

**THE IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF NEW URBANISM IN MELROSE
ARCH: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.**

By

LINET DU PLESSIS

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Magister Artium (Visual Studies)

In the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Supervisor: Prof. J van Eeden

October 2007



DECLARATION

Student number: 99019877

I declare that *The Ideological Construction Of New Urbanism In Melrose Arch: A Critical Analysis* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Linnet du Plessis
8 October 2007

SUMMARY AND KEY TERMS

This study examines the manifestation of New Urbanism in the South African environment and applies the themes, characteristics and principles of New Urbanism to the landscape of Melrose Arch in Johannesburg. This precinct has been developed according to New Urban principles, and it is the aim of the author to assess whether these principles have been applied successfully, keeping in mind that since New Urbanism is an American design movement, some of its principles may be impractical to apply in a South African environment.

In order to conceptualise the environment in which the analysis takes place, the author sketches a background of the origin and history of Johannesburg, including the development of the city centre and rise of the suburbs. Trends such as decentralisation and gentrification are also recognised and examined. A correlation is drawn between the Johannesburg of a few decades ago and the contemporary city to see how events and tendencies created the city of today. The current initiatives that are being undertaken to reinvent the CBD and other areas of the city are considered as well, in order to provide a context for Melrose Arch. The author also briefly examines the origin and history of leisure landscapes such as arcades, world fairs and expositions, shopping malls and themed landscapes. The purpose is not to give exact timelines and histories of these phenomena, but rather to provide a historic foundation to work from in order to sketch the context wherein developments such as Melrose Arch can be situated.

The author examines the predecessors of and influences on New Urbanism in an attempt to understand this movement. Starting with the Classical Reformers and the concept of the Ideal City, a common theme runs through several other development theories, such as Garden Cities, Pedestrian Cities, as well as the more recent Edge Cities. The influence of Sprawl on cities is noted, and measures to reduce the occurrence of sprawling land by implementing solutions that are connected to New Urbanism are discussed.

The author discusses the inception of New Urbanism, taking into account all the previous discussed development theories that influenced it in one way or another. Additionally, some variations on New Urbanism, such as Traditional Neighbourhood development (TND) and the Pedestrian Pocket (PP) are discussed. New Urbanism is thus placed in a contemporary context by regarding its history and influences.

The application to Melrose Arch includes a brief history of this landscape, as well as its architecture and the articulation of space within the precinct. Some themes evident in Melrose Arch are discussed; many of these are based on popular myths and ideologies and how they are represented in this particular space. Issues such as Security and control, Class and status, Consumption and Utopianism are discussed and applied to Melrose Arch. Finally, the principles and characteristics of New Urbanism are applied to Melrose Arch in order to assess how successful the implementation of New Urbanism is in this precinct.

Key terms: New Urbanism; Melrose Arch; Johannesburg; Sprawl; Visual Culture, Security and Control; Class, race and elitism; Consumption; Utopianism; Space and place; Simulacra; Brickfields, mixed living.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATIONS

I would like to thank the University of Pretoria for the study bursary that was awarded to me. Opinions expressed in this dissertation are those of the author and not necessarily to be attributed to the University of Pretoria.

Ek wil ook dankie sê aan die Departement van Visuele Kunste vir hul deurgaanse ondersteuning deur my jare van studie.

Baie dankie aan Prof. Jeanne van Eeden vir al die leiding, begrip, motivering en ondersteuning. Jeanne, ek is oneindig dankbaar vir jou leiding - ek kon nie vir 'n beter studieleier gevra het nie.

'n Groot dankie aan my ouers – wat my opvoeding nog altyd 'n prioriteit gemaak het. Ma, Pa, dankie vir julle ondersteuning, geduld en motivering deur al my jare van studies – julle vertrou in my het my gemotiveer om my beste te doen. Julle is die beste en ek is baie lief vir julle.

Baie dankie aan my man, Craig, vir jou ondersteuning, liefde en hulp veral gedurende hierdie laaste maande wat so stresvol was. Dankie vir al die koppies koffie wat vir my aangedra is, die wasgoed wat gewas is, die motivering en veral vir die deurlees van my verhandeling en die terugvoer.

Baie dankie aan almal wat my ondersteun en belanggestel het: my werkskollegas, skoonouers en al my vriende wat my gedurig gebel, gmail en geFacebook het.

Laastens, baie dankie aan die almagtige Vader wat my in staat gestel het om hierdie taak te kon deurvoer, en vir al die gebede wat beantwoord is.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Summary and key terms.....	ii
Acknowledgements and Dedications.....	iv
List of figures.....	vii
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background and aims of the study.....	1
1.2 Literature review.....	4
1.3 Theoretical framework and methodology.....	6
1.4 Overview of chapters.....	7
CHAPTER 2 – JOHANNESBURG – AN OVERVIEW.....	9
2.1 Context and history of mixed-use landscapes.....	9
2.2 Introduction to Johannesburg.....	14
2.2.1 History of Johannesburg.....	14
2.2.2 Johannesburg as a world city.....	18
2.2.3 Decentralisation and the CBD.....	19
CHAPTER 3 – NEW URBANISM.....	26
3.1 Introduction.....	26
3.2 Predecessors of and influences on New Urbanism.....	28
3.2.1 The history of cities.....	29
3.2.2 Classical Reformers.....	31
3.2.3 Garden Cities.....	33
3.2.4 Pedestrian Cities.....	40
3.2.5 Sprawl.....	49
3.2.6 Edge Cities.....	51
3.2.7 Utopianism.....	54
3.3 New Urbanism.....	56
3.3.1 Definition, background and history.....	56
3.3.2 Principles and characteristics of New Urbanism.....	61
3.3.3 Variations on New Urbanism.....	69
3.3.4 Criticism against New Urbanism.....	72
3.3.5 South African New Urbanism: an overview.....	75
3.3.6 Correlations between three different New Urban developments.....	84

CHAPTER 4 – UNPACKING MELROSE ARCH.....	87
4.1 Background.....	87
4.1.1 Postmodern architecture.....	87
4.1.2 Description of Melrose Arch.....	89
4.2 Application of themes to Melrose Arch.....	92
4.2.1 Security and control.....	93
4.2.2 Class, race and elitism.....	107
4.2.3 Consuming and gazing at Melrose Arch.....	117
4.2.4 Utopianism.....	133
4.2.5 Space and place.....	139
4.2.6 Simulacra.....	147
4.3 Application of principles of New Urbanism to Melrose Arch.....	151
CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION.....	180
5.1 Summary of chapters.....	180
5.2 Contribution of this study.....	184
5.3 Limitations of this study and suggestions for further research.....	185
SOURCES CONSULTED.....	188

LIST OF FIGURES

Unless otherwise indicated, all photographs in this dissertation have been taken by the author.

Front cover	Sign at Melrose Arch Entrance, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser	
Figure 1:	Map of Melrose Arch, in <i>The Property Magazine</i> 2007.....	2
Figure 2:	Entrance to Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by J.I. Dannhauser....	74
Figure 3:	Aerial photo of Brickfields under construction, 2005. Photograph by Johannesburg Housing Company.....	75
Figure 4:	Brickfields under construction, 2005. Photograph by Johannesburg Housing Company.....	76
Figure 5:	Island Club, Century City Website.....	80
Figure 6:	Villa Italia, Century City Website.....	80
Figure 7:	Knightsbridge, Century City Website.....	81
Figure 8:	Security cameras, Melrose Arch, 2007.	102
Figure 9:	Melrose Arch response unit, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser.....	103
Figure 10:	Security sign, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser...	104
Figure 11:	Rubbish bin on Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	104
Figure 12:	Pedestrian entrance from Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	105
Figure 13:	Vehicle entrance from Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	105
Figure 14:	Boomed exit, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser...	106
Figure 15:	Entrance to Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser.....	106
Figure 16:	Inside residential unit, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photographs by JI Dannhauser.....	113
Figure 17:	Poster on Melrose Arch Food & Wine Experience, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser.....	114
Figure 18:	Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photographs by JI Dannhauser.....	116
Figure 19:	Part of the front porch of the Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	123
Figure 20:	The Europa Caffe Bar & Restaurant, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	125
Figure 21:	The Venue, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	126
Figure 22:	Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	126
Figure 23:	Outside of Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	127
Figure 24:	Waiters' attire at Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	127
Figure 25:	Entrance to Orient restaurant, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	128
Figure 26:	Cocoa Diva, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	128
Figure 27:	Entrance to the Obert Contemporary Art Gallery, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	129
Figure 28:	The High Street sign, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	130
Figure 29:	Advertisement in Melrose Arch precinct, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	144
Figure 30:	Advertisement on Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	144
Figure 31:	Ample use of space, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	145
Figure 32:	Undeveloped land, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	146
Figure 33:	Gardens and lawns, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	146

Figure 34:	Poster for Melrose Arch Champagne event. Melrose Arch Website/Events/Melrose Arch Champagne evening.....	150
Figure 35:	Europa Supermarket on the corner of Crescent Drive and The High Street, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	153
Figure 36:	Street design, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	154
Figure 37:	Traffic crossing, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	155
Figure 38:	Melrose Arch design, Melrose Arch, 2005. Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.....	156
Figure 39:	Residential apartment building on Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	158
Figure 40:	Creative way of indicating street names, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	158
Figure 41:	Creative way of indicating street names, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	159
Figure 42:	Entrance to the Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	159
Figure 43:	Fountain on the corner of Melrose Boulevard and The High Street, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	160
Figure 44:	Water feature, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	160
Figure 45:	Bench in Melrose Square, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	161
Figure 46:	Pot plants in Melrose Boulevard, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	161
Figure 47:	Melrose Square, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	162
Figure 48:	Melrose Square pavement, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	162
Figure 49:	Wall paintings surrounding the precinct, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	163
Figure 50:	Taxi stop, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	164
Figure 51:	Official Taxi Service, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser.....	165
Figure 52:	Notice board, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	166
Figure 53:	Melrose Boulevard, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	173
Figure 54:	Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	174
Figure 55:	Map of Melrose Arch with developments as indicated by author, 2005. Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.....	174
Figure 56:	Landscape view of Melrose Arch shopping and offices on the Piazza, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	175
Figure 57:	Map of Melrose Arch with developments as indicated by author, 2005. Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.....	176
Figure 58:	Window of Europa Supermarket, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	176
Figure 59:	Poster painted on a pillar in the parking area, Melrose Arch, 2007...	177
Figure 60:	Standalone light advertisement next to the pay station, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	178
Figure 61:	Maintenance signs, Melrose Arch, 2007.....	178

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and aims of the study

My ideal city would be one long main street with no cross streets or side streets to jam up traffic. Just a long one-way street - Andy Warhol (All the best quotes).

The aim of this study is to look at how a number of design movements and ideologies have influenced the cities of today. Often these movements created solutions for many of the problems cities experience, or conversely worsened the situation. The contemporary development movement known as New Urbanism is proposed by its developers as the solution to modern-day Sprawl and many other problems. It is the aim of this study to examine New Urbanism in order to assess whether it really delivers on what it proposes to do. For example, could New Urbanism be the solution to the South African problem of segregation based on race, income and economic class? Could it offer its residents real safety or only a perceived and false sense of security? Would it be possible to regain the lost sense of community that was so paramount in traditional villages of yesteryear? The mixed-use landscape of Melrose Arch, situated in Johannesburg, is examined in this study to see whether New Urbanism is indeed the answer to the above and many other contemporary issues which today's communities grapple with.

In order to contextualise the study, a brief background to Melrose Arch is first provided. Melrose Arch is a city within a city, an 18-hectare mixed-use environment, created according to the principles of New Urbanism (discussed in Chapter Four). The precinct manages its own power, policing, refuse removal and security. It also has its own postal code and telephone prefix (Melrose Arch comes to life, in *Hotel and restaurant magazine* June 2003). Melrose Arch was launched in February 2002 and phase one was completed in mid-2004 (Vaida 2003:sp); it is meant to be completed by 2010, to coincide with the Soccer World Cup (Melrose Arch website – Fact file).

Melrose Arch is situated in Region 3, Sandton and in sub area 21, Melrose North, according to the Regional Spatial Development Framework of Johannesburg (Van Dyk 2005:14). This region has a growing infrastructure for tourism, as well as ample shopping and entertainment areas. The region also falls within an area of high environmental quality, including various walking trails, parks and open spaces, as well as streams associated with green areas and nature reserves (Van Dyk 2005:15).

Melrose Arch is located in Melrose, Johannesburg, with Corlett Drive and Atholl-Oaklands Road as access roads (Figure 1). Melrose Arch is ideally situated, close to the Johannesburg CBD, Midrand, Pretoria and OR Tambo International Airport, which are all approximately 30 minutes away.

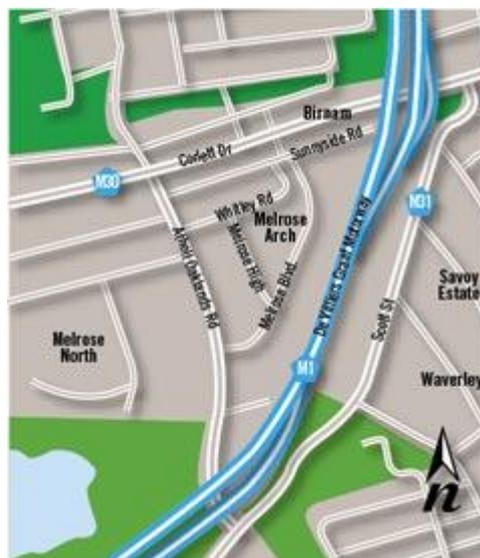


Figure 1: Map of Melrose Arch.
Source: Buchanan, in *The Property Magazine* 2006.

At present there are approximately 4 000 people living and/or working in Melrose Arch. It is estimated that by 2010, once all the phases are complete, the amount of people will have increased to 22 000 (Melrose Arch website – Fact File). Melrose Arch is owned by Southern Palace Investments, a Property Partners and Amdec Investments joint venture. Amdec property development is the appointed development manager and will drive the roll-out of the still undeveloped land at Melrose Arch. Developments currently in progress have soared up to the R1,5 billion mark (Melrose Arch website).

Melrose Arch includes everything people might need: banking facilities, art gallery, medical centre, pharmacy, fashion, music, mobile phone stores, florist, hairstylist, dry cleaners, postal services, a *chocolatier*, as well as ample underground parking (Melrose Arch website).

An aspect of Melrose Arch that is unique is the PIE Centre, which stands for Precinct Integrated Engineering. This centre controls and monitors most services such as elevators, lighting, CCTV cameras and security, access control, intercoms, public address system, fire alarms, smoke detection, panic buttons, security alarms, call centre, parking control, internet/communications backbone, as well as all precinct and building security and district cooling air-conditioning (Melrose Arch Brochure).

Contributing to the unique design of Melrose Arch are the areas of public space between buildings – this is created in order to provide a refreshing environment where people are able to socialise and interact with each other. Tuscan paving stones are used for the road surfacing, and Port Shepstone stones are used to accentuate the design of the buildings. The combination of commercial and community paving is also done in such a way as to complement the design of the buildings and add to the village-like atmosphere of the precinct (Mbembe 2005:26). The public space in Melrose Arch is demarcated by the buildings themselves, without need of fencing within the development (Melrose Arch Brochure). This also connects with the idea of security and control, which is a prevalent topic in contemporary society (see Chapter 4.2.1).

New Urbanism involves new ways of thinking about issues such as urban form and land development. This movement draws from many historical applications of compact, mixed-use and walkable cities, thereby affirming the appeal which these things offer to people. New Urbanism argues for traditional architecture and building patterns that encourage walking and create strong urban identities. New Urbanism presents a new way of living and a new image of the good community (Grant 2006:3). The New Urbanism movement is discussed in detail in Chapter Three and applied to Melrose Arch in Chapter Four.

The relevance of this study lies in the contribution which it makes to the city planning environment by examining New Urbanism in a South African context, and specifically with reference to Melrose Arch. This is something that, according to my knowledge, has not been done extensively in the academic field. New Urbanism is a relatively new development movement, and surfaced in South Africa only in the last few years. There is thus a need for academics, architects, city planners and Visual Culture professionals to examine this movement in terms of various aspects and from different perspectives.

I have identified certain themes to be discussed in relation to New Urbanism and with specific reference to the landscape of Melrose Arch. These themes have been identified by me and are by no means all inclusive of New Urbanism as such. However, the themes and issues identified, and particularly the discussion of the principles of New Urbanism, will make a contribution to the field of Visual Culture specifically, and to a lesser extent the other related fields such as city planning and architecture.

This study's importance accordingly lies in the fact that it examines certain aspects of New Urbanism, as applied specifically to Melrose Arch. It is necessary to conduct a Visual Culture study which looks at New Urbanism because this movement is potentially one of the most popular (not necessarily successful) development movements of this century. Especially in South Africa, where the focus is on the integration of race and class, this movement may in future prove to be in high demand.

In the conclusion, I will summarise the key contributions and implications which surfaced as a result of this study.

1.2 Literature review

Although this study focuses on New Urbanism and the manner in which it may affect city planning, it is not sited in architecture but rather locates and discusses Melrose Arch as an example of contemporary Visual Culture. Several issues and themes relevant to New Urbanism are discussed and applied to Melrose Arch.

The literature consulted in this study includes a wide range of theories and writings by theorists, sociologists and architects regarding city planning, New Urbanism, architecture and ideology. Architecture is only discussed from a Visual Culture and ideological perspective, since this study is more focussed on the meaning and application of ideologies and issues in a visual framework. Most viewpoints and theories applied in this study are established findings and are used by many scholars as seminal sources. However, in discussing New Urbanism, most sources relating to it have been obtained from the Internet as it is still a recent development. This also applies to sources on Melrose Arch; the majority of sources have been obtained either from the Internet or from newspaper articles and architectural magazines.

The prominent theorists used in Chapter Two when discussing leisure landscapes are Mark Gottdiener (1995, 1997), Michael Sorkin (1992), and Robert Steuteville (2004). In the discussion of Johannesburg and its history, an important source was the publication by James Clarke (1987) which celebrated 100 years of news coverage in Johannesburg by its biggest and oldest daily, *The Star* newspaper.

A number of sources in Chapter Three describe the history of the Garden City, Pedestrian City and other movements. Two prominent theorists to be mentioned are Jill Grant (2006) with her book entitled *Planning the good community. New Urbanism in theory and practice*, as well as a work by Ann Winstanley, David C Thorns and Harvey C Perkins (2003) on New Urbanism from a New Zealand perspective. The website of the Congress for the New Urbanism is an important source which describes the principles of New Urbanism and the Charter of the New Urbanism.

A wide range of primary sources have been used in Chapter Four, many of which are Internet based. Three of the most prominent Internet sources used are the Congress for the New Urbanism website, the official New Urbanism website and the official Melrose Arch website. Sources on Melrose Arch include the Melrose Arch Brochure, and various articles from *Built Magazine* and the Internet.

Regarding the themes at Melrose Arch identified for discussion, many well-known theorists were used and referenced. In the discussion of Class, race and elitism, Pierre Bourdieu's famous work *Distinction* (1984) was used in the discussion of the

different forms of capital. Bourdieu's work is also referred to in the discussion of the consumption of Melrose Arch together with Jean Baudrillard's (1998) theories. Other theorists used are John Urry (1990) with regard to the tourist gaze, and Mark Gottdiener (1995) and Henry Lefebvre (1974) in the discussion of space and place. Henry Lefebvre's book *The Production of Space* is regarded as the seminal work on the topic of space and place, while Jean Baudrillard (1983) is of importance in the discussion of Simulacra.

The literature provided a framework within which Melrose Arch can be discussed according to the identified areas of investigation.

1.3 Theoretical framework and methodology

This study is conducted from the framework of Cultural Studies and Visual Culture. Visual Culture can be defined as a "multi-disciplinary enterprise formed as a consequence of a convergence of, or from a variety of disciplines and methodologies" (Walker & Chaplin 1997:1). It is thus evident that the grasp of Visual Culture extends to incorporate many disciplines and fields. The focus of Visual Culture should, however, remain on the visual appearance and consequent meaning of objects, theories and ideologies.

According to Nicholas Mirzoeff (1999:3), Visual Studies is concerned with visual events where information and pleasure is sought after by the consumer in an interface with visual technology. One of the main features of Visual Culture is the tendency to visualise things that are not visual in themselves (Mirzoeff 1999:5). Ben Agger (1992:5) regards Cultural Studies as "an activity of critical theory that directly decodes the hegemonizing messages of the culture industry permeating every nook and cranny of lived experience, from entertainment to education". Cultural studies is regarded as interdisciplinary because the conventional disciplines do not address the phenomena of popular culture in a way which combines critical theory, literary theory, discourse analysis, as well as sociology (Agger 1992:16).

Visual Culture is the approach used in this particular study, accordingly the issues and theories discussed are regarded from a visual and qualitative perspective, and not

from a quantitative or statistical standpoint. The issues that are discussed are placed in a theoretical background, after which I will study the visual aspects and make use of images to support my arguments. The study concentrates mainly on the myths and ideologies surrounding the development movement of New Urbanism. However, for the purposes of this study, most of the topics discussed are referred to as themes and not necessarily myths. This is because I have identified these themes to be of importance in this discussion, but they cannot necessarily be regarded as popular cultural myths in the traditional sense of the word. It is important to note that many other theories, approaches and methodologies, such as Marxism, could have been used in this particular study of New Urbanism. There are indeed various methodologies that can be applied to unpack Melrose Arch and its issues. However, I chose to make use of a literature review of relevant theories, followed by an application and testing of these theories.

1.4 Overview of chapters

Chapter Two is the first part of the study and provides a historical overview and history of the city of Johannesburg in order to provide a context for Melrose Arch. This chapter gives an overview of commercial, entertainment and leisure developments such as the arcade and international world fairs, and examples of international and national landscapes are mentioned. Issues like gentrification and decentralisation in Johannesburg are discussed since these have an influence on the landscape of Melrose Arch.

In Chapter Three, the precursors of New Urbanism such as the Garden City, Pedestrian City and Edge City are described. Pedestrian Cities in particular are discussed in detail since they had a notable influence on New Urbanism. The occurrence of Sprawl is discussed, as well as measures to reduce the spread and impact of Sprawl. The final part of Chapter Three includes a history of New Urbanism, and discusses its principles, variations and drawbacks.

Chapter Four is the principal part of this study where New Urbanism is discussed and applied to Melrose Arch. Various themes are identified and applied to Melrose Arch. These themes include Security and control; Class, race and elitism; Consuming and

gazing at Melrose Arch; Utopianism; Space and place, as well as Simulacra. The principles of New Urbanism, discussed in Chapter Three, are applied to Melrose Arch in detail. The aim of Chapter Four is to determine the extent to which Melrose Arch is indeed a New Urban landscape, and also looks at areas still to be expanded and improved upon.

The study is brought to a close with Chapter Five which includes a summary of the chapters and the contribution of the study to the field of Visual Culture. This chapter includes the limitations of this particular study and also suggests areas and topics for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

JOHANNESBURG – AN OVERVIEW

The mixed-use landscape of Melrose Arch lies in the northern suburbs of the city of Johannesburg and is a prime example of decentralisation and the suburban move away from the core of the city. It can be regarded as an embodiment of what the future might hold for city development. Because of this, it is important to sketch a background of the origin and history of Johannesburg, including the development of the city centre and rise of the suburbs. When studying the history of a city, it is inevitable that certain events that might have occurred a few decades ago had a direct influence on today's development. It is also necessary that cycles such as decentralisation and gentrification be recognised and analysed. This chapter gives a brief history of Johannesburg, the rise of the suburbs and the Central Business District (CBD), the establishment of shopping districts and deals with the issue of decentralisation. The current initiatives that are being undertaken to reinvent the CBD and other areas of the city are considered as well, in order to sketch the context of Melrose Arch.

The history of shopping malls and theme parks had a profound influence on the development of new mixed-use landscapes. Although many of today's mixed-use landscapes do not possess a specific theme, they are themed as artificially constructed landscapes. The origins of the first shopping malls and theme/amusement parks are considered first in this chapter, as this sets the background from which mixed-use landscapes originated and evolved.

2.1 Context and history of mixed-use landscapes

It is not the purpose of this study to give an exact timeline of the origins and development of shopping malls and themed landscapes, but only to provide a historic foundation to work from in order to sketch the context wherein developments such as Melrose Arch can be situated. Because of this, only a few significant developments in Europe and the USA are mentioned. One of the first concepts used for public trading and interaction was the arcade, a concept used since early Roman times, which only assumed its definitive form from the eighteenth century onwards (Geist 1989:12). An

arcade is a covered passage which lies adjacent to the street but is dedicated to the use of pedestrians, thus implying the design concept of the urban centre (Bednar 1990:31). The earliest examples of arcades built at the end of the eighteenth century consisted of independently accessible building units, such as the Passage du Caire (1799) in Paris and the Burlington Arcade (1819) in London (Bednar 1990:33). The Palais Royal in Paris is considered by Johann Friedrich Geist (1989:60) as one of the first modern arcades, a “public urban space removed from the disturbances of traffic”. This arcade served a multiplicity of purposes, namely “a promenade, luxury market, and place of learning and entertainment” (Geist 1989:60). The arcade had a strong influence on the development of urban shopping centres. The influence of nineteenth century architecture also contributed to the style of many arcades, using features such as cast iron facades and glass structures (Colorado Historical Society website). However, because of different social and economic conditions than those that existed during the nineteenth century, the arcade as a system of commercial retailing is no longer part of current shopping experiences (Bednar 1990:47).

International world fairs and expositions, which started to develop in the late nineteenth century in Europe, aimed to promote middle-class consumption as the social norm (Gottdiener 1997:37). This trend became firmly established and endorsed by modern consumption spaces. One of the big influences in terms of world fairs and expositions was the Great Exhibition of 1851, hosted in the Crystal Palace, London. The Exhibition was regarded as the first great venture in mass provision for the safety and amusement of the masses, and is considered the parent of excursion travel (Gibbs-Smith 1950:27). These gigantic carnivals, like the Great Exhibition, were precursors of today’s theme parks, such as Disneyland (Gottdiener 1997:38).

The development of the first arcades, world fairs and expositions, established the foundation for the rise of the department store, and consequently the development of shopping malls and theme parks. During the first half of the nineteenth century, a new form of merchandising, namely the department store, began to dig its roots into the European commercial scene (Bednar 1990:48). Most of these stores were located near newly developed public-transit stations close to the central business districts of cities (Bednar 1990: 48). As more department stores were being built and competition grew, activities such as concerts, fashion shows and dining were introduced to add to

the appeal of these consumer spaces (Bednar 1990:48). One of the first department stores was the Bon Marché in Paris, built between 1869 and 1882 (Bednar 1990:49). It is only natural then that the enclosed shopping mall originated from the concept of the department store.

