

INCLUSIVE URBAN REGENERATION IN INNER-CITY JOHANNESBURG, WHO DOES WHAT?

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ABSTRACT

The effects of colonial spatial planning are still felt to date because of colonial spatial planning which was strategically designed to exclude low-income citizens from opportunities in South Africa's various economic hubs. Growing concentration and immigration to major cities by both low- and middle-income residents conveys that the relationship between urbanization and redevelopment has become a major policy concern. This study posits the possibility of an inclusionary urban regeneration solution that drives cohesion between the private sector, government, and policy development. Respondents included five Johannesburg City government officials involved in city planning and development, and five private sector development professionals operating within the city. It was found that there is a gap between policy development and implementation. This study's contribution to the field is through the identification of how the delivery of urban regeneration initiatives in Johannesburg inner-city can be structured to achieve an inclusive result that benefits all stakeholders.

Keywords: displacement, inner-city, inclusive urban regeneration, government frameworks & policies

1. INTRODUCTION

The end of colonization in several African countries has occasioned cases of post-colonial “capital flight”, generating institutional and physical capital disinvestment which endorsed the deterioration of city centers. To date, most inner cities are physically ineffective, environmentally, and economically unsustainable. Moreover, the increasing concentration of the world's populace in city centers by both low and middle-income countries conveys that the affiliation between urbanization and redevelopment has become a major policy issue. The Johannesburg inner-city is one prime example of this phenomenon. Other issues relating to the significant burden in inner cities include the delivery of housing to the urban poor while attracting investment and economic prosperity (Turok & McGranahan, 2019). It is extensively documented that the rejuvenation of derelict and dilapidated city spaces is paramount for meeting the demand for housing close to jobs, education, health, and social services, which is a direct response to the current urban management and building supply challenges. This is accomplished through city centers undergoing severe urban regeneration and residential transformation through the restoration of existing residential asset class in working-class neighborhoods (Ah Goo, 2017; Uzun, 2003).

Notwithstanding urban regeneration having been found to have plentiful paybacks ranging from the attraction of an incursion of a new residential class, advancement of facilities and economic improvement in an area, its major deficits are widely linked to being the central cause of social polarization which results in forced displacement of indigenous residents in an area (Pickett, 2020; Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Moreover, some urban regeneration initiatives have received accusations of giving rise to neoliberalism – a development strategy that pursues transferring control of economic elements from the public sector to the private sector, as stated by Didier, Peryroux & Morange, (2012). The problem is that lower income residents are often

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segregated as a result. South African major cities are enduring this phenomenon to date. In an endeavor to remedy this, the City of Johannesburg has undertaken an assessment of the inner-city housing strategy and policies with the intention of having meaningful consequences for low-income housing delivery in the inner city, while addressing the state of the city's decay, resulting in an inclusionary urban regeneration process.

South Africa has had inner-city regeneration programmes established and executed by the government and private developers in various cities such as Central Cape Town in the Western Cape Province (Visser & Kotze, 2008), Durban Central in KwaZulu Natal Province (Beavon & Larsen, 2014), and Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province (Ah Goo, 2017). Some of the urban regeneration initiatives which were intended at modifying downgraded and dilapidated areas in city centres into desirable urban spaces have been executed but have fallen short in solving the problem of social polarisation (Kotze & de Vries, 2019). This is because these initiatives have also been supplemented by substantial increase in property prices causing the formation of regionalised inner-city nodes, introducing an element of forced displacement and social exclusion, which are contrary to the government's post-apartheid objectives towards providing spatial, social, and economic inclusion. There are hints of the private sector assessing supplying housing to the urban poor and associating this with wider urban regeneration processes. However, these initiatives are often implemented as "pockets of projects" addressing certain objectives at a given point in time. As a result, the provision of inclusionary housing for the financially disadvantaged, and urban regeneration initiatives are often framed to be mutually exclusive as opposed to being part of the intention to achieve the same objective. The overarching aim of this study was to therefore explore whether urban regeneration strategies can be implemented in a manner that achieves an inclusive urban regeneration result – whose responsibility, is it?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Analysis of Urban Regeneration

The urban regeneration concept has been broadly debated in literature and international policies to narrate the various elements of urban landscapes and response to urban degeneration. Related terms such as urban renewal, redevelopment, rehabilitation, and rejuvenation often form part of the broad conceptual framework of the same process which deals with the response to various urban problems. To conceptualize urban regeneration for this study, understanding what it is, is paramount.

