

**CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE
(RE)DEVELOPMENT OF WESTDENE,
BLOEMFONTEIN**

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**Critical perspectives on the (re)development of
Westdene, Bloemfontein**

by

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation, submitted in partial fulfilment of the qualification Master's Degree in Geography at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work which I have not previously submitted for a qualification at another university or faculty.

I furthermore cede copyright of the dissertation in favour of the University of the Free State.

Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

Bloemfontein, 2006

Acknowledgements

I grew up in Westdene. I lived there from September 1986 to July 2005. I saw it change from the neighbourhood of my childhood, to the space it is now. I feel grateful that I can contribute, in some way, to a space that has given me so much.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBD	: Central Business District
DA	: Democratic Alliance
DARE	: Drug Abuse Resistance Education
GPF	: Gemeenskappolisieforum (Community Policing Forum)
IDP	: Integrated Development Plan
SAPS	: South African Police Service
SAVE	: Students Against Violence Everywhere
SOS	: Save our Suburb
SOSAD	: Save Our Sons And Daughters

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study aims to give a critical description of the redevelopment processes shaping Westdene, a neighbourhood in Bloemfontein. The chapter commences with a brief literature review. The brief literature review is undertaken with a view to describing processes of neighbourhood change recorded in current literature and, as such, serves as an introduction to the rest of the project. Secondly, a basic historical background will be given on Westdene from its establishment in 1901, and up to 2005. In addition, the purpose of the project will be provided with a specification of the core tasks. As a fourth point, the core purpose of the project will be set out with reference to the environments, the dynamics and the nature of the project. Further, justifications for undertaking the project will be provided. Supplementary, the questions for the investigation, and the research approach will be outlined to test the feasibility of the project. Moreover, the delimitation of the study will be named with its exact borders. Finally, the research methods will be proposed with regard to interviews, questionnaires and data collection.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Martin (2003), scholars of urban geography, generally, and urban studies, in particular, have struggled to define the concept of “neighbourhood”. Galster (2001) suggests that although “the neighbourhood” is difficult to define precisely, all and sundry know it when they see it and understand what one means when referring to it. A multiplicity of influences can have an effect on any given neighbourhood, such as different forms of usage, namely; decentralisation, the development of services and entertainment amenities, different forms and degrees of crime and gentrification, which all could lead to fragmentation of spatial utilisation. Generally, the neighbourhood can have many impacts on the community and on individuals’ lived geographies. Overman (2002) argues that the composition of the neighbourhood such as the size, educational structure, socio-economic status, spatial design and locality all have impacts on how society and the individual experience the neighbourhood. Therefore, proximity and spatial design create determining issues in neighbourhood perceptions. On the one hand, it could be suggested that

neighbourhoods close to the city centre are often seen in more negative terms, whilst on the other hand, the suburbs are frequently interpreted in positive terms.

Often, the infrastructure of any given neighbourhood was initially designed with the intention of housing people, not with the intention of supporting heavy traffic flows, service amenities or economic ventures. Bodnar (2001) captures the essence of the problem in observing that urban space, and consequently the neighbourhood, is assuming a form that has no centre and lacks urbanity, where social groups live further and further apart and racial poverty is ever more confined spatially. Furthermore, walls are erected around frightened urban middle-class neighbourhoods at their inhabitants' own will (Bodnar, 2001). In conclusion, the structure and form of the neighbourhood is growing ever more complex. Various studies have been undertaken on neighbourhoods. Consequently, the perceptions of neighbourhoods' and the social spaces which superimpose themselves on neighbourhoods are being redefined and are slowly moving away from traditional forms of utilisation.

1.3 BACKGROUND ON WESTDENE, BLOEMFONTEIN (1901-2005)

Senekal (1977) describes the development of Bloemfontein, and subsequently of Westdene, in the following phases, namely, the formative stage from 1900-1910; the consolidation stage from 1910-1950 also dealt with in Roodt (1994) and Lombaard's (2001) investigations; the early modern stage from 1950-1970, and the modern and late-modern stage from 1970 to 1993. The period from 1994-2005 will be described as the post-apartheid phase. For the purposes of this investigation dates are adapted to accommodate the development dates which coincide with Westdene's development.

During the South African War (1899-1902), the Town Council of Bloemfontein contemplated plans to develop new neighbourhoods, as residential accommodation was in short supply. Consequently, in October 1901, the council decided to develop what was then known as the "Western Extensions", later to be known as Westdene. According to Schoeman (1980), Westdene was initially developed for lower income white residents. Furthermore, it is speculated that the types of lots in Westdene were developed as an alternative to the agricultural plots which were being established around Bloemfontein from 1903 onwards (Roodt, 1994). As a whole, Westdene, during the first decade of the Twentieth Century, displayed a predominantly

residential character. From 1910 to 1950 the physical development of Westdene was slow. Lots in Westdene were offered at nominal prices and buyers were partially subsidised by the town council in the erection of dwellings (Roodt, 1994). Until 1930, development remained slow although by the 1930s', Westdene was however virtually completely built-up by the time Bloemfontein was given city status in 1945 (Senekal, 1977, Schoeman, 1980).

During the period 1950 to 1970 minimal physical development occurred in Westdene, but the rest of Bloemfontein experienced a suburban boom similar to that of post-war urban society elsewhere in South Africa and, indeed, internationally. During this period the neighbourhoods of Dan Pienaar, Bayswater, Wilgehof, Brandwag, Universitas, Hospital Park and General De Wet were added to Bloemfontein. Furthermore, the black and coloured habitation of Heatherdale, Batho, Botshabelo and Phameng were completed, whilst Kagisanong was in the process of being developed (Senekal, 1977). Throughout the period 1970 to 1990 period the more mature suburbs of Bloemfontein were being rebuilt and the southern edge of Westdene was rapidly being redeveloped with high-rise flats and townhouses. The mid-1970s marked the beginning of the migration of businesses from the central business district to adjacent neighbourhoods such as Westdene, Willows, Brandwag and Arboretum (Roodt, 1994). By 1991 the desegregation of Bloemfontein's CBD (Central Business District) increased rapidly and reached levels just above 50% (Jürgens, Marais, Barker and Lombaard, 2003). Desegregation in turn caused the decentralisation of white owned businesses to the west of Bloemfontein, with the southern part of Westdene being severely affected. Business owners used the Art Deco style housing as the setting for their new business ventures. Furthermore, Westdene developed as an entertainment area for a large part of white Bloemfontein, with a variety of restaurants and nightclubs. These developed in the midst of private housing and businesses and the manifestations are as diverse as a skyscraper, a pet shop to and an escort agency. Furthermore, over the past five years Westdene has been severely affected by crime. It has become common to see headlines in local newspapers such as "Plans for Westdene begin today", as well as "Making Westdene a danger zone", "Crime in Westdene spills over to neighbours" and "Patrols come to Westdene" (Du Toit, 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). Further, over the past ten years a form of gentrification has taken place in the northern part of the neighbourhood. Young upwardly-mobile

professionals have created waves of neighbourhood renewal and change by buying up large parts of the housing stock. Some have chosen to significantly renovate and modernise their homes and some not, leaving a compelling sight of simultaneous regeneration and degradation visible. Westdene is a neighbourhood in which entertainment amenities and art-orientated facilities connected to corporate businesses and restaurants exist within the context of old and modern suburbia.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

The core tasks of this research project are

- to describe the development history of Westdene.
- to gather relevant data to understand the dynamics and challenges which have shaped Westdene up to the present, but with specific reference to the 1994 to 2005 period.
- to study Westdene as an example of a neighbourhood on the fringe of the Bloemfontein's CBD, which is both the result of controlled and uncontrolled urban change.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE INVESTIGATION

In the field of geography two Master's-level studies and one undergraduate study have been completed on Westdene. In 1992 Mouton and Schoeman (1992) conducted the first investigation on the effects of office decentralisation from Bloemfontein's central business district to Westdene. Botha (1994) studied Westdene in the mid-1990s focussing on the historical preservation of Westdene and whether such interventions have led to the consolidation or deterioration of its historical character. In addition, Roodt (1994) completed the most in-depth study in 1994 on the planning and transformation of social space in Westdene. These three studies have created a good foundation from which to work. However, it could also be argued that Westdene's redevelopment over the past ten years (since the last study was completed) has undergone major changes not foreseen in the completed research and which have had major impacts on its residents and indeed the urban context of the greater Bloemfontein. Therefore, an investigation tracking the development of

Westdene in the aftermath of post-apartheid political, social and economic transition seems to be called for.

1.6 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The core objectives of the research are

- to describe and analyse the existing neighbourhood environment which affects the redevelopment of Westdene.
- to determine whether the redevelopment of roughly the past ten odd years and also the years to come is resilient enough to cope with the constant transformation which is evident in Westdene.

1.7 QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION AND THE RESEARCH APPROACH

The research questions to be addressed here are directly related to the above project objectives. The research approach and research outputs relate to the core questions of the investigation.

- The research approach will attempt to orientate itself in terms of the national level. The aim of the research, however, will not be to survey the national context, but the specifics of Westdene as the specific subject of neighbourhood redevelopment.
- A focussed approach will be adopted in respect of the research investigation, which is informed by existing national and international research relevant to the Westdene context. Overall, the research approach will have a number of sub-tasks.
- The first task will be to map out the existing urban processes driving the development of Westdene.
- The second task is to determine the changes which resulted in the existing urban processes currently taking place in Westdene.

1.8 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY AREA

The specific geographical delimitation of the study is Westdene (see Figure 1.1). Westdene is a neighbourhood, which is in the centre of and forms part of the primary and secondary city centres of Bloemfontein. The boundaries of the study area are to the north, Brebner Road, to the south, Henry Street, to the east Markgraaf Street, and to the west, Dan Pienaar Avenue. The boundaries represent the exact area in which much of the redevelopment of Westdene has taken place over the past ten years.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODS

1.9.1 Primary Data

The primary data used has been acquired through a variety of methods which include two sets of questionnaire surveys among residents and business owners in Westdene. Personal in-depth interviews were also conducted with key business owners and residents. Linking the census data with the participants has been essential in excavating a proper profile of the residents. The first set of interviews employed a questionnaire survey (see Appendix 1). First, the predominantly residential part of Westdene which exists above Brill Street, to the north was investigated. The housing stock was counted at approximately two hundred, the dimension established was through a site survey. Questionnaires were delivered by hand. Two hundred questionnaires were distributed. Therefore, every single household in the main residential part of Westdene received a questionnaire. These questionnaires were collected over a period of two weeks and participants were allowed to drop off their questionnaires personally. A total of 56 of the 200 questionnaires were returned, this resulting in a 28% response rate.

The second questionnaire survey attempted to paint an aggregate picture of the business component of Westdene, which is mainly clustered in the southern part of Westdene (see Appendix 2). The formal number of businesses in Westdene could not be obtained from the Mangaung Local Municipality because of a variety of changes in data systems, as well as to rates and tax base systems. Therefore, a personal survey method was employed to calculate the number of commercial properties in Westdene. The survey was conducted on foot, using a map obtained from Urban Dynamics (Town and Regional Planners), and by counting each business. The property number and street number of the commercial ventures on each lot were recorded. A number of

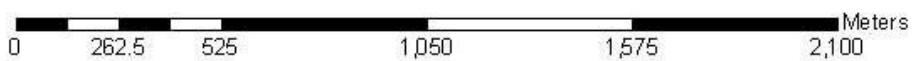
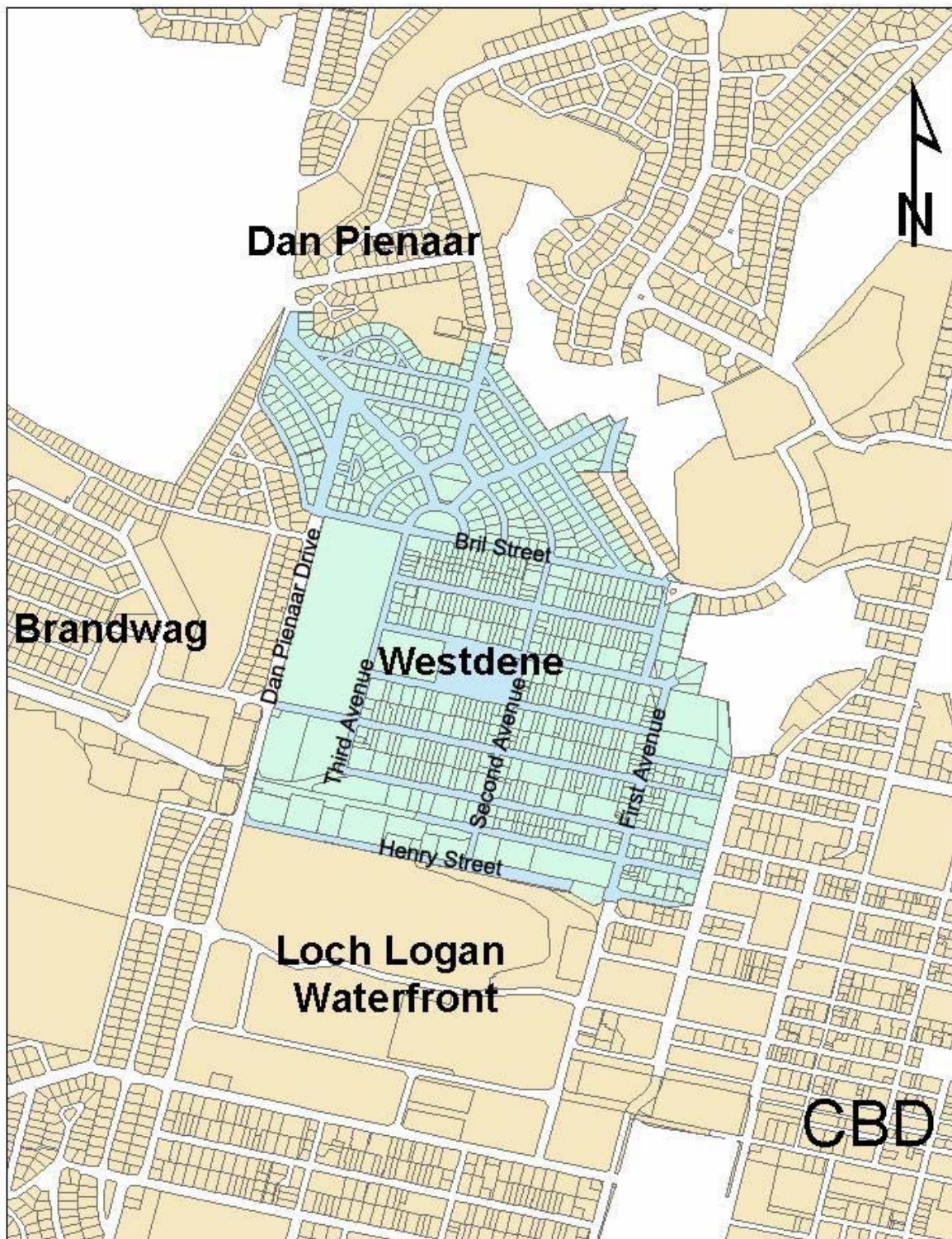


Figure 1.1: Westdene: an orientation map of the study area

close to eight hundred businesses was counted in Westdene. The current number of commercial properties in Westdene is 235. Questionnaires were faxed to all the commercial properties. These fax numbers were acquired from the local telephone directory. Respondents were then given the option of either faxing the questionnaire to the number provided or being picked it up in person. Sixty questionnaires were returned either by fax or personal collection from business properties in Westdene. A 26% response rate was obtained. The self-administered questionnaire information was augmented with personal in-depth interviews done. The latter attempted to be theme based (see Appendix 3 for interviewee list, and Appendix 4 for the interview schedule). Using a wide variety of participants was pivotal to investigating the different themes in this study. Twenty semi-structured interviews were completed with key informants from every age range and from all social spheres, and also from the residential, apartment or townhouse and commercial realms of Westdene. These twenty interviews were transcribed and subsequently analysed.

1.9.2 Secondary Data

The population profile of Westdene was compiled employing census data, including the following variables; the general age categories, education level, employment and occupational status, income level, race, and lastly, the gender status. Furthermore, census data was also employed to create a profile for the residents residing in flats or townhouses, these areas being very difficult to access. The census data employed for the flats and townhouses were; annual household income, annual individual income, ownerships status, gender and race of the townhouse or flat residents. The 1996 and 2001 Census data were used with the intention of investigating changes in population and possible desegregation taking place in Westdene.

1.10 CONCLUSION

The project aims to suggest that Westdene is a constantly evolving urban entity which is the result of *inter alia* a history of decentralisation of a range of functions including entertainment and businesses in response to crime in the CBD. Roodt (1994) suggests that Westdene, in terms of Bloemfontein, presents an unique opportunity to clarify a wide variety of issues which could benefit the urbanity of Bloemfontein in general, and of its neighbourhoods in particular. The next chapter presents an international literature overview which attempts to explore a range of themes associated with urban

structure models and neighbourhood change, and will provide a framework of analysis for Chapter Three. Chapter Three will orientate itself from the national perspective with the intention of describing the South African urban structure models and neighbourhood discourses as a basis for Chapter Four. Chapter Four describes the history of Westdene as part of the greater urbanity of Bloemfontein, which subsequently relates to the debates discussed in the literature reviews. Furthermore, against the backdrop of Chapter Four, Chapter Five will describe what has transpired in happenings the past ten years. This period will moreover be the focus of the study. The issues explored within Chapter Five will also lay the foundation for the attempted profile created within Chapter Six. Chapter Seven will seek to conclude the basis of the literature reviews connected to historical and contemporary debates, as well as the varied profiles of Westdene.

CHAPTER 2: DESCRIBING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO MODELS OF URBAN STRUCTURE

This chapter outlines the various theoretical models which explain urban structure and general neighbourhood studies. Specifically, attention is focussed on the standard explanatory models of Burgess (1925), Hoyt (1939) and Ullman and Harris (1945). In addition, alternatives to the classical urban models will also be discussed such as those of Mann (1965), Kearsley and Vance (1964) and White (1987). The discussion next turns to the post-modern/post-industrial urban structure model of Soja which was developed in the late 1980s and further embellished during the course of the 1990s. Throughout, the discussion relates these perspectives to neighbourhood development and change. The section focussing on neighbourhood studies will look at six themes, namely; decentralisation, entertainment, crime and fear of crime, gentrification, fragmentation of urban space and of the neighbourhood in general.

2.2 THE CLASSICAL MODELS OF URBAN STRUCTURE

Waugh (1995) argues that spatial patterns, which may show differences and similarities in land use and/or social groupings within a city, reflect how various urban areas have evolved economically and socially in response to a range of changing conditions over a period of time. The result has been the development of several models describing and explaining urban structure, each model proposing its own listing of basic assumptions and theory behind it, and how it applies to the real world (Knox, 1987; Van Der Merwe, 1987; Carter, 1995; Waugh, 1995; Dear, 2000; Pacione, 2001). The first, and probably the best-known model of urban structure is that which Burgess first presented in 1925. Burgess's model developed from observations made on Chicago's outward expansion from the CBD and the patterning of different socio-economic groupings around it. According to this model five concentric zones are identified, namely; the CBD, the transitional or twilight zone, the areas of low-class housing, areas of middle-class housing and lastly a zone of high-class housing (Waugh, 1995).

The second model explaining urban structure was that of Hoyt (1939). Hoyt suggested that the general spatial arrangement was best characterised by sectors, rather than by

concentric zones. Pacione (2001) argues that the resultant model of urban land use starts with the assumption that a mix of land uses will develop around the city centre; then, as the city expands, each will extend outwards in a sector. The sectors start in the central business district, gradually moving into a wholesale light manufacturing area. Thereafter, low-class residential, followed by medium-class residential and high-class residential areas occur. Hoyt also suggested that areas of highest rent tended to be alongside main lines of communication and that the city grew in a series of wedges (Waugh, 1995). Furthermore, Hoyt also claimed that once an area had developed a distinctive land use, or function, it tended to retain that land use as the city extended outwards (Waugh, 1995; Pacione, 2001).

The last and most dynamic model attempting to explain urban structure is that put forward by Harris and Ullman in 1945. According to Van der Merwe (1987), Harris and Ullman set out to produce a more realistic model of urban structure than proposed by either Burgess or Hoyt. Harris and Ullman subsequently arrived at a model which was more complex. The basic assumptions made by Harris and Ullman, according to Van Der Merwe (1987) and Waugh (1995), is that modern cities have a more complex structure than that suggested by Burgess and Hoyt; cities do not grow from one CBD, but from several nuclei; each nucleus acts as a growth point, and in most cases has a function different from other nuclei within a city. In time, there will be an outward growth from each nucleus until they merge as one large urban centre; if the city becomes too large and congested, some functions may be dispersed to new nuclei. Waugh (1995) argues that multiple nuclei developed as a response to the need for maximum accessibility to a centre; to keep certain types of land use apart; for difference in land values; and, more recently, to decentralise.

Knox (1987) argues that superimposed upon these different land-use sectors are social networks, neighbourhoods and communities within the city. It is his contention that any one person may simultaneously belong to several different and non-overlapping social networks, and that each of these networks may well have different properties. Some may be spatially bounded, while others are not. Some may have definite structures while others are web-like, with interlocking ties and clusters. In view of the above it could be argued that the structure of a city and its neighbourhoods will in many cases follow the social networks of the people residing in the different

neighbourhoods and communities. The next section focuses on the alternative urban models.

2.3 ALTERNATIVES TO THE CLASSICAL URBAN MODELS

After the development of the different classical models many alternatives were designed. Drawing on Pacione (2001) Mann's Model of a Typical British Town (1965), Kearsley's Modified Burgess Model, Vance's Urban Realms Model (1964) and lastly White's Model of the Twenty-First Century City (1987) will be discussed in this section. According to Pacione (2001), a limitation of the classical ecological models was their specific focus in cities within the United States.

Mann's model, for example, combined elements of the Burgess and Hoyt models to characterise the medium-sized British city, taking into account climatic considerations relevant to the United Kingdom by assuming a prevailing wind from the west (Pacione, 2001). Mann used numerical and alphabetical values to describe the different land uses, such as (A) middle-class residential, (B) lower-class housing, (C) working-class and main council estates, (D) industrial sectors. The numerical values are the (1) city centre, (2) transitional zone, (3) zone of small terrace houses in sectors C and D, bye-law houses in sector B, large old houses in sector A, (4) Post-1918 residential areas with post-1945 development mainly on the periphery, (5) commuting distance villages (Waugh, 1995). Kearsley's modified Burgess Model was an attempt at extending Mann's model, taking into account contemporary dimensions of urbanisation such as government involvement in issues such as slum clearance, suburbanisation, decentralisation of economic activities, gentrification and ghettoisation. This model offered a variant of the basic North American Model.

Vance's Urban Realms Model is an extension of the multiple-nuclei model. It was argued that the extent of the character and internal structure of the 'urban realms' is shaped by five criteria, namely; topographical terrain, overall size of the metropolis, economic activity in each realm, and the interaccessibility among suburban realms. The three previous models accommodate societal changes such as deindustrialisation, emergence of the service economy, automobile culture, and smaller families, to name four. Therefore, White (1987) proposed a revision of the Burgess Model which

incorporates the trends in the understanding of the twenty-first-century city. The White Model comprises seven elements:

- the core - otherwise known as the CBD
- the zone of stagnation which is there because of lack of investment compounded by the effects of slum clearance, highway construction and general relocation of warehouses and transport activities;
- pockets of poverty and minorities which represent highly segregated groups, namely the underclass such as the homeless, drug addicts, dysfunctional families and minority groups;
- elite enclaves where the wealthy dwell in the neighbourhoods of the urban periphery with expensive houses and spacious lots.
- diffused middle class, who occupy the largest area of the metropolis are concentrated between the outer edge of the central city and the metropolitan fringe.
- industrial anchors and public sector control such as industrial parks, universities, hospitals, business and office centres where large institutional property holders can exert a major influence on patterns of land use and residential development.
- epicentres and corridors are distinguishing features of the evolving Twenty-first-Century metropolis such as the emergence of peripheral epicentres located as the axial superhighway and providing a range of services to rival those of the CBD.