In 1956, the first fully enclosed shopping mall, the Southdale Center was constructed in Minnesota, North America (Bednar 1990:52). During the 1970s, enclosed shopping centres began to compete with open-air centres (Judd 1995:146). During the 1980s the building of malls reached its point of saturation in America, causing the mall industry to expand to the rest of the world (Crawford 1992:11). Mega-malls such as West Edmonton Mall and the Mall of America aim to become a world complete in itself (Sorkin 1992:3). West Edmonton Mall is one of the largest shopping malls in the world, housing 800 shops, 11 department stores, 110 restaurants, a hotel, lake, chapel, movie theatres and 13 nightclubs (Sorkin 1992:3). Malls such as these seem to have reached the point where something entirely different needs to be offered in the form of residential areas or community activities. The search for more diversity within a mall also led to the birth of “shoppertainment” - a retail concept that combines “shopping and entertainment facilities ... in a single shopping mall”. The use of this term has been ceased in South Africa because of the fact that an American company holds copyright on the name (Useful terms). The four key areas of “shoppertainment” include design, centre and store interiors, point of purchase/signage/graphics, and management/security/hygiene (MallExpo 2006).

The history of amusement parks can be traced back to medieval Europe when so-called “pleasure gardens” were created along the outskirts of European cities (National Amusement Park Historical Association s.a.). The world’s oldest amusement park, Tivoli (Cofman. The holiday home portal s.a.), is located in Copenhagen; it opened in 1583 and is still in operation. During the 1800s, the industry started to shift towards America. The amusement park industry grew tremendously, introducing new features such as the Ferris wheel and Water Chutes. During the 1950s, the presence of television, urban decay, desegregation as well as suburban growth began to take their toll on the existence of the amusement park (National Amusement Park Historical Association s.a.).

The most well-known site in the theme park industry is Disneyland, a leader in this kind of entertainment. At the time of its construction in the 1950s, Disneyland provided its visitors with an encounter that was so compelling that it instantly became a new medium of commercial enterprise (Gottdiener 1997:109). According to a Disney brochure, Disneyland uses “visually compatible elements working as a coordinating theme” in order to avoid recurring concepts present in today’s amusement parks (in Gottdiener 1995:111). Disneyland is a representation of the small town concept, complete with a Main Street, horse-drawn carriages and playgrounds (Gottdiener 1995:115). The inclusion of these themes plays on the ideas of nostalgia¹ and family values, attributing to Disneyland a certain depth that other theme parks do not necessarily possess. Today’s theme park environment is transportable to almost any environment and seems to offer a universal appeal (Gottdiener 1997:116). It has now spread across the world, America leading with 261 theme parks (The List. Parks, Organizations, Companies s.a.).

After World War II, a new development system for cities was implemented, replacing neighbourhoods with a separation of uses, known as conventional suburban development (CSD) or more commonly known as Sprawl² (Steuteville 2004:1). Despite the popularity of Sprawl, it poses several threats by spreading out and consuming large areas of countryside (Steuteville 2004:1). New Urbanism,³ founded in 1993 by a group of enthusiastic architects (Congress for the New Urbanism), is seen as a reaction to Sprawl, whereby architects believe in the restoration of functional, sustainable communities (Steuteville 2004:1). It appears to be quite popular in the United States with over 600 towns, villages and neighbourhoods constructed and influenced by New Urbanism (Steuteville 2004:1).

In the ongoing search for recreation within a timeless and space less environment, consumers start to focus on other areas to complement their ideas of consuming spaces. These are ideas such as availability of space, safety, noise barriers and easy access to these areas. It is then out if this new concept of combined spaces, together with the displacement of the centre of the metropolis, that the already-existing idea of

¹ See Chapter 4.2.4.

² The unplanned, uncontrolled spreading of urban development into areas adjoining the edge of a city.

³ The extensive definition and application of New Urbanism will be discussed in Chapter Three and Four with specific reference to Melrose Arch.

New Urbanism is being contemplated as a solution to the changing needs of urban consumers. As “shopping centres and theme parks have become the new urban spaces” (Marks 2001:22), development based on the concept of combined urban spaces is advocated. As people become pressured for time in all aspects of life, the idea of New Urbanism become even more appealing. By living, working and shopping within “the same complex without having to leave the ‘City’s’ gates ... [people are now] ... insulated from the troubles beyond its borders” (Marks 2001:23-24). Especially in South Africa, the safety factor involved in New Urbanism is playing a vital role in its growing popularity.

Because New Urbanism is regarded as a reaction to Sprawl, it is based on “the belief that a return to traditional neighbourhood patterns is essential to restoring functional, sustainable communities” (Steuteville 2004:1-2). Many people only adopt some of the principles of New Urbanism, yet they remain “conventional in design”, and these projects are known as “hybrids” (Steuteville 2004:2). Seaside⁴ in Florida was the first New Urbanism town developed from 1981 onwards (Steuteville 2004). Seaside proved that developments which function as traditional towns could be built in the post-modern era (Steuteville 2004).

There are many New Urbanist projects around the world, in various stages of development and achieving various levels of success. Two examples will be noted here to provide a basic context against which to measure the developing landscape of Melrose Arch.

The first example, namely Huis Ten Bosch, is situated in Japan and was built in 1988 by Yoshikuni Kamichika (Treib 2002:216). The theme, as can be deduced from the name, is based on the concept of a Dutch village. This townscape is presented as a model for future Japanese dwellings (Treib 2002:216). Huis Ten Bosch was proclaimed to serve not only as an entertainment area, but as a town centre in the near future, thus suggesting the notion that the concept of a theme park can provide the basis for future themed living (Treib 2002:216). This idea is closely correlated with

⁴ Seaside was used as a film location for the *The Truman Show* (1998). Prince Charles is an admirer of Seaside and has embarked on his own mission to build similar towns in the United Kingdom (see Chapter 3.3.3) (Krier in Ellin 1996:101).

the notion of New Urbanism, as Huis Ten Bosch is not only based on a theme but rather on the concept of mixed-use living in a constructed and enclosed landscape.

Secondly, in June 1996, Disney introduced its own 5000-acre town, Celebration, located near Orlando in Florida (Steuteville 2004:5). Although this landscape has surpassed Seaside in popularity, it ceases to use the New Urbanism principles, simply referring to this landscape as a “town” (Steuteville 2004:5). In many ways, Celebration is a prime target for those who wish to criticise New Urbanism. Some criticism expressed by Brandy Davis (1997:sp) in his article “New Urbanism: Cause for Celebration” is the idea that this town commodifies nostalgia by recreating something that never was, rejecting the social ills of this day and age and causing a definite anachronism.

This section looked at the rise of entertainment and mixed-use landscapes. The basic idea of New Urbanism, together with domestic and international examples of this development style, were discussed briefly. This links up with the next section which discusses the rise of Johannesburg, especially as the trendsetter in entertainment and shopping malls. Gentrification is of importance in the next section because it contributed to the rise of New Urbanism. While gentrification focuses on the rejuvenation of neglected neighbourhoods, which in turn has a large impact on city centres and previously derelict living areas, New Urbanism tends to move back to the idea of the old-fashioned town with its square and pedestrians. Yet, both development themes support the idea of a new living lifestyle and a focus on space and simplicity.

2.2 Introduction to Johannesburg

2.2.1 History of Johannesburg

Clive M Chipkin (1993:320) sums up Johannesburg’s phenomenal development over the decades as follows:

In the Edwardian era, Johannesburg attempted to replicate the City, the financial heart of the Empire in London, although, perhaps, Johannesburg’s spirit was more innovative. In the 1930s Johannesburg was called a Little New York or a Little Chicago.

Johannesburg is part of that arc of inland African cities that extends to Harare⁵ and Nairobi. Its architecture, like its political economy, is cyclical, linked symptomatically to the behaviour of the overseas bourses where the foreign investment capital comes from. Through all the phases of Johannesburg's development there has been a repeated drive to modernity, as understood by tough-minded businessmen quite unsentimental about style. And this has led to a constant frisson between architects of the commercial sector, front-line soldiers of the profession, and the representatives of metropolitan high style, looking to some new father-figure overseas. Despite the commercial spirit and sometimes because of it, there has never been a shortage of men and women stepping forward with visions of a better society, even of utopias on Johannesburg's once brown and desolate koppies.

Johannesburg is situated in the province of Gauteng (colloquial African word meaning "The Place of Gold") (Beavon in Lo & Yeung 1998:357). With about 3.2 million residents, Johannesburg is currently the most populous city in South Africa and one of the largest on the African continent (Interpreting the figures 2003/4). Its population is estimated to reach 20 million by the year 2020 (Beavon in Lo & Yeung 1998:358). The city's contribution to the national economy is almost 16% and 20% to the economy of Gauteng (Interpreting the figures 2003/4). The per capita gross geographic product (GDP) in Johannesburg alone is R31 000, with an overall GDP of R86 billion per annum (Interpreting the figures 2003/4). The city's economy is dominated by four sectors, namely financial and business services, retail and wholesale, community and social services, and manufacturing (Interpreting the figures 2003/4). The mixed-use landscape of Melrose Arch represents three of these sectors: financial and business combined with retail and social services. The Johannesburg metropolis is served by one major international airport, capable of handling 11 million passengers a year (Beavon in Lo & Yeung 1998:358), as well as four regional airports for light to medium aircrafts.

This metropolitan city is relatively young, established in 1887 after gold was discovered in the surrounding areas. George Harrison made the first discovery of gold that led to the establishment of Johannesburg in March 1886 on the widow Oosthuizen's farm Langlaagte (three kilometres west of the centre of present-day Johannesburg) (Mandy 1984:1). Within months after this discovery, prospectors,

⁵ It is important to note here that the source is outdated by mentioning Harare.

diggers and camp followers were flocking to the Witwatersrand in the hope of finding fortune. The farms Driefontein and Elandsfontein were proclaimed on 20 September 1886. However, 4 October (which is the proclamation date for Randjeslaagte and Langlaagte) has come to be “regarded as the birthday of Johannesburg itself” (Mandy 1984:2).

World War I broke out in August 1914, which caused the metalworking industries to prosper because of the fact that equipment could no longer be imported (Mandy 1984:39). In a sense, this contributed towards Johannesburg’s transformation from a mining town into an industrial city (Mandy 1984:39). The population of Johannesburg showed a significant increase, with the 1936 census standing at 475 000, and almost twice as much in the 1946 census with 618 000 people⁶ (Mandy 1984:48).

Like most cities, Johannesburg has shown, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, a stark contrast between its rich and poor suburbs (Clarke 1987:36). Even at this early stage, the wealthy started to move towards the north, establishing suburbs like Parktown and deserting places like Doornfontein and Jeppestown (Clarke 1987:36). During the 1970s, owing to the growing population of academics who worked at the University of the Witwatersrand and the former Rand Afrikaans University, some of the former rundown suburbs like Melville and Westdene were rejuvenated (Clarke 1987:215). Unfortunately, these areas did not develop into suburban communities, but erected high walls around their properties in order to block out the noise and in later years the crime. It was only at the end of the 1970s that developers started to design suburbs for the residents living there rather than for the traffic (Clarke 1987:215). It is significant that Johannesburg experienced much the same problem during the first half of the twentieth century as it is experiencing now. The advent of the car and the tram service led to suburban expansion (Clarke 1987:49), yet the street layout was not suitable to allow smooth traffic. The fast development of this town also led to the corrosion of its open spaces (Clarke 1987:49).

⁶ Note that this included only the white population, the first truly democratic census representing all race groups was held in 1996, according to Statistics SA (Population census 1996).

Even during the first half of the twentieth century, there were already some faint hints of an indefinable kind of New Urbanism in the decline of emphasis on the traffic as well as the absence of open spaces. One can then deduce that the idea of new options of living were already in the blueprint phase a few decades ago and were making way for contemporary living ideals such as New Urbanism.

After the National Party came to power in 1948, it started to apply measures of segregation, social distancing and relocation (Mandy 1984:88). The apartheid government started to introduce measures in order for cities to conform to its policies (Mandy 1984:49); for example by restricting establishments of new industrial townships. When HF Verwoerd became State President in 1958, he intensified the implementation of apartheid, introducing the pass laws, which restricted the movement of black people in the urban areas (Mandy 1984:52). In terms of economy, the country's GDP showed an average growth rate of 5.8 per cent between 1960 and 1969, dropping during the 1970s to 3 per cent and as low as 1 per cent during the 1990s. Is it then possible to argue that this drop in the growth rate was a factor contributing to decentralisation?

The above-mentioned clearly shows the prominent influence of gentrification. Gentrification is a term coined by the sociologist Ruth Glass in London in 1964: "One by one, many of the working-class ... have been invaded by the middle-classes – upper and lower. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Slater 2002:3). According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, to gentrify means to "restore and smarten (a house, an area, and so forth) to make it suitable for middle-class residents" (Cowie 1989:515). The word gentrification is derived from gentry, which refers to people of a good social position (Cowie 1989:515). According to Sharon Zukin (1995:39), the process of gentrification developed as a major trend during the 1960s and early 1970s. According to Neil Smith, author of the 1979 paper entitled "A back to the city movement by capital, not people" and developer of the 'rent-gap' theory, gentrification can be viewed as the "uneven development of metropolitan land markets" (Smith & Williams 1986:38).

When looking at the concept of gentrification, it is important to consider Smith's rent-gap theory, claimed by him to be the centrepiece of gentrification (Slater 2002:5). The rent-gap theory is based on the concept that when the price of suburban land rises when new construction or development occurs, the relative price of inner-city property declines (Smith & Williams 1986:23). This results in a gap between the actual ground rent and the potential rent that could be capitalised from this property (Smith & Williams 1986:23).

2.2.2 Johannesburg as a world city

Johannesburg can be considered a world city when one takes into account the different functions that it fulfils. According to Arie Shachar (in Lo & Yeung 1998:369) "... a world city is an international management centre, it is the locus of advanced producer services, and it has a rich mix of urban infrastructure and urban amenities". Johannesburg is the only African city to feature in a European study that identifies 55 world cities, measured by their "level of advanced producer services" (Beaverstock et al. 1999:27). Most of the cities on the list are either in Europe, North America or Asia, except for Johannesburg, which might be implicated to "represent an outlier of European capital" (Beaverstock et al. 1999:12). Contradicting these findings, Keith Beavon (in Lo & Yeung 1998:353) argues that "... neither Johannesburg nor Metropolitan Johannesburg is as yet, or ever likely to be, categorized unequivocally as one of the small elite category of world cities".

Johannesburg can, however, be regarded as a world city when measured against trends and development visible in other world cities. The concept of New Urbanism may be regarded as a development style that is still recent and thus limited to progressive world cities. An interesting point, emphasised by Beavon (in Lo & Yeung 1998:356), is the fact that Johannesburg is probably less ready now to join the ranks of world cities than it was during the apartheid years, owing to various current socio-political tendencies, of which crime would be the most prominent.

The significance of Johannesburg as a world city has both positive and negative implications. It means that Johannesburg can be regarded as parallel to major world cities in terms of things such as economy, entertainment and infrastructure, as well as

recognised as having “locations for multi-national corporations” (Beaverstock et al. 1999:3). Simultaneously, because this city strives to establish itself as a world city, it is moving away from the idea of an African city.

During the early 1990s, the vision for Johannesburg was to be a global, international city, not an African city (Bremner 2002:sp). It is also evident from the *Jo'burg 2030* vision that the focus is moving away from the idea of Johannesburg as an African city. The current mayor, Amos Masondo dropped the “African” from his mantra entirely (Bremner 2002:sp). It is evident that the African city, which once was central to the identity of Johannesburg, is now only a glimmer of a once well-known icon, used occasionally as an exhortation by people in positions of power.

Richard Tomlinson in *Emerging Johannesburg, Perspectives on the Postapartheid city* (2003), argues that “the skyline of the inner city retains its distinctive, modern image and dominance of the urban landscape, but by all accounts the central area is now just another large business area among many”. Tomlinson (2003:274) also suggests that although we do not fully grasp the meaning of these African and Western cultural, economic, infrastructure, management, social and value systems for the inner city, we do know that the inner city has changed irrevocably. The “possibility of thinking of Johannesburg as an African city, leaving behind its Euro-American focus of the apartheid years” (Tomlinson 2003:276), has been explored by many policymakers and academics.

2.2.3 Decentralisation and the CBD

From 1950 to 1965 the construction of offices in the CBD boomed, culminating in 2.25 million square metres in 1965 (Mandy 1984:59-60), followed by an almost complete standstill during the next fifteen years (Clarke 1987:192).

Decentralisation began to make an impact in Johannesburg from the early 1970s, as a large number of office constructions were moving to the north (Mandy 1984:253). Although the Central Business District (CBD) continued to remain an integral part of the economic infrastructure of Johannesburg until about the late 1980s, considered by Tomlinson (2003:25) as “the main focus of social, cultural, and commercial life for the

city and for the wider geographic region”, its growth started to stagnate during the 1970s. Nigel Mandy, who was in charge of the development of the Carlton Centre, founded the Central Business District Association that consisted of retailers, property owners and architects (Clarke 1987:213). Eventually, this body formed a useful relationship with the council officials and implemented initiatives like a “bus mall” and wider pavements in Eloff Street (Clarke 1987:213). Mandy, author of the book *A city divided: Johannesburg and Soweto* (1984) became a recognised world expert on the subject of city cores (Clarke 1987:213). However, this effort to revive the CBD began to wane during the late 1980s to the early 1990s, as “urban decline and exponential suburban growth” (Tomlinson 2003:27) began to take their toll on the once metropolitan atmosphere of the CBD.

Contributing to the above-mentioned, factors such as increased crime as well as an “influx of poorer ... residents” (Tomlinson 2003:27), spurred on the quick demise of the CBD. This caused the majority of offices and retail centres to unplug their roots and move to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, and even as far out as Midrand. Melrose Arch is a spectacular example of the persistence of decentralisation. Located alongside the M1 freeway, it is south of Sandton and north of the CBD. The decentralisation of the CBD caused a divide between the north and the south, with the northern suburbs becoming a metaphor for white wealth, Eurocentrism and capitalism. It is arguable that the Sandton business district has replaced the Johannesburg CBD as the prime financial district, partly because of the relocation of major institutions such as Rand Merchant Bank, NedCor and even the JSE Securities Exchange (Viruly Consulting 2004:sp).

The city of Johannesburg is in the process of reversing its Urban Sprawl “by demarcating a fixed urban boundary” (Thale 2002:sp). Sprawl,⁷ also known as conventional suburban development, is a system of development that originated after World War II, replacing neighbourhoods with a rigorous separation of uses. Although this kind of suburban community has been very popular, it tends to spread out to consume large areas of countryside even as population grows relatively slow, thus wasting areas that could have stayed uninhabited (Steuteville 2004:1).

⁷ As previously mentioned in 2.1

The Spatial Development Framework of Johannesburg,⁸ proposes to “contain the horizontal spread of Sandton, Melrose Arch, Rosebank and Fourways ... to stimulate development in the Johannesburg CBD” (Thale 2002:sp). However, this attempt to contain the higher class suburbs can possibly result in an even quicker spread of development in these areas, as it is quite impossible at this stage for the city of Johannesburg to advance the residential development within the CBD. Although Johannesburg CBD is undergoing dramatic change and improvement in the business related sector, the residential sector still has drawbacks in terms of safety and control.

This displacement of major businesses and corporations caused private investment to relocate towards the north (Tomlinson 2003:27). Yet, a recent *Financial Mail* report indicates that office investments in the CBD rose by 4.5% during 2003 (Promising outlook for inner-city investors 2004). Since 2001, public as well as private investment in the Johannesburg inner city has exceeded R1.5 billion; this figure is still estimated to be quite conservative (South Africa: Drive to regenerate decaying heart of Jo’burg 2005). Although the CBD shows considerable improvement in terms of investment and growth, its image is still tainted by factors such as crime and overpopulation. This stigma causes people to venture into that vicinity only if it is necessary. The CBD has long since lost the retail race against the northern suburb giants, and its commerce is in strong competition with Midrand, the new commercial and business hub of Gauteng.

Various bodies, whose aims are to uplift and regenerate the Johannesburg CBD, are introducing new initiatives. The first of these initiatives is the establishment of South Africa’s first urban development zones. The 2003 budget made provision for R1.3 billion of tax revenue to be written off as an incentive to owners who are prepared to develop their properties as investments (A tale of two cities 2004). This initiative was undertaken to stimulate development within inner cities for commercial as well as residential buildings (Treasury launches Urban Renewal Tax Incentive 2004). As property developer Gerald Zolitzki stated: “I buy slum properties and convert them into A-grade office space” (Robertson 2004). Another initiative to stimulate growth in the CBD is the establishment of the Gauteng provincial government precinct in the centre

⁸ This framework was launched on 19 June 2002 by the City of Johannesburg as its blueprint for all its future developments. The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is used as “an urban management tool that deals with the city’s planning strategy in areas such as transportation, housing, open spaces, etc.” The purpose of this framework is to establish Johannesburg as a “world-class African city” (Tilley 2002:sp).

of Johannesburg (Khuzwayo 2004). It is believed that this initiative will send a message that the government aims to become “one of the biggest property owners in the CBD” (Khuzwayo 2004).

The Central Johannesburg Partnership is a non-profit company dedicated to the revitalisation of the inner city of Johannesburg (Fraser 2003c:sp). According to Neil Fraser, recently retired Executive Director of Partnerships for Urban Regeneration, the process of urban renewal is a time consuming and extensive journey. Some of the actions he proposes for the renewal of the CBD entail the supporting of specific service sectors, safety and security, strategies for public property as well as the implementation of an informal trading programme. Possible actions for the residential areas involve the closing down of illegal businesses, creation of more open space, quick action on slums and High Street upgrades (Fraser, Reshaping Johannesburg’s inner city s.a.).

Together with the upgrading of the Johannesburg CBD is the *Jo’burg 2030* vision, formulated by the Gauteng Government, which proclaims to “achieve sustainable economic growth” (Fraser 2003a:sp) in Johannesburg and surrounding areas. The *Jo’burg 2030* vision proposes three options in order to improve the support services for resident and tourist alike. The first option is to upgrade existing facilities, while the second option is the establishment of a “single cross-border shopping ‘hub’” (Hossack 2002:1-2). The third option is the creation of a series of hubs, “each catering to special markets” (Hossack 2002:2). These options do not specify where these shopping areas and special markets are to be situated. However, by implication they would probably be focussed on areas such as the CBD.

Thus, it is evident that although there is considerable improvement in all sectors within the CBD, the old stigma still clings to it, with the result that people are willing to pay millions to live in exclusive and secluded environments that offer them a more secure living space than conventional upmarket neighbourhoods. This is why a place like Melrose Arch is so popular because it is central to most important areas, yet self-contained through its integration of shops, business and housing. Accordingly, Melrose Arch “reinforces the trend of upmarket decentralized retail to all that can afford it, regardless of race” (Tomlinson 2003 s.p.).

Although there are still significant quantities of CBD office space, the appeal of suburban office developments seems to grow at a rapid pace (Beavon in Lo & Young 1998:381). Developers now have to satisfy the huge demand for medium-rise offices (three to five storeys), especially by small and medium office-based organisations (Beavon in Lo & Young 1998:381-382). This is done primarily in an effort to avoid the socio-economic problems which originated in the CBD.

Apart from the issue of CBD centered office-space is the perception of the CBD as a no-go zone for entertainment. As a parallel to the phenomenon of a shifting CBD, one can look at the subsequent moving of shopping malls to suburban precincts. Retailing in the suburbs has long since surpassed that of the CBD. The quality of the shopping environment in the malls, together with the quality and range of goods, is extremely high and exceeds that which is offered by the Johannesburg CBD by far (Beavon in Lo & Young 1998:381). The suburbs offer a wide variety of different malls, with 29 of these shopping centres equalling 10 000m² or larger (Beavon in Lo & Young 1998:381).

Since the importance of the CBD does not rest entirely on its business and economic activities, but of equal significance on leisure activities, one should take note of the degree to which leisure has an impact. Gerald Olitzki, inner city property developer, believes that “a city with only offices is [not] a city, we have to look at restaurants and tourism and look at the city holistically” (Davie 2002:1). Initiatives have been taken in the redevelopment and upgrading of places like Gandhi Square, Mary Fitzgerald Square, the Carlton Centre, as well as the Fashion District in Newtown. The idea is, according to Olitzki, that the retail and commercial space in the city centre will be complemented by its surrounding office space, in an effort to create “an inner city office park” (Davie 2002:3).

One of the big drawbacks of the Johannesburg city centre is the absence of open and public spaces; most of these spaces have been replaced by malls. The Jo’burg 2030 vision proclaims that in order for Johannesburg to become a world city, there are some major changes to be made in the areas of parks and outdoor relaxation facilities (Fraser 2003a:sp). The public spaces that do exist are either too unsafe or in a state of neglect (for example the Beyers Naude Gardens).

The current Johannesburg Urban Development Framework has stipulated that human settlements should be balanced between “quality built environment and open space; between consumption needs and renewable and non-renewable resources” (Fraser 2003a:sp). According to Neil Fraser (2003b:sp), “[i]mproving our public space is not about creating a sanitised sterile, shrink-wrapped world. It is about creating living, sustainable and inclusive communities – communities where people feel they have a stake in their future”.

The stigma clinging to the Johannesburg CBD is clearly present in the everyday perceptions of residents and visitors alike. It is possible to revive and change the image of the CBD, as can be seen in the relative success in Durban and Cape Town’s CBDs. Johannesburg, because of its size, will take a while longer to reach a certain level of quality in its CBD. It is impressive, though, what has already been achieved in a region thought to be out of limits for decades.

In South Africa, like almost everywhere in the world, malls are becoming not only places to shop, but also places to “seek entertainment, company and ambience” (Le Page 2000). Because of the high-speed lifestyle of people today, malls and other entertainment landscapes are forced to offer more in order for consumers to stay interested. Part of the appeal that entertainment landscapes offer, is the complete absence of time and place, creating environments “consecrated to timelessness and stasis” (Morris in During 1993:399). John Fiske (1989:13) describes this occurrence of timelessness aptly by calling malls “cathedrals of consumption”.

According to Tomlinson (2003:28), Johannesburg’s city centre no longer fulfils the role of centre in practical terms. Because of the decentralisation of public spaces, the commercial sector has accompanied this shift in the form of new shopping malls as well as casino’s, which are constructed close to these new office and residential districts (Tomlinson 2003:28). The first shopping centre in Johannesburg was developed in 1950. The Belfast corner was situated in Rosebank, which soon became the prime fashionable shopping district north of the city (Mandy 1984:56), and remains one of the prominent shopping districts today with malls such as The Zone @ Rosebank, Rosebank Mall and the rooftop market.

The Dobsonville Shopping Centre was the first major complex in Soweto, and is seen as a symbol of economic development for this area (Shopping malls, Johannesburg official website). Hyde Park Shopping Centre was completed in November 1969 and was one of the first fully enclosed decentralised centres developed in South Africa. The first real shopping complex that offered all the benefits of today's centres was Killarney Mall, opened in 1961 (Shopping malls, Johannesburg official website), together with Southdale closer to the suburbs (Clarke 1987:193).