"Urban regeneration involves comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social, and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement." (Roberts, 2000)

This submission outlines the various aspects of improvement which urban regeneration is intended to achieve. However, there is a perceived lack in social improvement resulting from urban regeneration initiatives, an aspect on which this study is underpinned. Urban areas are vibrant and intricate systems reflecting the numerous procedures that drive transitional aspects such as economic, social, physical, and environmental. Thus, no area/city can be exempt from external forces that influence the need to adapt, nor the internal forces present within, and which can trigger its growth or decline. Factors such as these are what necessitate the urban regeneration process. Tallon (2010) presented that urban regeneration is a noteworthy element of a wider 'urban policy' on the basis that it relates to urban areas, urban processes, and urban populations and the resolution of the associated problems. This submission was echoed by various scholars in the analysis of urban regeneration objectives which can be summarised as:

- Unlocking development capability in deprived areas (Kleinhans & Kearns, 2013)
- Intention to tackle barriers to growth and reducing unemployment (Lak & Hakimian, 2018)
- Creating opportunities for deprived communities (Lak, Gheitasi, & Timothy, 2019)
- Creating areas' attractiveness to residents and investors (Bereitschaft, 2020)
- Improving resident fulfilment regarding where they live (Cho, Kim, & Lee, 2020)

The foregoing provides an understanding of urban regeneration being far reaching than merely providing the physical improvement to an area. It is intended to be a consolidated solution to various problems faced by an area and its residents. Thus, the conceptualisation of the regeneration initiatives delivered play a vital responsibility in guaranteeing that these objectives are met.

Benefits & Deficiencies of Urban Regeneration

A global mutual understanding on the research contribution shown above is that urban regeneration is intended to provide solutions to urban decay problems. Over time in various cities worldwide, phenomena of urban sprawl (the influx of suburban residents causing an increase in urban population with the decrease in space) was experienced, causing the need to rehabilitate the areas (Kearns & Mason, 2013). According to Tallon (2010), various policies and tools can be used to achieve urban regeneration goals, which therefore aids in achieving the following benefits for an area that undergoes a regenerative process:

- Physical improvement of the built environment and achieving environmental sustainability
- Improvement of the physical living conditions and facilities for particular social groups (quality of life)
- Improvement on the provision of basic social services (social welfare)
- Enhancement of employment prospects through job creation

Notwithstanding the abovementioned goals and benefits of urban regeneration, several researchers have contrasting views due to the negative impacts associated with its implementation (Lindsay, 2016). In many instances, the negative impacts outweigh the positive. The impacts identified in literature range from the ensuing gentrification process causing an increase in property prices, forced displacement of original residents, and subsequent loss of the area's culture and heritage. These deficiencies are annotated below.

Source of Gentrification

When an area experiences economic activity increase, it is often accompanied by population growth and influx of a new class of professionals. This often results in the need for urban redevelopment to cater for these new demands; a process that can be viewed as gentrification. Ding, Hwang & Divringi (2016) assert that the process of gentrification contributes to social, economic, and ethnic segregation. If not properly conceptualised, this type of gentrification can lead to uneven urban development, such that an area may see development in the areas with a certain residential class, and neglect in other areas. This provides an understanding on how gentrification may contribute to new patterns of segregation emanating from the revised social and wealth mix within the areas of development. Literature on gentrification has become increasingly divided amongst scholars into those that perceive gentrification as being caused by markets and politics (for example Bereitschaft, 2020; Lees & Hubbard, 2020; Van Gent & Hochestenbach, 2020) and those who view it as a result of the tastes of the elite and explicitly their preference for residence in cities (for example Brown-Seracino, 2017; MacDonald & Stokes, 2020; Pickett, 2020). Consequently, Lukens (2020) outlines that gentrification is no longer characterised by the upgrading of dilapidated/devalued urban structures, it has instead become the varied process including the immigration into gentrifying neighbourhoods by wealthier residents, redevelopment of infrastructure and recreational developments aimed at tourism attraction resulting in an improvement in social class.