Pacione (2001) argues that the classical models together with the recent modifications present a powerful insight into the changing nature of the CBD, although a major deficiency is that only limited explicit consideration is given to the processes underlying the revealed patterns of land use.

2.4 THE POST-INDUSTRIAL/POST-MODERN CITY

According to Barnard (2001), postmodernism was not a home-grown geography construct, but spilled over to geography from literary criticism during the late 1980s. Pacione (2001) further suggests, that to some commentators fragmentation in the city

heralds the advent of the post-modern city in terms of six geographies of restructuring suggested by Edward Soja in 1995 (Soja, 2000). These geographies, are the restructuring of the economic base of urbanisation from Fordist to post-Fordist urbanisation, the formation of a global system of world cities bringing global city capital and labour from all major cultural realms in terms of globalisation and global localised, otherwise known as ‘glocalisation’. The radical restructuring of the urban form which is described by Dear (2000) in a large number of coinages called neologisms, which includes the mega city, outer city, edge city, metroplex, technoburb, post suburbia, technopolis, heteropolis and exopolis to indicate the processes whereby the city is simultaneously being turned inside out and outside in. The changing of social structure of urbanism is associated with the development of new patterns of social fragmentation, segregation and polarisation. The rise of the carceral city postulates the appearance of walled-in residential estates, armed guards, shopping malls and the last geography of restructuring the radical change in urban imagery which refers to our images of the city and how those affect our behaviour and lifestyle in the post-modern city. The next section of this chapter will focus more specifically on the neighbourhood as part of the greater edifice of the urban structure models and as means of accessing the different amenities of the city through different themes. These themes relate to themes explored throughout the study.

2.5 DESCRIBING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

‘Skateboarders, basketball players, mothers with small children, radicals looking like 1960’s retreads, spikey-haired punk rockers in torn black, skinheads in heavy working boots looking to beat up the radicals and punks, dreadlocked Rastafarians, heavy-metal bands, chess players, dog walkers – all occupy their spaces in the park, along with professionals carrying their dry-cleaned suits to the renovated ‘gentrified’ buildings that are changing the character of the neighbourhood’ (Kifner, 1988, cited in Harvey, 1992:1)

Ley (2003) argues that postmodernism and the urban structure it has left behind after making a substantial impact across the social sciences and humanities is slowly but surely waning. This has left an opportunity to reassess social space and the built environment and consequently the neighbourhood too. According to Martin (2003), scholars in geography and urban studies generally have struggled with defining the

concept of the neighbourhood. Galster (2001) suggests that although the neighbourhood is a term which is hard to define exactly, all know it when they see it. A multiplicity of influences could have an effect on any given neighbourhood. Webster (2003) suggests that neighbourhoods are a kind of urban order. It could be argued that in understanding the neighbourhood on different levels and how these differ from each other, society starts to understand itself and its own design. It is common knowledge that different kinds of people are found in different kinds of neighbourhoods. Indeed, different kinds of people are often found within a single neighbourhood. Therefore, understanding the patterns of even a single neighbourhood could be key in understanding both the current and the future state of an urban society.

Webster (2003) supports the premise that the neighbourhood comprises shared attributes. Furthermore, a set of local public goods together and formal and informal contracts and agreements of different institutions emerge to govern the production and consumption entities of a neighbourhood. Martin (2003) notes that studies on the neighbourhood should attempt to define the socio-spatial areas which neighbourhoods, in essence are, and also the social and political actions of people which define the neighbourhood. Anderson (1991) claims that neighbourhoods may be like nations, because they are imagined shared spaces among a group of people, vague in the absence of the governmental function that defines the state of the neighbourhoods, which in turn defines the state. Clearly, there are many opinions on what constitutes the neighbourhood. In this context, this literature review aims to highlight key characteristics of the neighbourhood and especially neighbourhoods which are close to the central business districts of cities. However, this investigation will not attempt to design a theoretical model for neighbourhoods. Martin (2003) claims that neighbourhoods are elusive and temporary, and that it is in their contingency that they have meaning. This review follows the suggestion that each neighbourhood is different from another and that in describing certain elements of the neighbourhood one develops a partial understanding of the neighbourhood.

Therefore, in this literature review the neighbourhood and those processes underpinning their development and change will be discussed and explored from the following perspectives: decentralisation, entertainment functions, crime and fear of

crime, and gentrification/urban renewal. Next the discussion will turn to, fragmentation of space, and to describing and defining the neighbourhood with special emphasis on the social space. This sequence of discussion attempts to explain the frequently-cited causal processes which could underpin and impact on the neighbourhood. The literature review demonstrates that one process seldom explains the development and evolution of the neighbourhood but that various processes are often inter-linked within a single neighbourhood. These issues might directly work together in the development of the neighbourhood, or they might not connect, therefore causing fractures in the processes of neighbourhood development.

2.6 THE IMPACTS OF DECENTRALISATION ON THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Pacione (2001) states that whereas early geographical studies of the CBD focused on the spatial delimitation of the area, more recent analyses have concentrated on the changing nature of these zones. This changing of zones includes decentralisation of population and of retail activities, deindustrialisation, increased socio-spatial polarisation and segregation, and reduction in the traditional accessibility of the central city associated with increased levels of car ownership. Therefore, Goodall (1987) defines decentralisation as the movement of people, jobs and activities from the centre or core of major metropolitan areas to suburban and outlying locations within their daily urban system. Goodall (1987) further argues that this spatial relocation is generated by centrifugal forces within the urban area, demands for increased space and the desire to avoid congestion, pollution, and high land values. These processes generate movement to suburban areas.

Beavon (2004) names five forces which could influence the process of decentralisation:

- Developments could be driven by a desire to find large parcels of cheap land, rather than by a desire to choose what would be the best functional location.
- Pursuing locations where land is relatively cheap, results in the sites chosen lying outside the boundaries of the CBD.

- The sequence of site selection suggests that investors could be aware of decisions taken by other enterprises which have moved prior to them.
- People consciously shy away from sites nearby in order to avoid any escalation in the cost of acquisition;
- Moves to set up of super block sites and construction of new premises which extend over a period of time with the effect of key developments with a few subsidiary projects involving firms.

Alternatively, Bunting, Filion and Priston (2000) call for re-centralisation and re-densification of the urban fabric, although the rationale is to identify the interrelated processes of both centralisation and decentralisation. In essence, the challenge is to make cities more economically and environmentally sustainable.

For the purposes of this literature review and the backdrop it is set against there will be a specific focus on office decentralisation with special reference to residential impacts. According to Mouton and Schoeman (1992), the location patterns of office activities are very different from those of manufacturing activities. This therefore makes the traditional industrial location theory rather difficult to utilise in attempts to explain and understand decentralisation patterns. It could be argued that offices in general are less physically connected to a specific area than, for example, manufacturing industries. It could be suggested that the viability of offices is all-important in location and that viability has been lost in many traditional CBD's. City-dwellers could access and maximise office uses more efficiently in the fringe neighbourhood of the CBD.

Mouton and Schoeman (1992) suggest that the following amenities could be categorised as being office use, namely: bank and insurance facilities, lawyers and auditors, medical services, reproduction services, consultation services, research companies, spaces for public administration, home offices and offices in small shopping centres. Prinsloo (1983, cited in Mouton and Schoeman, 1992) supports these processes, especially in the case of home offices where the change in environment could lead to the disruption and increase of traffic flows, as well as a decrease in the number of parking spaces available to the public. Due to the fact that

the original street planning does not provide for the new flow of traffic, this eventually leads to traffic congestion within a residential area. According to Paddison (1999), local decentralisation to the urban neighbourhood level has become commonly projected as an important component of urban restructuring, and in particular of new modes of urban governance. Mouton and Schoeman (1992) imply that location towards its clientele is one of the most important reasons for office decentralisation and that this is why it is so popular with businesses and professionals. It could be argued that the location of decentralised offices is often in the neighbourhoods between the CBD and the more affluent neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the fringe neighbourhood plagued by office decentralisation exempts the traditional transitional zone. In other words, the neighbourhood that is the subject of transitional and office decentralisation provides two layers of accessibility and safety to the office occupier.

In conclusion, unless accessibility on all levels of the CBD changes, (office) decentralisation will continue to flourish at both the positive and negative ends of the spectrum. The essential outcomes of (office) decentralisation are that the CBD will be underutilised; that societal evils will flourish there; and that the residential areas (office) decentralisation to residential areas will displace many residents to other areas. This will, in-turn, change the complete structure of the traditional city and the suburbs surrounding it. It could be debated that, as a result of (office) decentralisation, entertainment amenities develop in the newly-centralised areas, namely the neighbourhood. This suggests that entertainment amenities, (i.e. restaurants, night-clubs), are a common sight in the CBDs and that such amenities gravitate naturally towards newly-centralised areas. Indeed, the newly-centralised area in the neighbourhood naturally assumes the role of the CBD by supplying entertainment amenities to an area. The next section of the chapter will focus on entertainment in the neighbourhood.

2.7 ENTERTAINMENT AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Terry Nicholas Clark and his fellow researchers undertook one of the most in-depth and original investigations with regard to entertainment and the city and subsequently the neighbourhood in *'The City as an Entertainment Machine'* (2004a). Clark (2004b) depicts entertainment in the city as a 'machine', purely for the reason that

entertainment is not just an individualised or private sector process, but centrally involves government or public institutions, and collective decisions by both sectors. He further suggests that even if individuals hold very different conceptions of what constitutes entertainment, their choices are not random, but structured by culture and politics. It is thus essential that neighbourhoods in the broader perspective add entertainment to their structure to be successful environments of production and consumption. Clark (2004b) argues that the urban public officials, business, and non-profit leaders are using culture, entertainment, and urban amenities to enhance their locations for present and future residents, tourists, conventioners, and shoppers alike. He also suggests that the most important single challenge is the emphasis on consumption, amenities, and culture as drivers of urban policy and how this relates to politics and urban development. That which makes this authors research momentous is that it argues, that contrary to the belief, that amenities are largely driven by economic factors, the opposite actually applies. He implies that the core concepts of entertainment are that very little entertainment actually exists in cities and that a core idea is that past theories of urban development stressed capital, and then human capital, but did not ask what attracted human capital to some cities more than to others. Clark (2004c) further suggests that consumption and political processes interpenetrate each other and have distinct coherence and meaning. Boundaries are harder to define and more often turn to consumption and lifestyle, rather than to production and work issues. Clark (2004c) conveys the idea that changes in political culture and, as previously mentioned, the resulting entertainment culture, do not appear everywhere evenly, but vary across subcultures and sub-regions.

He also suggests that urban amenities drive urban development, using the illustration that amenities include such natural amenities as climate, land, topography, and access to water, while constructed amenities include operas, research libraries, used and rare bookstores, coffee shops, juice bars, and bicycle events. He further argues (2004c) that different amenities differentially attract distinct sub-groups, such as for instance, that the elderly move toward natural amenities, college graduates move towards constructed amenities, but creative persons move towards both. At the other end of the entertainment research spectrum, Langman and Cangemi (2004) argue that consumption, long considered an area where brands and labels drive decisions, is becoming a critical focus of politics, nationally and in cities, complementing more

traditional issues of production, work, and even taxes. It is essentially argued that by labelling individuals and groups it could make social comments on entertainment in the city, and on society in general. Therefore, the more authentic identities are, the more impact the political statement through personal consumption and choice could make. Langman and Cangemi (2004) furthermore maintain that cities and neighbourhoods can acquire a distinctive 'aura' by joining a diversity of subcultures. Florida and Gates (2004) advances the idea that human capital increasingly drives development, and that tolerance is the main factor which brings human capital to the city. Embracing progressive sub-cultures thus means embracing increased development within the neighbourhood and the city. Clark, Lloyd, Wong and Jain, (2004) shifted the focus towards the regard that blue-collar towns and cities and neighbourhoods are drastically transforming themselves.

Moreover, Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz, (2004) take a fresh look at the economic viability of entertainment amenities and the enhancement thereof. They stress the importance of density as an agent facilitating many urban amenities, such as increasing the speed at which one can access restaurants, museums, theatres and films. Furthermore, they argue that amenities have grown more quickly as speed has come to matter more as people have grown more affluent and busy. According to Galster (2001), the connection of local friend- and kinship networks and the degree of inter-household familiarity underpin the social inter-activeness and characteristics of the neighbourhood and the entertainment amenities functioning within it. Furthermore the type and quality of interpersonal association, resident's perceived commonality, and participation in locally-based voluntary association is important in perceiving the social nexus of the neighbourhood.

In conclusion, Clark (2004b) recommends serious incorporation of amenities, lifestyles and entertainment to capture key dynamics of the city and neighbourhood. Cities and neighbourhoods could be designed with the intention of promoting and elevating culture, amenities and entertainment. People with human capital who are the key drivers of modern societies according to Clark (2004b), should progressively look for locations with the package of amenities they prefer, as well as for the job market. In closing, Clark (2004b) firmly states that we are entering a new era where urban policy makers and policy analysts must incorporate amenity concerns into their

choices if they are to keep abreast of the ever more globalised world. It could be contemplated that entertainment is frequently a youth-based phenomenon and could attract these people to the neighbourhood where it is present. Entertainment in the neighbourhood creates opportunities for crime orientated individuals or groups, this due to the number of people and the sums of money circulating in the area. The next section of this chapter deals with crime and the fear of crime in the neighbourhood.

2.8 CRIME AND FEAR OF CRIME IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Crime and the fear of crime have deeply negative impacts on personal and societal well-being (Sah, 1991). Furthermore, Santiago, Galster and Pettit, (2003) suggest that one of the main non-economic negative influences on neighbourhood property prices and social character is crime.

In Dear and Flusty's seminal *Post-modern Urbanism* (1998), a theory of the *Fortified City* was postulated. In this text the realities of Los Angeles as an exemplary city were employed to underpin their theoretical claims. The physical form of the city was divided into fortified cells of affluence and places of terror where police battle the criminalised poor. The authors described the dynamics of fortification involving the omnipresent application of high-tech policing methods to the high-rent security of gated residential developments. Their theory predicts the consequent 'carceral city', where the working poor and destitute are spatially sequestered on the 'mean streets' and excluded from the affluent 'forbidden cities' through 'security by design'. McLaughlin and Muncie (1999) argue that crime in the neighbourhood and inner city creates the development of gated communities. In addition, the production of defensible spaces, where suburban dwellers can safely progress in a social environment, routinely, within the fortified towers of the shopping mall. Violence also impacts on neighbourhood business activity, as fear of violence will cause consumers, employees and entrepreneurs to alter their routine activities in areas which experience a surge in violent activity (Greenbaum and Tita, 2004). According to Burnham, Feinberg and Husted (2004), high crime rates near the CBD, either real or perceived, could increase concerns for personal safety and thus induce the migration of affluent residents and jobs to the suburbs. Such criminal activity makes the suburbs look relatively better than the central city as a place to live, inducing individuals to substitute living in the suburbs for living in the central city. This would mean an

increase in income growth for suburban communities. Therefore, the perception is created that the further away from the CBD, the better.

Harvey (1992) argues that public space becomes extinguished, militarised and/or semi-privatised and that it generates hierarchies of power between gentrifiers and the homeless, and facilitates the emergence of deep tensions along the major social fault-lines of class, ethnicity, race and religion, lifestyle and place-bound preferences. What can be extracted from Dear and Flusty (1998), Harvey (1992), McLaughlin and Muncie (1999) is that the neighbourhood to them is a militarised zone and the public space within the neighbourhood is a battleground between 'place bound preferences'. Wong (1997), on the other hand, implies that there are links between the spatial distribution of crime risk and other patterns of deprivation or inequality in the urban environment. Zenou (2003) argues that there are huge spatial (but also temporal) variations in crime rates between different cities and between different areas of the city.

It could be argued that crime, together with the fear of crime lies at the basis of neighbourhoods close to city centres which have different political, social and economic stances both in the developed and developing world. Deutch and Epstein (1998) found that distance deters criminal activity such that the frequency of crime is negatively related to the distance from the CBD. This is due to the apparent realities such as higher population densities in the city centres, higher transport costs of commuting to locations farther away, less familiarity of criminals with distant places which increases their chances of being apprehended (Deutch and Epstein, 1998). Therefore, neighbourhoods close to city centres are often linked to each other and the primary or secondary central business districts by means of good transport routes in and out of areas to handle the new heavy traffic flows which were previously not visible in the once-suburban setting. Wong (1997) states that the highest levels of crime, and the increase of such crime, are usually found in the suburbs adjacent to the city centre, suggesting that the high-risk areas are spreading outwards from the city centre which is commonly connected to commuter belts.

The following relationship can be drawn between crime and the demise of the city centre. The middle to higher-class neighbourhood and elite neighbourhoods are, often,

located closer to the periphery of the city. At the other end of the scale, elite neighbourhoods have become extensively fortified as gated communities, with armed response, alarm systems, private security guards and barbed wire fences and burglar proof windows. It is thus almost impossible for criminalised groups or individuals to commit crimes without facing dire consequences. It could be argued that the only areas left to victimise are the middle-higher-class neighbourhoods where measures of crime prevention methods are not as strict, for a variety of reasons, be they financial, political, or economic. Consequently, an immanent battleground develops between the middle-class citizens and the criminalised groups or individuals often coming from lower-class areas (Wong, 1997). Essentially, Herbert (1993) suggests that specific environmental settings, such as proximity to vacant lots, corner locations and poor street lighting could make an area more vulnerable. Moreover, Poister (1996) suggests that often widespread concern develops when public transport extends to suburban communities as these areas are then subject to crime rate increases. When it comes to fear of crime, Smith (1989, cited in Herbert, 1993:1) argues that fear of crime could be linked to the state of the built and lived-in environment: *'It seems that a variety of neighbourhood 'incivilities' including litter, graffiti, damaged property, loitering vagrants or youths, and so on, tended to be interpreted as evidence of criminality. These can alert people to the prospect of deviance and may so heighten their sense of fear'*.

Herbert (1993) simply suggests that improved street lighting, for example, revealed what was termed a 'halo effect' whereby 'residents' perception of a range of neighbourhood qualities improved when a single improvement was completed. Fear of crime is an emotional response to the threat of victimisation in a variety of circumstances relating to the spatial attributes of a certain area (Thomas and Bromley, 2000). Many things can be done to improve the spatial crime dimensions of the neighbourhood. According to McClain (2001), the following crime prevention strategies have been incorporated in the United States and Western Europe namely; Neighbourhood Watch, Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), Take Back the Night, Students Against Violence Everywhere (SAVE), Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD), Community policing, Safe Cities and Crime Concern and Youth Violence Prevention Programmes. Creating a secure environment is often conducive to large financial backing for the prevention strategies mentioned above, as well as appointing

private security companies. Gentrifiers often have the financial security to develop these initiatives.

2.9 GENTRIFICATION AND URBAN RENEWAL IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

2.9.1 Definitions and general debates on gentrification

'Simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon. Gentrification commonly involves the invasion by middle-class or higher income groups or previously working-class neighbourhoods or multi-occupied 'twilight areas' and the replacement or displacement of many of the original inhabitants. It involves the physical renovation or rehabilitation of what was frequently a highly deteriorated housing stock and its upgrading to meet the requirements of its new owners'. (Hamnett, 1984:284, cited in Carter, 1995)

According to Slater (2002), the most controversial form of urban renewal to emerge during the second part of the 20th Century has been the process of gentrification, a complex and varied form of urban regeneration. Kotze (1998) defines gentrification, in the broadest sense, as a unit-by-unit acquisition of housing which displaces low-income residents and is independent of the structure, condition, architecture, tenure, or original cost levels of housing. Slater (2002) underlines that gentrification in the wider process of the 'uneven development' of urban space, under the capitalist mode of production. In addition, Visser (2002) argues that property should be ripe for redevelopment, which causes the possibility for gentrification to arise. It must also be said that, in the neighbourhood context, gentrification can be very differential in where it does or does not take place.

2.9.2 The prospects of 'degentrification' in the twenty-first century

Slater (2002) poses speculation that the process of 'degentrification' could occur: thus a total reversal of all the neighbourhood changes brought on by gentrification. Yet, he does state that there is no hard evidence of a reversal of the gentrification process. One could imagine that with the development of the 'Carceral City' in neighbourhoods around the world that the process of 'degentrification' might be upon the urban society when it is least expected. It should also be said that the 'Fortified City' is not unique to Los Angeles and the United States. With a few crime-orientated

occurrences in a neighbourhood, possible gentrifiers could instantaneously decide to move to a different neighbourhood altogether. Wyly and Hammel (2001) debate that the economic expansion of the past decade in the United States has revived inner-city housing markets – and the force, depth, and focus of resurgent capital investment have been sufficient to invalidate the prediction of ‘degentrification’ voiced in the early 1990s. It could be argued that this process might develop in the developing world where economies are less stable and where there is more of a reliance on variability. In essence, Lees (2000) makes an insightful observation that gentrification is not the same everywhere and that gentrification is a cyclical process driven largely, but not completely, by investment flows.

2.9.3 Historic preservation and gentrification

At the other end of the gentrification debate, Bures (2001) argues that historic preservation is frequently associated with gentrification in the incursion of middle-class “gentry” on an urban frontier resulting in the displacement of lower income residents. Donaldson and Williams (2004) further argues that historical suburbs are, due to their proximity to the CBD, more often than not vulnerable to urban development trends, such as having to make way for CBD expansion or for home offices and businesses. Donaldson and Williams (2004) furthermore implies that these areas are also prone to processes of invasion and succession and subsequent dilapidation and decay. The linkage between gentrification and historical preservation could be important in the economic sustainability and the economic redevelopment of especially the neighbourhood.

Nevertheless, Kotze and Van Der Merwe (2000) explain that, in time, neighbourhoods which had little in common with any gentrification profile could change to such an extent that their inhabitants and housing stock would correspond to the gentrification profile applicable to the area. In essence, the challenge lies in utilising the positive elements of gentrification and identifying the process as soon as possible, especially in engaging with revitalisation of the inner-city and the neighbourhood. The culmination of decentralisation, entertainment, crime and the fear of crime and gentrification can result in severely fragmented space utilisation in the neighbourhood. Fragmentation, in turn, has multiple effects this will form the focus of the next part of the discussion in this chapter.

2.10 FRAGMENTATION OF SPACE

'Fragmentation is a powerful, evocative metaphor commonly used in describing contemporary modern societies' (Bodnar, 2001:1).

Bodnar (2001) argues that urban space is assuming a form that has no centre and lacks urbanity, where social groups live further and further apart and racial poverty is ever more confined spatially. It is argued that social and spatial fragmentations are intertwined, and that one of their configurations is urban fragmentation. It is also said that the city is a sociological entity and open in form. Thus, it is a fixed spatial location but one whose networks are in a constant flux (Bodnar, 2001). Nonetheless, Bodnar (2001) presents the fact that urban fragmentation is relatively new and, as a topic of discussion, is the continuation of post-modernist discourse with another angle and gaze. Barnard (2001) suggests that, from a post-modernist perspective, social life is polarised among a profusion of cultural groups and functional spaces which are chaotically fragmented yet plugged into a common information network. Amin and Graham (1999) state that a key aspect of contemporary cities is the multiple time-spaces. They further imply that cities and neighbourhoods, and their individual spaces, are places where multiple time-spaces become intensively superimposed. In terms of the experience of urban life, the negotiation of this multiplicity is perhaps what really matters. These time-spaces could be connected to the intense and enduring face-to-face interactions within urban space, which coexist with flows of communication and contact to the broader city and beyond. The multiple webs of relations weave together to constitute urban life, which characterised by complex encounters where different lives meet and intersect. Through these individuals and communities seeking to enact their lives within the multiple choices, demands, constraints and meanings the 'urban' comes into play. Thus, diversity breeds more diversity, as well as endless fluidity, constantly challenging the inherited physical 'settlement' of cities at any one point in time (Amin and Graham, 1999).