New Urban landscapes such as Melrose Arch are the most recent in the evolutionary process that started with arcades, moved to shopping malls and theme parks, focusing on the concept of entertainment and a hedonistic lifestyle.

A study of the history of Johannesburg is of relevance because it influences one's approach to critically look at aspects such as location (why was this specific site chosen to build Melrose Arch, what influence does it have on traffic, noise, and so forth) and availability (how easy is it to access this site from different routes). Furthermore, the history of Johannesburg also played a vital role in developmental matters such as gentrification and rejuvenation of certain identified areas in the city, aiming to understand why the middle class choose these areas.

The *Jo'burg 2030* vision will play a role in defining Johannesburg as a world city and establishing new developments to suit the inhabitants of this city. It is essential to discuss this and other initiatives to keep track of the latest trends and to keep on par with the economic growth of this city.

In the next chapter, New Urbanism will be discussed in terms of its origin and history. Various predecessors and variations of New Urbanism will be looked at, and a few examples of South African New Urban landscapes will be noted.

CHAPTER THREE

NEW URBANISM

This chapter examines the predecessors of and influences on New Urbanism in an attempt to see how this movement developed to what it is today. Starting with the eighteenth century Classical Reformers and the concept of the Ideal City, a common theme runs through several other development theories, such as Garden Cities (from which New Towns and community-interest developments (CIDs) also evolved), Pedestrian Cities, as well as the more recent Edge Cities. The influence of Sprawl on cities is noted, and measures to reduce the occurrence of sprawling land by implementing solutions that are connected to New Urbanism are discussed.

This chapter discusses New Urbanism from its inception to where it is positioned today; taking into account all the previously discussed development theories that influenced it in some manner. Additionally, some variations on New Urbanism, such as Traditional Neighbourhood Development (TND) and the Pedestrian Pocket (PP) are discussed. The final section on New Urbanism discusses its relationship to the articulation of space, as well as its most salient characteristics. The purpose of this chapter is to place New Urbanism in a contemporary context by evaluating its history and influences. By doing this, a background is formed and it will be easier to situate Melrose Arch, which is discussed in Chapter Four, within this discourse.

3.1 Introduction

According to Jan Gehl (1987:sp):

In a society becoming steadily more privatised with private homes, cars, computers, offices and shopping centres, the public component of our lives is disappearing. It is more and more important to make the cities inviting, so we can meet our fellow citizens face to face and experience directly through our senses. Public life in good quality public spaces is an important part of a democratic life and a full life.

The international investment community has succeeded in blurring the lines between spaces dedicated to living, recreation, and work. Whereas previously these three things were regarded as different entities, they have now been compressed into

spaces big enough for whole communities to operate in. Society today perceives everything through the filter of postmodernism,¹ constantly claiming to invent new technologies and lifestyles. Because of a growing need to upgrade one's lifestyle to an even more sophisticated level, those who can afford it constantly buy into the latest trend, such as techno-toys and label clothes. Most of these popular trends are regarded as part of a consumer ideology, comprising myths that are desired by the majority of society. In this context, New Urbanism is then considered as an ideological project which includes various myths² because it serves the ideological interests of a particular group in society (Bignell 1997:25). According to the French theorist Roland Barthes (1972:121), myth hides nothing; instead, its function is to distort, not to make disappear. Myth is used to transform a meaning into form, to purify things and to make them innocent (Barthes 1972:131, 143). During the course of the next two chapters, it will become evident how New Urbanism embraces the idea of myth by attributing certain 'truths' to it.

New Urbanism is an urban design movement that burst onto the scene in the United States of America in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Congress for the New Urbanism (which developed its Charter between 1993 and 1996, which was approved at the fourth Congress in Charleston, South Carolina) stands for the restoration of existing urban centres and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighbourhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of the built legacy (New Urbanism website).

¹Postmodernism is a wide-ranging cultural movement which adopts a sceptical attitude to many of the principles and assumptions that have underpinned Western thought and social life for the last few centuries. These assumptions, which constitute the core of what we call modernism, include a belief in the inevitability of progress in all areas of human endeavour, and in the power of reason, as well as a commitment to originality in both thought and artistic expression. Postmodernism has turned such ideas on their head, by calling into question modernism's commitment to progress, as well as the ideology underpinning it. Postmodernism has therefore involved a return to the use of older styles and artistic methods, and is considered as an attitude of mind and a theoretical position in its own right (Sim 1998:340). Postmodernism emphasises the importance of style and appearance over content (Watson in Sim 1998:57), while postmodern thinkers also point to the fragmentation of experience and a compression of time and space as defining features of the late twentieth century (Watson in Sim 1998:58). Postmodern buildings and cityscapes are characterised by a sensitivity to context and self-conscious playfulness in which different styles and references to different historical periods are mixed together in an ironic and eclectic way (Sim 1998:61).

² In this context myths refer to themes such as Space and Place, Utopianism, Simulacra and Consumerism, which are discussed in Chapter Four.

New Urbanism promotes the creation and restoration of diverse, pedestrian-friendly, compact mixed-use communities composed of the same components as conventional developments, yet assembled in a more integrated fashion (Steuteville 2004:1). These components include housing, work places, shops, entertainment, schools, parks, and civic facilities, all within easy walking distance of each other. As previously mentioned, New Urbanism appears to be quite popular in the United States, where over 600 towns, villages, and neighbourhoods that conform to New Urbanist principles have already been constructed (Steuteville 2004:1). According to the Congress for New Urbanism website, New Urbanism can be regarded as the most important planning movement of the twenty-first century. It is my opinion that it is slightly too early to make an assumption like this, as more research still needs to be done in this field.

Because “shopping centres and theme parks have become the New Urban spaces” (Marks 2001:22), development based on the concept of combined urban spaces is advocated by both developers and potential residents. As people become pressured for time in all aspects of life, the idea of a New Urbanism becomes even more appealing. By living, working and shopping within “the same complex without having to leave the ‘City’s gates’ ... people are now ... insulated from the troubles beyond its borders” (Marks 2001:22). Thus, a city within a city is created where residents live protected and, to a certain extent, secluded lives. The implications of this mixed-use living are looked at in more detail in Chapter Four.

In order to see where the concept of New Urbanism originated from, it is necessary to look at some similar developments and movements dating back to the eighteenth century. After an overview of these movements, it will be easier to grasp the origins and significance of New Urbanism.

3. 2 Predecessors of and influences on New Urbanism

It is quite astonishing to see how many development movements from earlier centuries had an influence on contemporary New Urbanism. This is important since New Urbanism borrows the majority of its ideas from various movements and thus cannot claim to be an original movement, but rather a fusion of all these, taking the best ideas from them and adapting them to the contemporary world. In the next

section, most of these movements from which New Urbanism borrowed its ideas are discussed briefly. The idea of an Ideal City, ensuing from the idea of Utopianism, is also discussed.

3.2.1 *The history of cities*

The first urban settlements occurred around 3000 BC in Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indus Valley. Most of these cities had extensive religious, political and military hierarchies (Ellis s.a.). The Greek and Roman cities also delivered a significant contribution to the development of the modern city. Both these countries applied a grid system to the design of their cities, and many of these characteristics are still evident in European cities like London and Paris (Ellis s.a.).

During the Renaissance, architects began to incorporate the shaping of urban space into their designs; many public spaces of Rome and other Italian cities date from this era. The Baroque city was associated with the appearance of great nation-states between 1600 and 1750. Proportions of grand scale were used in most public spaces, like long avenues, radial street networks, monumental squares, as well as geometric parks and gardens (Ellis s.a.).

With the start of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, cities started to change more than in all the previous centuries of their existence (Ellis s.a.). The industrial city developed as an outcome of capitalism which focused on manufacturing and production (Jayne 2006:15). The industrial city still focused on the city centre, which was the hub of economic activity and also housed substantial numbers of factories and warehouses (Ellis s.a.). The working class lived in districts close to the city centre, thus close to their place of employment (Ellis s.a.). As a result of overcrowding, pollution and disease in the central city, the upper middle classes moved even further away from the city centre; this was made possible by the establishment in the early 1830s of commuter railroads which enabled them to commute to the city centre on a daily basis (Ellis s.a.).

The Baroque principles of urban design were used by Baron Haussmann in the restructuring of Paris between 1853 and 1870 (Ellis s.a.); these principles were also

replicated in many cities all over Europe (Jayne 2006:34). Haussmann showed very little concern for the idea of social justice prior to measuring out wide streets throughout the old and established working class quarters; he made use of tall wooden towers in order to conduct a study of the existing urban framework. By doing this, he intended to divide these quarters, while also aiming to displace the poor out of the inner city towards the periphery (Jayne 2006:34).

Accordingly, Paris was transformed from a city which was haphazardly structured with narrow medieval streets, into a city which consisted of wide boulevards and avenues. As a result of this restructuring, new ways of consuming the city were introduced. The buildings and boulevards were turned into places where large numbers of people mixed, resulting in them becoming part of the “sight of the city” (Jayne 2006:34).

The architects of the 1920s were looking for a style which would be fitting for the mass-produced society of this era. This style incorporated earlier experiments of design, however it did not have any obvious historical precedent. The style consisted of “undecorated surfaces, clear edges, [and] mass-produced components” (Relph 1987:98). The modernist movement was never very popular in the building industry, and by the 1980s its originality has begun to fade (Relph 1987:98).

The post-industrial city surfaced during the last part of the twentieth century. This type of city is characterised by a decline in the reliance on manufacturing and a rise in the significance of the service industries, while more emphasis is placed on the “role of knowledge in production, consumption and leisure” (Jayne 2006:15). The contemporary city is characterised by a “dominant commercial centre” and a constant decline in land values moving away from the city centre (Jayne 2006:14). Modern cities are constantly competing against each other for economic resources, trying to lure investment with tempting features such as low tax rates, improved transportation and skilled labour force (Ellis s.a.). The postmodern city is recognised by vast contrasts between wealth and poverty. The telecommunications and finance industries are the most prominent economic drivers, while the whole city is oriented around consumption (Jayne 2006:14).

An important influence on New Urbanism is embedded in the work of the Classical Reformers and the Garden City movement, which form the focus of the next section.

3.2.2 Classical Reformers

Seen in part as a reaction to the excesses of both the late Baroque and Rococo styles of architecture, Neoclassicism can effectively be seen to have begun in England in the early eighteenth century. This style is represented in all the arts, including music, as well as architecture and design. Neoclassicism is recognised as not simply an artistic and architectural movement, but also as a set of ideals that coloured everything from politics to family life (Clifton-Mogg 1991:7).

Some of the principal French Neoclassical architects were Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728 – 99) and Claude Nicholas Ledoux (1736 – 1806), both of whom are described as “Classical Reformers”. They “were opposed to the traditional idiom of the Rococo, thus facilitating the coming Classicism of the Empire style” (Rosenau 1983:93).

Boullée’s designs showed an emphasis on simplicity, balance and monumentality, and have no superfluous ornament (Rosenau 1983:94). He was inspired by a “clear conception of the universe”, as well as the beauty of “stereometric forms” (Rosenau 1983:96). Boullée wielded his influence almost exclusively by means of his designs and teachings. The fact that Boullée’s influence was primarily through unrealised designs, is regarded as one of the main features of eighteenth century architecture. There were thousands of designs produced for buildings during the 1700s and early 1800s that were simply never commissioned (Clifton-Mogg 1991:54), owing to the period of turmoil in which France was immersed. Boullée’s approach is that of a visionary, whilst Ledoux remains more of a practical architect (Rosenau 1983:97). Boullée designed units that were clearly contained and also formulated a lucid structural programme for towns (Rosenau 1983:99). His contribution to architectural development lay in his emphasis on social conditions, which embraced the workers, labourers and the poor (Rosenau 1983:104).

Ledoux was one of the most prolific Neoclassical architects and theorists of the late eighteenth century (Wiebenson 1982:42). Ledoux’s reputation as a revolutionary

architect was based almost solely on buildings that were either never built, or only partly built. The industrial city of Chaux, which he conceived in 1775 (Clifton-Mogg 1991:55) and even partly built (Summerson 1986:168), was perceived as the ideal New Town. Ledoux's design of Chaux is regarded as one of the great prophetic documents of the eighteenth century (Summerson 1986:169).

Ledoux's famous saltworks, the Saline de Chaux at Arc-et-Senans, is a forceful design which incorporates baseless banded columns, cubes, and spheres (Clifton-Mogg 1991:55). Ledoux's plans for Chaux, a new kind of city, located important buildings in an outer ring and included separate little houses and villages in the countryside that showed a tendency towards an open plan design (Rosenau 1983:100). Chaux is considered to be Ledoux's "Ideal city";³ its outstanding features include separate traffic lanes that leave the residential quarters untouched and a ring road which gives an effect of unity (Rosenau 1983:104). The plan also includes avenues and a 'green belt' of trees, restoring the city walls, thus emphasising the city boundaries (Rosenau 1983:104). This line of trees thus represents a balance "between the open and enclosed town" (Rosenau 1983:104) by providing a periphery that is, however, still accessible and open to all. Whilst Boullée was more in favour of a simplistic town design, Ledoux preferred the 'Garden City' aspect (although this movement had not yet been developed), creating almost idyllic surroundings (Rosenau 1983:101).

In Ledoux's open Garden City, the spreading of buildings on the outer oval is quite noticeable, whilst in Boullée's work the emphasis is rather on the centre (Rosenau 1983:102). Ledoux was in favour of decentralisation and advocated a functional style with artistic qualities, emphasising simplicity and expressing moral principles, emotions, and a new social consciousness of the individual character (Rosenau 1983:104). Although neither Boullée nor Ledoux were political revolutionaries (Rosenau 1983:106), they both contributed a great deal towards establishing new ideals for town and city development that continue to resonate.

³ According to Rosenau (1983:2), an ideal city represents "a religious vision, or a secular view, in which social consciousness of the needs of the population is allied with a harmonious conception of artistic unity".

3.2.3 Garden Cities

The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which was founded in 1888 in Great Britain, aimed to initiate an original approach to design (Davey 1980:8). This movement focused primarily on the middle class, evolving a new style of architecture that opposed the Victorian imitation of styles and focused more closely on rural buildings (Davey 1980:9). One of the pioneers of the Arts and Crafts movement, William Morris (1834 – 1896), tried to create an idyllic life of financial security, self-sufficiency and practicality in close contact with nature (Davey 1980:21). His aim was for existing buildings to be restored to what they used to be, and for new buildings to be built in an unpretentious way, made with good quality material from the countryside (Davey 1980:23). The Garden City was one of the primary architectural ideas that originated from the Arts and Crafts movement.

Ebenezer Howard (1850 – 1928) created the Garden City movement in 1899, and as President of the Garden City Association, pioneered the establishment of the first Garden City in Great Britain. Garden Cities are defined as small towns built for workers and the middle class that are surrounded by a greenbelt, combining the best of both the town and the city (Katz 1994:xv). Garden Cities contributed towards expanding developments on the outskirts of towns (Marshall 2000:108), thus combining the commercial and residential environment with natural surroundings.

Garden Cities, as referred to in Howard's book *Garden cities of to-morrow* (1945, [1898]), were regarded as an alternative to the congested industrial city and the depopulated countryside (Ward 1992:28). Each Garden City was planned very carefully and was limited in terms of its area and population (Ward 1992:28). However, this concept did not suggest a fusion between town and country, but a town in the country whose citizens could enjoy the qualities and benefits of town and country life combined with the opportunity to work and live in ample space (Ward 1992:28).

Howard's contribution towards the establishment of the Garden City was to outline the nature of a well-balanced community, as well as to show what measures were needed (in a disoriented society) to bring this into existence (Mumford in Howard 1945:32). The Garden City, as defined by Howard, is considered not as a suburb but as the

antithesis of a suburb, as the integrated foundation for an effective urban life (Mumford in Howard 1945:35).

Howard made use of diagrams accompanied by extensive text to outline his generic Garden City concept. He made use of an imaginary 6000 acres of land to illustrate the exact development of the Garden City. The city is divided into six boulevards which are 120 feet (about 37 metres) wide; in the centre is a circular space of about five and a half acres, which is laid out as a large ornamental garden (Howard 1945:53) complemented by main civic buildings such as the town hall, theatre, library, museum and hospital (Hardy 1991:20). Together with this, Howard proposed tree-lined boulevards to add to the feel of the Garden City, as well as to distinguish between the different neighbourhoods (Hardy 1991:20). On the outskirts of the town are factories, warehouses, markets, and coal yards. The placement of these industries reduced traffic within the town and helped to minimise pollution (Howard 1945:55).

The first Garden City was Letchworth in England, which was built in 1903, and was soon followed by many similar projects such as the Hampstead Garden Suburb, which came into being during 1906 (Ward 1992:4,8). The primary merit that Howard's Garden City holds was that there was something that appealed to everyone. The Socialist liked it because of its semi-municipal character, the Conservative because of the fact that it promised a way by which private enterprises could help in solving the housing problem, while the Liberal liked it because it was a project of land reform (Purdom 1925:55). George Bernard Shaw said that the "Garden City revealed a peculiar situation politically – it had neither liberal nor conservative traditions ... quite different from the usual country town ... [the] Garden City was to some extent the outcome of socialism, and for that reason I have myself invested in the scheme" (in Miller 1989:127). More diversification arose when Howard's book *Garden cities of tomorrow* was published in several languages all over the world in 1946, bringing about a greater scope of change (Ward 1992:8). The concept of the Garden City helped to shape the evolution of housing and town extension in France, especially after the introduction of the Cornudet Act on compulsory town planning was passed in 1919 (Ward 1992:61), while Japanese planners used the principles of the Garden City during the 1920s to incorporate nature into cities (Ward 1992:83). The Japanese also obtained the idea of planning cities holistically from a complete blank sheet; in

retrospect it is evident that it was not necessarily the idea of the Garden City that appealed to the Japanese, but rather the theory of Western modern urban planning (Ward 1992:84).

In Germany, during the 1930s and when the Bauhaus movement was reaching its end (1933), the Nazis incorporated the Garden City concept into territorial re-organisation known as *Raumplanung* (Ward 1992:88). This involved the setting up of administrative subdivisions of territory as well as the implementation of structural relationships between village, town, and city (Ward 1992:88). It also involved the removal of certain populations and the resettlement by so-called racially pure Germans (Ward 1992:88). The main inspiration behind the Nazi implementation of the Garden City was Howard's diagram of the Social City; this expressed his views on regional development based on the Garden City model⁴ (Ward 1992:88). Before the middle of the twentieth century, two new strategies were implemented to assist in curbing metropolitan growth in Nazi Germany, namely decentralisation and inner colonisation (Ward 1992:89-90). By decentralisation is meant the relocation of primarily working class people from the overpopulated town centre to the outer suburban parts of town; inner colonisation, on the other hand, is the process of discouraging people from migrating from the countryside to the towns and cities (Ward 1992: 90). It is against these strategies of decentralisation and inner colonisation that Howard's Social City should be regarded, originally intended to represent his own perception of decentralisation, yet stripped by the Nazis to become part of the conservative idea of territorial reorganisation (Ward 1992:91).

The development of the American Garden City during the 1920s made two major contributions towards Garden City planning; firstly community cohesion was encouraged by providing areas with facilities such as schools and shops that lie in close walking proximity from each other. Secondly, it allowed the separation of pedestrians and vehicles by making use of cul-de-sac access for cars on one side of

⁴ Some interesting parallels can be drawn between *Raumplanung* and the South African township during the apartheid years. The Group Areas Act of 1950 made provision for "unprecedented state intervention in property rights and empowered the authorities to impose a nationwide system of control which attempted to ensure that all South Africans could live and trade only in segregated areas" (Carruthers s.a.). Not only did this Act remove people from their homes, but it also destroyed communities, closed churches and schools, demolished houses and uprooted congregations (Carruthers s.a.).

the houses and pathways for bicycles and pedestrians on the other side (Ward 1992:11-12). Clearly, these two aspects of the American Garden City were later incorporated into New Urbanism without any change or alteration.⁵ Radburn, New Jersey (1929), America's first Garden City was created as a safe, efficient, automobile-based town with the aim of being a genuine community (Ward 1992:149). By separating automobile and pedestrian routes, and by re-planning housing within large superblocks, they were able to turn Radburn simultaneously into a "town for the motor age" and a town that exemplified the balance and self-containment that Howard had originally sought (Ward 1992:149). The British Garden City has conformed more closely to Howard's vision than the American Garden City did (Christensen 1986:53). It is significant to note that New Urbanism, as an American development strategy, borrowed ideas primarily from the American Garden City and to a lesser extent from the other Garden City movements.

From about 1910 onwards, a subtle reworking of Howard's idea of a decentralised Social City was proposed in Great Britain; this entailed further metropolitan growth, divided into self-contained Satellite Towns (Ward 1992:10). These little towns were separated from each other by green belts of farm and woodlands, and were encouraged to function apart from the big city (Ward 1992:10). The Satellite Town is also related to the concept of a constellation, with satellites orbiting in the sphere of a central planet (Hardy 1991:146). It is important that although Satellite Towns functioned apart from and are divided from the city, they should still maintain economic linkages with the city (Hardy 1991:146). The first real Satellite Town, also established by Howard, was the city of Welwyn which began in the 1920s (Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire). While in essence the Garden City and Satellite Town are both conceptually the same concept, the difference lies primarily therein that the Satellite Town addresses itself to the problems of a particular city (Purdom 1925:173). Several sources, like Miller's *Letchworth, The first Garden City* (1989), claim Welwyn to be the second established Garden City after Letchworth, without mentioning the difference between the two.

⁵ New Urbanist developments such as Celebration and Seaside used these American Garden City concepts in their design. These developments were discussed in Chapter 2.1.

One of the consequences of the Second World War (1939 – 1945) was the willingness of the government in Great Britain to intervene in decentralisation methods (Ward 1992:14). One of the most important wartime development plans for decentralisation proposed extensive urban containment, as well as a decentralised strategy that included ten new Satellite Towns to be built outside of London (Ward 1992:15). The British Parliament adopted a New Towns policy, which had many similarities to Howard's Garden City (Christensen 1986:51). These New Towns reached their peak of development between 1946 and 1949, when eleven New Towns were designed, of which eight were around London (Christensen 1986:52). This development of New Towns continued up to 1970, after which the conservative Thatcher government sold out the publicly held assets of the towns to private enterprises (Christensen 1986:52).

The New Town idea also unfolded in the United States in the years following the First World War (1914 – 1918), which resulted in the building of Radburn and also the government sponsored "greenbelt" towns of Greenhills, Ohio, Wisconsin and Maryland (Campbell 1976:19).

These Satellite Towns had twice the population size of Howard's Garden Cities, although there were still some similarities between the two development methods (Ward 1992:15). These so-called New Towns were to be freestanding, planned, and low-density. They would possess elements for comfortable living and working while also placing great emphasis on social development (Ward 1992:15). New Towns were not supposed to grow bigger than a certain determined target and made use of green belts in the same way that Garden Cities did (Ward 1992:15). Self-containment was also promoted as of a much greater importance than Howard intended (Ward 1992:15). However, these towns did not develop in accordance with what was initially on the drawing board. They played significant roles in metropolitan decentralisation, as opposed to the replacement of the big city of London, which Howard had in mind (Ward 1992:15).

The biggest difference, however, between Howard's Garden City and New Towns, was the existence of a centrally-appointed public corporation for Garden Cities, instead of the collective private enterprise that was supposed to be in control of all major decisions and developments (Ward 1992:15). Another important point of

deviation was the fact that the land on which the Garden City stood had to belong to the community; this established social control of the area and ensured that all increases of land value were for public use (Ward 1992:30), while New Towns were government controlled.

After a period of absence, New Towns resurfaced during the 1960s; these contemporary New Towns are developments that are planned to provide a “broad range of social, economic, and physical activities within a defined area of land and within a predetermined time period”. As with the original New Towns, governance of the town was left in the hands of an appointed public decision-making body (Campbell 1976:17). The present movement to the development of New Towns began in 1962 when the town of Reston in Virginia was developed, as well as Columbia, Maryland, which was initiated in 1966 (Campbell 1976:20).

Many New Towns separate automobile and pedestrian traffic by means of a network of footpaths that “bypass roads with underpasses and footbridges”. Additionally, an effort is made to conserve the surrounding natural areas in New Towns (Campbell 1976:21). Because New Towns are regarded as being satellite, located on the edges of metropolitan areas, it is unrealistic to think that a New Town can exist totally on its own (Campbell 1976:23).

Howard’s thinking regarding the Garden City has served multiple purposes and is believed by FJ Osborn⁶ (in Howard 1945:24) to possess all the essential elements needed for future architectural success. These include elements such as coherent communities, zoning of areas to create “ready access between homes, workplaces, shops and cultural centres”, as well as gardens and recreational spaces (Howard 1945:24). The fundamental elements of Howard’s Garden City still stand today and are evidently included in the contemporary development style of New Urbanism.

The Garden Village, Garden Suburb, Satellite Town, and New Town were all different variations of the original Garden City (Ward 1992:24). The success of the Garden City

⁶ Frederick J Osborn was a colleague of Ebenezer Howard’s and played an instrumental role at the heart of government in instigating the New Town plans (Howard 1945:37).

is thus evident in the many hybrids that originated from it, as well as the many ideas that modern developments such as New Urbanism borrowed from it. By calling his town a “Garden City”, Howard set an aesthetic standard, thus creating a constant drive to try to maintain the beauty of the natural surroundings (Lucey 1973:sp).

The advocates of the Garden City believed that building Garden and Satellite Cities could control the spread of Sprawl, protect rural areas and take away the ills of the industrial city. Some critics argue that the Garden City did not eliminate the problems of the city, but that it indeed bred the problems that now inspire the New Urbanism (Grant 2006:7).

A recent form of development, borrowing ideas from both the Garden City and New Towns, yet more contemporary in application, is the concept of community-interest developments, better known as CIDs. CIDs are private subdivisions where residents share such things as golf courses, swimming pools, squash and tennis courts, as well as open space such as parks (Drew 1998:33). In South Africa, this is better known as cluster development or townhouse complexes, and occasionally modern flat buildings. Although most clusters and townhouses do not have all of the above, most of them have a mixture, for example a swimming pool with a braai area, or tennis courts combined with a tuck shop.

CIDs originated as early as 1910 in the USA, when Jesse Clyde Nichols (who is the pioneer of the modern shopping centre), put together a homeowners’ association for his Kansas City Country Club District development. However, this group became too independent, which caused Nichols to experiment with the concept of a strictly controlled association where he would determine the rules (Drew 1998:33). During the first half of the twentieth century, CIDs were built primarily for the rich. But when it became foreseeable that it would no longer be viable to build big suburban houses, the American Society of Planning Officials announced during 1960 that CIDs would be the solution for the future (Drew 1998:34).

In a CID, the developer usually stipulates the rules and regulations within that development, for example the colour of the houses and where cars may be parked, even restricting the length of a guest’s visit and the ages of residents (Drew 1998:35).