Increased Property Prices

With the accomplishment of the goals associated with urban regeneration (i.e., improvements in the physical environment, quality of life, and economic prospects) mentioned above, Cho, Kim, & Lee (2020) present that the impact of urban regeneration on property prices begins as soon as revelations of urban regeneration projects are done. Property price escalations were found to occur at planning stages of such projects, way before the actual redevelopment process was even started. Ding & Hwang (2016) examined the relationship between urban regeneration caused gentrification and the economic health of residents in the gentrifying area. Their interpretations were that due to the increase in the cost of living attributed to property costs, residents end up experience financial problems, especially those that were already financially vulnerable. With inner cities

usually being economic hubs, the increased property/rental prices make it impossible for lower income individuals to reside within the area, further reinforcing the colonial spatial planning phenomenon. Van Gent & Hochstenbach (2020) infer that housing/rental value growth was found to contribute to segregation, whereby rising property/rental values is coupled with an increase in the migration of residents of a higher social, racial, and financial class. This is supportive of the inference that increase in segregation is primarily driven by the downgrading/neglect of low-value areas, while focus is given to the gentrification of middle-valued areas. With the upgrades in regenerating neighbourhoods, more affluent population groups move to the still low-income neighbourhoods; thereby causing the segregation and sometimes forced displacement of the original lower income residents.

Forced Residential Displacement

A fundamental and immediate outcome of gentrification and increased housing costs is forced residential displacement. With the incapability to afford living in the neighbourhood, lower income residents get forced to move out, which is a process recognised as residential displacement. Additionally, the financially helpless residents who end up moving from these neighbourhoods accrue further financial burden from the moving process, and additional burdens from affordability in the new neighbourhoods they move to. Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, and Loukaitou-Sideris (2018) also submit that this phenomenon leads to the loss of affordable housing and the segregation of low-income residents. This is because, as the economically disadvantaged residents move out, residents of a higher earning social class move in, thus pushing the property prices up with no incentive to preserve affordability. Pickett (2020) states that the process of urban regeneration causes gentrification in some areas and forced displacement in others. Zuk et al. (2018) found that the relationship between gentrification resulting from urban regeneration and forced displacement (specifically residential) exists. However, there has been a misdirected merge of gentrification and displacement into one concept although a 'gentrification-induced residential displacement' is a concept that does exist. Lukens (2020) adds that the definitions of residential displacement in relation to urban regeneration/gentrification have extended from direct physical and economic displacement to now incorporate 'indirect price shadowing' and the loss of 'sense of place'. Thus, although the correlation between gentrification and displacement may have changed over time, their relationship remains static.

The Neoliberal Paradigm

Various urban regeneration practices have been associated with the privatisation of spaces and services, popularly referred to as neoliberalism. Sager (2011) defines neoliberalism as a process that implies the transformation from publicly designed solutions to competitive and market-oriented ones, usually serving businesses and their preferred consumer groups. Didier, Peryroux & Morange, (2012) further described it as a policy model that transfers control of monetary factors from the state to the private sector. In investigating neoliberal policies in relation to urban planning, Sager (2011) and Didier et al. (2012) agree that they can be viewed as the reorganization of the relationship between private capital owners and the government which promotes and rationalises a growth-first approach to urban development. This means that most of the planning and implementation is executed by investors and property developers with little regulation in property rights while privatisation of services increases. Therefore, apart from the tangible results from implementation of urban regeneration strategies, its main downside is the consequent neoliberalism which has outcomes that are profit driven and opposing social inclusiveness. This further validates the inference drawn by a variety of scholars such as Didier et al. (2012), Heimann & Oranje (2008), Kotze & de Vries (2019) and Peryroux, (2008) that the privatisation of the development process is only beneficial to a select few and excludes the lower income residents. This emphasises the need for the investigation into the implementation of urban regeneration strategies that are aimed at achieving the government's objectives towards the provision of low-income and inclusive housing.

South African Urban Regeneration

In a bid to respond to the physical deterioration of Central Business Districts (CBD) in post-apartheid South Africa, an array of urban regeneration initiatives were implemented in South Africa, specifically within the

City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. The following section provides an overview of the types of initiatives implemented to date.

Transport-led Regeneration

The upgrading of the public transport infrastructure by the introduction of the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN) in circa 2013. This was the government's objective in restructuring the public transport system, infrastructure, and the provision of affordable public transport to reduce the inequalities associated with the transport system. It was achieved through the redevelopment of the roads infrastructure to accommodate the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. The intention of the BRT is to link various parts of a city into a transport network. The BRT was viewed to be a beneficial contribution to the transport infrastructure due to it being a cleaner, safer, and more effective transport mode; BRT is an intelligent solution to municipalities' urban transport challenges (King, 2013). Furthermore, the implementation of the Gautrain Rapid Rail Project was viewed to be the continent's first of a kind as a high-speed rail development taking influence from countries such as Japan, Singapore, China, Russia, etc. with the intention to connect various economic nodes within the City of Johannesburg and City of Tshwane (Thomas, 2013). However, some of the demerits of this project were found to be in the nature that it deepens the state of exclusion and segregation in the province due to the pricing nature and areas it services. This is due to the vast difference to the already existing Metrorail system, with comparison between the two being one for the poor – Metrorail, and the other for the prosperous – Gautrain.