Lefebvre (1991) explains in his pioneering *'The Production of Space'* that between the capacity to conceive of and treat space on a global scale, on the one hand, and its fragmentation by a multiplicity of procedures or processes, on the other, all become fragmentary onto themselves. He furthermore suggests that just because different spaces and the way that different people understand and interpret them do not mean

that they are less functional or less operational. He advances the idea that the homogeneous/fractured character of space as a binary relationship (as a simple contrast or confrontation) is to betray the truly dualistic nature of space. Certain objects of space are more predominant in certain areas and certain objects of space are less predominant, but very few spatial attributes can survive without the other in a symbiotic manner, without it becoming a dead and lifeless space. He argues that everything that is dispersed and fragmented retains its unity. However, within the homogeneity of power and space, space naturally takes account of the connections and links between those elements that it keeps paradoxically, united yet disunited, joined yet detached from one another, at once torn apart and squeezed together. Lefebvre (1996) is of the opinion that the environment fragments itself according to these specialities. In other words, it could be argued that fragmentation is understood through specialising into very specific details. He poses the question as to whether the city is the sum of indices and facts, of variables and parameters, of correlations, of a collection of facts, of descriptions, of fragmentary analyses, because it is fragmentary.

He answers this question by declaring the 'city' an urban reality, which exists in a series of correlations. He furthermore, states that one does not grasp it except by an approach, which transcends divisions. To transcend this division one has to understand that in sharing space and sharing it with other agents, including proprietors, they each divide and fragment it in their own way, and thus fragmentation appears possible and justified. Post-modern thought reflects several parallel developments in multiple disciplines, including the reassertion of time and space into social theory, which includes the revival of local uniqueness and individuality. (Dijkink, 1993; Ley, 1993; Short, 1993; Warf, 1993).

Therefore, Simmons (1981) proposes that the distribution of attributes in cities and the system of their values and variability are of paramount interest, as is the variation among different attributes. It could be suggested that there is an inevitable connection between fragmentation and urban redevelopment. According to Gotham (2001a), urban 'redevelopment' has emerged, in recent years, as one of the key concerns of urban social science in both the theoretical and the empirical-based setting. Urban studies are trying to specify the economic, political, and cultural factors responsible for uneven (fragmentary) metropolitan development (Gotham, 2001b). Gotham

(2001b) argues that, according to Marxist theory, processes such as urban disinvestment and decay, sub-urbanisation, de-industrialisation, urban renewal, and gentrification are part and parcel of the continuous reshaping of the built environment to create a more efficient arena for profit making. He implies that Marxist theory is irresolute in the sense that urban redevelopment does not operate in a uniform way and there is a noticeably uneven pattern of urban redevelopment across cities which does not bring forth profit making arenas of redevelopment.

Crowley (2001) comments that the growth in a city or neighbourhood utilises “territorial ideologies”, which “postulate unities of interest at the local level”, and “ideologies of local community” which mobilise the “we feeling”. In order to draw the public’s attention to the often uneven racial, class, and other social consequences on the basis of locality should be identified to them. Crowley furthermore argues that, often, a consequence of the above mentioned is the composition of a regime, which becomes more pluralistic, less centralised, and less unified. Organisations outside the traditional growth elite have become increasingly successful at using strategies of redefinition to generate controversies and expand them into public arenas. Gotham, Shefner and Brumley (2001) suggest that in recent years the federal government in the United States has pressured local housing authorities to adopt the following policies; to promote tenant self-management; mixed-use and mixed-income communities, market-based leasing, scattered site low-income housing, and to decentralise management by adopting site-by-site needs analysis and site-based budgets. Gotham *et al.*, (2001) argue that mixed-use and mixed-income could have effects such as racialised spaces, social organisation, the spatial attributes of corporate interlocking directorates, the emergence of social movements, space and community identity, the militarisation of urban space, and the political economy of art and entertainment. It could be disputed that different communities react differently to different situations.

According to Simmie (2001), the effectiveness of the city and conflicts that develop urbanisation and the consequential debates around the nature and powers of planning systems are in relation to the following issues namely: private interests versus the public interest; private individuals versus public institutions, and, lastly, private property rights versus public regulation. Simmie (2001) furthermore underlines the crux of conflict and fragmentation in that all conflicts with the different realms

involve, in one way or another, the distribution of scarce land uses and property rights to different groups, organisations and social classes producing, working or living in cities. According to Hamnett (2001), in the 1980s two new research themes emerged concerning social segregation and social polarisation. The first theme revolves around the existence of the 'underclass' and its structural and behavioural causes. The second focuses on what is known as social polarisation and the related issue of urban 'duality' and dual cities. These questions have been linked to issues of race, ethnicity and segregation, though they are by no means synonymous (Hamnett, 2001). Therefore, it could be argued that fragmentation is linked to differential space utilisation and a variety of influences, but then is the existence of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, segregation and the way it is handled not one of the main causes of unstructured fragmentation?

Paddison (2001) contributes to this argument by stating that those post-modern accounts are celebratory of such difference and that much of the cultural richness of cities derives from the plurality of social groups. Paddison (2001) furthermore argues that as laudable as such celebration is, in reality the very social diversity of the city has tended to be imagined as potentially the cause of social disorganisation and fragmentation, the 'response' to which has been the emergence of 'sorting devices'. In the particular different forms of segregation, which contribute to the spatial and social distancing of different groups within the city, Paddison (2001) also suggests that cities become differentiated, this usually resulting in the spatial sorting of the urban population. Soja (2000) adds that fragmentation is interwoven with the spatiality of globalised entities, which is a recomposed social reality which has become similarly fluid, fragmented, decentred, and rearranged in complex patterns that are only beginning to be recognised, understood, and effectively studied. It could be argued that fragmentation literature has two main thought guises. On the one hand that focuses on the globalised effects such as the World Wide Web, and the economic ramifications of the information era. The other group focuses on the social inequalities created within the space of the neighbourhood and the city in general, such as race, ethnicity, social boundaries, class, income to name but a few. In conclusion, Soja (2000) suggests that the panorama of polarisation and inequality inscribed in the '*Fractal City*' have provided some anticipatory warnings. Against the backdrop of decentralisation, entertainment, crime, gentrification and the interminable

and interlacing fragmentation discourse, how then does one describe the neighbourhood?

2.11 DESCRIBING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Lancaster (1966, cited in Galster, 2001) developed the intellectual genesis which originally formulated the notion that the neighbourhood consists of complex commodities, i.e. a multidimensional bundle comprised of abstract goods. Galster (2001) applies the genesis to spatially-based attributes, connected to the complex commodity of the 'neighbourhood' in the following system structure. These commodities include the neighbourhood which consists of structural characteristics of residential and non-residential buildings, infrastructural characteristics, class status characteristics of the resident population, tax/public package characteristics, environmental characteristics, proximity characteristics, political characteristics, socially-interactive characteristics and lastly, sentimental characteristics. Each of these characteristics has sub-genres which follow on sub-genres.

Forrest and Kearns (2001) describe the neighbourhood in terms of social cohesion and social capital as two juxtaposing attributes. On the one hand, an area of importance where the 'neighbourhoods neighbouring' remains an important dimension of contemporary urban life by differentiating social groups, life-course stages and cultural differences. On the other hand, the internal cohesion develops at the expense of external relations. In-turn this creates a lack of local cohesion in the context of wider social fragmentation, connecting to negative social reputation, labelling, ill-health and the development of perverse social norms and behaviours as a response to social exclusion. Kearns and Parkinson (2001) argue that governments and policy makers are neither able to control global capitalism and its effects, nor at the other end of the scale, to direct or manage the fortunes of individual neighbourhoods within their jurisdictions. They illustrate the multilayered neighbourhood in the following scale;

- The home has a predominant function, which relies on psychosocial benefits. The mechanism is familiarity and community.

- The locality also has a predominant function, which in turn relies on residential activities and social status, and position this works on the mechanism of planning, service provision and the housing market.
- Lastly, the urban district or region also has a predominant function in its landscape and within its social and economic opportunities. The mechanisms here are employment connections, leisure interests and social networks.

According to Docherty, Goodlad and Paddison (2001), the levels of citizen participation within their own neighbourhoods and, subsequently, other neighbourhoods depends largely on personal reasons which correlate strongly with political activity and perceptions of inclusion. Essentially, neighbourhoods with the same economic, political and social systems have very few problems with integration.

In conclusion, and in summary of what has been outlined in this section of the literature review, Webster's (2003) "*The Nature of the Neighbourhood*" underlines the key issues of the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods are a kind of urban order. Furthermore, he points out that the key idea developed is that neighbourhoods are a nexus of contracts which assigns rights over private and shared resources and over their various attributes. Lastly, the organisations which govern those contracts, and even the contracts themselves, evolve over time in response to changes in the value of resources and changes in the costs of exchanging and combining property rights. The issues discussed in this chapter, namely decentralisation, entertainment, crime and fear of crime, gentrification, fragmentation and descriptions of the neighbourhood all form part of the bigger picture in the neighbourhood and city.

2.12 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter focussed on describing the neighbourhood from different analytical perspectives. The review also focussed more specifically on international literature with special reference to neighbourhoods close to the city centre. It could be argued that neighbourhoods are evolving entities and are very hard to define with any precision. Therefore, this chapter focussed on specific processes which influence neighbourhoods, namely decentralisation, entertainment, fear and fear of crime, gentrification, fragmentation of space, and descriptions of the neighbourhood in general. These processes only provide partial understandings of the neighbourhood,

but it could be suggested that a partial understanding is the only understanding which will be available in discourses on neighbourhood.

Decentralisation, the first topic discussed, focussed on the definitional issues of decentralisation to town and regional planning constructed research towards the conclusion that decentralisation is a global occurrence and is in most cases similar throughout the world. Entertainment, the second topic deliberated in this chapter, moved from sociological research, with special reference to Clark, to the conclusion that entertainment will have an important part in the political, economic and social stances in of the Twenty First Century. Crime and fear of crime, the third topic discussed in this chapter moved from the focal points of the post-modernist discourses to the conclusion that social and economic conditions influence crime and fear of crime spatially. The fourth topic explored in this chapter was gentrification. The intention of this part of the chapter was to explain the basic issues of gentrification and the definitions based on it, focussing on relatively unexplored issues in the gentrification debate such as degentrification, and lastly, historic preservation and gentrification. The fifth topic in this chapter was fragmentation of space, with special reference to the seminal thoughts of Lefebvre and the sum total of theories which could provide anticipatory warnings to where fragmentation could lead in the future. The last topic discussed in this chapter was issues of description and definition in respect of the concept of neighbourhood. The conclusion arrived at is that the neighbourhood is indefinable and varies in respect of situation and spatiality. The following chapter will focus on describing the neighbourhood in the South African context. It could be argued that this is fundamental towards understanding the South African urban structure models and neighbourhood discourses against the background of international debates on the topic.

CHAPTER 3: DESCRIBING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the South African neighbourhood against the backdrop of the international debates on urban structure models and thematic discussions of the neighbourhood. It starts out describing the development of the South African urban structure model. More specifically, the chapter looks at the development of the Colonial and Segregation city, later moving on to the Apartheid city model, and the possibilities of the Post-Apartheid city. The chapter then focuses in greater depth on the South African neighbourhood by discussing the main themes in the national debates, namely, desegregation discourses, the influence of crime and fear, fortification and urban fortresses, and a newly explored debate, i.e. the influence of urban fragmentation in the South African city and neighbourhood.

3.2 FROM THE COLONIAL TO THE SEGREGATION CITY

According to Christopher (2003), struggles over land and the control of resources in cities provided an extensive field for researchers seeking an explanation for why South African cities looked the way they did. Krige (1988) argues that the Colonial South African city was devised with the intention of supplying the labour function of the colonialist economic system. Krige (1988) suggests that the master/servant relationships established between the Europeans and the 'Native Africans' in those times created urban areas which generated an intra-urban nucleus-periphery model. Thus, residential separation was created between two groups which underpinned the basis of the initial Colonial city. Krige (1988) further suggests that most cities in South Africa were established by 'Europeans' for Europeans in the face of the limited urban tradition among the 'Native' tribes. The result, according to Welsh (1971: 236, cited in Krige, 1988) was that if income, occupation, and social status are main determinants of place of residence, it is not surprising that South African towns have tended to develop, residentially, along the lines of segregation of race groupings and determinants of class, which largely coalesced in the urban form. In addition, Christopher (2003) suggests that colonial inheritance, in the form of practises in town planning, was invoked to demonstrate the persistence of physical segregation. Moreover, Krige (1988) implies that as Whites, Coloured, Blacks, Indians, Chinese and Malays had different sosio-economic places in society, residential differentiation

was created with ethnicity patterns in mind. Exclusive White neighbourhoods were a common occurrence due to the inequitable economic and political domination of one group over another. According to Krige (1998), except for segregation on the grounds of socio-economic status, the processes of racial segregation had impacted on specifically the Black population as their residential areas were moved towards the periphery of the growing urban system. This was and remains a dominant feature of the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid cities. The South African Colonial city spatial patterns revealed by Krige (1988) are; a dominant White central business district (CBD); a peripheral Indian central business district (CBD); limited industrial sectors which were White owned, but served as a communal work space; White residential nuclei; central Indian, Coloured and Black residential enclaves in buffer zones; Blacks living in hostels; Blacks living in locations on the periphery of the city; widespread non-White servant housing and, lastly, zones of greying.

The Segregation city (see Figure 3.1) was depicted by Davies (1981, cited in Lemon, 1991) as a highly, but not wholly, segregated urban space and proposed as the successor to the colonial city. The models of the Pre-Apartheid city and the Apartheid city are in most cases very much the same, except for unique areas within the city where mixing or greying has taken place and there is a presence of barracks and compounds within the industrial areas. The Segregation city is the continuation of 'European' domination from Britain, which had been internalised by the White elite (Krige, 1988). In many cases the Colonial city and the Segregation city are very similar, except for the additional processes of racial segregation (Krige, 1988). The Segregation city exhibits the following spatial patterns: the dominance of the White CBD; the development of a less affluent peripheral Indian CBD; also, White owned industrial sectors with White residential nuclei with suburban sectors which develop along strongly differentiated line according to socio-economic status; central Indian, Coloured and Chinese residential enclaves within the older inner residential areas; furthermore, Blacks living in hostels close to work areas with an array of different servant's quarters within White areas; Blacks, Coloureds and Indians living in peripheral areas in formal locations; zones of greying in the older and central-orientated White residential zones; and lastly, zones of mixing and greying between non-white groups on the periphery of the city (Krige, 1988).

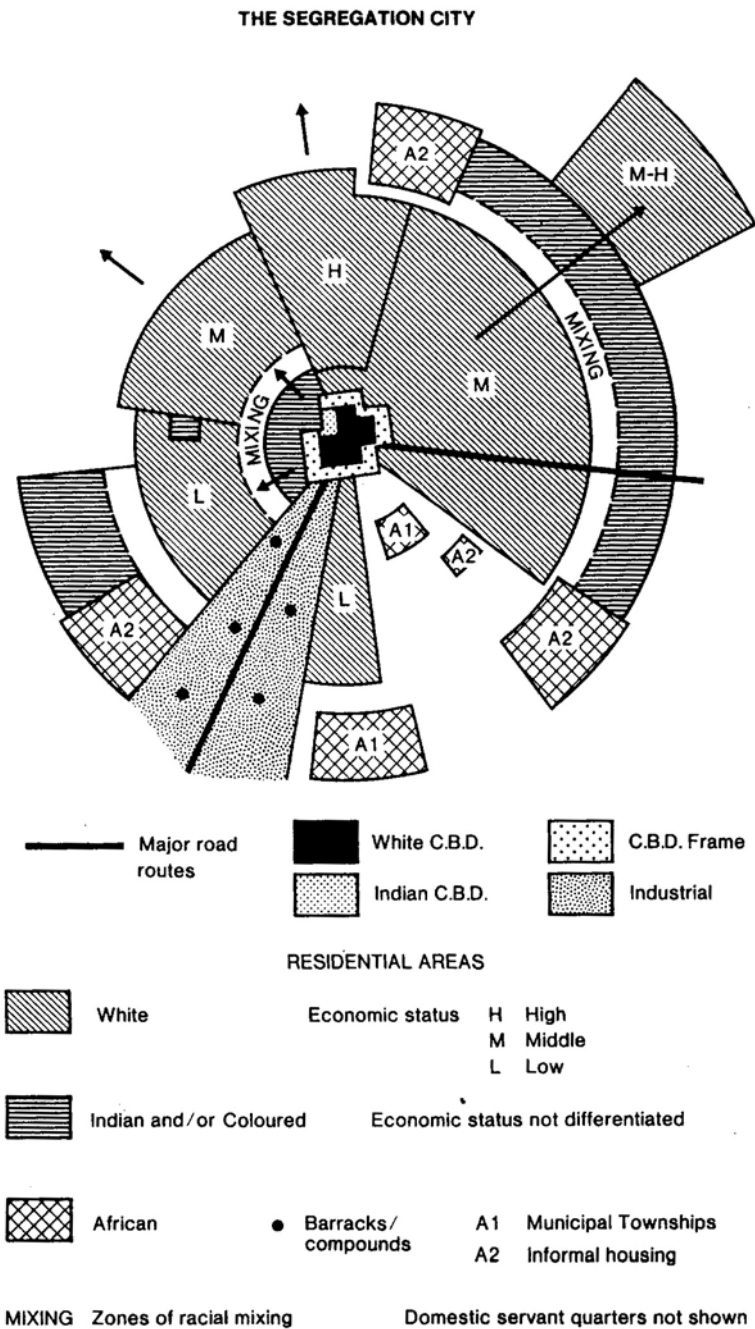


FIGURE 3.1: The Segregation City (Source: Davies, 1981, cited in Lemon, 1991)

Olivier and Hattingh (1985, cited in Krige, 1988) underline the holistic picture of the Segregation city, as an unplanned and fragmented urban structure, with obvious areas of White residential concentration, which had enhanced socio-economic accessibility to the city. The next section focuses on the Apartheid city model.

3.3 THE APARTHEID CITY MODEL

Carter (1995) argues that ethnic segregation is generally the outcome of unconstrained forces operating within the city and that it is based on a complex of social, economic and racial motives. In the case of South Africa this was the policy of the State, so that cities were formally organised along racial lines. Lemon (1991) suggests that the re-ordering of the South African city through the Group Areas Acts (1950) formed the basis of segregated education, health and social services, and also of local authorities. The Apartheid city was also the subject of massive cross-border movements from different neighbouring states such as Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, most notably the cross-border migrations which began in the 1980s, when an estimated 350 000 Mozambican refugees fled to South Africa (Crush, 1999). According to Pacione (2001) South Africa's Apartheid city represented a unique form of urban social segregation which dominated the national urban system for most of the second half of the Twentieth Century. Carter (1995) further states that all of the segregated groups were allocated in consolidated areas which ideally were separated by marked physical barriers, such as rivers, or by buffer zones of unused land. In 1995, Carter suggested that when taking into account these elements an ideally sectoral form of the city was inevitably to be predicated.

Carter (1995) describes the Apartheid city in the following manner (see Figure 3.2): The Central Business District was the focus of the city within which Blacks could not own property, ownership of businesses being reserved for Whites only; the Indian trading tradition was, however, acknowledged by a physically separate Indian CBD. Carter (1995) continues, explaining that the White higher social class areas occupied distinctive sectors although the inner-most parts were for lower-class White occupation. Blacks and Coloureds were disposed in sectors clearly separated from those of Whites. As mentioned earlier, there were clearly demarcated buffer zones formed by physical barriers, industrial zones or communication lines. In some cases, such as in Durban, Indian political organisations adopted strategies of negotiating with the state and accepting the principle of voluntary segregation to protect their commercial, residential and investment interests (Maharaj, 2003). In essence, the poor were also pushed to the peripheries which invariably increased the distance of their journeys to work, especially where African townships had been constructed across Bantustan borders (Lemon, 1991).

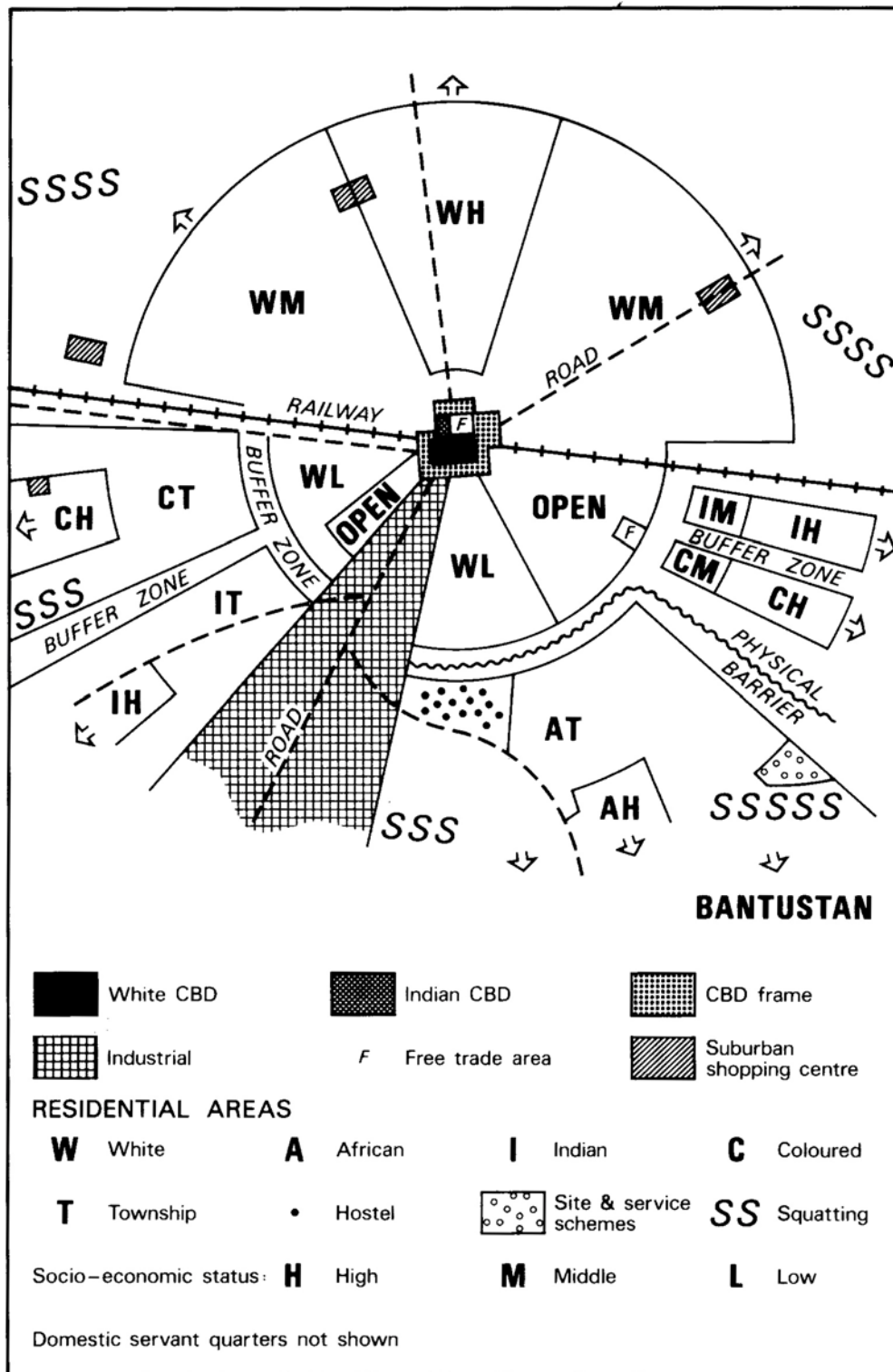


FIGURE 3.2: The Apartheid City (Source: Simon cited in Krige, 1988)

It could be argued that the structure of the Apartheid city in many cases connects with Hoyt's sectoral model as it develops in sectors, voluntary and non-voluntary. Although, in this case the initial development of the city was overridden by governmental or regime-based laws and not caused by natural growth spurts as was

suggested by Hoyt. In essence, Lemon (2003) demonstrates that what for geographers must be the central contradiction in the apartheid blueprint is the assumption that it was possible to separate politically and socially peoples who were increasingly bound together by the reality of a developing economic geography. The next section will look at the possibilities of the Post-Apartheid city.

