213@myuwc.ac.za. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact my supervisor, Dr Bradley Rink, Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism, University of the Western Cape. He may be contacted at 021 959 2626 or by email brink@uwc.ac.za.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Dean: Prof DJ Brown, djbrown@uwc.ac.za
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Appendix 4: Information Sheet - Public & Private Sector Representatives

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Arts

INFORMATION SHEET

Public &Private Sector Representative

Project Title: Reimagining urban public space: The impacts of urban renewal in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town

Description of study: This research will contribute to the MA dissertation of the researcher, Ms Thoko Sitshi, a Masters student in the University of the Western Cape's Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism. This study will explore the influence of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) on the form and usage of public space in the Bellville Central Business District.

Role of participants: You were chosen to be a participant in this study due to your role of space management on the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. Your participation in this study may include interviews, voice recordings participatory and/or mind mapping as well as the researcher accompanying you within the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. You may choose not to answer certain questions, and you may end the interviews at any time. If at any time you wish to not to participate, you may decline to do so. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time by request to the researcher or the researcher's supervisor (details below).

Risk: There are no foreseeable risks to potential participants in their taking part in this research. Any potential risks will be mitigated through the use of pseudonyms and the protection of research data.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: Your responses will only be used for the purpose of this research and your personal information will not be divulged. All information gathered will be anonymous and no part of the resultant work would be able to be linked to you. All your responses will be stored in password protected folders and will not be made available to anyone except the lead researcher.

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Appendix 5: Information Sheet - Street People

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INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Reimagining urban public space: The impacts of urban renewal in the case of Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District in Bellville, Cape Town

Description of study: This research will contribute to the MA dissertation of the researcher, Ms Thoko Sitshi, a Masters student in the University of the Western Cape's Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism. This study will explore the influence of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) on the form and usage of public space in the Bellville Central Business District.

Role of participants: You were chosen to be a participant in this study due to your use of the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. Your participation in this study may include interviews, voice recordings, participatory and/or mind mapping as well as the researcher accompanying you within the Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District. You may choose not to answer certain questions, and you may end the interviews at any time. If at any time you wish to not to participate, you may decline to do so. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time by request to the researcher or the researcher's supervisor (details below).

Risk: There are no foreseeable risks to potential participants in their taking part in this research. Any potential risks will be mitigated through the use of pseudonyms and the protection of research data.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: Your responses will only be used for the purpose of this research and your personal information will not be divulged. All information gathered will be anonymous and no part of the resultant work would be able to be linked to you. All your responses will be stored in password protected folders and will not be made available to anyone except the lead researcher.

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Appendix 6: Interview guide

Interview guide	
No	**Question**
1	What is your understanding of public space?
2	What places would you consider public spaces in Bellville?
3	Why do you consider them public spaces?
4	What is your understanding of urban renewal?
5	What urban renewal projects do you know of?
6	Are there any of these projects that you know of in the area
7	How did you come to know about them?
8	In your opinion what changed these programmes introduced in your everyday life?
	Employment Opportunities
	The infrastructure of the area
	Feel and look of the area
	Public space
9	What is your understanding of the government's role in urban renewal?
10	What is your understanding of the private sector's role in urban renewal?
11	What public-private partnerships do you know of in the area?
12	What is your take on the partnership?

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