City/Business Improvement Districts

Initiatives like City/Central Improvement Districts (CIDs) and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) were introduced in South Africa in response to the rising demand for property in major CBDs resultant to the post-apartheid urban decay and increase of the service economy. CIDs are originally a North American model adopted as a response to urban blight, as well as an innovative solution to foster and boost economic expansion. CIDs are defined as:

“A geographic area within which property owners and/or 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, with the main role being to maintain and manage the public environment at a superior level and thus enhance the property owners' investments.” (Peryroux, 2008, p.2).

Heimann & Oranje (2008) concede that irrespective of the area in which they are implemented, all CIDs share comparable concepts in that they are privately directed activities in a geographical area within a city; providing ancillary services that are endorsed by the public. This type of urban regeneration strategy is noticeable in Johannesburg's redevelopment of the Maboneng Precinct, Rosebank, and Sandton areas. CIDs result in the formation of decentralised nodes within cities, characterised by high property price exclusion for lower income residents, causing forced residential displacement as seen in international scholarship (Kotze & de Vries, 2019). The Maboneng Precinct redevelopment is exemplary of such cases, whereby business and property owners renewed various buildings into luxury commercial, residential, and entertainment facilities, causing property prices to increase drastically and the original financially vulnerable residents of the area were forced to move as a result (Ah Goo, 2017).

Policies, Frameworks, & Legislation

South Africa has over the years undergone a redevelopment process whereby legislation, policies and frameworks were developed to offer solutions to the 'post-apartheid' development. Corresponding to the Housing Act 107 of 1997, satisfactory shelter is a basic human need which is vital to the socio-economic wellbeing of the nation. Notwithstanding, the past spatial planning and current state of the economy make it difficult for low-income citizens to afford decent housing in urban areas. The government has undertaken to resolve these by developing frameworks, regulations, legislation, and policies that govern service delivery that is inclusive and accommodates society's marginalised groups, some of which are discussed below.

Inclusionary Housing Policy

The most prevalent policy in the discussion of inclusion is the City of Johannesburg's Inclusionary Housing Policy. This policy was approved by council in February 2019 and is viewed to be "a new policy that will compel private developers to bear some responsibility for providing affordable housing in Johannesburg" (Webster & Haffejee, 2019). The main objectives of the policy are to provide low-cost housing while redressing social discrimination and affording low-income earners the opportunity to reside in proximity to areas of economic activities. The policy is viewed as unparalleled in South Africa, however, it places the responsibility on private developers to deal with inequality and deliver affordable housing stock. The policy outlines various options for property developers in the delivery of inclusionary housing:

- Option one states that affordable units would be regulated by social housing legislation or the Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) – a government subsidy intended to provide first time home owners an opportunity in the affordable housing market. 30% of the total units in the development must be housing rentals capped at R2 100 a month at 2018 prices, with design requirements complying to the Social Housing Act (No. 16 of 2008) and the Johannesburg Land Use Scheme 2018. The units must have similar appearance as market units in the same development and share common spaces with market units.
- Option 2, which is applicable to developments on denser parts of the city, states that 10% of a development's floor area should be constituted of apartments bigger than 18m², but smaller than 30m². It applies similar requirements as option one above.
- Option three, which is for developments of twenty units or more, requires that 20% of the total residential floor area should be dedicated to units that are half the size of the development's other units.
- Option four allows applicants (developers) to request a negotiated outcome for inclusionary housing that deviates from the abovementioned options, provided that such request is to the satisfaction of Council.

The policy outlines various options developers can select to utilise in their developments, as well as benefits and incentives that they may obtain for utilising options 1 – 3. This policy was developed with the intention to address the stark inequalities pertaining to housing in the City of Johannesburg.