3.4 TOWARDS THE POST-APARTHEID CITY

'More than a decade since the formation of the Rainbow Nation, South Africa's bands of colour remain distinct, their edges sharply delineated. Race is still a dominant political issue-with power to divide society and, some argue, even destabilise it. True much has changed. South Africans no longer live in fear of a race war, and black and whites now work together, live in the same neighbourhoods, shop at the same supermarkets, and even occasionally marry. The constitution says all citizens must be treated equally' (Lindow, 2005: 32).

Contributing to what has been said above, Pacione (2001) argues that despite the collapse of the apartheid regime, the legacy of almost half a century of apartheid urban policy remains a strong influence on the urban form of South Africa. The form of the future Post-Apartheid city is constrained by the social and physical structures created under apartheid. Furthermore, changes are evident in the 'greying of areas' and the new demand for the CBD by black people to gain entry to the commercial sector's employment previously reserved for whites. The CBD also attracts poorer residents (Pacione, 2001).

The result of the changing nature of the CBD in the South African city can be explained by means of the following:

- The development of slum areas in the inner-city; 'yuppies' within a non-racialised residential structure for the high-rise inner city area
- The integration of small numbers of non-whites into all-white suburbs and the privatisation of previous public spaces

- Residential segregation between whites and non-whites with the construction of upmarket enclaves for black, coloured or Asian households, similar to the ‘voluntary apartheid’ in some US suburbs
- The upgrading and resale of shelter already occurring where the private sector sees an opportunity to profit from this form of ‘gentrification’
- The increase of the homeless and jobless, to ensure that the ‘squatterscape’ will continue to be part of the urban geography
- Black elite along with a skilled and well-organised labour aristocracy, will gain access to better residential areas.

In essence, the inherited racial segregation will continue to produce a Post-Apartheid city characterised by what some have referred to as ‘deracialised apartheid’ (Pacione, 2001; Lindow, 2005). The following section will explore existing discourses in South African neighbourhood studies, where neighbourhoods form an integral part of the South African city’s structure. For the purposes of this study, investigating neighbourhoods close to or within the city-centre is key.

3.5 DESCRIBING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.5.1 Introduction

In this section the neighbourhood in the South African context is explored. It must be mentioned that very little research has been done with special emphasis on the neighbourhood. Therefore, the following issues will be explored and drawn towards the contemporary post-apartheid South African neighbourhood, namely; elements of (de)segregation, crime and the fear of crime, fortification, urban fortresses and, lastly, the commencement of urban fragmentation in the South African urban context. All of these processes will be described as a possible consequence of each other in ordered causality. Unfortunately more current issues in international literature such as entertainment and gentrification cannot be explored properly because these issues have not been examined thoroughly in South African neighbourhood discourse. As of yet not many examples of these occurrences exist. Exceptions include studies on De Waterkant, Parkhurst and Melville (Kotze and Van der Merwe, 2000; Little, 2001; Rule, 2002; Saff, 2001; Visser, 2003). This section will be based on that South African geographical discourse which does exist concerning the neighbourhood.

3.6 (DE)SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

3.6.1 Towards the Post-Apartheid neighbourhood

Donaldson, Jürgens and Bähr (2003) argue that the out-migration of white business, white bureaucrats and white residents from central inner-city areas became pronounced after 1994. The impact since, on housing and property markets, social transformation, the built environment and investment has been remarkable. It could be argued that after 1994 South Africa experienced the phenomenon of post-modern urbanism for the first time. Donaldson *et al.* (2003) suggest that global post-modern urban developmental practices such as densification, mixed land use, social mixes of population groupings and city-wide transport connectivity were adopted, adapted and incorporated in the people's attempts to make city life possible. As Jürgens *et al.* (2003) also underline, the processes of transformation from apartheid towards a democratic system, has had far-reaching effects on socio-spatial structures in South African metropolitan cities. These authors further suggests that South Africa's democratisation and the governmental measures for affirmative action, designed to promote the social advance of non-whites, have substantially altered the spatial structures created by apartheid. It could be suggested that the socio-spatial changes in South Africa from 1994-2005 had far-reaching effects on every aspect of the neighbourhood and the way it is structured and will be structured. The next section explores the influence of desegregation on the Post-Apartheid neighbourhood.

3.6.2 The influence of (de)segregation on the Post-Apartheid neighbourhood

One of the main areas of focus in South African neighbourhood studies is the contrasting yet combined settlement amenities between informal settlements and middle to upper-middle class neighbourhoods. Ballard's research (2004) demonstrates that there are generally hostile responses by many white people to the arrival of informal settlements and vagrants who are, in various ways, portrayed as a threat to the formal neighbourhoods. In contrast, Lehare and Marais (1996) are of the opinion that many black people are often not as hostile to informal settlements and vagrancy as white people. Saff (2001) proposes that there is an attitudinal convergence across space when it comes to opposition to squatters. It can be satisfactorily explained with reference to the mutual interests that relatively privileged groups, irrespective of race, have in protecting 'their' space from the encroachments of those lower down the social order.

Indeed, the amalgamation of informal settlements and middle-class neighbourhoods is viewed as a threat. Ballard (2004) implies that threats include tangible material threats to safety, property values and political power and less tangible or non-material threats to values, morals, norms and a certain suburbanistic sense of place. It could be suggested that, in many respects, in response to threats, the upper- to middle- class neighbourhood has become excessively fortified. Thus, living space has become acutely privatised. The idea of informal settlements combining with structured neighbourhoods is unlikely, but the city's 'underclass', as Ballard observes, has influenced upper- to middle- class residents. Ballard (2004) argues that 'vagrancy' and 'loitering' have been identified in various press articles as a major cause for concern for suburban residents. Although the built-up environment can prevent squatting, it cannot prevent the occupation of suburban spaces such as roadsides, parks, vacant lots and bus shelters by groups seen to be 'problematic'. Ballard (2004) also remarks that vagrants habitually have been associated with various problems including crime, sexually immoral behaviour, littering, defecation and urination. He furthermore argues that neighbourhoods connected to informal settlements prod the link between vagrants in suburbs and crime. It could also be suggested that vagrants influence neighbourhoods connected to post-apartheid city centres (not necessarily informal settlements). The CBD serves as a buffer zone between inner-city neighbourhoods and informal settlements. Ballard (2004) suggests that for many formal neighbourhood residents the 'danger' of squatter settlements is, that they are seen to be zones in which formal residents and police lack control. Informal settlements connected to formal neighbourhoods are a convenient way for criminals to move between, and to access residential areas and these settlements act as easy places for them to hide.

Horn and Ngcobo (2003), on the other hand, suggests a spectrum of desegregation which presents both a challenge and an opportunity. They argue that desegregation does not necessarily influence the broad changes in city patterns, but rather the intra-suburban residential patterns, as well as that of orientations to society and community, are influenced by past identities, where existing ties of social and cultural capital emerge in the process of suburban desegregation. Horn and Ngcobo's (2003) review of desegregation in the neighbourhood highlights a number of trends; first by, neighbourhood desegregation does not only happen in the urban periphery or inner

city, but also in white middle-class suburbs; secondly, it is suggested that desegregation exists on the basis of personal housing preferences more than on any other reason; (de)segregation or (re)segregation is critically balanced in their spatio-temporal location. In addition, Galster (2001) elevates the role of the neighbourhood as a social catalyst that should not be underestimated. It could be debated that the South African neighbourhood has come a long way in desegregation to the point of little conflict since 1994. Furthermore, it could be argued that desegregation is one of the most influential urban processes to take place in South Africa's cities. One of the results of the desegregation processes is it could be suggested, the development of fear. Fear and the fear of crime is the next section of this chapter.

3.6.3 Fear and the fear of crime in the South African Neighbourhood

Dirsuweit (2002) argues that crime has become a national obsession, with everyday conversation inevitably turning to stories of victimisation. In response, people have ritualised routines in an effort to mitigate against the threat of crime. She feels that these routines controlled by crime have a considerable effect on the form and usage of the city. She suggests that little has been done in terms of the ethnographies of fear in different communities, as well as that fear is experienced and acted upon in different ways. Moreover, the political deployment of these discourses at the local and the national level, and people's identification with these discourses is crucial to a more thorough understanding of fear and crime. Lastly, there is a public lack of confidence in the South African Police Service.

A question could be posed; what are the spatialities of fear? De Bruyn (2002) argues that safety and fear of crime are social constructs. It could also be argued that there is an over-emphasis on fear and the fear of crime as a public issue and not an occurrence in people's private spatial locations. Thus, obvious linkages could be made with regard to crime and fear, such as social problems, unemployment and urban decay. In essence, victims of crime are often personalities who present themselves as easy targets. For example, women, xenophobia, be it the majority or minority, racism, the elderly, gays and lesbians, sex workers, the homeless all of whom are victims of systemic violence (De Bruyn, 2002). The negative implications of understanding fear, is that fears which do not 'match' with or cannot be explained by the available crime statistics are rendered irrational by the policy makers. These anxieties then run the

risk of being completely neglected. Furthermore, the absence of a thorough analysis of the fear of crime as the displacement of anxieties about transition or stereotyped others may render the intervention ineffective in the processes of crime and fear of crime (De Bruyn, 2002). Allen (2002) argues that the discourse of race indicates that for many (not all) white neighbourhood residents, especially white women, black people are equated with criminality. According to Allen's (2002) research, people view themselves as liberal, tolerant and non-racist while maintaining social, psychological and even geographical distance from people of a different race. In conclusion, the following quote paints a picture of where the issue of fear and the fear of crime and consequently race and the neighbourhood is at present in post-apartheid South Africa;

“There is a suburb near where I live in Johannesburg called Melville. It has a relaxed, informal atmosphere, with bars and restaurants and alternative little cafes and live music. It is a youthful, liberal place and the people who hang out there think of themselves as progressive.

But after I had spent some time, there this question occurred to me: where are the black people?

I have come to think of Melville as symptomatic of the nature of South Africa. It is a cool little neighbourhood where young left-liberal white people can go and keep feeling good about themselves and their non-racist credentials without actually having to confront face-to-face the continuing sense of injustice that most black South Africans feel” (Little, 2001: 1).

Ferreira and Harmse (2000) furthermore argue that, in the South African context, crime needs to be addressed if tourism can be developed to alleviate many socio-economic challenges which are to be faced. The result of continued desegregation and the fear of crime is fortification, the middle- to upper- class urban citizens' response to this phenomenon is that they felt they could not control in the public realm but rather in the private realm. The next part of the chapter deals with fortification and urban fortresses.

3.6.4 Fortification and urban fortresses in the South African neighbourhood

Fortification and urban fortresses is a focussed field of study with regard to the neighbourhood in South African geographical discourse. For example, Robins (2002) studied the rationality and efficacy of spatial governmentality in post-apartheid Cape Town, and shows how it has increasingly become like a 'fortress'. It is evident from international literature that 'global cities' are increasingly characterised by privatised security systems in middle-class suburbs, shopping malls and gated communities. Furthermore, Rule (2002) comments that the entire northern sector of Johannesburg is characterised by an acute awareness of the prevalence of crime. Robins (2002) also argues the point that given the diminished resources of the neo-liberal state, the policing of middle-class residential and business districts is increasingly being 'outsourced' to private security companies. On the other side of the divide, the urban ghettos are characterised by growing poverty and everyday violence. According to Landman (2002), 'gated communities' have the potential to transform urban spaces within South Africa radically. Landman (2002) argues that gated communities are disruptive to the sense of community for the purposes of security, which could be seen as an illusion of exclusivity and new symbols of social segregation in post-apartheid South Africa. Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) differentially argue that the representations and practices of the gated community are indicative of a far larger political rationality, a self-justificatory set of entitlements, warrants and exclusionary prerogatives which has been labelled a right of privilege.

Landman (2002) argues that the issues created by fortresses and gated communities include the nature of roads and traffic congestion, general urban maintenance, and the traditional role of local authorities. This is an occurrence that is encountering the post-apartheid urban society on a more regular basis. Landman (2002) further suggests that 'gated communities and fortification' to many South African urban residents, is a response which remains characterised by fragmentation and spatial dislocation, separation and mono-functional zoning. The result: the furthering of a city of inequity and in many cases an environment of fear. Landman (2002) argues that for people living in a gated community: a sense of community develops, safety and security exists, social exclusion is avoided within the fortress, urban segregation and fragmentation are countered, urban management is more efficient, financial implications and legal issues are rife, but the benefits are worth it. In essence,

neighbourhood enclosures, therefore, impact on the physical and social dynamics of urban space.

Landman and Schönteich (2002) put forward the idea that gated communities, or the formation of private alternatives to crime prevention and control, are not simply a reaction to contemporary society. Gated communities are a consequence of the state's inability to protect the life and property of all its citizens, especially in developing countries. These authors (2002) conducted a comparative study on urban fortresses or gated communities in South Africa and Brazil, since violent crimes plague both these countries. They came to the conclusion that in both cases gated communities can contribute to spatial fragmentation in urban areas and reflect increased polarisation and diminished solidarity within society. They suggests that by excluding other urban residents and people from surrounding neighbourhoods, gated communities can contribute to social exclusion, inhibiting the construction of social networks that form the basis of social and economic activities. It could be pondered that social exclusion incites spatial monotony in residents' spatial experience of a post-apartheid South African urban order, which are miscellaneous and didactic towards each other.

In conclusion, Landman (2002) demonstrates that enclosed neighbourhoods are not only the concern of those living inside or directly outside these areas, but they are also the concern of all those interested and involved in planning and considering the urban future in the city of the 21st Century. Landman (2002) proposes that South Africa has a tradition of apartheid planning where neighbourhoods were designed to accommodate certain racial or socio-economic groups. Enclosed neighbourhoods, according to Landman have the potential to re-establish segregation and in several respects go further than other means of exclusion. She further soberly acknowledges that crime rates are high in South Africa, the social and political democracy of the post-apartheid society through planning and equity and the public good is of greater importance. The next section will look at fragmentation in the South African neighbourhood, which is a fairly new phenomenon in urban studies discourse.

3.6.5 Fragmentation in the South African neighbourhood

Harrison, Huchzemeyer and Mayekiso's *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society* (2003) represents the first

investigation into urban fragmentation in the South African context. Harrison (2003) explores the concept of urban fragmentation, highlighting some key issues such as the social relation from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time and space. He notes, for example, that it is quite possible for an individual in New York or Johannesburg, to be well linked within social and economic networks that extend globally, nonetheless to have no real connection with anyone in the immediate vicinity. He further explains the 'Dual City' hypothesis created by fragmentation. It is dictated by Harrison (2003) that the connection between increased differentiation within the labour market, such as the increasingly wealthy business elite, a growing underclass which serves these elite and a decline in the number of traditional middle-class citizens, including their influence.

One of Harrison's (2003) meta-narratives concerns the differentiated socio-economic and institutional structures of cities, reflected in fragmented spatial arrangements. Harrison's examples move towards the global elite concentrated in the edge cities, in gentrified suburbs, in gated communities, and in new citadels such as Melrose Arch in Johannesburg. Furthermore, the underclasses live in tenements, in the decaying inner city neighbourhoods and informal settlements. With regard to South Africa, Harrison suggests that South African academics have pointed to the 'new forms' of fragmentation that are being grafted onto the segmented urban forms produced under colonialism and apartheid. Todes (2003) argues the important premise that there is a growing unease that the vision of compaction-integration, which has informed much of post-apartheid urban policy in South Africa, may represent a planning ideal which is disconnected from people's experiences of the city. Furthermore, Harrison (2003: 22) states the importance of studies on fragmentation, is that the effects fragmentation can be connected to the people, through the following;

'It does matter if there are serious spatial disjunctures between living and working environments or if the urban environment is so segmented that proper access to recreation, shopping, community services, and public transportation is denied to those who lack private transport. And it matters if people of different races and classes are so segregated from each other that there is no real basis for mutual understanding and collaborative action. It also matters if institutions are fragmented in a way that renders effective coordinated action impossible.'

Fragmentation is also connected to social justice in South Africa, which could be one of its primary concerns. Smith (2003a) argues that social justice in South Africa's increasingly fragmented cities thus remains a major challenge, especially for those subscribing to the egalitarian ethics –liberal or socialist- which underpinned so much of the opposition to apartheid. Smith (2003a) further underlines the idea that urban fragmentation need not be primarily a reflection of socio-economic inequality, but also of differentiation in respect of culture in its various manifestations, and raises its own issues of oppression. Urban fragmentation in South African cities could present a new challenge to the way in which society makes use of its urban areas.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focussed on South African geographical discourse with special reference to the neighbourhood. Due to the lack of intensive research with regard to the neighbourhood issues focussed on in the previous chapters, these could not be explored properly, for example entertainment and gentrification. Therefore, four main areas of study were chosen for more specialised focus, namely, (de) segregation, fear and the fear of crime, fortification, urban fortresses and urban fragmentation all with reference to the South African neighbourhood and city. The first section of this chapter explored desegregation towards the processes which created the post-apartheid neighbourhood, and how it connected to desegregation with the fall of apartheid and its essence ten years later. Furthermore, the influence of desegregation was explored by using the work of especially Ballard to describe both the hostilities felt by neighbourhood residents, and the presence of vagrants in desegregated and segregated neighbourhoods. The second section of this chapter explored fear and the fear of crime with reference to the work of especially Dirsuweit and how these issues influence those victimised. The third section of this chapter focussed on fortification and urban fortresses by focussing principally on the work of Landman, explaining the influence gated communities could have on social and political democracy despite the presence of high crime rates in post-apartheid South Africa. The last section of this chapter focussed on urban fragmentation in the South African context, with special reference to Harrison, Huchermeyer and Mayekiso's *'Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society'* which states the importance of studying and confronting the effects of urban fragmentation in the South African context. Attention now turns to the development history of Westdene

with reference to the themes explored thus far. In respect of similarities and differences, the study was undertaken against the backdrop of international and national literature.

CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTDENE, 1901-1994

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the historical development of Westdene. Furthermore, this chapter orientates itself from the broader issues examined in the previous chapters, which are thematically based on the broader guidelines of this study. The first phase to be discussed is the formative phase which focuses on modest beginnings and social nature of Westdene. The second phase, the consolidation phase, looks at the influence of the World Wars on Bloemfontein and there is further discussion on Westdene's divergent social character. The third phase explores the early-Modern phase with reference to the suburban boom which Bloemfontein experienced, as well as the development of Modernist-style apartment buildings in the south-eastern part of Westdene. The last phase investigates the Modern and the late-Modern phases. This phase scrutinises the rapid rebuilding of Westdene's southern edge with apartment blocks and townhouses and the effects of economic and commercial decentralisation of Central Bloemfontein on Westdene.

4.2 THE FORMATIVE PHASE (1901-1910)

According to Krige (1988), the period 1890-1904 marked a substantial increase in the population of Bloemfontein. During this time a 902% increase in population was experienced. Seen differently, the residential population grew from 3 379 to 33 883 residents. This expansion was owing to, among other agents, the completion of railway lines connecting the major urban centres of South Africa, as well as the South African War, which brought a large number of British troops to the Free State. Because of this major population increase in Bloemfontein, a need for housing developed. In October 1901 Bloemfontein Town Council decided on an additional neighbourhood development – called the “Western Extension”, later re-named “Westdene” (Schoeman, 1980: 174). Roodt (1994) argues that Westdene might have been developed as an alternative to the agricultural plots which were established around Bloemfontein from 1903 onwards. Furthermore, Schoeman (1980) notes that Westdene/Western Extension was a neighbourhood with small stands, catering to the needs of residents of a lower socio-economic class, and young married people more generally. Schoeman also states that, initially, the living conditions in Westdene were

somewhat primitive. Apparently, the residents often complained about the lack of electricity, sanitation and dilapidated roads which were plagued by floods and trenches of up to two metres deep. He describes the houses of Westdene/Western Extension as simple brick houses with plain gables, porches and verandas with the occasional ornamental woodwork. Regretfully, very few of these colonial-type houses have survived. The following extract (Box 4.1) is from an interview which outlines the style and architecture of the houses in old Westdene:

BOX 4.1: A discussion on Westdene's character

Westdene was created at the same time as Waverley around 1903 and it's got a certain type of character because of the type of houses that were created there, which were targeted at lower-class residents. A lot of speculators built there. People quickly sub-divided the yards, and added buildings. It has a type of unique character, but I think that the initial character does not exist anymore, except in people's minds. One should not get confused with style and concepts of style. Style is only a superficial thing. The houses that have been built with the red face brick with the little bricks on the corner, is something that someone saw somewhere. A lot of Edwardian houses, which displayed some of that character, have been painted over. It is actually the concepts that are important, the grain of the environment (Architect/Town and Regional Planner).

Figure 4.1, below, provides an example of one of the few Westdene houses which have undergone few structural changes over the past century. The following extract from one of the interviews conducted with regard to the history of Westdene through the eyes of a long-term resident highlights some of the key features of Westdene's historical stock:

Well, my grandfather built this house we are sitting in now, in 1923. He built this because this property, actually no. 28, was his first which he built across the street. The plans for that house were drawn up in 1904. That house had only four rooms, there were no bathrooms and there was still a stable for the cow in the backyard. They used to have the night cart that used to visit in the lane between the houses. Then

in 1923 my grandfather built this house, when they started building bathrooms into the homes (Long- term resident).



FIGURE 4.1: An example of a Westdene home

In terms of its residents Westdene, since its inception, had a very divergent social character. Indeed, according to Schoeman (1980), well-known Bloemfonteiners had been living in Westdene alongside prostitutes who operated from the area. The 1901-1910 phase marked the initial development of Westdene as a residential neighbourhood mostly for the middle classes, but also home to a range of other residents.

4.3 THE CONSOLIDATION PHASE (1910-1950)

Senekal (1977) suggests that mainly due to the secondary effects of the First World War, very little additional physical developments took place in Bloemfontein during the period 1910-1920. For example, lots in Westdene were offered at nominal prices and prospective buyers were granted partial subsidisation if they proposed extra residential developments. As a result, Senekal (1977) states, Westdene could not supply the proper housing needs of Bloemfontein at that time. Accordingly,

neighbourhoods such as Waverley, Willows, and Hilton combined with Westdene, all displayed a tendency towards consolidation of their amenities. Consolidation of amenities here attempts to explain the built environment in these neighbourhoods, which had been completed and only additional developments could be added by means of redevelopment or subdivision, as the lots had already been laid out and built on. Krige (1988) explains that during this period the white component of Bloemfontein's population decreased from 55% to 45% of the total population. The decline in population resulted in very little development taking place, as no real accommodation need was expressed, especially in a white group area such as Westdene. This population loss was due to political changes which were brought about by the withdrawal of the Imperial Garrison of almost three thousand men and quite a few families. A further feature was the planting of trees (up to 120 000 in 1912 alone) which gave substantial character, especially to Westdene and, indeed, remains a feature of the neighbourhood to this day (see Box 4.2).

BOX 4.2: A discussion on Westdene's natural environment

Maybe because Westdene it is closer to the hillocks on the northern part and it is more 'up and down', in comparison to other more flat neighbourhoods in Bloemfontein. There are also a lot of trees in Westdene. Maybe more than any other neighbourhood (musician and resident).

Westdene was virtually completely built-up, by the time Bloemfontein was given city status in 1945 (Senekal, 1977; Schoeman, 1980). Westdene also established itself as a fully-fledged white group area and consolidated further with the adjoining neighbours of Waverley, Arboretum and Parkwes. Despite its consolidation with other neighbourhoods, Westdene retained and further developed its social character (see Box 4.3).