Thus, the developer dictates a certain lifestyle to which residents must adhere to. It is apparent, according to Bettina Drew (1998:36), that community has now become a product to be purchased, and not something that people create for themselves. In today's developments, residents are removed from the free choice of how their houses should look and are also limited in terms of what they are allowed to do to customise their homes to their needs. CIDs and cluster homes force people to live in a certain development style which they do not necessarily even like (such as the very popular Tuscan style in South Africa), but which is perhaps all that they can afford. Freedom of expressing individual style is also contained in the regulations that are prescribed by the governing body; for example before doing alterations to one's home, permission has to be granted by the central body corporate. New Urbanism, too, dictates a certain lifestyle which people buy into automatically when they purchase a property in a New Urbanist development. Although most characteristics of New Urbanism appear to enhance the individual's lifestyle, the fact remains that freedom of choice is taken away and replaced with a structured lifestyle.

All of the above-mentioned development styles imply a separate and exclusive lifestyle where a space is created apart from the conventional city space. In the following section, Pedestrian Cities are examined. It is important to note that the main difference between Garden Cities and Pedestrian Cities is that the latter is not created from a specific plan or concept. Pedestrian cities have been in existence for decades and even centuries. However, a new system of Pedestrian Cities has been implemented in various cities like Copenhagen, converting some of the city's streets into pedestrian-friendly thoroughfares.

3.2.4 Pedestrian Cities

There are various techniques to improve the streets and environment for pedestrian use. When pedestrian areas, which completely ban all traffic, are created, the pavements then carry the full width of the street, eliminating the existence of kerb edges (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:7). The first town which implemented this, just after World War I, was Essen in Germany, turning Limbecker Strasse into a pedestrian thoroughfare, complete with signposts prohibiting traffic (Orski in Organisation for economic co-operation and development

1974:41). In Germany alone, between 1967 and 1974, 32 cities created auto-free zones, followed by various other prominent cities like Tokyo, Rome and New York City (Orski in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:41). This absence of kerbs creates a psychological factor that removes the inhibitions people experience by not having ample free movement (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:7). Another measure that ensures pedestrian-friendly streets is reserving the street for pedestrians, and only allowing service vehicles at certain hours or with special permits (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:7). Traffic can also be reduced by management measures or banning certain types of vehicles (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:7). The space that is saved by having these measures can be converted to open spaces such as parks or other recreational areas. There are also economic implications: by lessening traffic in certain areas, there is less need for street signs, traffic lights and traffic officials.

One of the significant factors that led traders to oppose the removing of traffic from a shopping street was the belief that it would lead to a reduction in trade (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:9). However, in many cities quite the opposite appears to be true: in Copenhagen, Denmark, one year after the closure of its main street Strøget, pedestrian volume increased from 20 per cent to 48 per cent, while in Norwich, England, pedestrians increased by 45 per cent (Richards in Organisation for economic co-operation and development 1974:10).

Modernism described the city of Copenhagen as a combination of specialised areas intended for residence, work, consumption and for physical and intellectual culture – with circulation as the decisive liberating factor that both made possible and realised this project (Madsen & Plunz 2002:133), as seen from the above-mentioned percentages. The two old main streets, Strøget as well as Købmagergade, are spaces of mainstream culture that focus on popular culture at one end and upper middle class culture at the other. Surrounded by them are streets that specialise either in the alternative youth cultures or the well-educated middle class (Madsen & Plunz 2002:135).

It is clear that by increasing pedestrian access more businesses may benefit by being positioned near pedestrian pathways (Pedestrian movement – sustainable design guidelines reference manual 2005). Other benefits arising from increased pedestrian access include the attraction of more street vendors and artists, and a decrease in street crime (Pedestrian movement – sustainable design guidelines reference manual 2005). According to Jan Gehl (1987:sp), Professor of Urban Design in Copenhagen, human activities attract other people and lead to the establishment of new activities within the same area. An example of this is the fact that in Copenhagen’s Tivoli Garden, the most used benches are those that stand next to the garden’s main path, thus the ones with the best views of the active areas (Gehl 1987:sp). The centre of the city retains its position for the city’s primary identity – this is due to the fact that Copenhagen has proved to be capable of adapting to new conditions and of containing and reflecting the present (Madsen & Plunz 2002:135).

New Urbanism derives some of its principles from successful cities and developments around the world. One of the main features of New Urbanism is the focus on the pedestrian. This concept of the Pedestrian City has been part of many cities, for example Venice in Italy and Copenhagen in Denmark. Copenhagen has developed a 10-step programme in order to apply and further the establishment of this city as one of the greatest Pedestrian Cities in Europe:

1. Convert streets into pedestrian thoroughfares

The city’s main street, Strøget, was turned into a pedestrian thoroughfare in 1962. Eventually they added more pedestrian streets where walkers and cyclists have priority and cars are only allowed to drive at very low speeds (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

2. Reduce traffic and parking gradually

The city reduced the number of cars in the city centre by reducing the number of parking spaces. It is interesting to note that London has started to tax motorists who drive on the inner-city roads during certain times of the day⁷ (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

⁷ This taxing system, known as the London Congestion Charge, is operational during weekdays and charge £8 per day. This scheme was confirmed by the Mayor of London on 26 February 2002

3. Turn parking lots into public squares.

By creating pedestrian streets, ample parking has been freed, enabling the city to transform these parking lots into public squares (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

4. Keep scale dense and low

Densely spaced buildings allow breezes to get through, making the city centre less windy than the rest of Copenhagen (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

5. Honour the human scale

The city's scale and street grid make walking a pleasant experience, the historic buildings provide people with impromptu places to stand and sit (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

6. Populate the core

More than 6 800 residents live in the city centre; their dependence on cars have been eliminated, and the light from their windows give pedestrians a feeling of safety at night (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

7. Encourage student living

The active presence of students commuting on bicycles animates the city (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

8. Adapt the city space to changing seasons.

During summer, outdoor café's and street performers attract citizens, while skating rinks, heated benches and gas lit heaters on street corners make winter in the city centre enjoyable (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

(Transport for London website), and was extended on 19 February 2007 to include the boroughs of Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster (London governmental website).

9. Promote cycling as a major mode of transportation

The city established new bike lanes and extended existing ones. Currently 34 per cent of Copenhageners who work in the city bicycle to their jobs (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

10. Make bicycles available

Copenhagen introduced the City Bike System in 1995, allowing anyone to borrow a bike from stands around the city for a small coin deposit; when finished, they simply leave them at any one of the 110 bike stands located around the city and their money is refunded (New Urbanism website – Pedestrian Cities).

According to an attraction analysis that was carried out on Strøget, most pedestrians stop in front of shops and exhibits that have a direct relationship to other people in the vicinity, for example photo shops and newsstands (Gehl 1987:sp). This indicates that by going outside and participating in outdoor activities like walking or sitting in the park, people want to have interaction with their environment. Why then are there not enough measures implemented to create a safe and enjoyable environment for pedestrians in South Africa? Unless a conscious effort is made to create pedestrian-friendly streets, the focus remains on vehicles and traffic-related issues.

Although much is being done to improve the pedestrian environment, it should not be considered a luxury to have accessible routes for cyclists and pedestrians, but rather as an integral part of the public road system. Some measures that can be implemented to enhance pedestrian use include central drop off and pick up points, a system of pathways through open green spaces, creating sheltered places for people to sit, and trash disposal containers to keep the environment clean (Pedestrian movement – sustainable design guidelines reference manual 2005).

Outdoor activities in public spaces can be divided into three categories: necessary, optional, and social activities (Gehl 1987:sp). Necessary activities can be regarded as those that are compulsory, like going to work and shopping, and they take place regardless of the condition of the exterior environment (Gehl 1987:sp). Optional activities are those that people participate in when there is time or a suitable place for the specific activity; these include jogging, walking dogs and sunbathing, and the

exterior conditions play an important role in these activities (Gehl 1987:sp). Social activities depend on the presence of other people in public spaces and are regarded as “resultant” activities because they evolve from necessary and optional activities. These include activities such as children at play, conversations between people, as well as passive contact like watching people as they interact (Gehl 1987:sp).

It is important that a suitable physical framework be developed within cities in order to support and develop the above activities. These three categories have to co-exist to create a balanced street harmony in which pedestrians can interact and be given a choice regarding the sort of activity in which they want to engage. It is therefore very important to plan and design enough open and public spaces and different channels of participation. Also of importance is to make a deliberate effort to mix the different classes within a certain development. This is still one of the major problems in most developments since these tend to be very exclusive, only focusing on the rich and trendy.⁸

When planning for walking and cycling in cities, the aspect of safety needs to be considered, especially in a society rife with crime like South Africa. Safety can be divided into two categories: firstly in terms of casualties caused by vehicles striking people, and secondly public street safety (Hanna in Tolley 1990:93). From the safety point of view, there have to be some reservations when segregating motor traffic from pedestrians, because the presence of motor vehicles can contribute to a safe activity level. In order to avoid crime levels shooting up once motor vehicles are removed, the opening of restaurants, theatres and other night life is encouraged (Hanna in Tolley 1990:93).

In South Africa, it is currently unsafe to either walk or cycle in the city. This makes it highly unlikely that any area in South Africa (except for those contained within high walls, such as Melrose Arch and other similar developments such as cluster housing) will be able to make the Pedestrian City a reality. Contributing to this is the fact that South African areas are spread out owing to Sprawl; this makes it almost physically impossible to make use of bicycles or walk to work, for example.

⁸ Chapter 4.2.2 deals with Class, race and elitism in Melrose Arch.

The spatial functioning of living, working, shopping and leisure became the ideal planning principles of a town during the early modern town planning days (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:103). The dominant structure of the modern town was based on large developments, a hierarchical arrangement of space, a preference for the far instead of the near, and lastly a removal of services from the immediate living space (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:103). To top this, the arrival of the mass-produced car contributed by far the most to the ruining of towns (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:103). Where previously towns have been centres of community and society, the car now contributed in making towns more accessible to people from neighbouring towns. This led to more strangers strolling the streets and eradicated the joy of being surrounded by familiar faces. In addition, fewer pedestrians now walked the streets from shop to home, since the car proved to be more convenient for transporting groceries.

More recently, a much more careful approach has been taken by a series of town planners and architects which implies, as a starting point, a new distribution of space and a reinstatement of areas (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:103-104). To assist the process of reinstatement of areas for non-motorised travel and also the establishment of a pedestrian town, a network of paths for pedestrians is of utmost importance. The most important prerequisite for the decision to undertake a journey by car is the availability of parking in that particular area. Therefore, if no parking spaces are available, people will know that there are no parking places and will not undertake the journey using a car (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:105).

In terms of the Pedestrian City, it is essential to introduce a new direction in traffic policy, based on three principles: firstly the transport policy should support and extend the use of feet; secondly the indirect use of feet by means of bicycles should be improved. Only then, in the third place, should public transport be considered as an alternative to private motor vehicles (Ullrich in Tolley 1990:109).

The notion of pedestrian-friendly streets and measures to improve the use of bicycles has been applied in various countries and in most cases with high success rates. As an example of this, the town of Odese in Denmark implemented the 'Safe routes to school' project from 1981 onwards (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:256). The primary reason for the implementation of this programme was the extremely high rate of child mortality

owing to road accidents during the period 1955-71 (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:255). The most common measures put into action have been slow-speed areas, road narrowings, traffic islands and separate foot and cycle paths (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:258).

1. Slow-speed areas

In these areas the roads are constructed with raised areas, bumps in the road and also road narrowings. The recommended speed for these areas is 30km/h (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:258).

2. Road narrowings

The effect of road narrowings on accidents has had trivial results (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:260-261). For this reason, road narrowings to one lane are no longer in use in Odese, while narrowings to two lanes make crossing the road easier, and is accordingly still in use in some instances (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:261).

3. Traffic islands

The main benefit of traffic islands is that children, parents and teachers find it much easier and safer to cross an intersection (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:261).

4. Separate foot and cycle paths

The purpose of these paths is to provide children with an alternative that they prefer to use instead of the major routes with heavy and fast traffic (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:261).

5. Other measures

Around one of the schools a larger area has been regulated by using traffic islands, a road closure and also restraints on trucks in the area (Nielsen in Tolley 1990:263).

The above measures seem to be especially applicable to the concept of New Urbanism, since this movement aims to move away from the automobile towards pedestrians and cyclists. If New Urbanism wants to be successful in this regard, it needs to incorporate these measures into its principles and applications.

What makes the idea of Pedestrian Cities such as Venice and Copenhagen so unique is the fact that this was a natural outcome from decades and even centuries of inherited characteristics, such as Copenhagen's narrow medieval street grid. The origin of Pedestrian Cities can be traced back to the enclosed arcades, built in London from the late seventeenth century onwards. These arcades aimed to promote the association between commercial space and leisure (Davis in Van Eeden 2005:41). During the nineteenth century, the industrialisation of society led to a greater demand for spaces to entertain the working classes, resulting in various landscapes such as pleasure gardens, arcades, bazaars and department stores (Van Eeden 2005:41-42). New Urbanism has much to learn from these entertainment spaces and cities, and will never quite be able to be in league with them, simply because these cities developed in a natural way, whereas New Urbanism (for all its good intentions) remains a structured and deliberate movement.

Although so many cities, in particular European cities, are putting in real effort to emphasise the Pedestrian City and particularly the use of streets for walking and cycling, there are places opposed to the traditional role of the street, implementing new measures to create alternative places of commuting. Streets are as old as civilisation and symbolise public life in all its aspects. However, all over North America downtown streets have become subject to attack by a new trend invading the place of traditional streetscapes. This new trend involves the building of overhead glass walkways or tiled underground tunnels (Boddy in Sorkin 1992:123), providing pedestrians with an alternative to walking the streets. Although these walkways do offer a safe alternative, away from crime, traffic and the elements, the very essence of city living is also taken away from the pedestrian. As soon as the glass doors close, the surroundings change completely, one is then contained and separate, a consumer and peruser (Boddy in Sorkin 1992:123). Thus the environments of outdoor streetscapes and indoor walkways differ not only in terms of design and concept, but more importantly, as ways of constructing an entirely different state of mind. While the pedestrian walking on the street is part of the public realm and as such actively part of what takes place on the street, the indoor pedestrian is part of a private sphere, embarking on personal property, consuming his/her environment. This experience is more reminiscent of a voyeur looking in on a scene taking place, than an active participant in events. Automatically, some people are prohibited from using these

walkways; while outdoor streets always have been, and still are the “home” of many people, the homeless are now barred from the new elite “streetscape”. This exclusion is taking away part of the lifeblood of streets, the active participation in everything, positive or negative. By keeping out the negative, an essential part of life is thus excluded, creating a false sense of life in the city/town.⁹

The value of Pedestrian and Garden Cities lies in the quality of life but also in the preservation of the environment and developments that are clean and structured. The next section deals with Sprawl, and explores what happens when areas are developed without proper planning.

3.2.5 Sprawl

“I’ve been driving from one meeting about Sprawl to the other for the last fifteen years, and the only thing that’s changed is that now it takes a lot longer to get there” (Rob Melnick in Benfield et al. 1999:30).

As previously stated, Sprawl¹⁰ is defined as the “straggling expansion of an urban or industrial area” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary). Some of the characteristics of Sprawl are the physical separation of space used for different activities such as housing subdivisions, shopping centres, office parks and roadways (Duany & Plater-Zyberk 2000), a lack of educational, cultural, and aesthetic amenities, as well as an absent sense of community (Platt in Benfield et al. 1999:11). According to Professor Reid Ewing, Sprawl is identified by poor accessibility between residents and other destinations and a lack of functional open space (Benfield et al. 1999:11).

The word Sprawl creates images of identical homes, kilometres of slow-moving traffic, as well as large amounts for toll roads in order to cover the cost of maintaining these roads (Fenton 2005:sp). Sprawl is also associated with strip malls, too many highways, aggravated pollution, fragmented communities, as well as the degradation of natural areas (Natural Resources Defense Council). Sprawl can be driven by “hit and run developers” who get rich by selling homes yet do not stay around long enough for

⁹ This aspect also ties in with space and place which is discussed in Chapter 4.2.5.

¹⁰ Also known in the United States as Urban Sprawl.

them to solve problems related to their developments (Fenton 2005:sp). These days, central living areas in many cities are no longer very desirable places to live in, causing property prices to decline while New Urban developments offer not only houses but also new roads, schools and impressive infrastructure (Fenton 2005:sp). In South Africa, Sprawl is evident in many cities and to various degrees. Most of the housing in the major cities' CBDs (with the exception of Johannesburg and Cape Town) seems to be in a state of neglect and most people who live there cannot afford to live anywhere else. Yet, an interesting point made by Alex Marshall (2000:135), is that although it is a general perception that cars are a major contributor to Sprawl, the fact remains that it is not cars that caused this problem in the first place. Roads caused this problem. And roads are a public decision, not a private one.

Apart from the obvious problems that Sprawl causes, there are more ripple effects of this development with more severe outcomes. One of these effects is the fact that Sprawl harms urban school systems by driving middle-class families away to safer suburbs (Akst 2005). These days, instead of having to send their children to dangerous public schools in the city, parents either opt to send them to private schools or to move to a better suburb where decent public schools are available (Akst 2005). In the South African context, this is only true to the extent that people tend to move out towards the suburbs which tend to be better living areas, but do not necessarily host the best schools.

The design and consequent chaos of Sprawl discourages interaction among residents (Benfield et al. 1999:128). Many Edge Cities¹¹ have very little civic and cultural institutions to provide a unifying force, while cul-de-sac street design prevents individual developments from connecting with each other (Benfield et al. 1999:128).

Another aspect in which Sprawl plays a significant role is in the construction and local manifestation of national problems, such as those caused by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Doherty 2005:sp). When one takes a look at New Orleans, it has become a battlefield for clashing ideologies about how Americans should live as well as how this city should be rebuilt following the destruction by Hurricane Katrina (Davidson 2005:2).

¹¹ It is interesting to note that Benfield regards Edge Cities as consequences of Sprawl. I do not agree with this reasoning. In the next section, Edge Cities are discussed as an influence on New Urbanism.

There are so many issues that need to be taken into account like congestion of traffic, pollution, designing liveable neighbourhoods and above all providing an area protected as far as possible from natural disasters. Some of the ideas for rebuilding New Orleans are to connect neighbourhoods by a network of corridors, channel car traffic toward the periphery, and provide a quality of life that is high enough to attract new business (Davidson 2005:3). It is evident that Sprawl has various negative effects on the environment. However, by using the ideas of Smart Growth,¹² one can create a city in which people feel secure – both economically and physically.

In a study conducted by Ewing et al. (2003:1541) in the United States, Urban Sprawl was directly related to automobile and pedestrian fatalities. For the purposes of their study, they attribute four characteristics to the term Sprawl, namely: a population dispersed in low-density residential development, rigid separation of homes, shops and workplaces, lack of distinct activity centres, and lastly a network of roads which have large blocks and poor access from one place to another (Ewing et al. 2003:1541). New Urbanism offers a solution to Sprawl by proposing a structured and planned development, with ample open space and closing the distance between work, home and shops. By encouraging pedestrian areas, pollution and congestion are minimised and the conservation of nature is improved.

3.2.6 Edge Cities

Another movement to be considered, since many New Urbanist developments are located on the outskirts of towns or cities, is the concept of the Edge City. According to Joel Garreau (1988:4), people have moved their means of creating wealth out to where they lived and shopped for two generations, thus creating the Edge City. Because of this large number of jobs moving to the new metropolitan regions, a

¹² The idea of Smart Growth is offered as an alternative to Sprawl. Smart Growth claims to bolster the community's economy and set in place processes to balance development with quality of life (Natural Resources Defense Council). Smart Growth commits itself to finding ways of establishing which values are important to a community and to finding development plans that fit in with these values (Natural Resources Defense Council). Thus, the challenge for Urban Sprawl lies therein to transform itself to a kind of Smart Growth, and to offer valuable incentives for residents to invest by buying property in specific areas. The idea of Smart Growth fits ideally into the concept of New Urbanism as many of its principles overlap with those of New Urbanism. In essence, New Urbanism can be regarded as one of the outcomes of the implementation of Smart Growth.

reversal of areas seems to develop, with the city incorporating suburban-style development, and the suburbs becoming increasingly urban (Crawford 1992:24).

Since the early 1980s, trends in the United States have supported urbanisation on the outskirts of cities; these developments are known as “Outer Cities” (Leinberger & Lockwood in Ellin 1996:105) or “Edge Cities” (Garreau in Ellin 1996:105). These Edge Cities usually include main business centres, a shopping mall and possibly some outside public space (Ellin 1996:105) like parks and benches on the sidewalks. The influence of shopping malls on new developments seems to gain momentum continuously. As part of suburban growth, malls become magnets for concentrated development, attracting offices and high-rise apartments, thus reproducing a small-scale central business district (Crawford 1992:23).

Edge Cities are difficult to define because they seldom have a mayor or city council, and rarely have definite boundaries on a map. They are also by many still regarded as mere suburbs where most people have been living for decades (Garreau 1988:6).

While the idea of the Edge City is considered by Benfield (see footnote 11) to be a consequence of Sprawl, I do not agree with this statement. Although there are some of the characteristics of Sprawl which are manifested in Edge Cities, like poor accessibility to central areas and slow-moving traffic, the majority of Sprawl influences are not applicable to Edge Cities. Characteristics inherently a part of Sprawl, like communities that are unplanned and uncontrolled, with a lack of educational and cultural amenities, as well as an absent sense of community, are definitely not related to Edge Cities. These cities are specifically planned and provide ample amenities, which in turn create a sense of community. Indeed, there are various similarities between New Urbanism and Edge Cities, the only significant difference being that while Edge Cities are relatively large areas of development, New Urbanism usually focuses on concentrated areas of development. Edge Cities do not consciously include the ideas of live, work and play, as most of their residents still work in areas other than the Edge City.

According to Garreau, (1988:6-7), an Edge City can be regarded as such if it meets the following requirements:

- ❖ It has vast quantities of leasable office space;
- ❖ It has similar enormous amounts of leasable retail space;
- ❖ It has more jobs than bedrooms;
- ❖ It is perceived by the population as one place;
- ❖ It was nothing close to a city as recently as thirty years ago.

Developers are trying their utmost to ensure that Edge Cities appear more user-friendly than their predecessors by applying more colour, narrative (themes), and using names such as town centre, Main street, plaza, marketplace and food court (Ellin 1996:105 -106). The main drawback of these Edge Cities is that most of these areas are located in affluent areas, while most workers live in the centre of the city or the poorer suburbs. This then emphasises the gap between rich and poor (Ellin 1996:106-107). According to Oliver Byrum, “the same process that created ‘edges’ is also dividing us by race, income, and culture and may pose a threat to our future well-being that far outweighs the wonder of these places” (in Ellin 1996:106-107).

It is interesting to note that New Urbanism is also primarily based in affluent areas, yet unlike Edge Cities, these developments are often located in older, established areas closer to the heart of the city. Another option that New Urban developers sometimes choose is to locate a New Urban area in a central not-so-affluent part of the city, thereby claiming to rejuvenate and enhance the city by means of these developments. This often causes the middle classes to buy into that area, consequently depriving the original inhabitants of their neighbourhood, which is known as gentrification.¹³ Often these developments are so secluded and exclusive, that only the people living, working or relaxing there are allowed to do so.

A prime example of a South African Edge City is Midrand, the habitat of Johannesburg’s new rich – both black and white (Head 2006:1). The housing includes a mixture of compact complexes for the clerks and salespeople, guarded estates and country mansions for executives, and sprawling informal settlements for those seeking

¹³ Previously discussed in Chapter 2.2.1.

unskilled employment (Head 2006:1). Even the name Midrand is significant of a typical Edge City, offering no biographical intrigue like “Pretoria” or conjuring up a picturesque image like the “Suikerbosrand”. Instead, roads and suburbs are named after vague associations with something else (Head 2006:2); some examples of suburb names are Carlswald, Halfway House, Noordwyk and Vorna Valley.

Midrand is proclaimed on a billboard as “a city for the new South Africa” (Head 2006:7). This is significant when realising that Edge Cities such as Midrand are the entry points and prime destination for many into middle-class South Africa (Head 2006:8). Especially for the “Buppies” (Black upwardly mobile Professionals), also known as “Black Diamonds™” (a term coined by TNS Research Surveys [TNS Research Surveys website – Black Diamond] and the UCT Unilever Institute which describes South Africa’s fast-growing and wealthy black middle class), these areas connote a new life by breaking away from traditional informal settlements, entering the life of the middle class that was introduced by white settlers and reserved for them by apartheid. Middle-class values such as individual achievement, status, nuclear family, security and space (Head 2006:9) are much easier to achieve when living in an Edge City, or any other middle-class area for that matter.

3.2.7 Utopianism

After discussing several development strategies that spanned many years, of which some are still in use today, a continuous thread of Utopianism is detected in all of these initiatives. Although the application of Utopianism to Melrose Arch is covered in Chapter 4.2.4, a brief history and overview of Utopianism in relation to strategies for town planning is necessary here.

When looking at the origins and history of Utopianism, it is important to consider the contribution of modernism. The Bauhaus is regarded as one of the most celebrated art schools of the modernist era (Whitford 1984:9), following the Arts and Crafts movement, of which the Garden City was one of its most prominent outcomes.

As previously stated, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Britain was admired for its art and craft schools, its Garden Cities and its domestic

architecture (Whitford 1984:18). The Bauhaus movement was founded by Walter Gropius, initially a member of the Werkbund (Whitford 1984:22), when he was appointed to direct the amalgamated Weimar Academy of Fine Art and the Kunstgewerbeschule (Whitford 1984:29). This school became “the State Bauhaus” (Whitford 1984:29). The early Bauhaus movement focussed on craftsmanship rather than machine-production, attempted to introduce “an ideal community in miniature”, and to employ painters with utopian leanings (Whitford 1984:31). The Bauhaus was established in 1919 and ended in 1933, exactly the same lifespan as the Weimar Republic (Whitford 1984:9). The Bauhaus movement attempted to design things from the position of a general approach, but keeping the needs of those below in mind, which led to the articulation of the vision of the New World in terms of buildings, interiors and objects (Forgács 1995:202). The idea behind great utopias is that one has to start with a plan of the Whole World, after which the details will follow automatically. After its initial stage, the Bauhaus reversed this order, and customised their designs according to the personal insights of free individuals (Forgács 1995:202).