Integrated Development Plan

Every municipality is required by the Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000 to develop a five-year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) intended at guiding it in implementing its constitutional mandate of a developmental local government and in service delivery. The plan identifies the developmental problems experienced by the City and puts forward strategic frameworks to address challenges. The City has identified strategic interventions and operational plans aimed at addressing the developmental challenges of residents which span over long term (Joburg Growth Development Strategy 2040) and medium term (five-year Integrated Development Plan). The plan settles that the apartheid regime spatial planning has left fragmentation in communities, which has contributed to the establishment of informal settlements. This further creates imbalances in ease of access to basic services to the most susceptible communities and residents of the City. In a bid to address this, the City's vision is a more efficient, transit oriented and sustainable city are being implemented. Thus, the City aims to reverse these through applying the following measures to spatial balance:

- Sustainable distribution of water, sanitation, energy, and waste services
- Promotion of mass public transportation and ensuring eco-mobility
- Development of effective spatial planning, economic and social investment to establish sustainable human settlements

The aim is creating communities where citizens can live, work and play, while breaching social segregation.

Social Housing Regulatory Authority

The Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SRHA) is an entity within the National Department of Human Settlements, which was established in accordance with the Social Housing Act, No 16 of 2008. Its core mandate is to invest into, enable and regulate the social housing sector. Social housing is identified as

government subsidised rental housing for low to medium income groups earning between R1500 and R15 000 per month. The purpose of social housing is the contribution to the restructuring of the South African society to address economic, structural, social, and spatial dysfunctionalities (Webster & Haffejee, 2019). The SHRA therefore acts as a regulatory body that provides accreditation and investment for social housing projects and social housing institutions for the development of sustainable communities.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The overarching aim of this study was to explore whether urban regeneration strategies can be implemented in a manner that achieves an inclusive urban regeneration result. Due to the study's focus involving both the private and public sector, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten experts on urban regeneration and inclusionary housing in Johannesburg from both the public and private sector. Respondents were carefully selected to form part of the sample by prioritising representation from both public and private sector. From the ten respondents, five were from the private sector, and five from the public sector. There were also instances where respondents had experience on both sectors, which was an added advantage as it ensured objectivity in the responses. The respondents represented individuals who are well experienced in urban regeneration and the redevelopment of the Johannesburg inner-city. They range from property owners, developers, development consultants, social housing consultants, municipal directors and senior representatives who have been directly involved in various regeneration projects in the inner-city over the past four decades. The table below presents the rationale for participation by the respondents:

Table 1: Sampling Technique & Description

Respondent	Categorisation	Rationale for Participation
R1	Private Sector	Architects, project managers urban designers, and project facilitators involved in the conceptualisation and implementation of housing and other asset classes in the inner city
R2	Private Sector	
R3	Private Sector	
R4	Private Sector	Property market investor in the inner city
R5	Private Sector	Property developer in both affordable housing and luxury residential developments
R6	Public Sector	City of Johannesburg manager in city/urban planning involved in Spatial Development Planning
R7	Public Sector	City of Johannesburg manager in Human Settlements involved in Inclusionary Housing Policy
R8	Public Sector	City of Johannesburg Social Housing Consultant
R9	Public Sector	Manager of Social Housing Agency for City of Johannesburg
R10	Public Sector	National Department of Planning involved in spatial development planning

The intention of using a qualitative strategy for this study was to gain in-depth comprehension and detailed observation of a 'real-world' context that would enable the study to consolidate the theoretical findings from the literature review with empirical application and understanding. Utilising structured in-depth interviews was intended to enable analysis of the factors that influence the current state, implications, and shortcomings of urban regeneration in an inclusionary manner.

4. FINDINGS

Thematic analysis of the findings from the semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted with the respondents who are stakeholders in inner-city regeneration from both the private and public sectors was utilised for analysis of the data. This was through the identification of various codes that emerged from the interviews which were amalgamated into themes during the analysis. Responses from the respondents on

whether property development towards an inclusive urban regeneration strategy in the Johannesburg inner city is possible, and how, emanated from the discussions. The results from the interviews were coded and categorised into themes that were in accordance with the themes from the research questions. The themes were generated from the objectives from which the study is founded, and are echoed below:

1. To assess the underlying challenges, shortcomings, and implications of current inner-city regeneration initiatives.
2. To analyse the state of frameworks, policies, and regulations for inclusive urban regeneration.
3. To investigate the possibility for a private-public partnership in delivering inclusive urban regeneration.
4. To investigate whether formal private sector developers are participating in the delivery of very low-income housing, and how this is adding to the City's vision for a more inclusive inner city that places sufficient and affordable housing at the core of spatial transformation.