BOX 4.3: A long-term resident's recollection of the old Westdene

A lot of people lived here in the old days. Mixed, I mean. Bram Fischer lived up the road. The late Martie Du Plessis's, who was Oom Sand Du Plessis's widow, she grew up here, I think it was Pres. Reitz Street, if I am not mistaken. If I remember correctly. So there was a very mixed group of people. Just remember at that time, a lot of people came to South Africa, or that's what I can remember being spoken about at home. A lot of people came to South Africa like my grandfather, who came after the Boer War, and developed areas that they lived in, be it residential or commercial. A lot of the skilled people, who came from overseas. I think Dr. Brebner lived in Westdene, he was instrumental in starting schools such as Eunice and Oranje Meisieskool (Long-term resident).

4.4 THE EARLY-MODERN PHASE (1950-1970)

During the 1950-1970 period, the white residential sector of Bloemfontein developed ever further away from the black and coloured group areas (Krige, 1988). Although very little physical development took place to the north of the city, much development took place to the west and south-west of the CBD. The following is an indication to how one of the interviewees remembers the Westdene of the 1950-1970 period:

You know, I've known Westdene for quite a number of years. Because, the romance between my husband and I developed here in Westdene. That was in 1958. You know in that time, I was quite a bit younger than I am now. Westdene was also quite a bit younger. The trees were smaller than they are now. But I can also remember how wonderful it was to walk at night through the streets. We walked from one street to the other, up until Genl. Hertzog Drive, but that's where the houses stopped. Dan Pienaar at that stage had not existed yet. It was nice to walk around here (Retired resident).

According to Senekal (1977) the 1950-1970 period marked a suburban development boom for Bloemfontein as a total of 63% of the housing stock was added to at that time. Furthermore, the development of apartment buildings took place in the south-eastern part of Westdene.



FIGURE 4.2: An example of a typical Modernist-style apartment building in Westdene, built during the 1950-1970 period

During the 1950-1970 period the densification of Westdene, particularly in the form of apartments and townhouses, started to take root.

Remember the 1950s to 1960s was not sympathetic towards the more historical building styles. Modernism probably was the most destructive period in Westdene's history and that's why Westdene is the way it is at the moment (Heritage conservationist).

Senekal (1977) further comments that in this period decentralised activities became more prominent in Bloemfontein's development, especially to the north and to the south. To give an idea of the development boom, Senekal (1977) highlighted the fact that, during the period 1950-1960, Dan Pienaar, Bayswater, Wilgehof, Batho and Heatherdale were added to the residential offering of Bloemfontein. In the period 1960 to 1970 probably the most noticeable expansion occurred as Dan Pienaar Ridge, Brandwag, Universitas, Hospital Park, Generaal de Wet, Batho, Bochabela and Phamameng were completed and Kagisanong was in the process of being developed

(Senekal, 1977; Roodt, 1994; Lombaard, 2001). It could be argued that this period in Bloemfontein's maturation laid the foundation for a variety of urban processes which in later years would influence the redevelopment of Westdene.

4.5 THE MODERN AND LATE-MODERN PHASES (1970-1994)

Bloemfontein's white population grew from 49 074 in 1950 to 90 657 in 1986, accommodated in 17 185 individual houses, 606 apartment buildings and 8 879 townhouses located in Bloemfontein's various white group areas (Krige, 1988). Roodt (1994) argues that the important aspect of this period is not merely the expansion of the suburbs, but also the changing nature and consolidation of the mature neighbourhoods. Willows, Oranjesig and Hilton and especially the southern edge of Westdene, were quickly rebuilt with high-rise apartment buildings (see Figure 4.3).



FIGURE 4.3: An example of the high-rise apartment buildings which developed Westdene from the 1970s

Furthermore, Roodt (1994) argues that by the end of the 1970s the building costs of high-rise flats became unprofitable from a rental point of view, and the popular trend towards townhouse development started to take root in Westdene. Roodt (1994)

suggests that developers found that the yards in older suburbs, such as Westdene, were ideally suited for redevelopment into townhouse complexes, as these smaller units were more economically viable, yet close to the Bloemfontein CBD. This was mainly owing to the high rental costs and a lack of parking spaces in the CBD. Mouton and Schoeman (1992) argues that one of the most important developments from the mid-1970s onwards, echoing developments in other major urban centres in South Africa, was the migration of businesses from the CBD to Westdene. Roodt (1994) notes that, in the late 1970s, Westdene reached a point of structural and functional deterioration of its residential properties. By the mid- to late- 1980s the city council demarcated large areas of Westdene for townhouse development, which effectively meant that, with time, the existing character of Westdene would completely disappear (Sevenster and Swart, 1991, cited in Roodt, 1994).

Loch Logan Park brought a lot of population into Westdene as well as a lot of structural changes. The Westdene Arcade, located next to Loch Logan Park, was Westdene's first shopping complex. Indeed, Voortrekker Street (currently Nelson Mandela Drive) suffered from parking problems because it was made a one-way. The commercial development of First, Second and Third Avenues and Voortrekker Street (i.e. Nelson Mandela Drive) slowly started to develop (Sevenster and Swart, 1991, cited in Roodt, 1994). The Modern and late-Modern phase (1970-1994) in Westdene's development was characterised by the first signs of commercial decentralisation from the CBD, with the building of high-rise flats and townhouses in the late 1970s to early 1980s. By the late 1980s to early 1990s the first extensive commercial development started in the southern most parts of Westdene.



FIGURE 4.4: Loch Logan Park and Westdene Arcade

These changes also featured prominently in the interview material (See Box 4.4, below).

BOX 4.4: A nightclub owner's recollection of the changes in Westdene

Let's go back to the 1980s. In the late 80s Westdene was a suburb. An old suburb, in the old part of Bloemfontein. Actually, not very popular for residential purposes, and in about 1986 they built the Sanlam Building. A very tall building. This brought a lot of urban population into Westdene (see Figure 4.4). Then what happened, they built the centre below it, which was then known as the Sanlam Centre, now known as the Westdene Arcade. Immediately people started purchasing residential properties, in Westdene. The first wave of business in that area, started there, in Voortrekker Street which is now Nelson Mandela, which has always been very broad and traffic carrying. The CBD at that time was where Hoffman Square is now, and gradually gravitating outwards, which is quite a phenomenon where decentralisation happens. Westdene was a very obvious candidate, to absorb the decentralisation from the central business district. A lot of, I would say, home or homes were used as business premises. You had designers coming in selling clothing in the little houses and the trendy, the trendiness started taking place in Westdene. There was also a general gravity of entertainment in the area. People in the entertainment industry noticed that you have this trendy vibe happening in Westdene. So, they obviously started opening their bars and pub/clubs and these kind of entertainment centres in Westdene. Obviously, Westdene did not have the space to develop an immediate massive centre, that's why Brandwag Centre which is at the edge of Westdene, and developed as the closest centre to Westdene, servicing Westdene with your superstore stock. This was quickly latched on by Mimosa Mall which was then a small building. A two-bedroom house which was Mimosa Films and it stood on a huge erven, and obviously this became the idea for where they needed to put a very big centre, the rest of Westdene, however, was taken over by your estate agents, your financial auditors and lawyers. Simply, because, the lower down-town became a grey area, they wanted to buffer against the greyness. Obviously, when we started getting a lot of influx of informal business on the streets. Your more prominent businessmen started looking to alternative properties to do business trading, so they moved into Westdene, which was just a stone's throw away from the CBD anyway (Nightclub owner).

4.6 CONCLUSION

Against the backdrop created by the international and national literature reviews and the themes discussed in those chapters and also the background history of this chapter, the multitude of the happenings developed in Westdene since its inception, in many instances served, as the footing for the process that would extensively redevelop the character of Westdene for many years to come. The redevelopment processes which occurred in Westdene from 1994 to 2005 will be discussed in the following chapter dealing with the Post-Apartheid phase.

CHAPTER 5: THE REDEVELOPMENT OF WESTDENE (1994-2005)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The demise of apartheid in 1994 had far-reaching impacts on Bloemfontein's CBD. Foremost among these was extensive desegregation and decentralisation resulting in the movement of businesses, office and retail outlets being moved to neighbourhoods such as Westdene, Willows and, to a lesser extent Arboretum and Brandwag. According to Jürgens *et al.* (2003), socio-demographic transformation changed Bloemfontein's inner-city. This started in 1991 and reached desegregation levels of just above 50% and 77% in 2004 (CDS, 2005). The current state of Westdene was significantly influenced by the desegregation and decentralisation from Bloemfontein's CBD. The purpose of this section is to explore the current status of Westdene. The focus will fall on the post-apartheid phase by re-counting a range of events reported in different local and national newspapers. Secondly, issues which became apparent within the interview material such as traffic problems, residents' attempts at heritage conservation, and how they generally see Westdene will be discussed. Lastly, crime and fear in Westdene will be explored.

5.2 THE REDEVELOPMENT OF WESTDENE IN THE POST-APARTHEID PHASE (1994-2005)

Central South Africa's best-known newspaper, *Die Volksblad*, has covered a range of developments in Westdene. A variety of newspaper articles will be explored to explain the causality of the urban and neighbourhood processes which influenced the state of Westdene since the mid-1990s. In 1998, Van Der Merwe (1998) reported that the Bloemfontein's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, predicted that, owing to desegregation and decentralisation property prices of the CBD would continue to stagnate or decline. The shifting of the tax base from the CBD to other areas such as Westdene was gathering pace. This, to an extent, did exacerbate excessive rate increases in this once suburban setting. Furthermore, the Van Der Merwe (1998) reported that the reason why people preferred to do business in Westdene was due to the physical decay of the CBD, and that Westdene had a relaxed atmosphere. Moreover, the neighbourhood felt safer and was more organised, as well as that parking was free of charge. Van Der Merwe (1998) bluntly stated that at that time the white constituencies of Bloemfontein preferred to do business in a suburban setting

such as Westdene. It could be argued that, because of this preference, a range of developments occurred, namely, the development of the Loch Logan Waterfront which borders onto Westdene to the South, and Mimosa Mall/Brandwag Shopping Centres which are to the south-west of Westdene and two thirds of Westdene, especially the southern part, developed extensively as a commercial area. Consequently, Bloemfontein developed an alternative central business district of which Westdene forms an integral part. Distress was expressed by Van der Merwe (1998a) that Brandwag might become the next Westdene and it was argued that Westdene was seen as a business centre. Predictions that further extensions would occur towards Brandwag, Westdene's neighbour to the west, abound (Van der Merwe, 1998a).

Ferreira (1998), on the other hand, explained that Willows, the original Southern Extension, had developed extensively over the past fifteen years just like Westdene. The main difference though was that the residents of Willows had little or no objections to commercial developments. It had developed as a neighbourhood of mainly students and young married people and desegregated fairly quickly in comparison with Westdene and other neighbourhoods in Bloemfontein. Westdene and Willows are of similar age and position relative to the CBD, but they developed differently, mainly due to race-based clusters and the desegregation of the CBD. As time passed, developments occurred rapidly. Westdene became one of Bloemfontein's most popular neighbourhoods, combining as it did the service sector and the entertainment industry as a secondary CBD of Bloemfontein and the aesthetic value of old Art Deco and Edwardian-style buildings which were, and to a certain extent still are, characteristic of Westdene. *Bloemnuus* (2003a), a sister publication of *Die Volksblad*, reported that Westdene attracted students, young professionals and young families owing both to its location close to tertiary institutions such as the University of the Free State and the Central University of Technology and its entertainment facilities.

The following is an extract (see Box 5.1) from a group interview with regard to how they participated in Westdene's development over the previous ten to fifteen years, especially from an entertainment point of view:

BOX 5.1: The development of entertainment in Westdene

(Interviewee 4): *It became a business area, because the CBD started to move away from its original position and the businesses moved to Westdene.*

(Interviewee 3): *It became like a small Hatfield Square (Pretoria). Over the last twelve years major changes developed. When did we get here? 1992?*

(Interviewee 4): *Yes, 1992.*

(Interviewee 3): *What was the beginning? Second Avenue, was begin with?*

(Interviewee 4): *Characters.*

(Interviewee 3): *Beef Baron.*

(Interviewee 4): *Then Mystic came...*

(Interviewee 3): *Yes, Mystic came and then Workshop. Then eventually Barbas came.*

(Interviewee 4): *But, McRib was also there in the beginning.*

(Interviewee 3): *But the four things that made Second Avenue a very strong social area was Barbas and the Mexican, New York, and Second Avenue Cafe which tried to revive the old Characters.*

(Interviewee 4): *Dros, obviously.*

(Interviewee 3): *Yes, yes.*

(Interviewee 4): *It almost became Bloemfontein's small Melville (JHB) or Kloof Street in Cape Town.*

(Advocate and businessman)

Owing to these developments the property prices of Westdene had risen immensely and have developed a kind of exclusivity. Bloemnuus (2003a) predicted that the development of offices and business would continue over the next ten years and that, eventually, Westdene would change into a purely commercial area losing its initial residential purpose. According to Bloemnuus (2003b), specific streets such as Second Avenue had developed more extensively than other streets in Westdene. Second Avenue (see Figure 6.3) was seen as the economic heartbeat of Westdene. For

example, Bloemnuus (2003b) reported that the intersection of Second Avenue and Kellner Street was regarded as Westdene's hub. With its abundance of restaurants, art dealers, interior decorators and more traditional residential businesses such as greengrocers, pharmacies, butchers and bottle stores. Westdene is regarded by many as a bohemian neighbourhood because of its cultural facilities such as cabarets being performed at Fishpaste Restaurant (Property Forum, 2004), as well as live acts at venues such as The Mystic Boer, Cool Runnings and Reds. On a monthly basis a park in Westdene is the venue for an art/flee market where people can acquire art, crafts, garden plants and foodstuffs (Bloemnuus, 1999). Furthermore, the presence of the Free State Musicon, a music school of which many of the staff live in Westdene, gives Bloemfontein a uniquely cultural feel. Because of extensive developments in Westdene at that time, such as entertainment, business development and new traffic flows and parking problems, many structural changes were made to Westdene. Therefore, its residents lodged complaints.

Coertzen (2001), for example, reported that the latest road extension from Westdene's most eastern part was made with the intention of relieving the traffic flows from other neighbourhoods to and from Westdene. During 1994-2004 the residents of Westdene often took an active part in the external influences impacting on the infrastructure of Westdene. Van der Merwe (1999) inquired into the combined total of forty-five residents of Westdene who in 1999 presented a petition protesting against the road development as it would negatively influence the natural environment of especially Arboretum Avenue (see Figure 6.3, Arboretum Avenue to the north of First Avenue). Some residents further complained about new developments in Westdene, especially national companies establishing their regional offices in Westdene. According to Berry (2002) many companies (MTN, Standard Bank and McDonalds, to name a few) no longer saw Westdene as a neighbourhood and left pavements in a poor state or were planting groundcovers on the pavements, leaving pedestrians nowhere to walk but on the roads. Problems with noise pollution also influenced the environment of Westdene so that residents were complaining about disturbances and vandalism (O'Connor, 2002).

Because of the virtual restructuring of Bloemfontein's CBD towards the west, many "illegal businesses" established themselves in Westdene, especially in the residential

area (Pauw, 1999). These illegal businesses were not informal businesses, but they rather transgressed land-use codes. According to Pauw (1999) there were prescribed methods with regard to the building or restructuring of houses to fit in with the character of Westdene. Businesses were and are seen as a threat to Westdene's character as the appearance of new buildings and old buildings often clash. *"Businesses are opened left and right and people who have been living in Westdene for years, suddenly have to deal with the situation where the streets empty out after business hours. It does not just take away the initial atmosphere of Westdene but also leaves a security risk"* (Pauw, 1999: 11). Eventually, because of the evident changes in structure and content of Westdene, especially with regard to the aesthetic value and the depopulation in the evenings principally in the southern part, re-zoning plans of Westdene were accepted by the Bloemfontein Town Council in 1999 (Pauw, 1999).

One of the more extreme examples in terms of the direction in which Westdene developed in this period, was the buying of erven by developers for up to R2 million each (Pretorius, 2004). This represented an extreme rise in property values, as the property values ten years earlier had been much cheaper. Gericke (1999) reported on one of the further worrying aspect concerning Westdene, namely the development of light industry, disclosing that the Free State Institute of Architects had expressed their concern about the development of light industry. The buildings would supposedly have fitted in with the character of Westdene, but main concerns were that the types of vehicles and the traffic flows would influence Westdene negatively. Some of the developers of light industry stated that the residents and people working in Westdene should remember that Westdene, was no longer a purely a residential neighbourhood, but rather a business-orientated suburb. It could be argued that many residents in Westdene would have disagreed with that statement. One of the most negative events influencing the character of Westdene is the illegal bulldozing of Westdene's houses, which are all at least seventy years old. Gericke (2003) reported that, according to SAHRA, the national organisation of national monuments, it is illegal to bulldoze any houses in Westdene without a permit. Unfortunately, the case was that often three to four properties were bought, bulldozed and new office blocks built which more often than not, were out of character with the older houses in Westdene.

The next section will explore general issues brought up during the in-depth personal interviews. These could have consequences for the future of Westdene. It is therefore important to raise these issues as they could provide insight and warnings as to the possible consequences of these processes.

5.3 FURTHER REDEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN WESTDENE

Throughout Westdene specific individuals own many properties. Speculations have been made that the Westdene recreational sports ground will be used to develop an extra shopping mall. According to many interviewees this will exacerbate traffic and parking problems, as too many people and cars will enter Westdene. It could be argued that, infrastructurally, Westdene will not cope: St. Andrews School is right next to it; Medi-Clinic Hospital, and new developments planned at the Loch Logan Waterfront and Mimosa Mall are each only a block away; and, Grey College and Eunice School are close by. Thus, at certain times of the day a total infrastructural and traffic nightmare could result. Suggestions have been made by Roodt (1994) and many interviewees that the Westdene recreational sports grounds should rather be converted into a park.

The following (Box 5.2) is a response with regard to new developments that could take place in Westdene:

BOX 5.2: A long-term resident's concern for the future

It's going to be catastrophic. I was at a meeting where they had their impact study meeting. I said: "Isn't it sad that every green lung in Bloemfontein has to be absolutely desecrated, these were my words in the letter to Mr. Wim Boshoff. Mr. Boshoff, we've got Checkers which is a stone's throw away. We've got Brandwag we have Mimosa. We have Preller Square. Do we really need another shopping centre here?" He said to me: "Mrs Mathews, just remember, Mimosa is a destination shopping centre and this will be a convenience shopping centre". "Well, define this to me" I said. He said: "A convenience centre is a place where you can pick something up on your way home". I said, "We got Westdene Fruiterers that have served us very well for many years. We've got a bottle store, we've got a butcher, we've got a dairy. We've got everything that we need. We don't need another shopping centre. He said:

“You know, you must accept it; because this is very nice, this is good on the eye. Will be very upmarket”. “I agree Victorian Square looks very nice, and it is good on the eye. But do we need it?” (Long-term resident).

From the above, it should be underlined that a constructive relationship should be created between developers and residents as this will be necessary to keep the residents appeased in addition to making businesses as accessible and economically viable as possible for developers. Westdene has an architectural history which is important to Bloemfontein’s heritage. Unfortunately, many of the old houses have been lost due to developments.

The following (Box 5.3) voices concerns which are common among residents:

BOX 5.3: A resident’s despair at their attempts at heritage conservation

I don’t think I have a lot of hope. We tried very hard to do something about Westdene and the developers just walk over you. The character has already been lost; this house next door was very unique. Portuguese people lived there, used mosaic tiles to create their garden paths. They destroyed it all completely and paved it to make parking spaces. I mean, at one stage there was a large transport company across our house, with large trucks coming in and out four o’clock in the morning. But luckily, eventually the municipality got them to leave (Doctor).

It is evident from this chapter that Westdene is subject to multiple land-uses while it still attempts to retain its residential character. The ensuing excerpt (Box 5.4, below) is from a personal interview discussing perceptions of the modern neighbourhood. It relates directly to Westdene’s current status and the possibilities it will face in the future.

BOX 5.4: An architect’s opinion on mixed usage

I think diversity. It is a generally accepted fact that the more the differentiated a neighbourhood is - young people with children, older people, different businesses - is actually a very ideal situation. But it obviously brings about different problems. The question that you are asking is; What should a neighbourhood look like? There is no

simplistic answer to that. We all know the history of different neighbourhoods. The concept that we all cling to, is the so-called neighbourhood concept of a school, a church, a small shopping complex. But I think that the so-called idea is slowly being worked out. People don't go to the school that is in their neighbourhood, they go to the school that is the best. People don't go to the church of the neighbourhood they go to the church that they like the most. People are a lot more mobile. I think that we will have to change our traditional way of seeing the neighbourhood. But, again I think that there are people that like to live in a highly homogenised environment. I think it is the time that we are living in. People are allowed to exercise very personal choices (Architect/Town and Regional Planner).

The interviewees painted a picture of the issues facing Westdene now and which will face it in the future. It is evident that the post-apartheid phase in Westdene's development has created many issues which will need to be looked at in the future. The issues discussed have had many consequences, nevertheless, the issues dealt with in the next section, crime and the fear of crime, have had the most telling impact on Westdene during the post-apartheid phase.

5.4 CRIME AND THE FEAR OF CRIME IN WESTDENE (1998-2005)

The most influential, publicised and talked-about process in Westdene since 1998, but especially since 2001, is crime and the fear of crime. Volksblad (1998) reported that in 1998 tourism was hard to develop in Westdene. This was due to the number of assaults and robberies then occurring in Westdene. This negatively influenced restaurant owners as very few people would want to come to Westdene due to the particular circumstances. De Klerk (2001) reports that Westdene had the highest reported crime rate in Bloemfontein in 2001. The South African Police Services (SAPS) in Park Road also saw it as a major problem area (De Klerk, 2001). Weekly complaints during that time were lodged by the residents about unruly behaviour, noise pollution, drunkards and drunken driving by visitors over weekends (De Klerk, 2001).

The following extract (Box 5.5) is from one of the personal interviews with regard to crime in Westdene and its influence on the social character of the neighbourhood:

BOX 5.5: A student's perception of crime in Westdene

I think any area where alcohol is involved, so will drugs be involved, and therefore violence and crime will be permeating. It's not Westdene 'per se', but an area that presents itself with those elements will become subject to crime in some way. Rich people go to the entertainment areas, poor people don't go have drinks in Westdene, they are a perfect target. There are a lot of cars standing outside and people carry cell phones and personal belongings with them at night time. (Student)

In 2004 Westdene's crime rate escalated significantly with a string of murders, physical assaults and overall unruliness taking place. On 23 February 2004 a businessman was shot and stabbed and died two days later in hospital (Du Toit, 2004d). It could be argued that the reason why crime was and is such a problem in Westdene the result of poor street lighting, which is common to most neighbourhoods as old as Westdene. The large number of major roads which make Westdene accessible for business also make it easy to escape from the scene of the crime. Westdene depopulates during the evening as business owner's retreat to their dwellings, leaving very few residents spread out over the space of one street, thereby causing a crime risk. On the other hand, certain parts of Westdene re-populate at night, particularly along Second Avenue with its many entertainment amenities. Most importantly, there is an overall lack of local municipal and police force presence to secure the area.

With regard to Bloemfontein's youth, Da Silva and Jardim (2004) reported in *The Citizen* that there was concern regarding safety in Westdene, specifically mentioning murders and hijackings. Da Silva and Jardim (2004:5) quoted a youth as saying; "*My friends and I enjoy looking forward to the weekend but are in constant fear as our freedom has been deprived*". According to Da Silva and Jardim (2004), the reasons why crime exists in Westdene, is due to its proximity to Mimosa Mall, the Loch Logan Waterfront and the educational institutions such as the University of the Free State and three schools' hostels which are only a block away from Westdene. These factors present easy targets to crime-orientated individuals or groups. In response to the escalating crime situation in Westdene, the *Gemeenskappolisieforum* (GPF)/Community Policing Forum was formed by the residents of Westdene along

with some key business and restaurant owners, to fight the plague of crime which ravaged Westdene in 2004 (Du Toit, 2004e). Their objectives are *inter alia*, making security guards and car watches more prominent; using radios, whistles and dogs; and, making residents more crime attentive. Furthermore, the crime situation in Westdene became so severe that the leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA), Tony Leon, decided to address and sympathise with the victims of crime (Smith, 2004b). Smith (2004c) reported that in the light of the unacceptable situation in Westdene, the Bloemfontein Chamber of Commerce, decided to take the situation to Mr. Charles Nqakula, the Minister of Safety and Security, in an attempt to improve the situation.