The ideal city that stems from the Classical Reformers was also emphasised during the Bauhaus period, leading up to the Nazi regime that incorporated the Garden City concept into their territorial planning and development.¹⁴

Utopia is usually considered to be a city, and from a certain viewpoint, all cities, whether they are as old as Copenhagen or as modern as New York, may be interpreted as parcels of utopia (Madsen & Plunz 2002:314). It is imperative to note that although cities do have certain utopian characteristics, in essence utopia means “no place”, implying that the ideal city does not exist. That is also why cities are referred to as parcels of utopia, only representing certain aspects and ideas, most of which are too idealistic to execute. This is partly why city planners and theorists from early times on have been looking for “Ideal City” inspiration, to create cities so that their inhabitants feel that they live in the perfect city that caters for all their needs. It is interesting to note that most of these cities, with the exception of Pedestrian Cities, are developed either on the outside or on the edge of existing cities, thus setting them apart from the “mother” city. Therefore, these developers do not in essence believe in

¹⁴ Chapter 3.2.3 discussed the Nazi incorporation of the Garden City.

the utopian idea of the traditional city, for why would they develop cities removed from the core of the city? They do, however, believe in the parcel of utopia as referred to above, explaining why they tend to build small contained pieces of city that are much easier to control than an entire city.

By examining all the above predecessors of New Urbanism, a context is now created within which New Urbanism can be analysed according to its contemporary attributes. In the following section New Urbanism is examined to indicate the correlations between it and the movements already discussed. A brief history of New Urbanism is given to contextualise it.

3.3 New Urbanism

3.3.1 Definition, background and history

“Like the habitat of a species, the neighbourhood possesses a natural logic that can be described in physical terms” – Duany and Plater-Zyberk (in Calthorpe 1993:sp).

According to Louis Wirth, number, density and heterogeneity had two social consequences that explain the main characteristics of urban life (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:44). The first consequence was the crowding of different types of people into a small area. This led to the segregation of homogeneous types of individuals into separate neighbourhoods. The second consequence was the lack of physical distance between city dwellers, which resulted in the breaking down of existing social and cultural patterns (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:44).

Louis Wirth is also of the opinion that number, density and heterogeneity create a social structure in which the relationships of primary groups are replaced by secondary contacts which were impersonal, segmental, superficial, transitory and predatory in nature. This could result in the city dweller becoming isolated, secular, rational and sophisticated (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:43).

The inner-city population is divided into five major types of residents; these are the “cosmopolites”, the unmarried or childless, the “ethnic villagers”, the “deprived” and

the “trapped” and “downward-mobile” (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:45). The “cosmopolites” include students, artists, writers and entertainers, as well as intellectuals and professionals. These people live in the city to be close to the various cultural facilities which are usually located in the centre of the city.

The unmarried or childless are divided into two types; this depends on the permanence of the status. The temporarily unmarried or childless live in the inner city for a limited time; young adults may rent an apartment together to get away from their parents, or because it is close to their jobs or entertainment opportunities. Once they marry, they may move towards the outer city and the suburbs with the arrival of the first or second child (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:45). The “ethnic villagers” is a group which is found in inner-city neighbourhoods such as New York’s lower East Side, in some ways living the same way as they did when they were peasants in European villages. Even though they live in the city, they tend to isolate themselves from most city activities (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:45).

The first two types, namely the “cosmopolites” and the unmarried or childless, live in the inner city by choice. The “ethnic villagers” type exists partly because of necessity, and partly because of tradition. The final two groups live in the inner city because they have no alternative available to them. The “deprived” group is the emotionally disturbed or handicapped, broken families, and also the poor white and non-white populations (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:45).

The last group is the “trapped” group, which is the people who stay behind when a neighbourhood is invaded by non-residential land uses or immigrants; these people then become trapped because they cannot afford to move or are otherwise bound to their location. The “downward-mobiles” is a group who may have started life in a higher position; however, they have been forced down in the economic hierarchy. Many of these people are old and living on small pensions (Gans in Lin & Mele 2005:45). A good example of this would be the neighbourhood of Hillbrow, which used to be a good and safe neighbourhood and the premier nightlife and shopping area in South Africa. Now, because they cannot afford to move to a better area, many older people are still living in Hillbrow. An alternative situation in relation to the “trapped” group is known as gentrification. In this scenario, the opposite happens, when

residents are forced out of their homes and areas because of a new status being given to the area. Because of the invasion of the rich, they cannot afford to live there anymore.

“Dissatisfied with the conventional post-World War II suburban tract development as well as the master-planned and gated communities which succeeded them, others have proposed a neotraditional urbanism more recently dubbed the New Urbanism”. This movement “draws inspiration from townscapes of the past”, and tries to engage in their surroundings as opposed to retreating from them (Ellin 1996:93). To achieve this, the New Urbanists proclaim to provide ample public space, pedestrian-friendly streets, and central spaces that connect people with their surroundings. By doing this, it is hoped that these measures will alleviate the insecurity ingrained in modern society citizens (Ellin 1996:93).

New Urbanism deals with various contemporary issues, which can be divided into five categories, namely scale, transportation, planning and codes, regionalism and marketing. These five categories are discussed individually below:

- ❖ *Scale*: New Urbanists hope to create suburbs with characteristics such as compactness, small scale and a variety of building types. This stands in stark contrast to the current conventions of massive scale buildings like shopping malls, office parks and cluster developments. Scale also connects with transportation, as large-scale developments are still reliant on the automobile, whereas small-scale developments can focus on the pedestrian and cyclist (Fulton 1996 s.a.). This issue also ties in with 3.3.5, where mega-malls and their impact on society are discussed.
- ❖ *Transportation*: Transportation is often regarded as the main selling point of New Urbanism. The solutions put forward to reduce reliance on automobiles, such as increased transit use and a more flexible hierarchy of streets make common sense, yet they still need to be proved by empirical evidence (Fulton 1996 s.a.). Although the focus on the pedestrian and bicycle has been proven to work in various instances, for example Copenhagen in Denmark (discussed in Section

3.2.4), most of the cases are discrete examples successfully implemented by city planners and local governments.

- ❖ *Planning and Codes:* New Urbanism often criticises the American development codes as maintaining the automobile's dominance. These codes include segregated land uses, street widths, and many more codes that determine the planning conventions of neighbourhoods. Although some New Urbanists have worked together with code enforcers, many aspects of planning still remain incompatible and difficult to implement (Fulton 1996 s.a.).
- ❖ *Regionalism:* One of the big challenges for New Urbanists lies in altering the public perception that New Urbanism is not only about designing suburban neighbourhoods, but also about influencing metropolitan areas and regions. Both proponents and critics fear that the application of this movement's principles may cause suburban Sprawl to be replaced by "New Urban" Sprawl (Fulton 1996 s.a.).
- ❖ *Marketing:* Many previous development movements in urban planning have failed because their notions were not accepted in the marketplace. New Urbanism is experiencing the same challenge, as the developers of this movement were so confident in their beliefs that they thought market research was unnecessary. However, New Urbanists learned the hard way that they do indeed need to market their movement, while at the same time the different community amenities require a concerted effort in order to bring all these components in line with the New Urbanist movement (Fulton 1996 s.a.).

New Urbanism promotes the creation and restoration of walkable, compact, mixed-use communities, arranged in such a manner that its components are still based on conventional development, but assembled in a more integrated fashion. New Urbanism is an international movement which aims to reform the design of the built environment, also raising the quality of life and standards of living by creating better places to live (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

New Urbanism claims that it is “giving more people more choices about how and where they want to live, while providing solutions to global warming, climate change, and peak oil” (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism). The advocates of New Urbanism seem to be making this statement without providing sufficient evidence to substantiate it. Although New Urbanism can definitely contribute towards providing solutions to the above-mentioned problems, the difference lies in applying the theory to see if it can actually succeed in practice. The current number of developments based on New Urbanist principles is not yet enough to prove the theory correct.

What is the cause of this sudden interest in New Urbanism? It seems that this interest can be explained by the occurrence of Sprawl, which resulted in cities that seem to grow endlessly without any form or character (Grant 2006:4). Contributing to this uncontrolled growth is the total placelessness of most twentieth century developments (Grant 2006:4), leading to places that seem to have no distinct identity that reflects local place and space. This is partly owing to the effect of globalisation on most sizeable cities around the world.

From the 1970s onwards, the fortunes of cities had begun to change, owing to factors like the energy crisis and the threat of destruction of historic structures (Grant 2006:5). As a solution to these and many other problems, New Urbanism offered a neighbourhood prescription that followed historic ideologies and buildings that made use of traditional materials (Grant 2006:6).

Although many planning theories are based on the implementation of practice, they do not necessarily succeed in turning theory into practice. The Garden City model presented an approach to control growth by designing smaller Satellite Towns which are more manageable. Garden City designers hoped to reconcile the city with nature, while New Urbanism aims to resolve the issues of Sprawl in the city. New Urbanism also seeks to control growth by creating more urban cities and restore the feel of active neighbourhoods from the early twentieth century (Grant 2006:14).

3.3.2 Principles and characteristics of New Urbanism

The Congress for the New Urbanism has designed a Charter of the New Urbanism in which it provides ten principles of New Urbanism, as well as specific principles to guide public policy, development practice and urban planning. In the following section, these principles are discussed, with specific reference to the Charter of the New Urbanism.

The Congress for the New Urbanism is against disinvestments in central cities, the spread of placeless Sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, the deterioration of the environment, and the erosion of society's built heritage (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism). All these characteristics are evident in the South African situation, which is why New Urbanism is specifically promoted as a possible solution to South African concerns. The problems evident in inner cities are connected either with disinvestments (where big corporates unplug their roots and move to the richer suburbs) or with gentrification (where certain previously neglected areas are rejuvenated, forcing their original inhabitants to move to other, more affordable areas).

The separation by race is still very evident in South Africa more than ten years after the dismantling of apartheid, although the upsurge of buppies/Black Diamonds™ has increased significantly during the last decade. Separation by income is still the primary factor by which people are divided, mainly because certain areas cater for certain price classes. People with different levels of income also tend to have different needs where services are involved, which complicate matters when different income groups are combined. Class distinction remains a huge factor amongst certain groups, which is closely associated by the neighbourhood people live in and the cars they drive. Environmental deterioration is apparent when previously rural areas have to make way for new developments. Once again this is connected to class distinction and also safety, evident in the many golf estates and those estates that invoke on the theme of country living. Most of these estates are developed on the outskirts of cities, and each new development is sited further away from the city-core.

New Urbanism is thus proposed as a solution to the above problems. The principles of New Urbanism are extensive enough so that any project, from a single building to an entire community, can be governed by these principles. These ten principles are discussed briefly in this section; in Chapter Four the same principles are discussed and applied to the landscape of Melrose Arch.

1. Walkability: Most activities should be within a 10-minute walk of home and work (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

This statement is an indication of the suggested size and scope of New Urban developments. Cities should be designed in various small communities where people are close to home, work and leisure activities. The idea of a 'city within a city' is advocated as the ideal solution. However, the consequences of such a design should be analysed. What would the overall effect be on the bigger community and its sense of place, if a city is subdivided into various separate communities?

Streets should be designed in a pedestrian-friendly manner (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism). In a South African context, streets should first be made safe for the pedestrian to use. This safety of streets has to be in terms of crime as well as traffic. When this first priority is accomplished, the aim should then be to make streets attractive to pedestrians by providing benches, planting trees and encouraging restaurants and cafe's to place some of their tables on the sidewalk in order for their patrons to engage with their surroundings. These two aspects of safety and attractiveness are linked to each other, as Robbins and El-Khoury (2004:218) are of the opinion that the human presence, through elements such as front porches and windows, are better ways to create a sense of security. Streets should be designed as places of shared and mixed use; seamlessly designed with their surrounding streets and not as isolated places so common to modern designs (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:218).

Pedestrian streets free of cars on special occasions (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism). It is advisable in certain circumstances, that streets are closed most of the time for traffic to encourage walkers and cyclists to make use of them. Alternatively, some streets can be closed on certain days of the

week, for example Sundays; this will encourage people to take a Sunday afternoon stroll which they would not have taken if the street was open for traffic.

2. Connectivity: An interconnected street grid network that disperses traffic and eases walking; and a pedestrian network and public realm which makes walking pleasurable (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).
3. Mixed-use and diversity: A combination of offices, shops, apartments and houses, all on the same site; and a diversity of people from all ages, race and income levels (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

This is regarded as the main characteristic of New Urbanism; a mixed-use environment where one can live, work and play. Enough diversity should be provided so that people have enough options to choose from without having to venture into the city very often. According to Peter Calthorpe (Not perfect, but improving), there are two principles that speak to the critical issues of affordability and location paramount in New Urbanism: these are economic diversity and regionalism. Diversity implies a mix of housing ranging from affordable to expensive, rental and ownership and also single and family homes. This position implies that a larger number of lower income and affordable houses need to be built in the richer suburbs, while simultaneously middle income houses should be built in some average neighbourhoods. Diversity leads to regionalism by fairly distributing affordable housing for different communities throughout the region. In other words, the poor are no longer clustered together in the inner-city, but instead public housing is dotted throughout the region in various suburbs. The concept of diversity is probably the most challenging aspect of New Urbanism. As previously mentioned, people are still reluctant to live together if they do not belong to the same age group, social class or race (Calthorpe Not perfect, but improving).

4. Mixed housing: Houses that range in type, size and price levels (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

This principle offers the solution to the above scenario. If it is possible to provide a range of houses, it will be easier to offer diversity in terms of income levels.

5. Quality architecture and urban design: The emphasis should lie on beauty, aesthetics and creating a sense of place (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).
6. Traditional neighbourhood structure: Discernable centre and edge; public space at centre; importance of quality public realm; and contains a range of uses and densities, all within a 10-minute walk (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

The presence of public and open space is very important, as this creates a sense of belonging and allows people to interact with one another. It is also the hub where most activities take place. It has already been noted that there needs to be a wide range of activities and uses. Yet, these activities or shops have to be balanced to create diversity in specific areas. This means that the clustering together of similar places has to be avoided, for example each block should have a restaurant, supermarket, speciality store and gallery, instead of one block just catering for restaurants.

7. Increased density: More buildings, shops and houses closer together to create ease of walking, and to create a more convenient and enjoyable place to live (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).
8. Smart transportation: A network of high quality trains which connect cities, towns and neighbourhoods together; and pedestrian-friendly design that encourages a greater use of bicycles, scooters and walking as a means of daily transportation (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

If developers and town planners expect residents not to make use of motor vehicles, a viable alternative has to be offered. In addition to providing bicycles for travelling short distances, a high quality train system should be developed for longer distances between towns and cities. This system should be safe, quick and affordable and ultimately more comfortable so that people will prefer this mode of transport to motor

cars. For the shorter distances, as mentioned above, people should be encouraged either to walk or to make use of bicycles. The streets have to be designed in such a way that they are easily accessible and user-friendly to pedestrians, cyclists and motorists.

9. Sustainability: Eco-friendly technologies; energy efficiency; and more walking, less driving (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).
10. Quality of life: Taken together, these add up to a high quality of life (Congress for the New Urbanism website - Charter of the New Urbanism).

Benfield et al. (1999:138) suggest some guiding principles in order to create and maintain non-sprawling land use; most of these can be correlated with the doctrines of New Urbanism.

❖ Strong central cities and “infill” neighbourhoods

Part of the solution to Sprawl must be the maintenance of strong central cities and inner suburbs, together with more efficient land utilisation (Benfield et al 1999:138). If central cities can satisfy the extended needs of residents, the need to travel long distances by car will be markedly reduced.

❖ Compact and transit-oriented development

This principle is based on developments such as Transit-Oriented Design (TOD), Traditional Neighbourhood Design (TND) and New Urbanism that promote amenities in a close proximity, which in turn leads to more accessible and walkable communities.

❖ Maintaining agriculture and open space

While developers aim to build more sensibly, they must also attempt to conserve natural areas and agricultural landscape for future generations (Benfield et al. 1999:146). This means that developers should try to utilise existing developed areas to full capacity before they attempt to build on undeveloped land.

❖ Taming superstores

The presence of “big-box retailers” situated on the fringes of suburbs and occupying huge areas of land (Beaumont in Benfield et al. 1999:149) causes people to flock to the outskirts of areas, leading to traffic congestion and also depriving inner city businesses from selling their goods. This may, if the situation is extreme, cause city businesses to either close down or relocate to the big fringe malls. Moreover, since most of these retail spaces are basically accessible only by automobiles (Beaumont in Benfield et al. 1999:149), shoppers without cars are excluded from these retail areas. South African examples of this are seen in big malls like Menlyn Park Shopping Centre, Sandton City and Brooklyn Mall. These malls are located in the affluent suburban areas, and are main contributors to traffic congestion, especially during peak-time traffic hours. Although malls like Menlyn do cater for shoppers without cars, by providing a taxi rank within its parameters, the emphasis of the shopping malls still lies with its middle class, mobile patrons.

❖ Better suburban workplaces

The key to controlling Sprawl does not mean forsaking the suburbs as places to live, work, and shop (Benfield et al. 1999:151). It rather implies that suburbs should focus not only on providing residential areas, but also to complement these areas with workplaces and shopping centres. By implementing this, the amount of traffic will significantly reduce due to the closer proximity to one’s workplace and amenities. However, this principle may contradict the above-mentioned principle if developers, instead of building shopping centres providing everyday facilities, aim to build “big-box retailers” and mega-malls, driving consumers away from businesses in the central areas.

Robert Cervero has developed a set of principles designed to make suburban workplaces more supportive of environmentally responsible transportation practices (in Benfield et al. 1999:151). Some of these principles include the following:

- ❖ Higher densities, including multi-storey buildings, shared-use parking, and reduced parking space dimensions where feasible (Cervero in Benfield et al. 1999:151-152). This will lead to commuters putting in more effort to use

alternative means of transport since there is considerably more difficulty in getting parking for cars.

- ❖ Better coordination of job and housing growth to minimise the travel distance between the two activities; this includes the construction of mixed-use developments (Cervero in Benfield et al. 1999:151-152) such as New Urbanism that focus on pedestrian-friendly streets and close proximity to most amenities. However, these mixed-use developments would be of no importance where workplaces are concerned if employees working in nearby companies are not encouraged to live in the same area. That is why it is so important for developers to align the kind of workplaces with the kind of housing offered. It would be absolutely useless if residential units are offered at prices that the average employee working in the mixed-use development cannot afford. This is also one of the main criticisms against Melrose Arch (as discussed in Chapter 4.2.2).
- ❖ Office developments that feature a centralised core, with people-oriented facilities like restaurants, shops, and banks (Cervero in Benfield et al. 1999:151-152). By providing these features, employees who take a lunch break do not have to drive anywhere to do their chores or get something to eat.
- ❖ Site design, building orientation, and pedestrian amenities that facilitate walking between buildings and developments (Cervero in Benfield et al. 1999:151-152). Pedestrians should be encouraged to walk around by providing, amongst others, pedestrian-friendly pavements and a safe area. If these features are not present, people would still opt to drive, regardless of the close proximity of most amenities.
- ❖ Transit stops positioned centrally in order to minimise walking distances for the greatest number of passengers, with bus connection points near the front entrances of major buildings (Cervero in Benfield et al. 1999:151-152). Although pedestrians are encouraged to walk around as much as possible, the reality remains that people are increasingly becoming either too lazy or busy to walk even relatively short distances. Because of this factor, transport services

should be structured in such a way to ensure that the minimum walking distance is required.

The New Urbanism paradigm can be regarded as a response to modernism and the perceived negative effects of post-World War II suburban development. According to New Urbanists, Urban Sprawl takes resources from cities' existing infrastructure, encourages dependency on the motorcar, and threatens the green land found on the outskirts of many cities (Winstanley et al. 2003:175). Ted Relph (one of the first geographers to catalogue the built forms of postmodernity) describes *Postmodern Urbanism* as a self-conscious and selective revival of elements of older styles; he cautions that postmodernism is not only a style but also a frame of mind (Dear & Flusty 1998:54). New Urbanism seeks to "acknowledge current needs and tastes" and includes "the preference for the individual house" (Ellin 1996:93). However, this statement stands quite in contrast to one of the main criticisms of this movement, namely the monotonous design and lack of individual taste.

New Urbanists are perceived as neo-traditional in their attempts to rework the past into the present (Winstanley et al. 2003:176). They are doing this by incorporating various development styles (as discussed in Section 3.2), using only those characteristics that they like. The result then is often an eclectic pastiche of styles, devoid of any theme, as is evident in Melrose Arch. The centre of this (ideal) New Urbanist village comprises public buildings, which promote citizenship, a sense of place and also a feeling of community. Contributing to the creation of community are schools, churches and recreational facilities, all of which should be within walking distance from each other. These neighbourhoods can be created by the renovation of existing areas that are linked to each other by means of green corridors and comprehensive transit networks. Thoughtful planning can lead to an aesthetically pleasing environment that contributes to the well-being of its citizens, nurtures social interaction and engenders civic participation (Winstanley et al. 2003:176).

One of the aims of New Urbanism in the USA has been to increase opportunities for social interaction by creating new residential and civic public spaces. In New Zealand, public space (discussed in 4.2.5) in new residential subdivisions influenced by New

Urbanism is given meaning by emphasising shared outdoor experiences (Winstanley et al. 2003:176).

3.3.3 Variations on New Urbanism

The New Urbanists admit that in many ways the CNU (Congress of New Urbanism) is modelled on the CIAM (The Congress of Modern Architecture). Simultaneously, the New Urbanists offer a critical antidote to the errors of modernist thinking (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:214). Both groups address similar issues, such as linking physical issues with economic and social issues, as well as transforming the chaos of current cities to organised spaces. However, while the CIAM is limiting its membership to professional individuals, the CNU is open to anyone who wants to join. Accordingly, while the CNU accepts and agrees on most of the fundamental principles of the CIAM, they reject its elitism (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:215).

Both the CNU and the CIAM aim not only to design buildings, but also to reform the building industry in order for it to comprehend the advantages and superiority of their design. Like the CIAM, the CNU has a fundamental belief that the role of design will not only assist in forming a better city, but that it would also help in shaping a better society (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:215-216). Moreover, New Urbanists reject the notion (contrary to modernist ideology) that one singular architectural genius should be responsible for the totality of any project (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:216).

There are two American variations on New Urbanism, namely the Traditional Neighbourhood Development or District (TND) and the Pedestrian Pocket (PP) (Ellin 1996:94). The TND was developed by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyber, the initiators behind New Urbanism. This development is designed with people in mind rather than cars, which is one of the primary principles of New Urbanism. The design of the TND is based on street grids and boulevards, “lined by buildings in order to generate clear and enclosed public spaces”. The buildings are grouped according to scale and architectural expression and cater for a range of social classes and age groups (Ellin 1996:94). A good example of a successful TND is the town of Seaside (see Chapter Two).

The second variation on New Urbanism is known as the Pedestrian Pocket, designed by architect Peter Calthorpe. This movement is more focused on European design principles and energy-conscious design in an attempt to create “new, compelling typologies for our suburbs – ones that take the low-density, homogenous net that has been thrown over the outskirts of our cities and gather it into finite knots – bounded, contained, lively, and pedestrian communities” (Kelbaugh in Ellin 1996:96). Calthorpe’s Pedestrian Pocket borrows many of its ideas from Howard’s Garden city concept (Ellin 1996:97).

In a typical Pedestrian Pocket development, the houses are mainly townhouses, duplexes and small blocks of flats. Overall, the Pedestrian Pocket is the kind of development that “seeks to preserve open space, energy, and resources” while at the same time reducing traffic. The primary difference between the TND and the PP is the fact that the PP has a “more regional scope, is mass-transit-oriented ... and includes suburban infill as well as new buildings”. Generally, the PP does not have architectural guidelines. This is done so that the PP can achieve aesthetic diversity and also to keep the cost of housing as low as possible (Ellin 1996:96).

The senior vice president of the Regional Plan Association,¹⁵ Robert D Yaro states that:

The preservation movement of seeking out historic villages and towns has been so successful that they’re too expensive for most people ... [The building of new communities] is an opportunity for the market to produce new developments that have the same character and appeal of traditional villages and towns (in Ellin 1996:94).

The implication is thus that areas built according to the principles of New Urbanism should be more affordable because they are only imitations of themes and not in essence the original structures. It is also one of the primary aims of New Urbanism to provide affordable housing ranging in various price categories.

Plater-Zyberk and Duany, the architects who initiated the New Urbanism movement, argue that neighbourhoods which are segregated by income – as well as other forms

¹⁵ The Regional Plan Association is America’s oldest and also most respected independent metropolitan research and advocacy group, founded in 1922 with its headquarters in Manhattan (Regional Plan Association website – About RPA).

of stratification such as ethnicity, sexuality, age or mobility – are not successful as New Urbanist developments (Winstanley et al. 2003:183). According to them, a neighbourhood should have a mixture of activities such as “a variety of incomes, from the wealthy business owner to the school teacher and the gardener” (Katz in Winstanley et al. 2003:xviii). However, this “sameness” of design implies that the residents who are living there are very likely to be social-economically homogenous (Winstanley et al 2003:184). It is logical that a specific design will appeal to people coming from similar backgrounds, age groups and specifically income group. It is especially difficult to integrate houses that range from affordable to expensive into new developments, since people tend to group together – whether or not they are the middle class, rich or relatively poor group. Plater-Zyberk and Duany claim that New Urbanism fails to be accessible to people from different incomes and backgrounds (Winstanley et al. 2003:184). Although that is indeed true in most developments, there are definitely cases where the opposite has been proved.

Prince Charles, whose opinions have caused controversy in the United Kingdom, has raised the popularity of neotraditional architecture and urbanism. In his book, written twenty years ago, titled *Vision of Britain*, he called for a change in the way buildings, town and cities are developed (Speeches and Articles). According to Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales:

I always feel that people get on best if they can live in an area that is like a village community within a city ... If you have things on too vast a scale, you lose the human dimension. The trouble is, of course, who designs these things, who makes the decisions and who the planners are (Ellin 1996:100).

Prince Charles has undertaken to build four traditional villages in the Dorchester area. Leon Krier was commissioned to advise him and Andres Duany to provide the building code (Krier in Ellin 1996:101). The code developed by Duany is inspired by eighteenth-century English villages which provide “housing of all income levels close to shops and public significance, and rules governing such things as materials, signs and the proximity of buildings to the curb” (Steiner in Ellin 1996:101). Many of the sceptics became converts after the completion of the first 142 houses. Contributory to this, the town has become popular with writers, designers, architects and planners (Hoge in Ellin 1996:101).

The term New Urbanism is very similar to the concept of sustainable communities in Britain, according to Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, in his address to the Congress for the New Urbanism (Britianusa - Newsroom). These two approaches have a lot in common: strong governance, social equity, economic prosperity and sustainability. However, the concept of sustainable communities in addition has been influenced by environmental considerations, social justice and economic progress (Britianusa - Newsroom). As part of the sustainable communities initiative, the number of out of town malls and superstores has been reduced, while city areas have been regenerated.

People are increasingly realising that sustainable cities are the most viable option of competing in a changing global economy where basic resources like energy and water will continue to become more important. This is why a plan needs to be implemented in order to find ways to plan, build and govern the towns, cities and regions: by doing this the impact on the environment can be reduced and people's quality of life can be increased (Britianusa - Newsroom). Sustainable cities are concerned with mixed-use, density and choice. Numerous discussion documents have repeated the dual theme: greater densities and the mixing of land uses contribute considerably to the reduction of emissions and also energy consumption, while shorter and less frequent car-based trips will raise the viability of urban areas (Fraser & Cox 2006:25).