Respondents displayed an appreciation of an urban regeneration process and outlined the importance of urban regeneration as being far more reaching than the physical improvement to an area.

“Urban regeneration involves the sociological, economic, and physical improvement to an area, which is coupled with the efficient use of infrastructure. Effective inner-city regeneration is associated with the provision of sufficient transport links, effective access to education, health, and recreational amenities.” (R1).

The inner-city is grappling with urban decay, urban sprawl, and infrastructure provision to society's marginalised groups. The City of Johannesburg is grappling with delivery of inclusionary housing, while in the same breath is faced with decay resulting from abandoned buildings. The importance of continued investment into built infrastructure of an area is paramount to the maintenance of an area, avoidance of the need for constant renewal and the fight against decay. Public sector respondents stated that the delivery of urban regeneration strategies need to be conceptualised in a manner that addresses these.

Whilst appreciating the importance of urban regeneration, it is equally important to note the inadequacies associated with its delivery. The most prominent submission by respondents was that such initiatives are mostly private sector/capitalist led. Private sector respondents outlined that their main intention when undertaking regeneration/redevelopment initiatives is primarily profit. These projects are mostly structured in a manner that can be highly competitive in the market to yield the most demand. There are often extra services/amenities (viz: private security, self-sufficiency through mixed use developments) associated with these projects, and the payment of these are built into the selling/rental prices. This is evident to the association of urban regeneration with neoliberalism as found in the literature review section, which was also found in responses.

Public sector respondents acknowledged that there is a disconnect in the delivery of sustainable and inclusive inner city regeneration initiatives. This is due to the isolated nature in which various departments/sectors are involved in infrastructure development, notwithstanding urban regeneration being a system. This means that for a successful urban regeneration outcome; cohesion in upgrades to roads and transport, human settlements, energy, water and sanitation, health, education, parks and recreation, environmental health, and safety are paramount. These are the various departments at municipal, provincial and national level responsible for delivery of infrastructure in their respective portfolios. A limitation with these and achieving inclusive urban regeneration is in the 'silo/isolated' way they work. In most instances, due to the nature in which the departments undertake their planning and budgeting, these projects are not coordinated in a manner that once complete, they yield an overall upgrade in an area. An integrated city development framework/model that consolidates the abovementioned divisions, according to the city's spatial planning and development objectives, would be a major contribution in resolving the shortcomings of urban regeneration.

Inner City Developmental Problems

The inner city is heavily populated, while in the same breath, suffering various developmental problems. Respondents outlined these as being the core contributor in the state of decay and lack of development in the inner city.

“We need to understand that due to the overpopulation, abandoned and hijacked buildings in the inner city, it is a case of vertical informal settlements. Sporadic in nature, lacking structure and planning,” (R9).

Thus, the inner city to a very large degree faces similar developmental problems similar to informal settlements. The developmental problems were elaborated on by various respondents as follows:

Crime & Lawlessness

Public sector respondents emphasised on the levels of crime and lawlessness experienced in the inner city. Due to the high levels of immigration, and CoJ being the economic hub of Africa, it is inevitable to have increased levels of illegal occupations and activities. The idea of the inner city resembling vertical informal settlements is reiterated by this assertion. Respondents spoke on various instances of abandoned and hijacked buildings in the inner city, emphasising that the difference between private sector led initiatives are the added amenities such as private security and patrol they normally come with.

Informal Trade

There is an imperative need for policy makers to recognise who the inclusionary housing solutions are being delivered to. The reason for the inner-city's severe decay is due to the lack of structures that make it possible for the informal economy to exist and function. Informal trading is a major driver in the inner-city's functioning, and in the absence of effective structures for its function (safety, health, hygiene, etc.); it ends up with pollution and dilapidation in a highly densified area like the CBD. Respondents outlined the importance of conceptualising urban regeneration solutions that effectively respond to the problems they are aimed at addressing. This is a concern shared by both sector respondents, by conceding that the informal trade is not given enough recognition and consideration in planning and implementation processes. As such, the regeneration initiatives end up becoming wasteful and futile exercises as they get undone by the informal trade that is not incorporated into the development processes.