Table 5.1, below, looks at the reported crime statistics in Westdene from 1 November to 31 December 2004 and 18 June to 21 September 2005, presented in a circular distributed by the Park Road Community Policing Forum. The first period presents a two month period while the second presents a three month period. What can be deduced is that a lot has been done to prohibit crime in Westdene with the reported cases coming down drastically from 176 in 2004 over a two month period to 146 over a three month period. Significant decreases in crimes such as fraud and theft cases have also been recorded. Nevertheless, other crimes have increased owing to the fact that it is difficult to police crimes such as theft out of motor vehicles and vandalism.

TABLE 5.1: Crime in Westdene, 2004/2005

REPORTED CRIME INCIDENCES IN WESTDENE			
1 November - 31 December 2004		18 June - 21 September 2005	
Theft Cases	72	Theft Cases	40
Motor Theft	19	Theft out of motors	31
Physical Attacks	17	Business Burglaries	19
Theft out of motors	16	Motor Theft	17
Residential Burglaries	15	Physical Attacks	14
Business Burglaries	13	Vandalism	12
Fraud	10	Residential Burglaries	10
Armed Robberies	3	Armed Robberies	2
Vandalism	3	Rape	1
Crimen Injuria	3	Fraud	0
Rape	1	Crimen Injuria	0
Hijackings	1	Hijackings	0
Total	176	Total	146

Despite the fact that, since the crime wave in 2004, crime has decreased significantly Westdene's crime rate is extremely high in comparison with other neighbourhoods in Bloemfontein. Over the three-month period, from 18 June to 21 September 2005, Westdene had 146 reported cases. In comparison, Heuwelsig, which is only two kilometres away, had only 19 cases. Willows, having a similar proximity to the CBD as Westdene, had 58 cases (see Table 5.2, below).

TABLE 5.2: Crime in Westdene, Heuwelsig and Willows, 2005

REPORTED CRIME INCIDENCES: 18 JUNE – 21 SEPTEMBER 2005					
Westdene		Heuwelsig		Willows	
Theft Cases	40	Physical Attacks	5	Theft Cases	18
Theft out of motors	31	Theft out of motors	4	Theft out of motors	18
Business Burglaries	19	Residential Burglaries	3	Armed Robberies	8
Physical Attacks	14	Motor Theft	2	Motor Theft	6
Motor Theft	17	Fraud	1	Vandalism	6
Vandalism	12	Theft Cases	1	Physical Attacks	2
Residential Burglaries	10	Armed Robberies	1	Fraud	0
Armed Robberies	2	Vandalism	1	Business Burglaries	0
Rape	1	Business Burglaries	1	Residential Burglaries	0
Fraud	0	Rape	0	Rape	0
Crimen Injuria	0	Crimen Injuria	0	Crimen Injuria	0
Hijackings	0	Hijackings	0	Hijackings	0
Total	146	Total	19	Total	58

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the Post-Apartheid phase in the development of Westdene from 1994 to 2005, with special focus on newspaper articles to describe the different urban change issues. A next section looked at general issues and concerns brought up by interviewees. In addition, crime the fear thereof, and its spatial effects were also looked at in more depth. It is important to note that the Post-Apartheid phase has brought a large variety of different urban processes to a single neighbourhood, which in-turn affected the wider urbanity of Bloemfontein. It is unfortunate to note that the development of Westdene after 1994 was based on the premise of separation. The pressures that resided in the CBD caused people to flee. Nevertheless, many of Bloemfontein's youth use Westdene as the main entertainment setting. This sequentially caused an exacerbated crime situation. On the lighter side, the negative

elements of invasion and succession within the CBD has brought the positive side of gentrification to Westdene, as gentrification has brought investment into the residential area and in many instances to preserve its architectural history already established the early 1900s. In many instances the future of Westdene looks bleak owing both to the multitude of people who have an influence on Westdene's spatiality, and to the fact that no substantial reciprocal discourse exists. It is evident from this chapter that the original residents have taken an active role in protecting their neighbourhood. However, this seems to have been fruitless.

The next chapter will look at the residential, apartment dweller and commercial profile of Westdene. It is suggested that this is important as the backdrop of this chapter, as well as the themes discussed in the previous chapters, leaves an opportunity to assess the issues that have been presented by means of a residential, apartment and townhouse and commercial profile.

CHAPTER 6: THE RESIDENTIAL, APARTMENT DWELLER AND COMMERCIAL PROFILE OF WESTDENE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the residential, apartment-dweller and commercial profile of Westdene. It is based on the issues raised in the previous chapters and which could possibly be clarified within this chapter. It further uses material from Bloemfontein's Main Integrated Development Plan (IDP), as well as the data from the questionnaire surveys and census data to construct the profile. The CBD is acknowledged as the Primary Metropolitan Activity Node in the region. Secondary activity nodes are present throughout the area especially the decentralisation of offices and retail from the primary CBD to its surrounding areas such as Westdene, Willows, Oranjesig and Hilton (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2002). Geographically, the Bloemfontein CBD comprises the area demarcated by the following streets: First Avenue (Westdene), Elizabeth Street, Markgraaff Street (Westdene), Zastron Street (Westdene), Klooff Street, Barnes Street (Westdene), Aliwal Street, Alexandra Avenue, railway lines and Bloemfontein Railway Station up to Fort Street, through to Church Street, St. George's Street, President Brand Street and Selborne Avenue (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2002). From the above, it is evident that Westdene, and particularly some of its streets, form an integral part of Bloemfontein's economic activity.

The location of Westdene in Bloemfontein (Figure 6.1, below) is circumscribed by and composed of the following attributes: the CBD to the east, as well as that it is partially part of the CBD; the Loch Logan Waterfront to the south; Brandwag and Mimosa Mall to the west; and lastly, Dan Pienaar Drive to the north.

Furthermore, it is also the aim of the Mangaung Local Municipality to develop and implement a plan which integrates the Bloemfontein CBD with its historical precincts in the Westdene/Willows/Park West area and the recreational precinct in the Kings Park/Loch Logan area in order to create a coherent and integrated city centre (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2002). According to the Bloemfontein Integrated Development Programme (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2002), the Westdene area has been the subject of intense development in the past few years. This is viewed by

the Mangaung Local Municipality as being positive, though concerns have been raised for future developments in the area.

The IDP Main Report (Mangaung Local Municipality, 2002: 94) has made the following proposals with regard to Westdene's future:

- Second Avenue should be developed as an activity corridor where mixed uses are encouraged. It needs to link with the Loch Logan Waterfront, and from there in an easterly direction towards the CBD, as well as in a westerly direction along the Zoo to the University of the Free State and then south to the Tourism Centre.
- This area should be made pedestrian friendly while a concerted effort should be placed on “greening” the walkways.
- Westdene will remain a transitional area, but should not go beyond Brill Street.
- This area is ideal area for small professional firms. It is thus important to keep the coverage and density low. The area should be promoted for mixed uses, and a conservation area should be enforced, therefore allowing the area to retain its present character.
- Existing commercial developments along Zastron Street and Nelson Mandela Drive will remain.
- The Mimosa Mall node is the busiest intersection. Traffic should be organised before it enters this node. Measures focusing on diverting traffic before it enters this intersection should be considered in future.
- Westdene is characterised by historical areas/places and can therefore be treated as a precinct which can be linked with the historical areas in the CBD.

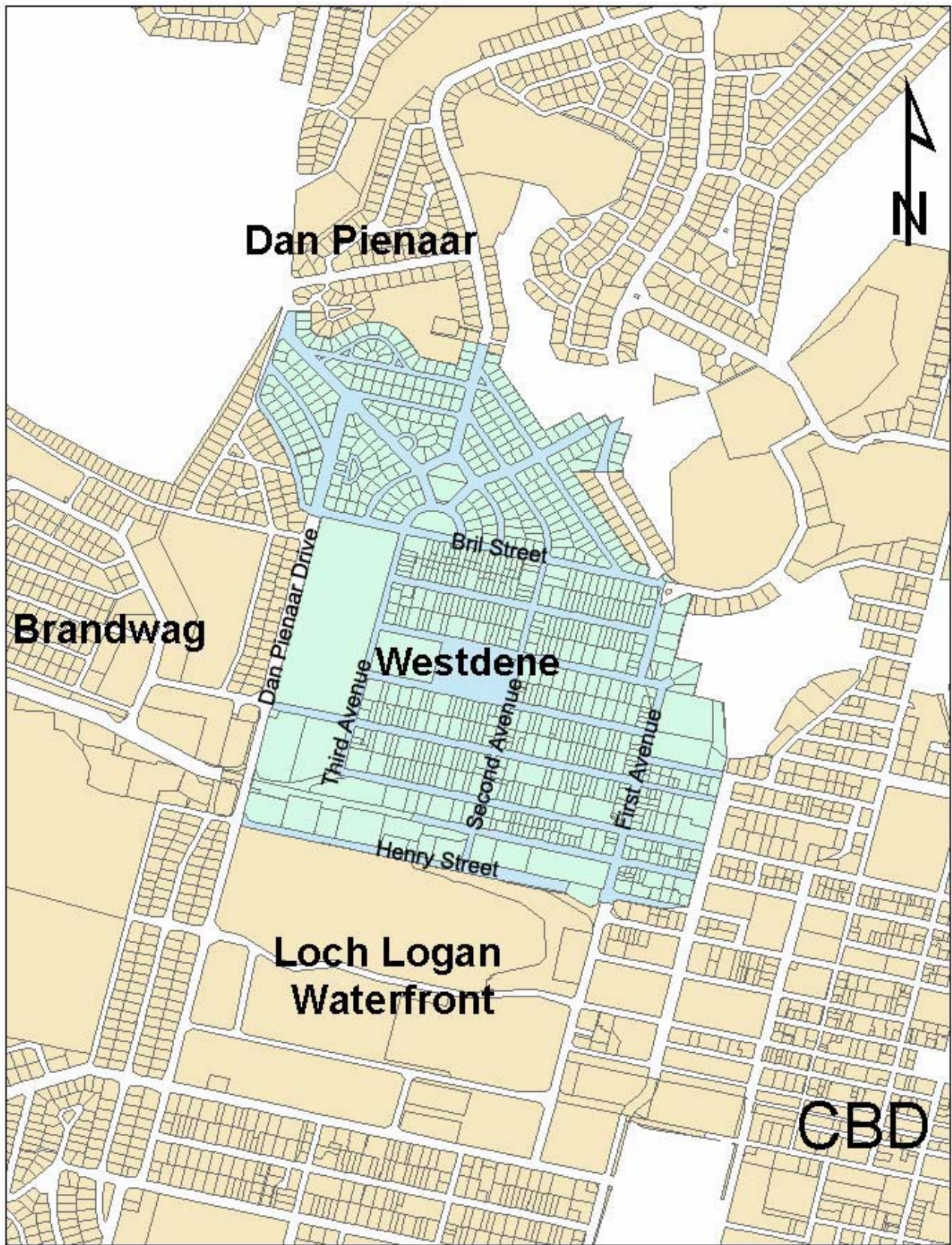


Figure 6.1: Westdene's Location in Bloemfontein

6.2 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF WESTDENE'S RESIDENTS (1996 & 2001 CENSUS DATA)

Attributable to what has been explored thus far, this part of the chapter will focus on the socio-economic profile of Westdene's residents, describing its general profile and its residential character. The general profile will use and compare the 1996 and 2001 Census data to create the aimed profile. Owing to the differences in data and attainability of the data not all of the Census data can accurately be compared; therefore, the feasible comparisons will be made between the two data sets while the remainder will be discussed separately.

Westdene had a population of 4 004 in 1996 but has subsequently decreased dramatically to 2 993 in 2001.

Three basic elements of the resident composition are displayed in Table 6.1, below, namely; age, education level and employment status. It is significant that the 19-30 age cohort is markedly larger than the rest of the age groups. According to the 1996 Census, this category is at 40% and the 2001 Census data put them at 34.4% of the total. It could be argued that Westdene is a very popular neighbourhood for young people such as students and people starting careers. The decrease in percentage from 40% to 34.4% may be attributable to the decentralisation processes from the CBD which resulted in businesses occupying large portions of the housing stock. In respect of, educational level a large number of people have Matric, 52.5% (1996 Census data) and 66.9% (2001 Census data) respectively. This trend could be due to the number of students in Westdene who have not yet obtained a formal tertiary qualification and the number of people over the age of 51 who did not obtain any higher qualifications, this not being the norm at that stage of the life cycle. In general, the educational level of Westdene's residents can be seen as good in relation to the national level.

TABLE 6.1: General biographical data of residents

VARIABLES	1996	2001
	%	%
Age of residents:		
<6	5.9	5.8
7-12	3.5	5.1
13-18	8.7	11.6
19-30	40.0	34.4
31-40	10.6	13.8
41-50	8.5	9.2
51-60	7.9	8.6
61+	12.0	11.1
Unspecified	2.3	0
Highest educational level:		
No schooling	2.0	2.7
Matric	52.5	66.9
Diploma	9.0	9.3
Bachelors Degree	8.4	6.5
Honours Degree	1.5	2.7
Master's or Doctorate Degree	2.4	2.6
Other	6.8	4.9
Unspecified	11.9	4.1
Aged under five	5.2	0
Employment status:		
Employed	46.1	63.4
Scholar/student	13.0	20.8
Pensioner/retired person	9.7	4.5
Housewife/homemaker	3.1	3.5
Unemployed	1.9	3.4
Unspecified	0.7	2.9
Disabled person	0.2	1.0
NA: Aged <15	9.7	0
NA: Institution	15.0	0

The employment statuses reflected the two different data sets have changed quite a bit from 1996 to 2001. First of all, the number of people who are employed has risen from 46.1% in 1996 to 63.4% in 2001. Furthermore, the numbers of the resident pensioners, or retired persons, have declined from 9.7% in 1996 to 4.5% in 2001. In addition, the numbers of the scholars or students increased from 13% in 1996 to 20.8% in 2001. These changes in employment status may be imputed to the processes of aging. Retired persons could either have died or relocated to retirement homes. Younger people moving into Westdene could have resulted in the increase of the employment rates. The number of scholars could be linked to the proximity of

Westdene to the main educational institutions of Bloemfontein, as well as that many of the residents are between the ages of 18-40 when child-bearing is common.

Table 6.2, below, examines further basic biographical data of the Westdene residents, with reference to occupation, racial category and gender, employing the 1996 Census Data.

TABLE 6.2: Further biographical data of residents (1996 Census Data)

VARIABLES	%
Occupation:	
Professionals	25.0
Clerks	18.5
Technicians and associate professionals	17.4
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	14.4
Craft and related trades workers	7.2
Legislators, senior officials and managers	6.8
Elementary workers	5.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2.7
Skilled agricultural and fishery works	1.7
Racial category of residents:	
Black	6.1
Coloured	1.1
Asian	0.3
White	92.2
Gender of residents:	
Male	48.6
Female	51.4

The occupation of the residents is mostly focussed on the services sector such as professionals (25%), clerks (18.5%), technicians and associate professionals (17.4%). The racial category of the residents in Westdene is still very much a “white group area” with the total percentage of white residents amounting to 92.2%. Minor desegregation has taken place, with black residents at 6.1% and Coloured and Asian residents combined at 1.4%. It could be argued that neighbourhoods close to city centres in South Africa still maintain their racial composition inherited from the Apartheid era through to the Post-Apartheid era. The gender profile of the residents is: male at 48.6% and female at 51.4%.

Table 6.3, below, outlines the economic profile of Westdene’s residents employing the 2001 Census data. It focuses on the individual monthly income per person, weighted, as well as the core employment focus and occupation of the residents.

TABLE 6.3: Economic profile of residents (2001 Census Data)

VARIABLES	%
Individual monthly income per person:	
<R1600	45.2
R1601-R3200	14.0
R3201-R6400	22.0
R6401-R12800	12.3
R12801-R25600	5.2
>R256001	1.1
Core employment focus of residents:	
Community, social and personal services	21.0
Financial, insurance, real estate and business services	13.3
Wholesale, retail and trade	10.5
Transport, storage and communication	4.1
Manufacturing	3.1
Construction	1.9
Private households	1.8
Electricity, gas and water supply	1.2
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	0.5
Mining and quarrying	0.2
Undetermined	5.4
Not applicable	36.5

The individual income per person is fairly low, 45.2% of the residents earning less than R1 600 per month. 22% of the residents earn between R3 201-R6 400 per month, and less than 1.1% of the residents earn more than R25 601. Possible reasons for such a narrow income range could be that the data focuses on income per person weighted. This could imply that the range of income between apartment, townhouse and residential dwellers could vary substantially and that quite a few people are economically inactive, e.g. pensioners, housewives and students who do not earn fixed salaries (36.5% of residents are economically inactive). Therefore, dividing the income ranges per person creates a fairly low average. The core employment of the residents relates by and large to community, social and personal services (21%) and financial, insurance, real estate and business services (13.3%). This correlates closely with the 1996 Census data in respect of professionals. Table 6.4 (below) investigates the occupation per person of the residents, using the 2001 Census data.

TABLE 6.4: Occupation per person of residents (2001 Census Data)

VARIABLES OCCUPATION PER PERSON:	%
Office clerks	10.6
Other professionals	6.7
Personal and protection services workers	5.1
Other associate professionals	4.9
General managers	4.0
Natural and Engineering Science and associate professionals	3.6
Corporate managers	3.5
Models, salespersons and demonstrators	2.9
Teaching professionals	2.8
Life science and health associate professionals	2.5
Customer service clerks	2.2
Life science and health professionals	2.0
Sales and services elementary occupations	1.8
Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science professionals	1.6
Extracting and building trades workers	1.5
Teaching associate professionals	0.6
Metal; machinery and related trades workers	0.6
Mining, construction, manufacturing and transport labourers	0.5
Handicraft, printing and related trades workers	0.3
Other craft and related trades workers	0.3
Drivers and mobile-plant operators	0.3
Market-oriented skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.1
Undetermined	3.8
Not applicable (Not economically active)	36.5

The occupation per person is highly variable, with very little substantial variabilities present. This section explored the general profile of its residents deducing that many young people live in Westdene and generally earn low incomes. It is also noteworthy that there was a substantial population decrease of 25% over a five-year period. The next section will focus more specifically on the residential profile of Westdene.

6.3 THE RESIDENTIAL PROFILE OF WESTDENE

The previous section explored the socio-economic status of Westdene's residents in general. This section will look more specifically at the residential profile of Westdene. Westdene's residential area (see Figure 6.3) has diminished drastically over the past ten to fifteen years owing to business decentralisation from the CBD to Westdene and the development both of apartment buildings and townhouse complexes. Most of the residential cohorts still exist north of Brill Street. South of Brill Street a fair number of residential properties are still in use for purely residential purposes, but farther south the residential component becomes progressively smaller. The northern part of

Westdene above Brill Street has been subject to forces such as increased traffic flows, a form of gentrification and business trying to move over Brill Street into the residential areas.

The following are quotes (Box 6.1) taken from personal interviews with regard to Westdene's residential cohorts and their future, referring to the possibility of businesses spilling over into Westdene and how they experience Westdene's residential fortifications:

BODX 6.1: Interviewees' responses towards residential and commercial boundaries

I think Brill Street is a rather strong cut-off point. If you look across the road there is very strong settled living structures. I don't think it will happen, because I don't think the residential part is necessarily at locations that are comfortable for businesses, especially, if you look at the southern part which is still connected to the CBD's westward development. (Architect/Town and Regional Planner)

You know, I think it will move over Brill Street, because there are some businesses that have done that already. I think it will spill over. (Engineer and Project Manager)

I think more in attitude than just in terms of walls and fences. You notice that, but you don't feel that people are very outreaching. Again I'm just thinking of our street here. I don't even know what our neighbours look like really. But I don't know whether that is because of our own fortifications. We have to walk past our own security when we go outside and past our wooden gate. I don't know if that's the case. People are so different. We lived in London and it almost feels like London, but even the people next door, although we didn't have anything in common with them, whatsoever, but still we would say hello to each other in London. It's very insular as a community. (Temporary resident in Westdene from Glasgow Scotland and worker with the Provincial Government)

What can be deduced from the interviews is that the interviewees view the future of Westdene differently. Some feel that the business will spill over Brill Street and some not, some feel that Westdene is a very insular community, while some see it as a very

warm-hearted community. Nevertheless, the possibility of people fortifying Westdene even more and of businesses spilling over remains a distinct reality.



FIGURE 6.2: An example of a typical Westdene house above Brill Street



Figure 6.3: Westdene Property Map

This section of the chapter will focus on the profile of Westdene’s residential area. The data for this section was obtained from a questionnaire survey. A questionnaire was personally delivered to every residential unit in the northern area of Westdene above Brill Street. Of the two-hundred questionnaires distributed, fifty-six were returned, which represents a 28% response rate. Table 6.5 (below) explores the personal details of the respondents, gender, the age of the household members, home language, marital status, focussing on profession, highest qualification and, lastly.

TABLE 6.5: Personal details of respondents

Gender	Male 54%	Female 46%						
Age	<6 years 13%	6-12 years 12%	13-18 years 8%	19-30 years 19%	31-40 years 19%	41-50 years 12%	51- 60 years 9%	>61 years 8%
Home Language	English 24%	Afrikaans 71%	Sesotho 0%	Other 5%				
Marital Status	Married 65%	Single 15%	Living together 2%	Widow(er) 10%	Divorced 6%	Separated 2%		
Profession	Business Professional 37%	Academic/ Teaching 13%	Medical 12%	Management 10%	Retired 8%	Technical 8%	Other 12%	
Highest Qualification	Grade 12 30%	Diploma 4%	Bachelor’s Degree 17%	Honour’s Degree 13%	Master’s Degree 4%	Doctorate Degree 9%	Other 12%	

The residential cohorts of Westdene are mostly active as business professionals (37%). The gender profile of the respondents is 54% male and 46% female. Almost two-thirds (65%) of the residents are married and there is a very low divorce rate of 6%. The home language is mostly Afrikaans (71%), with a smaller percentage being English (24%), the other 5% being mostly Greek or Portuguese. The academic qualifications of the respondents are exceptionally high, 9% of the respondents have done doctorates and only 30% have done Matric. The remainder have all completed a degree or post-graduate study. The number of household with members in the 19-30 and 31-40 age brackets were the greatest representing 19% of the sample; while the percentages of the younger than six and the 6-12 cohorts are 13% and 12% respectively. It could be suggested that the 19-40 group and the 6-12 group could be family, as 19-40 is the most common time in which people start families. Table 6.6 (below) reflects the economic profile of the residential respondents, namely: annual

income per person, the year of purchase of their properties, market value of their properties when first bought, and, lastly, the desired sales prices of their properties.

TABLE 6.6: Economic details of respondents

Annual income per person:	%
<R100 000	27
R100 001-R200 000	32
R200 001-R300 000	27
R300 001-R400 000	10
>R400 001	4
Year of purchase:	%
<1970	9
1971-1980	13
1981-1990	13
1991-1995	17
1996-1999	6
>2000	42
Market value when bought:	%
<R100 000	36
R100 001-R200 000	11
R200 001-R300 000	18
R300 001-R400 000	13
>R400 000	22
Desired sales prices:	%
<R500 000	2
R500 001-R600 000	15
R600 001-R700 000	22
R700 001-R800 000	24
R800 001-R900 000	17
R900 001-R1000 000	7
>R10000 001	13

The annual incomes of the respondents are high, with 32% earning between R100 001-R200 000 and 10% earning between R300 001-R400 000 annually. Probably one of the most striking of all the figures in this table is the year of purchase. Most of the respondents (42%) bought their properties after the year 2000. It could be argued that the correlation between the preponderance of the age cohort 19-40, the income bracket of R100 000-R200 000, per annum, properties being bought after 2000 and a significant level of education, suggests the existence of a strong gentrification profile in Westdene. These figures are positive terms in the property ownership cycles of Westdene because long term investment is possible. The market value of Westdene's residential properties splits into two clusters: most of the respondents (36%) bought

their properties for under R100 000 and 22% bought for over R400 000. It could be proposed that the people who bought for under R100 000 bought before the year 2000 and the other group bought after the year 2000. This adds to the possibility of gentrification in Westdene. The sales prices that the respondent's desire are high, as 24% want between R700 001-R800 000 and 22% want between R600 001-R700 000. These details add to the perceptions that property prices in Westdene have changed over the past ten to fifteen years because Westdene has become business orientated, young professionals have invested in the area- thereby creating high property prices and because Westdene is so close to the CBD, the Loch Logan Waterfront and Mimosal Mall.