The New Urbanism offers security by establishing a set of limits that guarantee the specific value of the purchased home. New Urbanism also sells a vision of community, which is firmly rooted in nostalgic memories of small town life. Contributing to this, New Urbanism makes people feel safe, by creating a bounded form of neighbourhood which lets them know who belongs and who does not (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:223).

3.3.4 Criticism against New Urbanism

There are numerous criticisms against New Urbanism, and it is imperative that these should be mentioned and analysed in order to achieve a realistic perspective of what New Urbanism can offer society in terms of development.

The first example, according to which this criticism is applied, is the town of Seaside. Although at last Seaside has its commercial centre in place, it is now dependent on tourism that is based on the automobile, which in turn is causing regional traffic problems (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:224). It is evident that commercial centres of such scope are not viable. Communities consisting of between 5000 and 10000 people surely cannot support economically feasible town centres that will adequately serve the shopping needs of its populace (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:225). Accordingly, these towns now need to market themselves and depend on tourism to support the commercial centres. Additionally, provision needs to be made for a sufficient infrastructure to accommodate the stream of tourists and shoppers visiting these areas. On the way to Seaside, there are an increasing number of poor imitations of Seaside, which, because they are so poorly planned, are regarded as Sprawl. Although the New Urbanists cannot be held responsible for these imitations, it proves the point that the New Urbanists have not yet been able to deliver the class of regional plans that they promised (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:224-225).

Another problem with New Urbanism is that it is unlikely for people to work where they live. Many people choose not to live and work in the same place, and even if they could be persuaded to work within walking distance from where they live, the possibility for them to get work in the nearby vicinity is questionable (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:225). Even if the New Urbanists could succeed in persuading residents to live and work in the same area, they would still not be able to provide for all the needs of the residents regarding civic, religious and recreational facilities, all within walking distance (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:225-226).

New Urbanism also trivialises the sensitive mix of social and cultural practices that contribute towards creating a community. Contradicting their principle of community, many New Urbanism developments are either gated or have monumental entrances that clearly distinguish themselves from the surrounding areas. This is true for Melrose Arch, as is evident in Figure 2, the boomed gate and high fences are quite prodigious and visible from afar.



Figure 2: Entrance to Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

Thus it is clear that although New Urbanism claims to be inclusive in theory, the practice seems to be quite the opposite by appearing to be elitist and exclusive (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:227). In addition, New Urbanism seems to oversimplify many of the issues for which they claim to have a solution. These include the aspect of mixing different social and income groups,¹⁶ as well as issues already discussed like walkability, availability of a wide range of services and leisure facilities, smart transportation, sustainability and quality of life.

Mixing people from different ethnic backgrounds, and also people from upper, middle and lower backgrounds in the same environment, will result in either the production of community or in making people even more opposed to the concept of mixed living (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:227). Even if it is possible to mix these diverse groups successfully, the reality remains that the upper and middle income citizens would need to carry the lower income group financially, which could lead to extremely high rates for these two groups, resulting in tension between the different groups. Although unjust, the reality remains that facilities are expensive, and governments either need to subsidise developments aiming to mix classes (such as in the example of Brickfields discussed below), or developers will continue building exclusive residential areas and creating class privilege.

¹⁶ To be discussed in Chapter 4.2.2

Perhaps the fiercest criticism against New Urbanism is the belief that it has the one and only solution to the problems that beset us. In this unquestionable belief, New Urbanism tries to close off discussion of alternative visions of urbanism and urban design (Robbins & El-Khoury 2004:228). Contributing to this is the fact that New Urbanism fails to put theory into practice, which is the first point of entry in proving a new development ideology.

3.3.5 South African New Urbanism: an overview

A true rebirth of distressed areas (and the cities in which they are located) will only occur if we make these places neighbourhoods of choice for individuals and families with a broad range of incomes and neighbourhoods of connection that are fully linked to metropolitan opportunities (Bruce Katz, in Johannesburg Housing Company).

One possible example of such a harmonious integration of different classes is the recent development of Brickfields, situated in Newtown, Johannesburg (Figure 3, 4).



Figure 3: Aerial photo of Brickfields under construction, 2005.
Photograph by Johannesburg Housing Company.

This R98 million housing development is the largest public/private venture in the residential housing sector in the country (Dlamini 2005). The development comprises 742 homes, divided into one, two or three bedroom units with monthly rentals ranging from R1242 up to R2376. It is the objective of this development to cater for people in the lower, middle and upper income group, which is also what makes this development so unique. Where most other developments failed to integrate different

social classes (or intentionally chose not to integrate classes), Brickfields manages to offer affordable yet stylish housing in the modern fashion of urban design.



Figure 4: Brickfields under construction, 2005.
Photograph by Johannesburg Housing Company.

In an address made by President Thabo Mbeki at the opening of the Brickfields housing development in 2005, he mentioned that this development is a “tangible expression of how the worldwide phenomenon of decaying inner cities, can, through sustainable urbanisation, be transformed into peaceful, better havens and friendly neighbourhoods” (Mbeki 2005). In his speech, Mbeki slates the “pro-rich” housing development strategies, ensuring that the best land which is closest to the best facilities is owned by the rich; most of this land is in the form of gated communities and golf estates. Meanwhile, the poor only have access to “dusty semi-developed land far away from modern infrastructure” (Mbeki 2005).

The development and design of the Brickfields precinct is discussed to see how this project implemented mixed-use aspects successfully. The Brickfields precinct is one of the latest building projects implemented by the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC). Brickfields is situated in the inner city of Johannesburg, close to the Nelson Mandela Bridge and is part of the Newtown redevelopment project. The Brickfields housing development is the biggest public/private partnership that provides social housing in the country. This is also the first residential development of its kind in the inner city in 30 years (Dlamini 2004:2).

The Brickfields project caters for people who earn as little as R2000 a month. This development was designed to provide affordable housing in the inner city without

creating ghettos (Pearce 2006:1). However, critics of Brickfields claim that it offers nothing to the poorest inner-city residents. These people occupy dilapidated buildings and are threatened with eviction when property speculators buy the buildings they live in (Pearce 2006:1).

The Brickfields project is divided into three parts with the first precinct called Brickfields and the other two precincts called Legae and Phumlani respectively (Johannesburg Housing Company). Brickfields and Legae were completed in June 2005, while the third precinct, called Phumulani, was completed in April 2006 (Johannesburg Housing Company website). The JHC has invited an international team of designers to develop a design framework, taking into cognisance the development's position and links to the city. This urban framework allows the two appointed architects an opportunity to produce different design solutions and combine design elements and ideas with mixed-use facilities (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:2).

The initial design of these precincts was supposed to be between 14 and 15 storeys high, inclusive of basement parking. However, this was altered in order to achieve a balance between capital expenditure, the product and affordable rental (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:5). The design of the precincts emphasised the need for high density, housing that is affordable, ample public space, play areas for children and parking space (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:8). The design of the tower blocks is based on the high density housing in Sri Lanka, where the lifts only stop at every third floor; a stairway then goes up or down which saves on costs and simultaneously creates a separate community within the building. However, fire regulations in South Africa determine that a lift has to stop at every floor, so this design was adapted in order to fit in with the regulations (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:3).

Emphasis has been placed on the security system because of the position of Brickfields and its links with the city. Only one vehicle and pedestrian entrance for each precinct has been built. A sophisticated satellite system has been installed, which relays security information to the guard house and a central control unit. Visitors are issued with a temporary card; this card is programmed to work for the length of the

visitor's stay. On leaving, the visitor drops the card back into a box at the guardhouse. Thus, the system allows management to have better control over visits, and prevents overcrowding and subletting (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:6).

The concept of mixed-use living is well catered for in these precincts; both have more than one play area for children, a crèche and community centre (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:6). Furthermore, provision is made for ample green open spaces which contribute towards creating a positive and vivacious atmosphere and to avoid the feeling of living in a 'concrete jungle' (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:3, 9). The Brickfields precinct includes commercial units as well as live-work units. The live-work unit comprises a shop area and a two-bedroom living unit above (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:5). The project of Brickfields can be seen as an example that others can follow in the regeneration of the inner city. Although building high-rise buildings is more expensive than three and four storey units, this project illustrates that if cost effective management is applied, high-rise density housing can definitely be affordable to its target market (Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae 2005:10).

Even before Brickfields came into existence, the area of Newtown was already reaping the benefits of investment from both the private and public sectors. Examples of these benefits are visible in the Nelson Mandela Bridge, Mary Fitzgerald Square and the Metro Mall. Consequently, the Brickfields project has triggered various developments in the Newtown district which also circled out to include the inner city (First of its kind: Breaking new ground houses handed over to beneficiaries).

Old Mutual Insurance Companies is launching a huge mega-mall to support the increasing drive for shopping in the Gauteng area. This development, called Zonk 'Izizwe will be the biggest mixed-use development in the country; it will be located in Midrand and will include a vast area of 250 000 square meters of retail and mixed use (The traffic group, Inc projects). Development will start towards the end of 2007 (Wilson 2007:sp) and will include restaurants, retail, entertainment areas, two family hotels, a residential area as well as theme and office parks (Sukhraj 2004:sp). This development, along with four other centres planned to be build between Centurion and Johannesburg (Sukhraj 2004:sp), is a clear indication of the increasing consumer

drive of South Africans. Shopping and retail centres are being developed at an increasing rate in order to keep up with the spending needs of the people. It is not unusual for two strip malls to be erected adjacent to one another, both attracting so many customers that parking soon runs out. And because retailers only have one aim, which is to increase sales by attracting as many people as possible, they choose to neglect the essence of shopping centres, which is to satisfy the customers' retail needs, while also acting as entertainment areas. An example of the above statement is the Menlyn Park Shopping Centre in the eastern suburbs of Pretoria. Although this centre prides itself on being the dominant entertainment and shopping centre in Pretoria, the shopping experience at the time of writing was becoming a frustration due to the lack of parking. Menlyn Park Shopping Centre is handling too much traffic during weekends, so much so that it is almost impossible to get parking on a Saturday morning, while the mall is filled with so many people that one almost feels claustrophobic. As a solution, management decided to build an additional parking arcade; this made the problem even worse by increasing the number of shoppers in this already overflowing centre.

And it is not only Menlyn Park Shopping Centre that is overflowing; most other shopping malls in Pretoria and Johannesburg are almost inaccessible on weekends. This indicates an almost insatiable need to consume, which also explains Tito Mboweni's (Governor of the South African Reserve Bank) concern regarding the spending habits of South Africans.

South African consumers are well-known for their spending habits and not for their saving habits (Government Employees Pension Fund 2004:4). This is another reason why New Urban developments might be effective in the South African environment. Although these environments, like Melrose Arch, are open to the public, they tend to be less busy than the big mega-malls. This is not true for all New Urban developments, as can be seen in Century City in Cape Town, but if care is taken in the development of New Urban environments to cater for the needs of specific groups, this might be a viable solution to overcrowded malls. Moreover, if for example there are various New Urban developments in the same area, each development will cater for the basic needs of its residents, resulting in residents buying within their own developments and only going to the big malls for entertainment or to buy from speciality stores.

In some respects, Century City is regarded as much more successful than Melrose Arch. Century City consists of 250 ha of land, and is situated about 8 km from the Cape Town CBD (Century City website - Overview). The development philosophy on the website claims that “Century City combines office, residential, retail and leisure opportunities on an unprecedented scale in an integrated environment that responds to the lifestyle demands and priorities of today's society and where people can live, work, shop or play” (Century City website - Overview). This landscape possesses superb security, surveillance cameras, an on-site police station and 24-hour patrols (Century City website - Overview – Safety and Security). Major corporations such as Vodacom, PricewaterhouseCoopers, Discovery Health, Telkom and Old Mutual Employee Benefits have already established themselves there (Century City website). On the residential front, about 2000 houses have already been built or are expected to be built within the next few years, ranging in price from R375000 up to R2 million for a property at the water's edge (Century City website). The different areas of development are divided into neighbourhoods such as “Island Club” (Figure 5), “Villa Italia” (Figure 6) and the exclusive “Knightsbridge” (Figure 7) (Century City website).



Figure 5: Island Club.

Source: Century City website – Developments - Residential.



Figure 6: Villa Italia.

Source: Century City website – Developments - Residential.



Figure 7: Knightsbridge.

Source: Century City website – Developments - Residential.

Apart from the still expanding business and residential areas, this landscape is complemented by Canal Walk shopping centre, hosting more than 400 shops, as well as Ratanga Junction theme park with over 30 rides and abundant entertainment (Century City website). Century City is a unique blend of a shopping complex and theme park, all combined within a New Urban setting of mixed-use living.

The importance of community in developments is still paramount today, as can be seen in the following quote: “All over the world we're really not planning developments to suit communities, but if you go out and look at the designs of old towns, see how they worked for communities, and try to recreate them with a contemporary slant, it really does influence the way people interact with each other” (Youngleson in Garner. 2004).

Central City Improvement District and Cape Town Partnership CEO, Andrew Borraine, has been involved in the redeveloping and re-investing of properties in the Cape Town CBD. Many of his proposals mirror the learnings of New Urbanism. By incorporating these ideas into an African city, Borraine aimed to surmount centuries of colonialism, dispossession and racial discrimination. Borraine also stands for a form of regeneration that does not end up in gentrification (Garner. 2004), believing that residential redevelopments have to cater for all walks of life and income groups.

Over three billion Rand was invested in the CBD of Cape Town during the first half of 2003, while in the same year, Old Mutual Properties announced the redevelopment of its former head office in Darling Street; these apartments sold out in a matter of three

weeks. Other projects underway are Old Mutual's redevelopment of Cartwright's Corner, as well as various redevelopments by an Irish investment consortium, Eurocape Investments, which snapped up properties like the Cape of Good Hope Building, the Board of Executors building, the Nedcor Investment Bank building, and the old Cape Times building, amongst others. These properties will be known as the West City Precinct, and this development will include retail outlets, residential apartments and also a hotel block (Garner 2004).

However, the high point of these developments lies in the rebuilding of District Six, which is located on the outer parameters of the CBD. This development is also significant as most of the CBD developments are aimed towards the middle and upper income groups, while District Six is aimed at the working class from the Cape Flats (Garner 2004).

A key element of an urban environment is the ability to participate, whether this is done by passively participating in the environment or being active during an organised activity. By participating, one experiences a sense of comfort and interactivity within social spaces. The combination of the architecture and the landscaping offer a framework between the user and the retailer, thus forming a group which has the ability to create a social interaction between these two parties. While a typical mall often maintains an impersonal and anonymous environment, many New Urban landscapes aim to be designed in such a way as to be visually and physically more personal and accessible (The Philosophy of New Urbanism 2003).

Michael Frame and Mark Young, the architects and environmental designers who revamped the Randburg Waterfront in Gauteng, now known as the Brightwater Commons, aimed to create a natural environment without any gimmicks, like positioning benches and shaded areas to attract people to the environment. According to Young, there is "... a subtle difference between an environment that entertains and an entertaining environment". In this development, there are real trees that drop their leaves, as well as real light and water, standing in contrast to the over-themed village developments" (The Philosophy of New Urbanism 2003).

Modern transportation planners maintain that those cities that depend on public transportation tend to develop pedestrian-friendly environments with wide sidewalks, easy pedestrian crossings and other features that focus on the pedestrian. On the other hand, cities which rely on the automobile tend to widen intersections, delete sidewalks and street trees and also create a generally difficult environment for the pedestrian and cyclist (Singleton 1996).

Another example of a previously neglected area that has been converted into a mixed-use development is the Durban Point Waterfront. For years, this area was very dangerous and derelict; however, since 2003 about two billion Rand has been set aside for the development of infrastructure and complexes (Frost 2006:1). As part of this initiative, uShaka Marine World was opened in May 2004, an entertainment facility which offers various activities, education and unique experiences (Durban. Playground of the Zulu Kingdom). The Durban Waterfront was developed by making use of mixed-use zoning while developers were encouraged to make use of the ground floor of buildings for purposes such as entertainment and restaurants (Frost 2006:1). By doing this, visitors are encouraged to connect with the rest of their surroundings, which is one of the aims of a mixed-use development.

In Phase One of this project, 24 sites have already been sold, resulting in 14 mixed-use developments, offering a mix of offices, hotels, residential and retail activities. The impetus for the development of the waterfront arose from a need to reticulate purified water from uShaka Marine World back to the sea. This directed the way of establishing a waterfront city where the canals form the spine of urban redevelopment, creating economic benefits of water frontage (Frost 2006:1). The overall theme of this development is “African Urbanism”, incorporating colours, themes and materials that speak of Africa, while a variation of design is visible in the different apartment blocks in order to retain their historical essence. A powerful CCTV camera system has been installed, with on the ground security staff and radio contact to the police, creating a safe and well-managed environment (Frost 2006:1). The aim is to create a safe, well-defined addition to the city of Durban, so that this area becomes a sought after place to live, work and play (Frost 2006:1).

3.3.6 Correlations between three different New Urban developments

To conclude this chapter, I have developed a model by using three diverse New Urban landscapes, and grouped most of the prominent themes to be discussed in Chapter Four, as well as some other aspects which would also be implied or briefly covered in Chapter Four under these landscapes. The three landscapes used are Melrose Arch, representing exclusive upmarket developments, Ecopark as a middle-class development, and finally Brickfields as a mixed, low to high-level development. The aim of this correlation is to see which of these three developments have utilised and applied the principles of New Urbanism most effectively. Note that this model is purely my own perspective and its attributes may change as the three landscapes enter new development phases. There may also be various other attributes which may be considered when analysing the landscapes, however, for the purpose of this study only certain attributes have been chosen. Also of importance is the fact that this comparison is only complementary to the overall aim of the study – that of analysing Melrose Arch in terms of various themes and attributes. The comparison serves to put Melrose Arch into context in how effective the principles of New Urbanism are applied to this landscape in comparison to the other two developments.

The levels of accomplishment evident in these three landscapes also differ according to the criteria used. While one development may be extremely successful financially, another development may be successful in terms of a unique offering like a fresh theme or trendy vibe. A definition of success in the context of this study, would apply to, as mentioned above, how effectively the principles of New Urbanism have been applied in the chosen developments.

Key:

Basic all inclusive services
Low to high-level development
Middle class development
Exclusive upmarket development

Brickfields	Ecopark	Melrose Arch
Security and control		
		Class, race and elitism
	Consumerism	Consumerism
		The tourist gaze
		Utopianism, illusion and escapism
	Space and place	Space and place
		Simulacra and representation
Leisure		
Services		
Walkability		Walkability
Integration and community	Integration and community	
Affordability		
Convenience		
Accessibility		

New Urbanism never intended to be original (in the sense that it borrows many of its ideas from other development movements); instead it is a “clearly articulated reaction to the profound sense of placelessness and impersonality of much of American development” (Drew 1998:194). New Urbanism can be regarded as a response to decades of housing practices that have reinforced separate gender roles, taught people to waste energy, made them dependent on the automobile and to a lesser extent other means of public transport such as trains and busses, and segregated people by age, race and gender (Drew 1998:194).

New Urbanism tends to urge society from a previous privatisation to a reassertion of government and commercial power and influence in the everyday landscape (Drew 1998:195). Still, in most New Urbanism environments the developers claim to let the residents decide on issues pertaining to the functioning, restrictions and rules of the specific development. In seeking to be inclusive rather than exclusive, New Urbanism plays with the idea that social classes can live together in a harmonious way within the right environment (Drew 1998:196). Thus, a sense of social mission is brought to the profession previously labelled as a “nihilistic individualism” (Drew 1998:196). It is here where the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement and especially the Garden City is important. In an age “when modernism has profoundly affected the shape of the city, New Urbanism presents a new image of the good community”. The spreading out of New Urbanism “parallels the rapid spread of Garden City ideas a century earlier” (Grant 2006:3).

It is important to note the extent to which New Urbanism, as applied to different landscapes and specifically to Melrose Arch, complies with a harmonious integration of social classes. Is this only a theoretical claim, proposed by its developers but impossible to put into action, or can perfect combinations of different classes exist? Even if the possibility exists to develop houses and leisure to cater for different income levels, would residents from these different social classes be willing to live within the same boundaries, putting aside ideas such as exclusivity and elitism? This issue is dealt with specifically in relation to Melrose Arch in the Chapter Four.

In the next chapter, I will identify themes and issues relevant to New Urbanism and apply them to Melrose Arch by making use of visual aid. The principles of New Urbanism will be discussed to assess whether Melrose Arch is a successful New Urban landscape.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNPACKING MELROSE ARCH

This chapter deals with the application of the aspects and principles of New Urbanism to Melrose Arch. A background of postmodern architecture is sketched in order to situate New Urbanism in this context. A brief description of Melrose Arch and update on the current developments is also provided. The main part of this study looks at the primary themes and issues which form part of New Urbanism. These themes are then discussed in terms of Melrose Arch, pointing out their relevance and applicability to this landscape. Lastly, the main principles of New Urbanism are discussed and applied to Melrose Arch in order to evaluate whether this landscape is a successful New Urban environment.

4.1 Background

In this section, postmodern architecture is briefly discussed as one of the stylistic contributors to New Urbanism. The characteristics of postmodernism applicable to architecture are briefly explained and applied to New Urbanism. This section concludes with a descriptive overview of Melrose Arch.

4.1.1 Postmodern architecture

In order to situate Melrose Arch in a specific context and to understand the framework within which it is being developed at the time of writing, it is important to identify the architectural style on which it is founded. Melrose Arch is based on the postmodern architectural movement, however, it is important to note that since I am by no means an expert in the field of architecture, this brief overview and application of postmodern architecture to Melrose Arch serves only to provide a context from a postmodern perspective, and does not present a detailed history or analysis of postmodern architecture as such.

Even though the term postmodernism was originally applied to architecture by Joseph Hudnut in 1945, it was actually Charles Jencks who popularised this term in 1975 (Ellin 1996:108). Jencks defined postmodernism in the field of architecture as “double

coding: the combination of modern techniques with something else (usually traditional building) in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually of other architects” (Jencks in Ellin 1996:108).

Postmodern architecture can also be referred to as neo-eclectic, and represents a revival of period styles for residential buildings and a variety of asymmetrical designs for commercial buildings. Postmodernism can be regarded as an allusion to the past, a rejection of modernist thought and the return to traditional and historical trends and thoughts. Postmodern urban design also corresponds quite suitably with the New Urbanist movement (Paradis s.a.). This is clearly visible in Melrose Arch with its allusion to European street fronts and the fact that its overarching theme is clearly an eclectic mix of European and African flavours.

Postmodernists are concerned about the aesthetic value of things, and regard design firstly as a matter of composition. Postmodernism’s impulses are picturesque in nature, and its advocates show appreciation of a building which fits into its urban context, yet also focus on the elements that are drawn from the past (Goldberger 1983:5). Once again this is evident in the Melrose Arch precinct, as the whole landscape is constructed so as to form a complete and refined urban landscape. The focus is on design and aesthetics, while functionality – although still important – is moved to the background in terms of the landscape’s selling pitch or appeal. Postmodern architecture therefore delights in non-functional colour and decoration and a variety of textures and surfaces to add aesthetic interest.

With postmodern architecture, historical features are not replicated as such, but instead these historical concepts are used by contemporary architecture as mere themes, simplifying and mixing them (Paradis s.a.), which results in the creation of an eclectic jumble. Clearly in Melrose Arch, the historical features are engrained into the environment to blend more easily into the South African context. The European elements in Melrose Arch are (just like the African elements) merely used as themes which simulate those aspects which are combined into this environment.

According to Tony Schuman,¹ the modern movement in Architecture during the early decades of the twentieth century emphasised various social concerns, and he juxtaposes this utopian² attitude with what is considered a more self-indulgent approach of many current practitioners. It seems that now, with the focus on postmodern ideas, form seems to be the primary issue, with content being shifted to the background (Goldberger 1983:15).

Charles Jencks is of the opinion that architecture should contain two codes, namely the popular traditional code that is “full of clichés and rooted in family life”, as well as a code rooted in a “fast-changing society, with its new functional tasks, new materials, new technologies and ideologies” (in Ellin 1996:108). The arrival of postmodernism can be attributed to new technologies which made possible the mass production of so-called personalised products as well as a centralised built environment (Jencks in Ellin 1996:109). While the modernist movement between 1910 and 1960 concentrated on establishing a social order for a mass society, the postmodern movement focuses on the challenge of placelessness as well as the need for an urban community (Ley in Ellin 1996:155).

As evident from the above discussion on postmodernism, it is clear that Melrose Arch can be regarded as a landscape based on the principles of postmodern architecture. This contributes towards the overall theme of Melrose Arch and supports the notion that it is a New Urban landscape since New Urbanism itself is regarded as a product of postmodern architecture and city planning.

4.1.2 Description of Melrose Arch

In this section, a brief overview of Melrose Arch is given to tie in with Chapter One – this overview focuses on the specific developments in this landscape.

Melrose Arch has established itself as a vibrant, popular and high society destination – one of the trendiest places for middle-class individuals from all walks of life to socialise. This trend is evident in the “Best place to see and been seen 2005” and

¹ Tony Schuman is an architect involved in the Columbia symposium of 1980 and teaches Architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology (Goldberger 1983:15).

² Utopianism will be discussed in 4.2.4.

“Best place to see and been seen 2006” rewards by Leisure Options (Amdec properties development website) which were awarded to Melrose Arch.

Phase one of Melrose Arch, completed in 2004, represents an investment of approximately R1 billion, including infrastructure and roads. The complete site has capacity for 275 000m² of lettable space, of which phase one represents less than a quarter of the complete development. Phase one provides 2 630 undercover parking bays, which are located in the basement that spans the entire footprint of the development. Additional to the basement parking, street level parking is situated along the streets of Melrose Arch. Melrose Arch is also served by two Metrobus routes that have been diverted to stop inside and outside the Melrose Arch precinct. There are also taxi rank facilities available; these facilities fall under the control of Melrose Arch (Melrose Arch brochure).

On the residential side, the first of three residential developments is called A3 and consists of 47 units (Buchanan 2006:35); it was completed during early 2006. These units have been sold for between R2.5 million and R7 million (Van Rooyen 2006:3). Recently, the A4 apartments as part of Phase Two were launched, offering smaller apartments at more affordable prices (Pam Golding Properties website). Construction of Phase Two was in progress at the time of writing. The residential Phase Two of Melrose Arch, called Melrose Square on Oak, is expected to be completed during late 2007. This residential development comprises of 67 apartments, ranging in size from 60 m² to 140 m², and is priced from R1.1 million to R3.8 million. Other residential developments currently in the process of completion are 3 Melrose Boulevard, 1 Melrose Boulevard, as well as The Lincoln. Earthworks for office construction at Melrose Arch have been completed and work on the 31 000m² of office space has commenced. The retail precinct, which is called “Melrose Arch Shopping”, will provide an additional 28 000m² of retail and leisure space (SA Builder, 2007). These developments are due to open by Easter 2009 (Civil Engineering Contractor 2007:13). This retail development will feature traditional High Street shopping in an open-air environment, not an enclosed mall like most big shopping centres (Wilson 2006). Complementary to the retail precinct will be another entertainment/restaurant area; its function will be to act as a second energy node for Melrose Arch, the existing node

being the one around JB's Corner, Moyo and The Meat Co., known as Melrose Square. This new area will be called Melrose Arch Piazza (Wilson 2006).