Waste Management

Respondents elucidated the interrelated nature of the developmental problems the inner-city faces. The lack of management structures and rates of lawlessness see the inner-city being riddled with high levels of waste. There is an evident absence of an effective waste management system in place to counter the large volumes produced by inner-city activities. Initiatives such as the informal waste pickers which fall into the informal economy should be considered and incorporated into the conceptualisation of solutions. Effective waste management system in place to counter the large volumes produced by inner-city activities.

Transport

It is an undeniable reality that the decline and regeneration of urban areas creates numerous challenges relating to the provision of urban transport. In already densely populated areas such as the inner-city, where a combination of public and private transport exists, the challenges are heightened. Respondents reaffirmed that the transport system needs attention, stating that the minibus taxi system is a major contributor to the transport system in the country as it is viewed to be the fastest and cheapest way to get around. However, in densely built areas such as the inner-city, it is an inefficient system as there are no set routes, maps & timetables. According to the South African National Taxi Council (Santaco), “taxis transport approximately 15-million commuters daily; this consists of 60 to 70% of the commuting public and workforce”. This restates the need

for holistic conceptualisation of regeneration initiatives such that the outcomes do not lead to a creation of further problems than providing solutions.

Current Urban Regeneration Policies & Frameworks

Respondents view property redevelopment to play a major role in the delivery of urban regeneration. However, this is also viewed as an isolated approach in solving the problem. Respondents' views on the current policies and frameworks are annotated below.

Inclusionary Housing Policy

In reviewing the policy, respondents spoke about its lack of definition being one of the shortcomings. The intention of the policy is to compel developers to provide housing that is "affordable". However, no consideration has been given to what range is deemed as affordable. It should be noted that what may be affordable in the certain parts of the city is the opposite in the inner city. Private sector respondents further spoke of the lack of longer-term incentives with the policy. The most prevalent view is that the policy is mostly dictatorial, and not inviting participation. The public sector also found some lopsided factors associated with the policy. With one of the options being the City regulating the size of the units to limit their costs is found to be ineffective as developers merely inflate the price per square metre to maintain profits. The policy includes no guarantee, however, that the "open market" will keep costs affordable. This therefore juxtaposes the intentions of the policy.

Integrated Development Plan

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP), according to respondents, is an effective tool in addressing the developmental problems faced by the City and Province at large. With the IDP outlining the various developmental spheres, it shows a step towards the solution. However, while the IDP is effective in outlining the broader overall issues, the implementation is where the disconnection occurs. Public sector respondents echoed the issues of isolated implementation within the departments/entities tasked with the delivery of the solutions outlined in the IDP. Private sector respondents fault the IDP in that there is no recognition of the sector's contribution in the redevelopment processes. However, policies such as the Inclusionary Housing Policy in turn compels their participation.

Role of the Private Sector

Respondents from both groups agreed on the fact that the private sector is the main driver of urban regeneration initiatives. In considering the initiatives achieved by the private sector so far, with the development of the Maboneng Precinct being a prime example, there is no denying the massive role played by the private sector in urban redevelopment. Furthermore, in comparing the success rate of private sector led initiatives, albeit lack of provision for inclusionary housing, the private sector surpasses government-led initiatives by a great margin. This, according to private sector respondents, is based on extensive market research into the feasibility of projects prior to implementation. According to the private sector respondents, the planning for such developments spans over extended periods of time to ensure that the product delivered is structured to yield results in the long term.

Public sector respondents acknowledged the massive contribution of the private sector to infrastructure development, to the extent that the private sector drives development more than the public sector. As such, to achieve the delivery of initiatives such as inclusionary urban regeneration, the government stands a better chance at this through participation than regulation/enforcement. It is critically important to recognise the extent of the private sector's investments (skills, capital, resources, etc) into their initiatives. As such, inclusionary redevelopment cannot exist in isolation as it requires the participation of all affected stakeholders. The private sector responds to market indicators, has an extensive capital contribution to development; thus,

to ensure their role is fulfilled is achievable through invitation to participate in realising the overall goal/vision for inner city regeneration.

Inclusive Urban Regeneration

Respondents from both sectors identified and agreed that the achievement of an inclusive urban regeneration requires participation and sharing of a common goal. It was stated that initiatives such as the Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP), whose role is to facilitate growth and transformation for all Inner-City stakeholders through collaboration between COJ, other spheres of government and the private sector are of paramount importance. This is because through such initiatives, desired outcome of the partnership is accelerated, inclusive, shared, and has sustainable growth. Coordinated planning amongst the City's various departments still needs to be aligned with overall City planning towards inclusionary regeneration. This further reiterates the importance of a consultative and coordinated process between the stakeholders. Respondents outlined that the urban regeneration initiatives fall short in achieving inclusive results due to the lack of common objectives between the private and public sector. The burden to eliminate segregation and provide inclusionary housing cannot be placed on private developers through policies such as the Inclusionary Housing Policy. There needs to be a cohesion between the stakeholders to achieve this goal.