Table 6.7, below, examines the aesthetic desires of the residents, especially highlighting why they live in Westdene; what negative experiences they have had in the neighbourhood and their relationship with their neighbours.

Ten percent of the respondents live in Westdene owing to its proximity to shopping centres and 9% because it is a good investment. It should be underlined that the respondents have different and varying reasons for living in Westdene. When it comes to the negative aspects of living in Westdene, petty theft is the most often cited reason (16%), secondly, those who say there are too many restaurants and nightclubs, serious crimes, loiterers, traffic noise and pollution lie at 10% each.

TABLE 6.7: Aesthetic desires of the respondents

Reasons for living in Westdene	%
Close to shopping centres	10
Good investment	9
Close to city centre	8
Close to workplace	8
Attractive houses	8
Attractive neighbourhood	7
Peace and quiet	7
Close to schools	7
Close to hospital	7
Close to church	6
Abundance of trees	6
Friendly people	5
Close to restaurants and clubs	5
Close to UFS or CUT	4
Close to sports facilities	3
Enjoy diverse activities in the area	0
Other	0
Negative aspects about living in Westdene	%
Petty theft	16
Houses converted for business purposes	11
Traffic noise and pollution	10
Loiterers	10
Serious crimes	10
Too many restaurants and nightclubs in Westdene	10
High rates and taxes	9
Traffic congestion	7
Unkempt gardens and flats	5
Unattractive boundary walls	3
Houses that do not fit in with the character of Westdene	3
Inadequate services	2
Other	2
Too many town houses and flats	1
Lack of public services	1
Relationship with neighbours	%
Greet only	50
Visit occasionally	27
Visit regularly	19
Do not know neighbours	4

The following is an extract (Box 6.2) from an interview with regard to traffic problems in Westdene:

BOX 6.2: A marketing consultant's feeling on parking spaces

I think it will be tragic if they would want to bulldoze a block to make more parking spaces or a parking centre. At my office it is not a problem because we have designated parking areas, but if you park in the street at an office it is problematic. I think all the offices have space for their own people, but not for the public. Not really.
(Marketing Consultant)

The respondents' relationships with their neighbours vary, but these are markedly disengaged with 50% of the respondents only greeting their neighbours, 27% visiting occasionally, 19% visiting regularly and 4% not knowing their neighbours. The following (Box 6.3) is from one of the in-depth interviews with people newly arrived in Westdene and how they experience their relationship with their neighbours:

BOX 6.3: A new, temporary resident's view on community

I've experienced Brebner Road 63, I don't know anybody else. I know what the neighbours look like. I don't find it a very friendly street; I know everybody is very busy. But I wouldn't say it's very friendly and I wouldn't say that I could recognise people who live here. I don't experience any form a community here, like a local shop with community notices. The friendships that we are developing are through kind of other roots through other people, it's not through. Not through, sharing a space called Westdene. (Temporary resident from Glasgow Scotland and currently a kindergarten teacher)

The next clusters of residents in Westdene are the apartment and townhouse dwellers who experience a very different Westdene than the residential part. The apartment and townhouse dwellers are the next profile of this chapter.

6.4 THE APARTMENT AND TOWNHOUSE PROFILE OF WESTDENE

After focussing on the residential sector of Westdene the next section will focus on the apartment and townhouse profile and how these influence the neighbourhood's

urban structure. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 illustrate the location of the apartment and townhouse properties in Westdene. The townhouse and apartment buildings are by far in the minority among the properties in Westdene, only numbering fifty-five lots. The number of apartments and townhouses are, in comparison with the commercial and single residential properties, relatively few, yet do have an effect on the spatial configuration owing to the size of these properties. Single apartment or townhouse complexes are in many respects the size of many residential properties. The data for this section was obtained from the 1996 and 2001 Census counts. A questionnaire survey was not undertaken due to the inaccessibility of these properties. Some personal interviews were nevertheless conducted with people who live in apartments and townhouses, as well as the owners of these types of properties.

Table 6.8, below, investigates the economic and ownership status of the town house and apartment building residents.

TABLE 6.8: 1996 Census profile of townhouse and apartment dwellers

VARIABLES	%
Annual household income:	
<R150 00	89.2
R150 001-R300 000	7.0
R300 001-R600 000	2.0
R600 001-R1.2 million	0.8
>R1.2 million	0.8
Ownership status:	
Yes	30.8
No	67.8
Unspecified	1.3

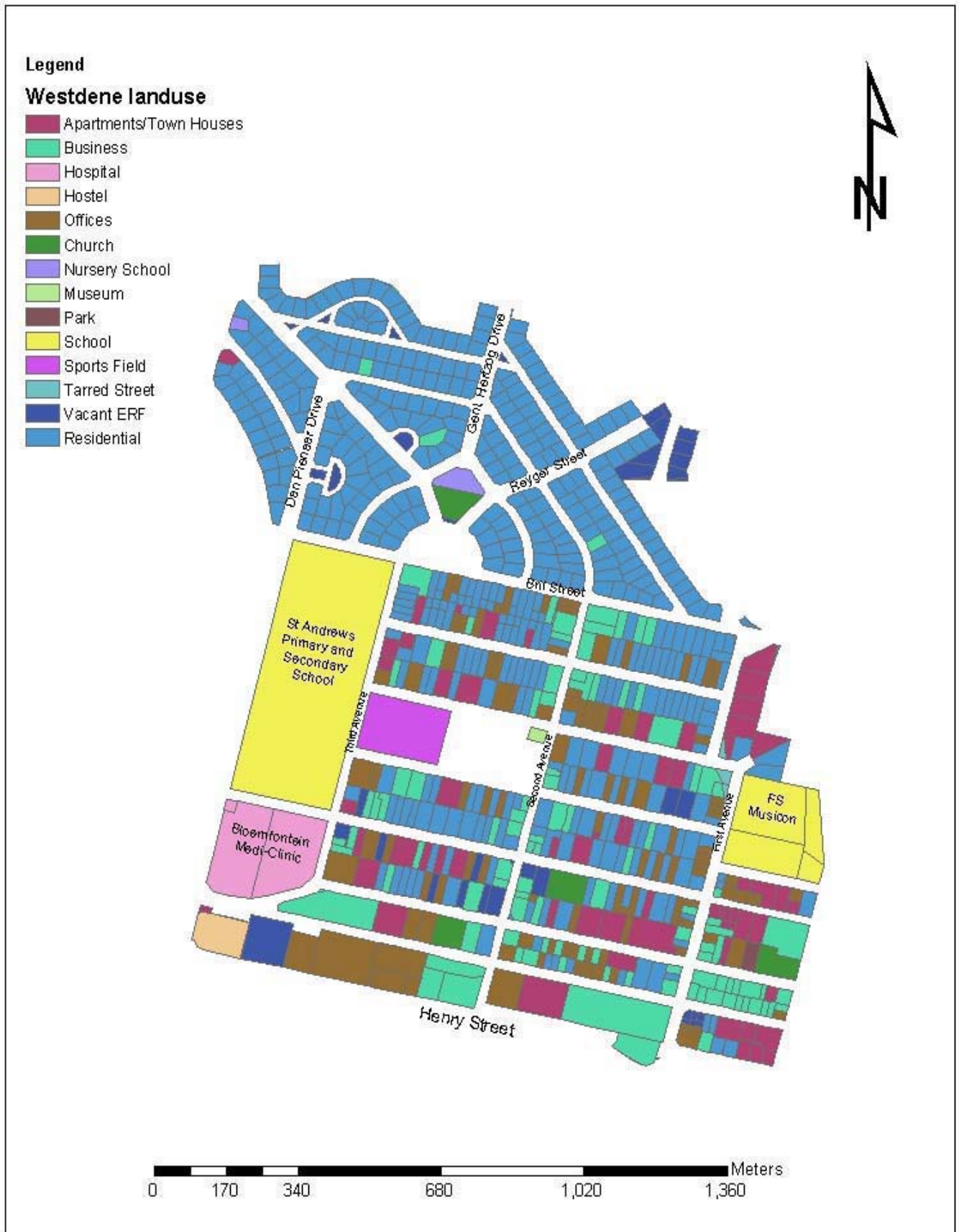


Figure 6.4: General Property Usage Map of Westdene

The annual household income in 1996 suggests that most people who live in townhouses and apartment buildings are economically less affluent than people who own or live in other residential properties (see Table 6.5). 89% of the apartment and townhouse dwellers earn less than R150 000 annually. 7% earn between R150 001-R300 000 and only 2% earn between R300 001-R600 000. Less than 1.6% earn over R600 001 annually. The ownership status is as follows: 30.8% do own the properties in which they live, 67.8% do not own the dwellings in which they reside. It could be conjectured that the 30.8% of the residents who do own their properties are the cohorts in the higher income ranges closer to R150 000 and over R150 000. The rest most probably rent. Table 6.9 looks at the 2001 Census profile of the apartment and townhouse dwellers.

TABLE 6.9: 2001 Census profile of apartment and townhouse dwellers

VARIABLES	%
Annual household income:	
<R150 000	93.5
R150 001-R300 000	4.6
R300 001-R600 000	1.0
R600 001-R1.2 million	0.4
>R1.2 million	0.4
Gender of head of household:	
Male	46.0
Female	54.0
Tenure status of head of household:	
Rented	66.6
Owned and fully paid off	22.6
Owned but not yet paid off	9.4
Occupied rent-free	1.2
Racial category of head of household:	
Black	15.0
Coloured	6.0
Asian	2.7
White	75.7

The 2001 Census data gives a clearer view of the cohorts which occupy apartment and townhouses in Westdene. The household income under a R150 000 is higher than in 1996 with 93.5%, while the people who earn in the income range of R150 001-R300 000 have decreased from 7% in 1996 to 4.6%. The aforementioned detail could also be due to inflation. Furthermore, the income range of R300 001-R600 000 has decreased from 2% in 1996 to 1% in 2001. Also, the income range over R600 001 has

once decreased from 1.6% in 1996 to 0.8%. Generally there has been a substantial decrease in the economic Census figures when the 1996 Census data is compared with the 2001 data.



FIGURE 6.5: An example of the type of townhouses that exist in Westdene

The gender of the head of household is fairly balanced with 46% being male and 54% female. What is different with regard to the head of household is that there are more females who are heads of households, whereas the general profile for Westdene is primarily male. It could be argued that apartment and townhouses in Westdene are often occupied by people living on their own or people who are divorced (See Box 6.4).

BOX 6.4: A property owner's opinion on the townhouse dwellers' social context

Westdene is also nice for younger people that do not want to settle yet in the suburban life with a white picket fence. I think in its own distinctive way, it is also an area for single people. We are five people living in this townhouse complex and we are all single or divorced (Advocate and property owner).

The tenure status is very much the same in 2001 as in 1996. 66% rent their dwellings, where in 1996, 67.8% did so previously. The racial categorisation of the head of household with regard to the apartments and townhouses, in all likelihood, is the most non-white of all the profiles, be they residential or business. Nevertheless, it must be said that it is still, on the whole, a predominantly white (75.7%) and less black (15%) profile. The coloured representation is 6% which is also quite high. The next section of this chapter will look at the commercial profile, which in many instances is the main instigator of urban change within Westdene.



FIGURE 6.6: A view from the top of Loch Logan Park of some of the apartment buildings and townhouses in Westdene

6.5 THE COMMERCIAL PROFILE OF WESTDENE

This section of the chapter will focus on the commercial profile of Westdene. Since 1994 Westdene has changed dramatically in respect its property use. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 indicate the commercial land use of Westdene. The data for Figure 6.3 was collected via personal survey the cadastral data for Figure 6.4 was obtained from the Surveyor-General, and the Land Use data from the Department of Local Government and Housing. Both the maps differ in a variety of respects such as the time at which the data was obtained, inaccuracies of government surveys and the constantly

changing nature of any urban space. Figure 6.3 represents the purely commercially-orientated properties, without specifying their main purpose. As is seen in Figure 6.3 most of the commercial properties are in the south of Westdene and they diminish gradually due north. Many properties have been consolidated and combined. What can be inferred from Figure 6.3 is that most of the commercial properties in the south of Westdene are significantly larger than the commercial properties to the north. This is due to using vacant lots, open properties, and buying and combining properties, or as in many cases in the south of Westdene, because buildings were bought up, demolished and new buildings erected. Examples of such conversions are the MTN Centre, McDonalds, and Standard Bank lying along Nelson Mandela Drive. Figure 6.4 shows the more precisely specified land usage picture. From a commercial point of view the following descriptions are set out, specifically; standard businesses, offices both public and private and a private hospital. The rest of this section of the chapter will focus on the profile of the commercial ventures in Westdene which were obtained by personal survey.



FIGURE 6.7: An example of commercial industries opening their regional offices in Westdene

As is shown in Table 6.10, below, the core business focus of most of the respondents is retail/sales (with 26 %) and, secondly, the service sector (with 21%).

TABLE 6.10: Socio-demographics of the business owners in Westdene

VARIABLES	%
Core business focus:	
Retail (sales)	26
Service	21
Accounting/audit/finance	14
Real estate/development/architecture	12
Legal services	12
Medical-related focus	12
Food-related focus	3
Gender of business owners:	
Male	59
Female	41
Racial category of business owners:	
Black	8
White	89
Coloured	2
Asian	1
Home language of business owners:	
English	21
Afrikaans	73
Sesotho	2
Other	4

Westdene has vast variety of shops: shops specifically geared towards the sale of articles as clothing; pet shops; cell phone shops; book shops; and shops selling antiques. There are also many businesses which focus on services, such as security companies, beauty salons, internet providers and purveyors of information technologies. The bulk of the businesses in Westdene focus on accounting, audit and financial services with 14%, real estate, development and architecture (12%), legal services (12%), and medical-related business (12%). The combined total of these professional institutions is 50%. It could be argued that these types of business do not fall under the same classifications, yet they do present similarities in presentation of services. The gender of the business owners is preponderantly male (59%), with female business owners at a slightly lower 41%. The racial category of the business

owners is overwhelmingly white (89%). It is important to note that a large sector of businesses owned for the white constituencies are owned by Greek and Portuguese people, with the remainder being Black, (8%), Coloured (2%), and Asian (1%). The home languages of the business owners correlate directly with their racial category. As they are mostly white, most of the owners' home languages are Afrikaans (73%) and English (21%). The rest are Sesotho at 2% and Other at 4%, four percent being mostly Greek and Portuguese.

Table 6.11 explores the employee profile in the businesses of Westdene. Most of the employees in Westdene are white (80%), with a small number being either Black (15%) or Coloured (5%).

TABLE 6.11: The socio-demographics of the employees in Westdene

Average race division of employees	%
Black	15
White	80
Coloured	5
Asian	0
Other	0
Location of employee residence	
Westdene	22
Bloemfontein West	22
Bloemfontein North	19
Bloemfontein South	14
Mangaung	13
Bloemfontein Central	4
Heidedal	4
CBD	2
Average gender division of employees	
Male	41
Female	59

Owing to historical inequality, apartheid's induced differences in education and socio-economic position can arguably be seen to explain the very significant under-representation of Blacks in the employee profile. An additional reason why most of the employees are white is because of where they reside. Most of the employees live in Westdene (22%) but also in Bloemfontein West, in neighbourhoods such as

Universitas and Langenhoven Park which are all still predominantly white neighbourhoods. As there are plenty of professionally-orientated business in Westdene, such as architecture and legal services, many of the employees earn substantial salaries which again implies that they live in the higher income neighbourhoods in Bloemfontein North (19%) such as Heuwelsig, Hillsboro and Helicon Heights. The employee gender division is mostly female with 59%, and fewer male employees (41%). It has previously been mentioned that the business owners are 59% male and 49% female and the employees are 59% female and 41% male. This could represent differences in gender equity with regard to Westdene's business owners and employee scales. Table 6.12, below, investigates the historical and economic profiles of the businesses in Westdene.

TABLE 6.12: Historical and economic profile of the businesses

Previous location of business	%
Always in Westdene	64
Bloemfontein West	9
CBD	9
Bloemfontein Central	9
Bloemfontein North	7
Bloemfontein South	2
Year business was established	
<1990	15
1990-1995	31
1996-1999	25
2000 +	29
Estimated market property value of business premises when started	
<R100 000	26
R100 001-R300 000	21
R300 001-R500 000	21
R500 001-R1 million	21
>R1 million	11
Estimated selling price	
<R100 000	7
R100 001-R300 000	0
R300 001-R500 000	0
R500 001-R1 million	40
>R1 million	53
Year premises in Westdene were obtained	
<1990	8
1990-1995	14
1996-2000	25
>2000	53

In all probability, one of the most important findings of the research is that most of the businesses (64%) have always been in Westdene and only 9% have moved from the CBD to Westdene. The time at which the businesses were established varies quite evenly from the pre-1990 to post-2000 period. Decentralisation from the CBD thus is not a process that has had a major impact on Westdene since 1996, as 78% of the businesses were established after that time. It could, therefore, be suggested that the businesses which established themselves in Westdene in the pre-1990 (8%) and 1990-1995 (14%) periods were in the process of decentralisation. In essence, the development of a new economy within the CBD resulted in a change in market, and businesses which supplied alternative, often more expensive products, had to re-estimate their location to serve their customer bases. In this case Westdene served to absorb this development of a new economic base within the greater Bloemfontein. The estimated market value of business premises when started are distributed fairly evenly: 26% are under R100 000, 21% between 100 001-R300 000, 21% between R300 001-R500 000, 21% between R500 001-R1million. The only real variability is the over R1 million range which represents 11%. The estimated selling price is much higher than the initial purchasing price with 40% wanting between R500 001-R1 million and 53% wanting over R1 million. Table 6.13, below, provides some insight into the positive and negative aspects of establishing and operating a business in Westdene.

TABLE 6.13: Positive and negative aspects of operating a business in Westdene

Positive aspects for opening a business in Westdene	%	Negative aspects for opening a business in Westdene	%
Close to City Centre	13	Petty theft	21
Attractive neighbourhood	10	Traffic congestion	14
Close to restaurants and clubs	10	Loiterers	14
Good investment	8	Serious crimes	11
Peace and quiet	8	Traffic noise and pollution	8
Close to shopping centres	8	High rates and taxes	8
Close to schools	6	Unattractive boundary walls	5
Close to hospital	6	Houses that do not fit in with the character of Westdene	4
Friendly people	5	Inadequate services	3
Attractive houses	4	Unkempt gardens and houses	3
Abundance of trees	4	Lack of public services	3
Enjoy diverse activities in the area	4	Too many restaurants and nightclubs	2
Close to UFS or CUT	4	Too many town houses and flats	0
Close to sport facilities	2		
Close to church	1		

The positive aspect with the highest percentage is Westdene's location relative to the city centre (13%). It has been mentioned earlier that many of Westdene's streets form part or borders the CBD which makes it an easily accessible location for opening and owning a business. The second most positive locational advantage for owning a business in Westdene is that it is perceived to represent good property investment and is an attractive neighbourhood from which to operate and manage a business (10%) (See Table 6.12, which presents the ranges of initial capital expenditure and the desired sales prices). As is seen in Figure 6.8, many owners noted that they enjoy the setting of the old houses in Westdene for their commercial ventures.



FIGURE 6.8: An example of a former residential property now being used for commercial purposes in Westdene

However, there are also negative aspects associated with owning and operating a business in Westdene. The most important negative aspect is related to petty theft, with 21% of business owners indicating this variable as being of concern. The two other most frequently cited concerns were traffic congestion and loiterers (14%). Serious crimes (11%) also presented problems. Indeed, taken as a whole, negative aspects concerning businesses location in Westdene are related to crime at various levels. These concerns were also highlighted in a number of in-depth interviews with

regard to traffic congestion: *“I don’t know. It’s a big problem. They should think of maybe broadening Parfitt Avenue in a way and Dan Pienaar Drive. More lanes should be created especially next to St. Andrew’s. First Avenue and Second Avenue seems like quite a nightmare. I really don’t know how they will fix it (Neurologist).*

The following was mentioned by the head town planner of the Mangaung Local Municipality (see Box 6.5):

BOX 6.5: Comments on parking by the Head of Town and Regional Planning at Mangaung Local Municipality

The Town Council Scheme has certain guidelines which come from the National Guideline Scheme, for the amount of parking areas per development. Many developers admitted that the standard requirement is less than what is needed in practice. In the beginning a lot of the developers complained that the regulation is too strict. Where the problem started in Westdene is a lot of the buildings are older, and there are some that had certain rights. The Scheme had a date by which the parking regulations had to be implemented and the buildings were built before that date. The attitude at that time was that, if the houses are built before that specific date, you cannot add additional parking. Because of the character that did exist in Westdene where there was no problem with parking, and the standard was too low. At the moment, it is being enforced that businesses should provide on-premises parking, but there is not a specific plan to look at the parking problems. People opening businesses are realising that they cannot provide parking for their workers or clients in the street anymore. They are automatically providing on-premises parking, with the development of new businesses (Head of Town and Regional Planning, Mangaung Local Municipality).

The following is a further extract towards what could be done to alleviate Westdene’s parking problems (see Box 6.6):

BOX 6.6: Town and regional planner's thoughts on parking problems

I think the best way, is to be a lot stricter when an area has been approved , or when the building plans have been approved, so that when an old house is reconstructed as an office, that the municipality should be a lot stricter concerning the parking spaces allotted per building. In a lot of cases this does not happen (Town and Regional Planner).

Table 6.14, below, investigates the customer profile of Westdene's businesses.

TABLE 6.14: Customer profile of Westdene's businesses

Customers/clients numbers per day	%
200+	0
100-200	4
50-100	15
25-50	20
10-25	26
1-10	35
Race category of customers/clients	%
White	66
Black	24
Coloured	8
Asian	2

The customer/client numbers are, relatively speaking, low in Westdene as most business are service orientated and only use Westdene because of its centrality to access their customer/clients elsewhere. The highest percentage see one to ten customers/clients (35%), 26% responded that they see ten to twenty-five customers/clients and 20% see 25-50 daily. 66% of the customers are white which is still two-thirds, but 24% are black, 8% coloured and 2% Asian. It could be argued that the business owners and employees are predominantly white, but that the people whom they serve are not as predominantly white due to the presence of black professionals and black students who use Westdene's entertainment amenities.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to explore the residential, apartment and townhouse as well as the commercial profile of Westdene. The general profile of Westdene and its residents revealed that its location is situated within Bloemfontein's economic heart and that plenty of young people residing there. The residential profile as an urban entity has diminished drastically over the past ten years, but simultaneously it has adapted and evolved as a built environment with an old architectural character which often caters for specific people. The residential profile also exhibits that the respondents are exceptionally well qualified and richer, than for example, the apartment and townhouse profile. This contributes to its exclusivity and the presence of a gentrification profile. The apartment and townhouse character of Westdene has existed since the 1970s in Westdene, and is an example of lower-income groups who live in Westdene, while the most desegregation has also taken place in this profile. It also seems that this profile presents a notion that it caters, to a certain extent, to single females or divorcees. The commercial entities in Westdene have had a remarkable impact on the former neighbourhood. Many businesses have settled their offices in Westdene, such as Standard Bank and MTN to name but two. Many buildings were also redeveloped to accommodate the business ventures. The small professional firms present in Westdene are mostly real estate agents, architects or medical services. An important finding within the commercial profile is that most businesses established themselves in Westdene from the start and have not been the subject of business decentralisation. Westdene is accessed by many people during the day and night for work purposes which creates many infrastructural and traffic problems. Furthermore, it seems as if Westdene developed as a business area especially for the white cohorts, as well as that very little desegregation has taken place within the residential, apartment and townhouse profiles. The next chapter will attempt to conclude and summarise the main issues which have arisen from the research and make certain recommendations.