Although the new shopping area acquires its inspiration from Italy and traditional shopping streets like Regent Street in London, the architecture of Melrose Arch Shopping will be in line with the existing "contemporary African" expression, emphasised and supported by the use of natural materials (Wilson 2006). The design of the precinct reminds one of a miniature European city, with cobbled streets and street benches. Pedestrian walkways connect the shops, restaurants, apartments and covered parking (Mbebme 2005:24).

Currently, Melrose Square is the heart of Melrose Arch. Surrounded by restaurants and side benches, a lively atmosphere is evident in the Square. Apart from the various restaurants, the five star Melrose Arch Hotel is situated prominently on the Square (Mbebme 2005:26). A new conferencing and banqueting facility, The Venue, is situated where the upmarket nightclub Kilimanjaro used to be – ideally positioned in the hub of the Melrose Square activities. Investec Property Group, managers of Melrose Arch on behalf of Sentinel Industry Retirement Fund, believe that "a key element of life around the Square is the variety of entertainment and retail choices, many of which are unique and bring something new to the Johannesburg restaurant and shopping scene" (Melrose Arch Brochure).

There are various developments currently under construction as part of the above-mentioned office and retail phase. These constructions include The Crescent office building, 1 Melrose Boulevard, Offices on the Piazza and 3 Melrose Boulevard. Offices on the Piazza are scheduled for completion in Christmas 2008 and will comprise seven separate office buildings, located at the northern end of the Melrose Arch development. The Crescent is targeted at large corporate users and will be completed by late 2007. 1 Melrose Boulevard will provide for the needs of small to medium size businesses, and will consist of 24 individual office units. This fully sold complex now also offers six accommodation rental units on top of the offices. These apartments are expected to appeal specifically to visiting groups consisting of corporate guests, congress delegates and VIP's (Top Story: Exec rental units in Melrose Arch 2007).

Lastly, 3 Melrose Boulevard caters for medium to large businesses, and comprises 18 individual offices (Melrose Arch website).

The Melrose Arch Hotel, situated centrally in the precinct of Melrose Arch, is uncompromisingly contemporary, complete with opaque, as well as concrete, steel and leather surfaces in the public areas (Condé nast traveller magazine). Melrose Arch Hotel provides accommodation in 117 luxury rooms. These rooms comprise 96 single/double rooms, 3 single/double (disabled) rooms, 18 twin rooms as well as an exclusive penthouse. The Melrose Arch Hotel features the March restaurant, March bar, March coffee shop, library, the veranda, sound room and swimming pool (Johannesburg Hotel Guide website). A very important design aspect in the Melrose Arch Hotel is the effect of lighting. This is used to add atmosphere, and can be seen in the underlit glass floors, oversized lampshades with cable chandeliers, and also the natural light flooding through skylights. The hotel is entered through wooden Zanzibar doors, while steel buckets are built around the pool. Underwater music and changing colours in the water complete this décor (Mbebme 2005:26). It is my opinion that the aesthetic appeal of the Melrose Arch Hotel is emphasised by using aspects like the lighting, thus highlighting the Hotel's elegance and simultaneously using it as a selling point to the upper classes. This emphasis is important since a Five-star Hotel like the Melrose Arch Hotel has to focus on those aspects which are important to the upper income visitors; these aspects are normally unique services and exquisite settings.

In conclusion, Melrose Arch is already selling itself as a development of unsurpassed quality and innovation. This is evident in the following extract from their brochure:

The bottom-line? Melrose Arch is a challenging alternative to traditional commercial space. With a fusion of uses designed around human interaction, a unique sense of place and public space, plus the services and infrastructure required for modern urban working and living, at market-related prices. Melrose Arch is unsurpassed in the Johannesburg marketplace (Melrose Arch Brochure).

4.2 Application of themes to Melrose Arch

This section deals with the various themes and issues which I have identified to be of importance in the New Urban environment specific to the local context. These themes

are important aspects of New Urbanism, however, their combination and naming have been identified by me and not by any New Urban sources. The choice of themes has been made on the basis of aspects which might influence the New Urban movement, or ideas and ideologies which are pertinent in this context. These themes are discussed from both a theoretical and practical perspective, and applied to Melrose Arch by using visual examples.

4.2.1 Security and control

A key issue at Melrose Arch is security. In a country ridden with crime, one of the main selling points in any residential, recreational and even office component is the ability to protect its inhabitants from crime. This does not just apply to crime, but also the perception of crime. An aspect that goes hand in hand with security is that of control. It is extremely difficult to have the one without the other. However, control encompasses much more than just obvious things such as access control and visible security guards. Control entails that the precinct management determines who should be allowed in and what visitors, residents and office workers are allowed to do; this is coupled with continuous surveillance in order to ensure that those who enter and interact within the environment do so within the prescribed rules and regulations. This almost reminds one of an Orwellian situation in that the dominant force has control over the lives of its minions.

When considering the issue of security and control in a New Urbanism environment from an international perspective, it is evident that there are various opinions emanating from different sources. For example, a report from the Bedfordshire (England) Police Department (October 2003) reveals that New Urban design seems to promote crime. This report compares crime in an ordinary development with a New Urban development, and found that the latter requires three times the police resources, and still suffers five times the crime and losses to theft. Although New Urbanism claims that its plans and designs reduce crime by providing “eyes on the street”, the report claims that “New Urbanism's position on criminal safety is entirely subjective and based on fundamentally false premises” (O’Toole 2003).

The English Association of Chief Police Officers has developed a national programme which promotes architectural designs that decrease crime and assist in law enforcement by the police. This programme is known as “Secured by Design” and conflicts with New Urbanism in the following ways:

1. Secured by Design aims to make the most of private property, since private owners are more likely to protect their property. On the contrary, New Urbanism seeks to maximise common public areas, which are less likely to be protected and defended by the residents (O’Toole 2003). The residents rather expect the developers and owners of the precinct to protect them and their property as part of the package they buy into. In certain areas, the developers may take this responsibility seriously, as is evident in Melrose Arch (see 4.2.1).
2. Secured by Design promotes the use of cul-de-sacs that function to limit criminal escape routes. In turn, New Urbanism seeks to eradicate cul-de-sacs in order to increase walkability. Many of these walkways, according to the report, leave pedestrians vulnerable after dark (O’Toole 2003). An example of this happening is Burras Road in Bradford, England. The planning of a new shopping centre has seen the cul-de-sac breached to create a bicycle/ pedestrian path (Town & O’Toole 2005). Although the idea behind this changing of the cul-de-sac was to promote walkability and cycling, there was no substantial proof that this road was utilised for this purpose. On the contrary, during the following six months, this neighbourhood (which had previously been almost crime-free), saw its burglary rate rise with about 14 times the national average, together with an overall increase in crimes such as arson, assault and antisocial behaviour (Town & O’Toole 2005).
3. Secured by Design encourages vehicular access which allows for easy police patrols. New Urbanism makes use of various barriers to vehicles which make police patrolling difficult (O’Toole 2003). This point may be arguable in terms of Melrose Arch, since this precinct does not make use of the police force but has a private security company, Magnum, owned by Bidvest that patrols and monitors the area (Fife 2004:sp).

4. Secured by Design locates parking space in prominent areas so that the cars can easily be observed and defended from thieves. New Urbanism tends to hide cars, resulting in them being susceptible to crime (O'Toole 2003). Although this is an important New Urbanist principle, Melrose Arch does not comply with this in totality. Although there is a big basement parking area at Melrose Arch, this parking is secure and monitored continuously (Dedicated Micros). In addition, ample street level parking supplements the basement parking at Melrose Arch. Most of these parking places are located along the High Street, Melrose Boulevard and Crescent Drive, or adjacent to the residential and office developments.

In 1961, the social critic Jane Jacobs wrote *The death and life of great American cities*, in which she attacked urban renewal, the planning fad of the 1950s and 1960s, a movement which was inspired by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier (see Chapter Three). Jacobs purports to prove that inner cities were not as crime-infested as most people feared them to be. In mixed-use neighbourhoods, people were watching the streets right through the day, from the ground-floor shops and also from the apartment buildings above these shops – called “eyes on the street”. However, Jacobs never intended to claim that inner-city villages suffered less crime than the suburbs, but thirty years on, the planners Al Zelinka and Dean Brennan made this same mistake (Town & O'Toole 2005).

Zelinka and Brennan are the authors of *Safe-Scape: Creating Safer, More Livable Communities Through Planning and Design* (2000). As suggested by the title, the authors believe that the right kind of town planning might reduce high crime rates. The planning principles they advocated were borrowed from New Urbanism. According to Zelinka and Brennan (Town & O'Toole 2005), New Urbanism “clearly plays an important role in eliminating fear of crime and the perception of crime” The book does not provide substantial evidence to support their claims that mixed-use environments, pedestrian paths and interconnected streets (as opposed to cul-de-sacs) reduce the crime rate (Town & O'Toole 2005). It is thus evident that these two authors only work from the assumptions that the decrease and/or absence of crime is substantiated by perceptions. Accordingly, the elimination of the fear of crime is only a result of these perceptions.

The book by Zelinka and Brennan also relied on the assumptions made by Jane Jacobs about “eyes on the street”. Their claim is that mixed-use environments contribute towards a much safer “public realm” because of the fact that shopkeepers and shoppers have their eyes on the street during most of the day. However, these claims were based only on qualitative observations and not on actual crime data (Town & O’Toole 2005).

After extensive research and the comparison of areas in the United States that proved to have high crime rates and areas that do not, architect and teacher of urban design Oscar Newman illustrated in his book *Defensible space* that the safest neighbourhoods increase private space and decrease common zones. Cul-de-sacs proved to be an efficient crime-prevention device. Newman did not include suburbs in this study, since they had much lower crime rates and were also, according to him, less permeable and more defensible (Town & O’Toole 2005). Newman also explained that local space can be divided into four categories, namely private, semiprivate, semipublic and public. Newman’s idea was to move as much space as possible into the private side of the equation in order to increase security and thus prevent crime. The rationale behind this was that people would look after their own private and semiprivate space, while at the same time, people on the street would provide natural surveillance³ of the semipublic spaces. However, Newman’s ideas regarding the surveillance of semipublic space were not very effective, with the result that it is often necessary to assign someone to be responsible to look after the public and semipublic areas (Felson 2002:121).

Newman could not find evidence that the concept of “eyes on the street”, as referred to by Jane Jacobs and Zelinka and Brennan would reduce the level of crime. According to him, “natural surveillance” is not necessarily created by high-density environments “unless the grounds around each dwelling are assigned to specific families” (Town & O’Toole 2005).

³ Formal surveillance can be regarded as the use of uniformed officers or monitoring devices to prevent would-be criminals from committing a crime. Security cameras and other electronic security devices also form a part of formal surveillance. Natural surveillance is a collection of ways applied to increase the ability of humans or machines to monitor an area (Rosenbaum et al. 1998:157).

Newman's book demonstrates that practically all the things that Zelinka and Brennan aim to change could actually lead to a higher crime rate. Some of these issues are discussed below:

- ❖ Public space versus private space: one New Urbanist concept included in *Safe-Scape* is the idea of maximising regular areas in order to create “a sense of community”. The general idea for the authors of *Safe-Scape* is that this sense of ownership should take preference over private space. Although this sounds plausible, the problem arises when this idea is forced onto neighbourhoods, often with catastrophic results (Town & O’Toole 2005). On the contrary, Newman found that the larger the number of people sharing a communal space, the more difficult it is for them to regard these spaces as their own and to control the activities that take place there. To solve this problem, large areas of public space ought to be assigned to small groups who control these areas as their own private areas (Town & O’Toole 2005).
- ❖ Mixed uses versus separate uses: according to Zelinka and Brennan, mixed-use patterns contribute to a safer environment, while Newman found that mixed uses “generate high crime and vandalism rates”. Because mixed-use space is public space, it reduces residential control over the neighbourhood and gives criminals the opportunity to blend into the background (Town & O’Toole 2005).
- ❖ Alleys versus no alleys: although New Urbanists like alleys because of the fact that they allow people to hide their cars and keep the porches of their homes close to the street, alleys tend to make houses easier to burgle and are also dangerous routes for pedestrians. Although *Safe-Scape* admits the potential problem that the building of alleys may allow, the solution, according to the authors, is to provide “eyes on the alley” by redesigning buildings to face the alleys, instead of gating them (Town & O’Toole 2005). This, however, is an impractical suggestion.
- ❖ Houses close to the street: because New Urbanism wants to create lively pedestrian-oriented streets, it designs houses and businesses close to the street with the parking at the back. Just like the concept of the alleys, these rear

courtyards increase burglary because they allow criminals to access private homes easily (Town & O'Toole 2005).

- ❖ Gridded streets versus cul-de-sacs: as previously mentioned, New Urbanism wants to dispense with cul-de-sacs because they limit walkability. They also create more opportunity for crime since there are not sufficient eyes on the street, according to Zelinka and Brennan (Town & O'Toole 2005).

Another important aspect tying in with security is the notion of surveillance and control. As can be seen from the above paragraphs, the design of an environment can have a big impact on its tendency to attract or deter criminal activities. It is accordingly very important (particularly in a crime-infested country such as South Africa), that every measure possible be taken to prevent crime in these areas. Surveillance and control form an integral part of crime prevention by making sure that the environment is monitored every hour of the day; this fact needs to be broadcasted. However, there are negative aspects related to surveillance and control, and it should be decided which aspect ranks more importantly on the scale: security or privacy. It is inevitable that these things are inextricably linked and it is very hard to accommodate both of them simultaneously. It can be assumed that for most South African residents (when looking at the large amount of access control suburbs and security complexes), the presence of surveillance and control is a small price to pay for peace of mind. Not only is the presence of surveillance and control evident in many complexes and private residences, but also in most shopping centres and workplaces. Even the N1 highway between Pretoria and Johannesburg now boasts security cameras perched on high poles every few hundred metres, serving the combined function of traffic control and security. The crime rate in the CBD of Johannesburg has decreased significantly since 2001 with the introduction of CCTV cameras positioned in hot spots (Majola 2003). Most people have become accustomed to Big Brother watching their every move, and do not seem to give it a second thought.

However, it is extremely difficult to establish the boundaries between public and private when the placing of security cameras in public areas becomes an issue. The sanctity of privacy has been eroded away by the ever increasing intrusion of the technology of surveillance into everyday life. It is ironic that the two contesting parties

are actually seeking the same thing, namely an environment in which one can feel safe and secure (Gumpert & Drucker 2000). Another application of the topic of surveillance is that of gated communities. These areas use a mix of surveillance methods, including security cameras, guards and boom gates. In this sense, Melrose Arch can also be defined as a gated community, with its visible guards, cameras at all the entrances and intersections, as well as boom gates.

Gated communities seem to be an increasingly popular phenomenon in South Africa. Gated communities is a generic term that includes neighbourhoods that are enclosed by using gates or booms, as well as security villages and complexes that increasingly accommodate lifestyle communities and New Urbanist environments. Gated communities in South Africa have experienced exceptional growth since the early 1990s, owing to the high crime rates and ensuing fear of crime (Landman & Schönsteich, 2002:1). As a result of this, the private security business has grown dramatically in South Africa, increasing from a mere R141 million in 1978 to an estimated R8.8 billion 20 years later (Schönsteich in Dixon & Van der Spuy 2004:181).

Although gated communities occur in many countries, there are a few important differences between gated communities in developed countries and those communities in developing countries. In South Africa, there are a number of different terms used to describe gated communities, such as 'urban fortress', 'security park', 'security village' and 'enclosed neighbourhood' (Landman & Schönsteich 2002:1). It is also possible to differentiate between security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods. Security villages is a term that includes a whole range of private developments with various uses. These uses range from small townhouse complexes and traditional flat buildings, to large office parks, shopping malls, as well as luxury estates. The villages are always surrounded by walls or fences and also have access control with an automatic gate or a security guard. The roads in these villages are privately owned, while the management of these complexes is handled by a private corporate body (Landman & Schönsteich 2002:1).

Enclosed neighbourhoods are normal residential areas that are closed off by means of road closures and fences or walls, which are erected around the entire neighbourhood. However, although these neighbourhoods are closed off, the roads within

these parameters remain public property, and the responsibility for maintaining them and providing public services still lies with the local municipality (Landman & Schönteich 2002:1). In Gauteng, national legislation regarding the closure of roads now includes a law which authorise local governments to allow road closures, although generally the idea of road closures is opposed as it place restrictions on the use of public roads (Tshehla 2004).

In a report by the South African Human Rights Commission (2006), it was argued that the existence of booms and access control has a positive effect in reducing the crime rate, but the evidence presented at the hearings showed that there is not sufficient proof to suggest that road closures do indeed enhance safety and security. In addition, the impact of closures brings about issues such as urban mobility and functionality, and opposes the general idea of a city as a place where people have the right to move around freely. There was also enough evidence that closures indeed exclude and separate people in a manner that is inconsistent with the concept of an open city (Report on the Public Hearings into the use of Boom Gates and Road Closures 2005). The idea of road closures is thus highly contested, with the approval of these closures usually being granted with reluctance.

Also of high concern, is the contribution these security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods make to the fracturing of the social geography of urban South Africa. These enclosures often lead to the inaccessibility of public facilities such as schools, libraries and parks (Landman in Dixon & van der Spuy 2004:23).

A number of crime prevention aspects can be applied to the physical and social environment in order to reduce or prevent criminal activities (Kaplan, O’Kane, Lavrakas & Hoover in Rosenbaum et al. 1998:130). One of these measures is access control, which is a general term used both for gated communities and road closures. In apartment complexes, Newman suggested in *Defensible Space* that only a few residents share an entry or allocated space outside the building (Rouse & Rubenstein in Landman & Schönteich 2002). This method is called clustering, which serves to divide housing complexes into several semi-public areas. This in turn increases the risk of detection of criminals (Rouse & Rubenstein in Rosenbaum et al. 1998:136). From the perspective of defensible space, it is argued that street use should be

restricted primarily to neighbourhood residents. When a large number of non-residents have access to streets, the number of offenders and potential victims in a community is increased.

However, access control has many negative aspects as well. For example, the presence of fences and plants provide ample hiding place for potential offenders and also makes it difficult to survey the area. Severe access control can also create a “fortress mentality”, which isolates neighbours from each other and separates the community (Clarke & Mayhew in Rosenbaum et al. 1998:137).

Another crime prevention method is the use of surveillance, which can be applied in two different ways. The first is to place more illumination on certain areas by providing street lights or security guards. Street lights serve to illuminate the area, which in turn makes it more difficult for offenders to conceal themselves (Rosenbaum et al. 1998:140). Secondly, the physical environment can be designed to facilitate observations of suspicious behaviour by residents and passers-by. This is known as natural surveillance, previously referred to as part of Newman’s ideas regarding semi-public spaces. Natural surveillance increases with the growth of pedestrian traffic and outdoor activities, thus it is important to develop the areas where these activities take place (Clarke & Mayhew in Rosenbaum et al. 1998:139).

As previously mentioned, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs posits that the diversity in land use and street design encourages crime prevention by providing enhanced surveillance. Neighbourhoods where residential, commercial, institutional and recreational functions are combined, promote the frequent use of streets, as well as eyes on the street (Rubenstein in Rosenbaum et al. 1998:139).

Melrose Arch management is indeed selling this landscape as a safe environment, evident in the following quote from its website: “Stroll the beautiful tree-lined streets of Melrose Arch and enjoy the blue sky of Africa and the high-street buzz in this safe haven” (Melrose Arch website).

When looking at Melrose Arch from a security and control perspective, it is clear that this landscape prioritises security. The whole idea behind Melrose Arch is to create an environment that promotes safety by means of security and public presence, as well as ownership of the public realm, instead of making use of the conventional approach to security by means of isolation and separation (Van Dyk 2005:13). Because Melrose Arch as an environment focuses on the middle and upper income class, security is of paramount importance. People buy into a complete lifestyle package that includes physical security and protection. Almost everything in Melrose Arch reflects the notions of exclusivity or limited access: even the gym membership is restricted to 5 000 members and access is monitored more strictly than in other Virgin Active gyms. Melrose Arch Development Company has also invested in CCTV cameras on the streets (Figure 8), as well as security guards and monitoring security centre (Buchanan 2006:35).



Figure 8: Security cameras, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

As part of the security investment, Dedicated Micros Digital Sprite recorders have been installed in Melrose Arch; this forms part of a seven-year security plan. The first phase of this security system includes about 1 000 cameras, which have been installed in the super basement, as well as the streets, intersections and walkways (Dedicated Micros website – Applications – Town Centre).

Forming a part of the monitoring centre, various response units are also deployed to survey and monitor the Melrose Arch environment (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Melrose Arch response unit, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

The rules and security regulations in the precinct are also very strict, as experienced by the researcher herself on an informal visit to take photographs. The guards are extremely adamant about control, illustrated in the fact that no photographs are allowed to be taken without written consent and a permit from the precinct management.

The above-mentioned scenario is illustrated by the notices at the entrances to the precinct (Figure 10). Visitors, by entering this complex; residents, by living in this complex and employees, by working in this complex, subject themselves to the rules stipulated by the precinct management. It is interesting to note the emphasis on surveillance in the environment. The security cameras are prominently attached to the traffic light posts, while these signs also emphasise the fact that this is a controlled and surveyed area.



Figure 10: Security sign, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

Another aspect of control is the way Melrose Arch is governed by the precinct management. Because this is a private enterprise, the rules are made by management with regard to admission rights and how this landscape is organised. A prime example thereof is the frequent presence of rubbish bins (Figure 11) tied to lamp poles. Although waste management is also done by local municipalities, it is approached differently in Melrose Arch in the sense that it is more controlled and more visible. The area is remarkably clean, which indicates that sufficient effort is made in order to control this aspect.



Figure 11: Rubbish bin on Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

However, even with the presence of continual surveillance, access to Melrose Arch is very easy. There is no automated access control (booms with electronic tickets) (Figure 12), nor is there any human access control (security logbook) visible in this area (Figure 13). There are guards at the entrances and exits, but they are more there for visible security and surveillance than for access control. As can be seen in Figure 14, on exiting the precinct, cars have to slow down and zigzag past the beams. However, when making use of the underground parking area, the normal ticket parking system is used.



Figure 12: Pedestrian entrance from Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 13: Vehicle entrance from Corlett Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 14: Boomed exit, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

The hip and modern five-star Melrose Arch Hotel also offers security of the highest quality. Entrance is strictly controlled (Figure 15); this is part of the exclusivity and security that Melrose Arch offers.



Figure 15: Entrance to Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

To summarise, the sacrifice of one's privacy, seems for most people to be worth the safety that continual surveillance and control offer. Melrose Arch is a landscape that offers, as part of its exclusive lifestyle, a safe and controlled environment for work, relaxation and living. For corporates, residents and visitors alike, the safety that the landscape offers is connected to a certain kind of control and knowledge of the movement of people within the precinct.

4.2.2 Class, race and elitism

“Exciting and energetic, day and night, Melrose Arch is the beating heart of all that is vibrant in Johannesburg” (Melrose Arch website).

What are the aspects or variables that make Melrose Arch such a unique selling proposition? It could be its New Urbanism offering, its locality, the accessible activities, or its class association and exclusivity. Melrose Arch claims to be “the premier residential address in Jo’burg” and also “the ultimate commercial address encompassing the head offices of some of South Africa’s leading companies and emerging businesses” (Melrose Arch website). Some of the selling points referred to on the Melrose Arch website include the following:

- ❖ An ideal urban lifestyle;
- ❖ An environment where all one’s needs – whether personal and professional – can be met in a consolidated, harmonious environment;
- ❖ A pedestrian-friendly environment;
- ❖ A secure and social setting;
- ❖ A safe haven; and
- ❖ The convergence needed to holistically meet one’s needs, keeping one’s life simple and keeping one connected to the things which one values. One can live, work, workout, eat-out, relax, socialise and shop without leaving the secure setting of Melrose Arch, thereby cutting out the stress of battling the rush-hour traffic (Melrose Arch website).

As is evident from the above, it is clear that the notion of lifestyle is emphasised as a selling point at Melrose Arch. Quality of life is regarded as the main focus of New Urbanism upon which Melrose Arch based its design, and is the tenth principle of New Urbanism. This principle is an accumulation of all the other principles (discussed later in this chapter) and focuses on places that are worth living in that inspire the human spirit (New Urbanism website). In today’s busy and stressful environment, lifestyle may indeed be the most sought after aspect evading most people. I believe that lifestyle ties in closely with class and status – a much contested aspect of New Urbanism. The reality of a sought-after, convenient lifestyle is that it is expensive – in modern society lifestyle has to be bought, it is not a given. That is why most South

African developments, with the exception of Brickfields (discussed in the previous chapter), are located in upmarket areas and can only be afforded by the middle classes. If attempting to combine low cost housing into a New Urban environment, this would imply that the owners of expensive houses would have to subsidise the low cost house owners. This would result in even higher priced houses for the middle classes. Accordingly, the fourth New Urbanism principle of mixed housing, which states that a range of types, sizes and prices in closer proximity should be made available (New Urbanism website), can only be applied to a certain extent.

We should keep in mind that New Urbanism originated in the USA and is thus a developed or First World design concept that is possibly more applicable to First World countries. Thus, when there is a reference to the principle of mixed housing, it is a mix between affordable, yet still middle class housing and upper middle class housing. When a developing country like South Africa makes use of the concepts of New Urbanism, it should be adapted to fit into its unique situation. It may not be viable to combine both ends of the scale in a South African New Urban mix – the poles are just too far apart. Houses in different price ranges should be provided, but this would only be possible to a limited extent. Accordingly, the concept of class and status is more applicable in a South African context than it is in developed countries. Where class in countries like the UK may be considered to still be based on bloodline, in South Africa class is measured according to wealth.

Melrose Arch is a classy, sophisticated and elitist landscape meant to be the playground for the rich and young; it does not exclude on purpose, but does this inadvertently by catering for the rich in terms of price and taste. This could possibly change slightly once the shopping mall is complete – although this will be an upmarket mall, most malls do cater for a wider range of incomes.

This section addresses the issues of class and how they relate to income, race and status, and examines the concept of elitism that also ties in with class. In addition, I will look briefly at how consumer society reacts to the concepts of class, and examine the relationship with consumption and leisure. Lastly, this section looks at how Melrose Arch is represented in terms of class and status in order to determine whether

there is a discrepancy between the way that it portrays itself and the way it is perceived by the author.