5. DISCUSSION

The Johannesburg inner city is undeniably facing various developmental problems. The degree of neglect has contributed to the high levels of crime, lawlessness, poor waste management and transport systems. This is evident of the fact that urban regeneration is a process that involves various facets of the urban ecosystem, as such its delivery should be approached in a similar manner. This study outlined the distinctive features and process of contemporary urban regeneration as:

- It being intended to change the nature of a place and to involve the community with a stake in its future in the process,
- Embracing various objectives that cut across the functional responsibilities of central government depending on the area's particular problems and potential,
- It usually involving some manner of partnership amongst different stakeholders, though the forms of partnership may vary.

Service delivery is the government's responsibility, with the private sector supplementing it through redevelopment investments. The delivery of inclusionary urban regeneration, therefore, cannot exist in isolation from the other relevant stakeholders.

The investigation's findings from both literature and empirical evidence highlighted the importance of urban regeneration in that it is far reaching than just the delivery of infrastructure. There is a social and socio-economic aspect that needs to be taken into consideration when such initiatives are being implemented. Respondents concur with assertions by the various scholars in the literature that in areas undergoing regeneration there is often an element of gentrification which leads to price inflation and forced residential displacement. This echoed the need for the reconceptualization of the current frameworks and policies because inclusive urban regeneration is a coordinated effort, requiring participation from all stakeholders involved (including its recipients). Recognition of the private sector's role in implementation of regeneration efforts needs to be acknowledged and consolidated with the development of legislative frameworks for urban regeneration. The frameworks and policies therefore need to be structured in a manner that creates an enabling environment for participation and coordination between the public and private sector. Thus, the creation of an enabling environment that promotes private public partnership can enable high value extraction in obtaining inclusive urban regeneration.

6. CONCLUSION

Is there a possibility to achieve an inclusive urban regeneration outcome in the Johannesburg while recovering from post-colonial capital disinvestment and social polarization was the overarching theme for this study; in which case, who does what?

A need for an inclusionary urban regeneration model/framework for the City of Johannesburg to address the spatial inequalities was identified in this study. A strong view is that currently, urban regeneration initiatives are lopsided in that they benefit the developers through neoliberalism, while the policies create a hostile environment for developers through imposing stringent regulations with little incentives for their participation. The burden of inclusive housing in inner cities cannot be placed solely on the private sector through policies that compel them to participate. To achieve a comprehensive solution, the government needs to take ownership of the responsibility to deliver inclusive infrastructure to citizens instead of passing the burden to the private sector. Policymakers should prioritize creating an enabling environment for the private sector to be willing to participate in the delivery of inclusionary urban regeneration initiatives, thereby achieving the government's post-apartheid development objectives. Developing countries that are still grappling with the provision of inclusionary housing, while resolving urban decay and capital disinvestment can benefit from the review and reconceptualization of inclusive urban regeneration frameworks.

The following recommendations can therefore be made from the study's findings:

- The process of inclusive urban regeneration needs a lengthy conceptual planning, review, and implementation period. The adages "Rome wasn't built in a day" and "No man is an island" best describe this phenomenon.
- The implementation of inclusive urban regeneration cannot be achieved in isolation, there needs to be coordination between all stakeholders involved. A coordinated participation between the public and private sector would best aid in achieving the government's Integrated Development Plan objectives.
- Community based initiatives that include consultation with the community stakeholders (to include aspects like waste, informal trading etc.) is vital in ensuring that the regeneration initiatives address the needs of the end-users.
- Coordination amongst the City's stakeholders in supporting inclusive urban regeneration initiatives and formation of an inner-city regeneration committee through structures such as the Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP), in the development of legislative frameworks can be achieved between the public and private sector.

The findings from this study can thus be applied in the development of legislative frameworks and policies for the delivery of urban regeneration initiatives, especially in the inner-city environment. Therefore, the possibility of an inclusive urban regeneration exists, it is a concept requiring partnership and inclusion of all stakeholders involved.

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