CHAPTER 7: THE REDEVELOPMENT OF WESTDENE: CONCLUDING COMMENTS

7.1 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The intention of this study is to make a contribution towards providing a detailed account of how Westdene developed over the past century. Westdene is a neighbourhood which is the subject of urban compaction and urban diversity in land use. Moreover, this investigation challenges the commonly-held notion that urban compaction and diversification of land uses lead to integrated and efficient neighbourhoods or city districts. Though, Westdene is an example of numerous land uses and diverse people, some residents still have the idea of the traditional neighbourhood. Yet, the traditional neighbourhood does not really exist in the context of Westdene. Grant (2005) supports the above, by contemplating that mixed use promises economic vitality, social equity, and environmental quality, but it cannot readily deliver such benefits in a context where cultural and economic forces promote separation of land uses. Westdene is a neighbourhood which provokes mixed land usage, not because it is a logical preference, but rather because it wants to separate itself from the CBD. Therefore, mixed usage is an ideal setting if it is a planned occurrence, but if it is the subject of uncontrolled change, this leads to fragmentation of space.

It could be conjectured that for most of the neighbourhood residents the idea of mixed-use, mixed-income, fragmentation and the other above-mentioned examples are problematical ideas. Indeed, fragmentation has become such a frightful idea to many, that they automatically situate themselves as far away as possible from the city-centre. In rejection to this, many inner-city neighbourhoods and neighbourhoods close to the city-centre have been subject to a variety of changes. Previously mentioned, Westdene has been the subject of business decentralisation, entertainment, forms of gentrification and various changes and fragmentation which differ from area to area. Obviously, there have always been pitfalls, but often, with the emergence of a new mind-set towards space and the neighbourhood, many residents prefer an area to be fragmented so that any need or amenity is available within the realm of one neighbourhood.

An individual who lives in Borckenhagen Crescent in the northern most-part of Westdene, in a secluded crescent bordering on an open field and a hill with plenty of trees, experiences a very different perception of the neighbourhood from an individual who, for example, lives in Nelson Mandela Road in an apartment right next to a strip club, with drug pushers doing their rounds and cars racing down below. The concept of personal choice is an underlying theme with all of Westdene's inhabitants and it connects to all the themes which have influenced Westdene. Westdene is used as a mode of accessing Bloemfontein on different levels. Some people live in Westdene for the privacy which they can achieve in a non-traditional neighbourhood; some live in Westdene because of the old houses and attractive architecture; some live in Westdene because of its central location; and some live in Westdene for no specific reason. Others live in Westdene for investment purposes. Businesses settle themselves in Westdene because of its popular location, some settle in Westdene because of low rent, while some settle in Westdene because they don't want to be confronted with the pressures of the CBD. Others settle in Westdene for no apparent reason. Personal choices create the contemporary, postmodern neighbourhood.

In Westdene's case, the future will bring further extensive changes. It is visualised that it will be totally redeveloped and changed. More properties will be consolidated and bigger structures will be created. Many of the older, existing places have already been changed and redeveloped. Original structures are almost unrecognisable. The old neighbourhood of the early 1900s ended with the development of the Westdene Arcade in the mid-1980s. Westdene's time has come and gone. Pessimistically, nothing has remained of what it was. It was a living environment connected very tightly to its social structure (Roodt, 1994), in other words the people and the networks and structures just as much as the physical environment. This made Westdene what it was. A general lack of control was exercised when it started changing in many different ways. In hindsight, Westdene has taught much about what to do and what not to do with a neighbourhood which is the subject of urban change. Contemporary Westdene is still tightly connected to its social structure, but the social structure is determined through interdigitating reciprocal processes of external forces making social interaction a challenge. Westdene could present anticipatory warnings, both positive and negative as to what could happen to other neighbourhoods in Bloemfontein. For example, Dan Pienaar and Brandwag in 2005 could be the

Westdene of 1986: a suburban setting which presents itself comfortably as an area for commercial development. Willows has changed just as much as Westdene, but in a completely different way. In a way this study has provided some insight into how different neighbourhoods absorb and change differentially from one another, although the initial catalyst is the same process, namely business decentralisation.

In essence, the future of Westdene will be determined by the symbiotic relationship which, hopefully, the public and the private sectors may be able to establish, so as to make Westdene an accessible space for the future, but also to conserve what has been left by more than a hundred years of development and change. Westdene is a fragmented space, ominously a white, post-apartheid, privatised, fragmented space. As it was mentioned earlier in the literature review, Lefebvre (1991) suggested that different spaces and how different people understand and interpret them do not mean that they are less functional or less operational. To identify the homogeneous/fractured character of space, as a binary relationship (as a simple contrast or confrontation) is to betray the truly dualistic nature of space. Urban change has supposedly brought a binary relationship to Westdene (business/residential), but it is patently obvious that it is by no means a homogenised space. It could be argued that treating Westdene as a functional, fragmented space could be ideal. Otherwise, Westdene could become an extension of the CBD, a service centre which was once a blooming suburban neighbourhood. Instead, rather treat the space as an opportunity to amalgamate different space usage and meaning in a truly holist manner. What has been experienced throughout the study, especially in the personal interviews and questionnaire survey, is that many people enjoy living in a mixed neighbourhood. That is why they live in Westdene, and the people who do not like a mixed neighbourhood and its fragmentary qualities, only work in Westdene and leave at five o'clock. Maybe they will come and have a drink or a meal in Westdene later at night. This leaves a relationship between two cohorts of people who either prefer or do not prefer the way the neighbourhood is.

Once again the very personal choice of how you choose your own form of fragmentation is key. In essence, fragmentation of the urban form is Westdene's overriding characteristic, one created by processes which can thematically be connected to Westdene's (re)development, such as business decentralisation which

initially started the redevelopment changes in Westdene; the entertainment industry which has made Westdene the entertainment centre of Bloemfontein's white cohorts; crime and its coercion on urban change; and, a form of gentrification which has developed selectively in certain areas of Westdene.

Business Decentralisation

Business decentralisation was the initial process which created changes in Westdene. Because of desegregation in the CBD and an escalation of crime, people sought other areas in which to work. The decentralisation process reached its peak in 1994 and this served to inhabit the southern most part of Westdene. Thus, most of the processes which developed in Westdene after the initial decentralisation process have been additive to this primary process.

Entertainment

Viewed differently, sub-cultures in neighbourhoods- principally in middle-order cities such as Bloemfontein- are forced to engage with each other through the lack of stereotyped entertainment amenities. For example, goth, punk, hip-hop, metal and dance sub-cultures often have to convene in one or two social arenas. If one sub-culture is unable to avoid clashes with another, there is no other social arena to gather in. Spatially the anonymous individual can enjoy various socio-spatial occurrences within one arena in the middle-order city. Westdene is the entertainment centre of Bloemfontein with many nightclubs and restaurants for mainly the white cohorts, but it is still a very small area in comparison with those in other urban centres in South Africa.

Crime and the fear of crime

Crime had a major influence on Westdene at the beginning of this study in 2004. Crime had an influence not only physically but also socially as businesses and residents alike started upgrading security and fortifying themselves, making Westdene's character cold and suspect. People using the entertainment amenities also look at alternatives outside of Westdene such as Preller Square where they can entertain themselves without having fear of being confronted with some kind of crime-related occurrence. It must be said that the crime situation has been alleviated as residents, business owners and people moving in and out of Westdene have become

more conscious of crime. Yet while, complacency is always a threat, vigilance is tantamount to a surveillance society,

Gentrification

Gentrification in Westdene has been a very selective process. Certain streets, such as Brebner Road, have been partially gentrified. For example, the eastern part of the street has been completely gentrified. Here young doctors in their thirties who have young children, have renovated and upgraded their houses. Yet, farther west the street is still occupied by older people who have lower incomes and who have not done much recently towards upgrading their surroundings. This differentiated process unfolds on different levels throughout Westdene. It could be argued that gentrification is still a developing process in Westdene and that Westdene has not yet been gentrified as a whole, or it can be seen as a specific form of gentrification especially where many interviewees feel that, developmentally, Westdene has reached its peak.

Westdene challenges the residential values communities perceive as normal pertaining to issues such as neighbourliness, safety of children playing in the streets or the traditional suburban settings. Community dynamics are here completely evolved in a setting where residential and commercial borders are blurred. Westdene becomes a melting pot of postmodern urban trends, a transformation which has taken place since the late 1980s. A setting like this brings influences to bear not only on physical residential issues, but also on the integrated sub-cultural structure.

7.1.1 Future recommendations on Westdene

Recommendations which can be made with regard to the future development of Westdene, are the following;

- A concerted effort should be made towards preserving the heritage architecture which is still present in Westdene through processes which will force any new developments to complement the aesthetic values of the existing heritage architecture.
- Traffic and parking are real problems in Westdene and, as Bloemfontein grows they will become more pressing problems. Parking areas in the streets

should be clearly demarcated and parking metres should be erected, so that more effective control can be exercised over traffic in Westdene.

- Crime has probably been the most destructive process in Westdene. A relationship should be established between residents, business owners, the police and private security companies in visibly fighting crime instead of fortifying and making Westdene a gated community. It could be argued that fortifying and gating an area is confirmation of fear and does not create a solution. An active not a reactive way of fighting crime should be established.

Furthermore, the local park should be kept clean and safe so that the children in the neighbourhood can have a safe and pleasant area in which to convene. A '*Westdene Save Our Suburb*' group could be re-established to research and supervise development, so that a form of discourse and reciprocity can be established between the different cohorts. Communication between the different groups in Westdene could be instrumental in making it a desirable area in which multiple land uses can be manifested effectively. Communication at this stage is unfortunately very limited.

7.1.2 Recommendations on future research

What could be suggested in respect of further geographical studies on Westdene, is that more specific studies could be launched to investigate heritage and conservation issues in Westdene, concerning, particularly, what has been lost and what has been preserved. Moreover, a more historically motivated study could be done with regard to the period at the beginning of the last century, as not much is known about that period except for a few scantily-detailed references in history books. This study is, in many instances, similar to the studies done in 1994. In the future, for example in 2014, a comparative study similar in approach to the studies in 1994 and 2004 could be launched with the intention of monitoring the changes in the neighbourhood over a twenty-year period. This could be instrumental in contributing to our knowledge of neighbourhoods and how they change over time, as well as clarify greater urban issues in Bloemfontein. The Westdene of 1994 and the Westdene of 2004 are significantly different. The Westdene of 2014 will be even more so.

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APPENDIX 1

Redevelopment Processes in Westdene, Bloemfontein

Instructions

- a) Please insert a cross (X) in the appropriate space(s), or write your answer in the space provided.
- b) If you feel you would like to elaborate on certain questions- please do, as it can only enhance the value of the research.

Section A

1. What is your Profession? _____
2. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

3. What is your marital status?

Married		Widower/Widow	
Single		Divorced	
Living together		Separated	

4. What is your home language?

English	
Afrikaans	
South Sotho	
Other:	

5. What is your highest academic qualification?

Grade 12 (Matric)	
Diploma	
Bachelor's degree or its equivalent	
Honor's degree	
Master's degree	

Doctoral degree	
Other:	

6. What are the ages of the members in your household (living with you)?

	<6	6-12	13-18	19-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>61
Husband								
Wife								
Child 1								
Child 2								
Child 3								
Child 4								
Child 5								
Other								
Other								

7. What is your personal annual income?

Under R100 000	R100 001- R200 000	R200 001- R300 000	R300 001- R400 000	Over R400 000
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Section B

8. In what year did you purchase your home in Westdene?

Y	Y	Y	Y	M	M	D	D

9. What was the market value of the property when you first bought it? R_____

10. For how much would you like to sell your property if you had the chance?
R_____

11. What are your reasons for living in Westdene (mark as many you like)?

Peace & Quiet	
Close to City Centre	
Close to Shopping Centre's	
Close to School(s)	
Close to Hospital (Medi-Clinic)	

Close to University of Technikon	
Close to Sport Facilities	
Close to Church	
Close to Workplace	
Attractive Neighbourhood	
Attractive Houses	
Abundance of Trees	
Friendly Neighbours/People	
Close to Restaurants and Clubs	
Good Investment	
Enjoy Diverse Activities in Area	
Other (Specify)	

Section C

12. What are the negative aspects associated with Westdene (mark as many you like)?

Traffic Noise and Pollution	
Traffic Congestion	
Petty Theft	
Loiterers	
Serious Crimes	
High Rates and Taxes	
Inadequate Services (Telephone, Refuse Removal, Postal Delivery)	
Unattractive Boundary Walls	
Unkempt Gardens and Houses	
Too Many Town Houses and Flats	
Houses Converted for Business Purposes	
Lack of Public Services	
Houses That Do Not Fit Into The Character of Westdene	

Too Many Restaurants and Night Clubs in Westdene	
Other (Please Specify)	

13. What is your general relationship with your neighbours?

Visit Regularly	
Visit occasionally	
Greet only	
Do no know neighbours	

14. What are the changes that you have experienced in Westdene? _____

15. What would you like to see happen in Westdene? _____

16. What would you not like to see happen in Westdene? _____

Thank you for you co-operation.

APPENDIX 2

Redevelopment Processes in Westdene, Bloemfontein

Instructions

- c) Please insert a cross (X) in the appropriate space(s), or write your answer in the space provided.
- d) If you feel you would like to elaborate on certain questions- please do, as it can only enhance the value of the research.

Section A

9. What is the name of the business? _____

10. What is the core business focus? _____

11. What is the gender of the business owner(s)?

Male	%
Female	%

12. What is the business owner(s) racial category?

Black	%
White	%
Coloured	%
Asian	%
Other	%

13. What is home language of the business owner(s)?

English	%
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Westdene	%
Central Business District (CBD)	%
Bloemfontein Central (Arboretum, Willows, etc)	%
Bloemfontein North (Dan Pienaar, Heuwelsig, Bayswater, Waverley, etc.)	%
Bloemfontein South (Pellissier, Fichardt Park, Generaal De Wet, etc.)	%
Mangaung	%
Heidedal	%
Bloemfontein West (Universitas, Langenhoven Park, Bainslvlei)	%

Section B

8. Where was the business based prior to moving to Westdene?

9. When was this business first established? _____

10. In what year did you purchase, or started to lease, your business premises in Westdene? _____

11. What was the market value of the property when you first bought it, or started to lease it? R_____

12. At what price would you like to sell your property (if you own it) if you had the chance? R_____

13. What are your reasons for opening a business in Westdene (mark as many you like)?

Peace & Quiet	
Close to City Centre	
Close to Shopping Centre's	
Close to School(s)	
Close to Hospital (Medi-Clinic)	

Close to University or Technikon	
Close to Sport Facilities	
Close to Church	
Close to Workplace	
Attractive Neighbourhood	
Attractive Houses	
Abundance of Trees	
Friendly Neighbours/People	
Close to Restaurants and Clubs	
Good Investment	
Enjoy Diverse Activities in Area	

Other (Please Specify):

Section C

14. What are the negative aspects associated with opening a business in Westdene (mark as many you like)?

Traffic Noise and Pollution	
Traffic Congestion	
Petty Theft	
Loiterers	
Serious Crimes	

High Rates and Taxes	
Inadequate Services (Telephone, Refuse Removal, Postal Delivery)	
Unattractive Boundary Walls	
Unkempt Gardens and Houses	
Too Many Town Houses and Flats	
Lack of Public Services	
Houses That Do Not Fit Into The Character of Westdene	
Too Many Restaurants and Night Clubs in Westdene	

Other (Please Specify):

15. Approximately what are your customer/client numbers per day by race category (by percentage)?

	Total Number	White	Black	Coloured	Asian
200+		%	%	%	%
100-200		%	%	%	%
50-100		%	%	%	%
25-50		%	%	%	%
10-25		%	%	%	%
1-10		%	%	%	%

16. Approximately what are your customer/client numbers per night by race category (by percentage)?

	Total Number	White	Black	Coloured	Asian
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200+		%	%	%	%
100-200		%	%	%	%
50-100		%	%	%	%
25-50		%	%	%	%
10-25		%	%	%	%
1-10		%	%	%	%

17. Please feel free to make comments about Westdene in the space provided.

Thank you for you co-operation.

Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

APPENDIX 3

List of Interviewees

Interviewee 1

Name: Mr Nico Hoogendoorn

Age cohort: 60-70

Profile: Resident and property owner in Westdene for the past 18 years; Artistic Head at the Free State Musicon in Westdene

Interview held 11 December 2004

Interviewee 2

Name: Dr Neels Meyer

Age cohort: 60-70

Profile: Neurologist and practice owner in Medi-Clinic Hospital in Westdene; also a previous property owner in Westdene

Interview held 12 December 2004

Interviewee 3

Name: Adv Marthinus Steenkamp

Age cohort: 30-40

Profile: Town house resident and property owner in Westdene for the past five years

Interview held 12 December 2004

Interviewee 4

Name: Mr Morne Joubert

Age cohort: 30-40

Profile: Former resident, student and worker in restaurants and nightclubs in Westdene

Interview held 12 December 2004

Interviewee 5

Name: Mr Riaan Schoeman

Age cohort: 30-40

Profile: Senior Marketing Consultant at Charter Life in Westdene; former apartment dweller in Westdene.

Interview held 16 December 2004

Interviewee 6

Name: Mrs Corrie Van Essen

Age cohort: 70-80

Profile: Retired; resident in townhouse in Westdene's business area

Interview held 16 December 2004

Interviewee 7

Name: Mrs Kihm Klopper

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Resident and property owner for eleven years in Westdene; formerly member of the Save Our Suburb (SOS) group

Interview held 19 January 2005

Interviewee 8

Name: Mr Marcel van der Walt

Age cohort: 50-60

Profile: Head of Town Planning, Mangaung Local Municipality

Interview held 20 January 2005

Interviewee 9

Name: Mr. Anton Roodt

Age cohort : 50-60

Profile: Architect and Town Planner; formerly part of the SOS group; formerly member of the Council for SAHRA; former property owner.

Interview held 21 January 2005.

Interview 10

Name: Ms Sylvi De Bruin

Age cohort : 20-30

Profile: Town and Regional Planner for Urban Dynamics in Westdene

Interview held 25 January 2005

Interviewee 11

Name: Mr Luigi Lupacchini

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Nightclub/Pub owner in Westdene

Interview held 26 January 2005

Interview 12

Name: Mr Cobus van der Bijl

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Engineer and project manager in Westdene

Interview held 27 January 2005

Interview 13

Name: Mrs Margaret Mathews

Age cohort: 50-60

Profile: Resident and property owner in Westdene; grew up in Westdene.

Interview held 27 January 2005

Interview: 14

Name: Mrs Rachel Mbullu

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Temporary resident in Westdene. From Glasgow, Scotland

Interview held 27 January 2005

Interview 15

Name: Mr. Patrick Mbullu

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Temporary resident in Westdene; from Glasgow, Scotland; Working for the Mangaung Municipality

Interview held 27 January 2005

Interview 16

Name: Mrs Herma Gous

Age cohort: 50-60

Profile: Spokesperson for South African Heritage and Resource Association (SAHRA)

Interview held 1 February 2005

Interview 17

Name: Dr Sharne Foulkes

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Medical doctor; property owner in Westdene; formerly member of the SOS group

Interview held 4 February 2005.

Interview 18

Name: Mr Gerhard Bosman

Age cohort: 30-40

Profile: Architect and resident; property Owner in Westdene

Interview held 7 January 2005

Interview 19

Name: Mrs Jeanne Cattell

Age cohort: 20-30

Profile: Student and regular user of entertainment amenities in Westdene

Interview held 17 January 2005

Interview 20

Name: Mrs Patricia Lamusse

Age cohort: 40-50

Profile: Property Owner/resident in Westdene; musician.

Interview held 18 January 2005

APPENDIX 4

Interview Schedule

1. In your view, how has Westdene developed over the past ten to fifteen years?
2. What is your opinion on the current status of Westdene?
3. The crime wave at the beginning of this year: do you think it was only a temporary situation or is it indicative of Westdene's future?
4. The northern part of Westdene is not a business area and the southern part is. Do you think Westdene will eventually become, in its entirety, a business area?
5. What is your opinion on a neighbourhood such as Westdene which has different amenities (i.e. shopping, entertainment, medical, educational) within one area? Is this ideal or negative?
6. Do you think all neighbourhoods should be that mixed?
7. Do you think the possibility of a gated community for the northern part of Westdene is an option?
8. How do you see the future of Westdene in relation to the rest of Bloemfontein?
9. What do you think of the physical structure of Westdene?
10. Do you think the resident's in Westdene represent a specific type of person?
11. What makes Westdene, *Westdene*?
12. Why, in your opinion is it that there are two security companies and plenty of law practices in Westdene and still so much crime?
13. How do you think the parking problem in the southern part Westdene can be solved?
14. Do you see Bloemfontein as a Bohemian area?
15. Why do you think Westdene developed so differently from, for example, Willows which is a neighbourhood of the same age?
16. Why is it that Willows is very desegregated while Westdene, to a certain extent, is still very segregated?
17. Do you think Westdene's infrastructure can handle any new developments?
18. Do you see Westdene as a fragmented space?
19. Is this positive or negative?

SUMMARY

Title: Critical perspectives on the (re) development of Westdene, Bloemfontein

Candidate: Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

Promotor: Dr. Gustav Visser

The study focuses on the development of Westdene, Bloemfontein. Westdene is one of Bloemfontein's oldest neighbourhoods and has undergone a range of changes since its establishment in 1903. Following a review of the development of Westdene over the past century, this investigation provides a critical reflection on the urban changes that have taken place in this neighbourhood, including the decentralisation of office and retail functions, the development of entertainment amenities, gentrification in parts of the neighbourhood, crime and fear of crime in the former CBD and the neighbourhood itself. Drawing on the findings of the investigation the study attempts to make a contribution towards our understanding of neighbourhood changes in post-apartheid cities. Moreover, the investigation challenges the commonly held notion that urban compaction and diversification of land-uses lead to integrated and efficient neighbourhoods, or city districts. On the contrary, the result of this study contradicts this perception, demonstrating that despite the multiple uses of Westdene as a location of employment, recreation and residence, it has developed into a highly fragmented urban space.

Key words: decentralisation, entertainment, crime, fear, gentrification, fragmentation, postmodernism, renewal, compaction, neighbourhood.

OPSOMMING

Titel: Kritiese perspektiewe of die herontwikkeling van Westdene, Bloemfontein

Kandidaat: Gijsbert Hoogendoorn

Studieleier: Dr. Gustav Visser

Die studie fokus op die ontwikkeling van Westdene, een van die oudste woonbuurte in Bloemfontein. Sedert die ontstaan van hierdie woonbuurt in 1903, het dit talle veranderinge ondergaan. Nadat die ontwikkeling van Westdene oor die laaste eeu geskets is, word die stedelike veranderinge wat in hierdie woonbuurt plaasgevind het krities bespreek. Die desentralisasie van kantoor- en verkoopsfunksies, die ontwikkeling van vermaaklikheidsgeleenthede, gentrifikasie in sekere areas van die woonbuurt, misdaad en gepaardgaande die vrees vir misdaad in genoemde woonbuurt sowel as die sentrale sakekern, word onder andere behandel. Die studie dra by tot die kennis van woonbuurtverandering in die post-apartheid era. Verder daag die studie ook die algemene persepsie uit dat stedelike verdigting en diversifikasie van grondebruik lei tot geïntegreerde en volhoubare woonbuurtes of stedelike areas. Inteendeel, die bevindinge van die studie weerspreek hierdie siening, deur uit te wys dat Westdene, as gevolg van die verskeidenheid van grondgebruike, naamlik die van werk, rekreasie en verblyf, in 'n uiters gefragmenteerde stedelike ruimte ontwikkel het.