Class

In the context of this discussion, class indicates lifestyle, prestige, culture and status, and an inequality of structure between different types of people (Crompton 1998:10-11). Karl Marx, the father of communism, regarded class as a descriptive, historical concept (Crompton 1998:27), meaning since ancient times, it has remained essentially divided between classes in the continuous pursuit of class interests (Dead Sociologists' Society at Pfeiffer University). Class interests, as well as its associated power, were to Marx the main determinant of both social and historical process (Dead Sociologists' Society at Pfeiffer University). The German economist Max Weber argued that 'classes' and 'status groups' are phenomena resulting from the distribution of power in a community (Gerth & Mills in Crompton 1998:35). These traditional theories of class have focused primarily on economic differentiations to identify class groupings, and stress the nature of divisions in the workplace (Veenstra 2005:248). However, modern theorists like Terry Nichols Clark and Martin Lipset, editors of the book *The breakdown of class politics: a debate on Post-Industrial stratification*, argue that new forms of social stratification and differentiation are emerging and that social class in terms of workplace division is no longer applicable (Veenstra 2005:248).

The consumption and display of scarce material has, throughout the centuries, been used as an indicator of power and position (Veblen in Crompton 1998:140). Since World War II, living standards rose significantly, and it is argued that issues related to consumption, rather than production, are becoming more relevant. In addition, lifestyles rather than classes are playing a key role in shaping attitudes and behaviours (Crompton 1998:140). According to Pierre Bourdieu, in order for one to account fully for the differences in lifestyle between the different portions, especially with regard to culture, one needs to take account of "their distribution in a *socially ranked geographical space*". Accordingly, a group's real social distance from particular assets has to integrate the geographical distance, "which itself depends on the group's spatial distribution and, more precisely, its distribution with respect to the 'focal point' of economic and cultural values" (Bourdieu 1984:124). These geographical distances

clearly reflect lifestyle and also class, and are visible in upmarket areas that are filled with leisure and entertainment activities, while the lower income areas only cater for basic needs. In a landscape like Melrose Arch, the geographical space has been removed, and everything is in close proximity. It is thus only in upmarket landscapes like Melrose Arch where it is viable to provide economic and cultural activities in such close proximity.

Connected to Bourdieu's *socially ranked geographical spaces* mentioned above is the notion of gentrification as discussed in Chapter 2.2.1. In the process of gentrification, the middle income groups buy property in a specific area, which results in an increase in prices which in turn drives the original inhabitants from the area. When gentrification occurs, the social ranking of a geographical area is increased by the influx of middle income groups. Melrose Arch can be regarded as a result of gentrification in the sense that this area previously consisted of middle class houses, while now it features houses, retail and office space for middle to upper income groups.

Occupational class has been widely utilised as an element when discussing the culture of consumption (Crompton 1998:146). Contributing to this, is the widely accepted notion that the consumption of goods correlates broadly with social standing, and also that occupation provides a reasonable indication of this social standing (Crompton 1998:146). Increasing affluence has resulted in an increase in consumerism, taste and consumer culture (Warde in Crompton 1998:141). This appears to be an international phenomenon and not just something evident in westernised countries. About 1.7 billion people worldwide now belong to the "consumer class", defined in terms of diets of highly processed food, a constant desire for bigger houses and cars, high levels of debt and lifestyles that are devoted to the gathering of non-essential goods (Mayell 2004). Today, almost half of global consumers live in developing countries, including 240 million in China and 120 million in India, which are the markets with the most potential for expansion (Mayell 2004). The economies of mass consumption may face an altogether different challenge in the twenty-first century: a focus not on the accumulation of goods, but rather a focus on a better quality of life, with minimal environmental harm (Bird 2006). Once again, this is where sustainable communities and development frameworks like New Urbanism fit in.

Even those countries not quite there in terms of monetary value, already find themselves exposed to consumerism. China, once deprived of shopping malls, already boasted 400 malls in 2004 (Marquand 2004) and it is estimated that by 2010, it will be home to at least seven of the world's ten largest shopping malls (Barboza 2005). The only problem with China's malls at this stage is that there are not enough shoppers. Even though disposable income is rising, it is not rising nearly as fast as the new malls (Marquand 2004).

Pierre Bourdieu, in his book *Distinction* (1984), identifies four different 'forms of capital', namely economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital as the fundamental principles of distinction (Brubaker in Crompton 1995:148). Bourdieu's emphasis is on economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu in Veenstra 2005:249). Where economic capital was simply equated with wealth, cultural capital consists of three dimensions: personal educational experiences and credentials that make possible the accumulation of certain cultural tastes, for example education; social background, where taste is passed down from the parents; and lastly cultural tastes and dispositions (Veenstra 2005:249). Cultural capital can also be defined as an accumulation of knowledge about the products and intellectual traditions learned through educational training and social upbringing (Trigg 2001:104). While economic capital is simply based on wealth and accumulation of goods, cultural capital is more concerned with experiences and taste cultures. These two forms of capital do not necessarily need to be interrelated, since the possession of economic capital does not automatically assume cultural high-brow taste, while it is also possible to possess the cultural disposition, but not the monetary means to experience these cultural predilections. Melrose Arch seems to cater for the cultural capital audience, by making provision for certain tastes and preferences. This is evident in the upmarket restaurants as well as the other facilities like a delicatessen, art gallery, jewellery shops and a Flagship Virgin gym.

Elitism and social exclusion

When looking at socio-spatial division, it is clear that with income, the rich are separated from the rest of the people. However, with space, it is the poor that are separated from other people. Spatial exclusion is known as the most evident kind of

exclusion – the phenomenon of social mobility when looking at consumption is evident by a change in the area of residence (Byrne 2005:117). In a South African context, social exclusion was connected with race during the apartheid years, however today social exclusion is based on income, and accordingly class.

The following passage describes 1990s Britain, but could easily apply to many South African cities:

Major locations for leisure – cinemas, shopping complexes, heritage trails – are more likely to have beggars squatting in the shadow of the entrances or sitting outside on pavements and benches, than at any time for decades. Inside, these spaces are increasingly surveyed by video cameras and patrolled by security guards. Management everywhere reserve the right to remove anyone who does not ‘belong’. They may be pleasure grounds for those who can afford to enter them, but they are exclusion zones for those who cannot. They have become fortresses of fun (Murdock in Dodson 2000:416).

Race, class and culture as identity

Any form of identity is generally considered to be a social construct because it refers not to reality but “rather to a discourse which is intended to bring order to things” (Martin in Bekker & Leildé 2006:53). Race, class and culture are considered as the most important identities that are being studied in South Africa (Gervais-Lambony in Bekker & Leildé 2006:55). In a study conducted by Simon Bekker and Anne Leildé in their book *Reflections on Identity in Four African Cities* (2006), it is evident from most respondents that class, and not race, is the determining factor in demographics and lifestyles in the suburbs. One respondent noted that: “... I think that the diverse, the difference between people is going to be class ... and not race, because a black person and a white person who are of the same class are going to find it quite easy to mix, because they have lots of things in common” (Puttergill in Bekker & Leildé 2006:126-127).

Popular terms like ‘upward mobility’, and ‘African middle class’ and ‘things in common’ emphasise the importance of class in solving the South African racial problem. There is a very clear inclination to differentiate by class rather than by race, because the former is regarded as much less problematic as upwardly mobile black people

increasingly join the middle class group (Puttergill in Bekker & Leildé 2006:127). This differentiation by class is evident in the landscape of Melrose Arch, where the mix of visitors seems to me to be a blend of white and black middle income groups, although it is still dominated by a primarily white population.

Application to Melrose Arch

Figure 16 displays one of the first residential units in Melrose Arch from the first phase of residential developments, known as Oak Lane. This development consists of 17 apartments, ranging from one to three bedroom units (Digest of South African Architecture 2006/7:134).



Figure 16: Inside residential unit, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photographs by JI Dannhauser.

These units are very upmarket and aimed at the higher income groups. According to the Melrose Arch website, their residential units are described as “... aesthetically appealing penthouses, cosy apartments and spacious lofts” Some of the new residential developments in Melrose Arch include The Lincoln, which is advertised as “Johannesburg’s answer to London’s Canary Wharf”,⁴ as well as Melrose Square on Oak Lane, inspired by the sleek look of the European loft apartments found in Paris, Antwerp and Milan (Melrose Arch website).

⁴ The European influence is clearly visible in Melrose Arch’s blatant selling of its apartments as European designs. The issue of Eurocentrism and Africanisation is discussed in the next section.

Although Melrose Arch ostensibly aims to cater for all income groups, so far the development has failed to provide affordable housing. Their flagship apartments sell for R8.5 million while their more affordable A4 apartment building (as part of residential Phase 2) will offer smaller apartments from 65m² to 193m² from R1.1 million up to R3.5 million (Pam Golding Properties website). This emphasises the focus on status and elitism: by providing housing only for the upper and middle income groups, Melrose Arch consciously excludes everyone who does not fall into that income bracket.

This is also true for most facilities provided in Melrose Arch. From the hotel, right through to the restaurants and kind of events that Melrose Arch offers, the focus remains on the middle income groups. An example is found in Figure 17, where a Food & Wine Experience is advertised, with the obvious target market the higher income groups, because wine tasting is the kind of activity undertaken by the middle and upper income groups, and not the kind of leisure activity attractive to the lower income groups.



Figure 17: Poster on Melrose Arch Food & Wine Experience, Melrose Arch, 2005. Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

The question then remains: is it possible to combine different classes/income groups into one landscape, as has been done successfully in Brickfields? Something to be kept in mind, is the 'Breaking New Ground' policy, implemented by the South African

Government – this policy calls for the building of sustainable communities close to areas with social and economic amenities (Madlala 2007). This policy was launched in September 2004, and puts emphasis on the need to achieve a “non-racial integrated society through the development of sustainable settlements and quality housing” (Thubelisha – Company profile – 2005/2006 Annual report). Complementing this policy is the Housing Minister, Lindiwe Sisulu’s plea to developers to allocate a specific percentage of all new developments to low-cost housing, which more and more developers are now doing; an example of this is the 25% low-cost housing implemented in the Blythendale project in KwaZulu-Natal (Madlala 2007).

The reality of this matter is that the kind of maintenance and infrastructure provided in Melrose Arch (examples of this are the security services, cleaning services, general maintenance of streets, benches, and lamps to maintain the upmarket feeling) is extremely expensive, and accordingly this also makes the levies of tenants very high. If more affordable housing were to be provided for the lower income groups, this would automatically imply that the higher income group would have to carry the additional expenses.

Furthermore, more affordable restaurants and shops would need to be provided which may take away the upmarket appeal and flavour on which this landscape is based and on which it relies. Exclusivity and elitism are part of the selling pitch and are also worked in as one of Melrose Arch’s themes. Thus developers should tread with great care when dealing with the issue of affordable housing.

The Melrose Arch Hotel is advertised as Africa’s first truly hip hotel, with modern elegance and sophistication as its aim (Johannesburg Hotel Guide). At the Hotel’s pool area, steel buckets are built on the pool deck, and, together with underwater music and water that changes from yellow to red to purple, complete the overall decoration of this area (Mbembe 2005:26), while one can dine while sitting at one of the tables located inside the pool (Figure 18).



Figure 18: Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photographs by JI Dannhauser.

Other facilities include the library and the sound room in which one can watch DVD's on the extra-large flat screen (SA Venues website). Once again, all the activities and luxuries provided are ideal for the kind of visitor to the Melrose Arch Hotel, focusing on leisure and entertainment within the setting of the Hotel. And with prices starting at R2 000 per night, one would expect preferential treatment to be on the menu for the day.

The following quote from Pierre Bourdieu (1984:287) is appropriate and true for the entertainment landscape of Melrose Arch, and concludes the aspect of class and status effectively:

the members of the professions, possessing neither the competence nor the dispositions needed to reinvest effectively in the economy the high economic profits they derive from their cultural capital, and being attached to 'intellectual values' by education and life-style ... find in smart sports and games, in receptions, cocktails and other society gatherings not only intrinsic satisfactions and edification but also the

select society in which they can make and keep up their ‘connections’ and accumulate the capital of honourability they need in order to carry on their professions.

4.2.3 Consuming and gazing at Melrose Arch

The appeal that Melrose Arch seems to hold for most visitors, workers and residents, is the prospect of consumption: food, consumer goods, leisure and even the landscape itself are consumed. In this section, I will give a background of consumption theory and how it connects with class theory,⁵ and then applies it to the landscape of Melrose Arch; the practice of the tourist gaze and how this relates to consumption is also referred to briefly. Because consumption is such a vast topic, only certain key aspects have been identified for the purposes of this study.

According to Guy Julier (2000:48), consumption involves the pleasure of possessing an artefact or it may entail the process prior to ownership of an article. Acts like looking, listening, smelling and even touching are also considered to be forms of consumption. Consumption may also include the use of time, especially in the case of leisure activities. According to Jean Baudrillard (1998:59), consumption is, just like the educational system, a class institution. There is not only inequality of objects in the economic sense, but there is also a fundamental discrimination in that only certain people “achieve mastery of an autonomous, rational logic of the elements of the environment” (Baudrillard 1998:59). People like this do not really deal with objects and do not “consume”, while the rest of the people are “condemned to a magical economy, to the valorisation of objects as such, and of all other things as objects: this fetishistic logic, is, strictly, the ideology of consumption” (Baudrillard 1998:59). In a country where there are no class distinctions according to bloodline, class is instead determined by means of wealth; the area in which one lives, the objects one possesses, as well as the kind of leisure activities in which one participates.

⁵ Class and elitism were discussed in the previous section.

There are a few ground rules by Don Slater (in Julier 2000:48) that stipulate how consumers may view the characteristics of consumption:

- ❖ Consumption is regarded as a cultural process. Although it requires economic means, the influence of taste must also be kept in mind (Julier 2000:48).
- ❖ Consumption involves private and personal choice within the marketplace, where the emphasis is on acquiring goods and services that were not produced by the consumer himself (Julier 2000:49). Consumption also seems impersonal since produced goods are usually not custom-made but produced for an unknown consumer.
- ❖ Consumer culture is regarded as a culture where the consumer has freedom of choice – as well as a sense of individualism that results from this.
- ❖ Consumer culture is based on the ever-increasing demand of the consumers to acquire more wealth and consume even more.
- ❖ In contemporary post-traditional society, consumption is used as the main method by which consumers construct their identities. However, this relationship between consumption and identity is extremely volatile.
- ❖ Increasingly, the types of commodities available for consumption are not only material goods but also representations and experiences (Julier 2000:49). This statement is supported by Mark Jayne (2006:5) when he mentions that consumption is increasingly about “ideas, services and knowledge – places, shopping, eating, fashion, leisure and recreation, sights and sounds can all be ‘consumed’”.

It is thus evident from the above-mentioned characteristics that consumption has evolved to become a postmodern concept that is used to construct identities by simulating and acquiring experiences and ideas. Although the idea of consumption aims to provide the consumer with freedom of choice and a kind of individualism, it appears to me to be rather conformist – the consumer is limited to consume that which is produced in big quantities, while those products and services that claim to be custom-made, are often still imitations of original ideas. Accordingly, the idea of consumerism is sold on the premise of simulated and constructed identities to be bought and consumed just like any other product.

According to Robert Bocoock (1993:2), “consumption as a set of social, cultural and economic practices, together with the associated ideology of consumerism, has served to legitimate capitalism in the eyes of millions of ordinary people”. Class identities can compare with identities based on race, gender, language, religion and nation (Clement & Myles in Veenstra 2005:252) and also with socio-economic status (Lamont in Veenstra 2005:252). This is because identities are always based on a certain distinction or grouping together of similar features. In addition, class is defined in terms of the above groupings, although socio-economic status seems to be the primary means of defining class identities.

There are a number of ways in which geography is involved in consumption behaviour: by means of the sites and patterns of consumption, as well as the spaces and places of consumerism. Recent changes in geographies have created a totally new consumer landscape of gentrified inner cities, shopping malls, entertainment landscapes and theme parks (Jackson & Thrift in Dodson 2000:414). Cities, as well as the places and spaces in them, can be consumed visually or literally. Accordingly, as city life has moved to being more oriented towards consumption, the ways in which consumers interpret these urban spaces is connected with their experience of everyday lives and concepts connected to value, use and meaning (Jayne 2006:7).

Shopping malls, for example, offer a fantasy landscape, often based on a historical or famous city, place or theme. Often this depiction is far removed from the place it represents, and is rather a representation of how the local designers envisage the original place. A good example of this is the South African representation of the so-called Tuscan style, which is far removed from the real Tuscan design and principles. The depicted theme in a mall or entertainment landscape is achieved by means of “carefully controlled references” (Crang 1998:126). Instead of a garden that presents the ideals of seclusion, the mall instead offers the enticement of consumption. The modern city is often represented as a place full of chaos and lurking danger. However, the mall markets itself as a haven, an enclosed area that ensures that the consumer is safe from any harm, while simultaneously recreating the ambience of an ideal little town (Crang 1998:127).

When looking at Melrose Arch, this enclosed precinct aims to protect residents and consumers alike by making use of access control and visible surveillance. Melrose Arch also reflects a small town feeling by means of its wide pavements, open areas and sidewalk cafes. For the consumer, the Melrose Arch experience feels like encountering a small European town, yet this representation is based on the developers' depiction of a European town, creating nothing more than a mere simulation of reality. This can even be regarded as false reality, since those consumers who have never encountered a real European town, base their perceptions on this themed and simulated environment.

According to Mike Featherstone (in Bocock 1993:30-31),

the term lifestyle is currently in vogue. While the term has a more restricted sociological meaning in reference to the distinctive style of life of specific status groups, within contemporary consumer culture it connotes individuality, self-expression, and a stylistic self-consciousness. One's body, clothes, speech, leisure pastimes, eating and drinking preferences, home, car, choice of holidays, etc are to be regarded as indicators of the individuality of taste and sense of style of the owner/consumer.

Consumerism today therefore appears to be an encompassing lifestyle – a way of living that defines one's image, personality and beliefs. It is becoming increasingly popular, especially for the young upcoming middle income groups, to flaunt their lifestyles and tastes so that their peers take note, yet simultaneously doing this in such a way that they do not appear to be boasting. These lifestyles are portrayed by the model cars they drive, the labels on their clothes, and also by means of their leisure activities – what they like to do in their spare time, and, more importantly, where they choose to pass their time. It is my opinion that certain South African leisure landscapes and malls are considered as passé for the so-called yuppie and buppie crowd. Malls like Menlyn Park and Kolonade in Pretoria are favoured by teenagers and families, whereas the young middle income groups favour more intimate “vibey” scenes like Menlyn Piazza in Pretoria and Rhapsody's at Centurion Gate Shopping Centre; as well as Melville and Melrose Arch in Johannesburg.

Consumerism as an active ideology claims that the meaning of life can be found in purchasing things and experiences, and pervades modern capitalism. This ideology

helps to legitimate capitalism and also motivates people to become consumers in both fantasy and reality (Bocock 1993:50). Consumption is an experience that can be located in the head, rather than regarded as the process of simply satisfying bodily needs (Bocock 1993:51). Consumer goods are part of the way in which people construct a sense of who they are, of their sense of identity through the use of symbols in consumption patterns (Kellner in Bocock 1993:52).

Modern and postmodern consumers will never be satisfied; the more they consume, the more they want to consume; consumerism has thus become the practical ideology of capitalism (Bocock 1993:69, 116). Desire is an important part of contemporary consumption; modern consumers become socialised in such a way that they seek satisfaction of their desires in consumer goods and experiences, which help to sustain the economic system of modern capitalism (Lyotard in Bocock 1993:75).

According to Bourdieu, the new petite bourgeoisie involves a meeting point between the disaffected, educated, bohemian middle class and the upwardly mobile, newly educated working class (Negus 2002:503). The term 'cultural intermediaries' was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in his book *Distinction* and was associated with the 'new petite bourgeoisie', a new kind of middle class that had grown in size since the middle of the twentieth century (Negus 2002:502). This petite bourgeoisie materialises in all occupations involving presentation and representation (for example sales, marketing and advertising). It also consists of all the institutions that provide symbolic goods and services, which includes those jobs in medical and social assistance (dietetics, doctors, psychologists) as well as cultural production (radio and TV presenters and journalists) (Bourdieu 1984:359). The new petite bourgeoisie distinguish themselves from the old petite bourgeoisie by adopting their own unique class identity and by blurring a number of conventional distinctions. An example of this blurring is the division between high art and popular culture, as well as the division between personal taste and professional judgement (leisure and work) (Negus 2002:503).

Traditionally, so-called high-brow tastes, what Bourdieu also termed 'legitimate' tastes, allow members of the dominant group to sneer at those that do not belong, while so-called low-brow tastes (popular tastes) are used by the less privileged to sneer at the

elites in their own gesture of strength (Veenstra 2005:249). While those at the top aim to distinguish themselves from those at the bottom, it is also clear that those at the bottom have their own taste and culture. According to Bourdieu, those at the bottom are more concerned about what is useful or necessary, which in turn provides a theory of popular culture that resists the tastes of those higher up the social ladder (Trigg 2001:105). Since there seems to be a “correlation between educational capital and the propensity or at least the aspiration to appreciate a work ‘independently of its content’”, elites who lose their commercial capital can still retain their cultural capital (Bourdieu in Shipman 2004:282). In the same way, newly acquired economic capital does not easily translate into cultural capital. By the time that the wider community gains ownership of the capital, it has already been drained of the features or context that gives it a monopoly.

According to the nineteenth century theorist Thorsten Veblen, there are two ways in which an individual can portray his wealth: either by means of extensive leisure activities or through expenditure on consumption and services (Trigg 2001:101). The theory of conspicuous consumption was first introduced by Veblen in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), and referred to the general practice of acquiring goods that are beyond one’s need for sustenance. This practice was, at the time of writing the book, only affordable by the wealthy, the so-called “leisure class” (Conspicuous Consumption, A century after Veblen 2005). This leisure class has, since then, expanded to include the middle classes as well, evident in the increasing amount of consumption and leisure activities undertaken today. However, as the population becomes more mobile and less close-knit, people are now becoming less well-informed about the leisure activities in which the people around them engage; accordingly the display of wealth by means of consumption becomes prominent over the display of leisure (Veblen in Trigg 2001:101).

It is evident that the display of conspicuous consumption in a contemporary context is more relevant in terms of the consumption of physical goods and not so much in terms of leisure activities. However, I am of the opinion that conspicuous consumption in terms of leisure activities is still relevant to a certain extent today. As previously noted, one difference is that conspicuous consumption now includes the middle income groups. Furthermore, with modern technology like e-mail, Internet sites like Facebook

and MySpace, as well as MMS and Mxit on one's cell phone, it is easy to display one's leisure activities to those around you, and accordingly people are not limited to the consumption of goods. This display of leisure activities is evident in the kind of activities engaged in at Melrose Arch; those that display a consumer's leisure activities include: frequenting upmarket restaurants, going to the Flagship Virgin Gym, looking at the art displays and sitting on the Melrose Arch Hotel's front porch overlooking Melrose Square (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Part of the front porch of the Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2007. Photograph by the author.

Consuming Eurocentric and Afrocentric cultures

Melrose Arch offers an interesting blend of themes and seems to cater for different cultures. The following service offering is quoted from its website:

Melrose Arch mixed-use precinct brings you the ideal urban lifestyle. An environment where all your needs – personal and professional – can be met in a consolidated, harmonious environment. Melrose Arch is alive with energy, social interaction and 'African internationalism'. Open spaces, secure public squares and sidewalk café seating in a pedestrian-friendly environment all mean taking advantage of the beautiful South African climate in a secure and social setting (Melrose Arch website).

Melrose Arch seems to be a new kind of space where the legacies of apartheid are no longer valid. As previously suggested, the focus in this landscape appears to be on class and not race, and this is an important aspect to keep in mind when analysing

Melrose Arch. A new kind of consumer elitism seems to be portrayed in Melrose Arch that integrates so-called Eurocentric and Afrocentric cultures.

The primary difference between Eurocentric and Afrocentric cultures is the fact the Afrocentric cultures tend to favour the social domain as the dominant aspect, with the emphasis being on community (Saayman & Kritzing in Steyn & Motshabi 1996:38-39). On the other hand, according to Robert J Schreiter in his book *Constructing Local Theologies* (1985), a Eurocentric culture favours the economic domain, with its root metaphor being the marketplace (Saayman & Kritzing in Steyn & Motshabi 1996:38-39). In Melrose Arch, both these cultures are represented since the social domain and the economic domain are emphasised equally.

In an Afrocentric culture, the attitude to the environment is manifested in the religious and familial domains, which are closely related (Steyn & Motshabi 1996:38-39), whereas in a Eurocentric culture, the attitude to the environment is clearly manifested in the economic domain. The individual ownership of land conveys the message that the environment is an exploitable and consumable resource that lies at the disposal of human beings. In many European cultures, this message is sometimes contradicted by the message conveyed by 'nature conservation' signs from the leisure or entertainment domain (Steyn & Motshabi 1996:38-39). New Urbanism is a clear example of this nature conservation aspect as this development movement is based on the concept of sustainable communities by designing landscapes that promote walkability, moving the focus away from the car and towards cycling and walking as the primary modes of transport. By making use of quality architecture and urban designs with the focus on quality of life, the developers of New Urbanism ensure that these landscapes will have a lasting appeal to their citizens.

“Relax in Melrose Square, which is surrounded by restaurants with open-air sidewalk seating exuding a distinctly European flavour with an African zing” (Melrose Arch website). According to Achille Mbembe (2005:26), Melrose Arch resembles a miniature European city, with buildings arranged around cobbled piazzas. The influence of Europe is prominent in the design and layout of the cobbled streets, the square, lampposts, arches, fountains and pot plants. This European influence is represented clearly through the presence of the Europa Supermarket (Figure 20),

which has evolved from a coffee shop/deli to a fully fledged restaurant. The menu has been updated and a cocktail menu has also been added (Melrose Arch website).



Figure 20: The Europa Caffe Bar & Restaurant, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Yet, all these features combining both an African and European influence are only applied on the surface; these features are ultimately a theme by which the landscape is sold and consumed. The precinct of Melrose Arch is neither a truly European nor an African landscape – the fact that the developers used an eclectic mix of themes underscores this.

At the same time, the “African” influence is visible in Kilimanjaro, an African-elitist nightclub that focuses on the hip and trendy modern black market. This nightclub was closed down at the time of writing and now features *The Venue* – according to the Melrose Arch website, “a unique and versatile facility designed to host all your conferencing, corporate and social function requirements” (Figure 21).



Figure 21: The Venue, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The restaurant Moyo (Figure 22), located in the popular High Street, describes itself as Modern Sophisticated African, and has definite African influence in its coloured bar seats, wooden couches (Figure 23) as well as the attire of the waiters (Figure 24).



Figure 22: Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Part of this popular restaurant's appeal, as described on its website, is that Moyo offers "an intricate fusion of African flavours, textures, sights, sounds and smells, creating the greatest feeling of all: expectation" (Moyo website).



Figure 23: Outside of Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 24: Waiters' attire at Moyo, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Thus, the overall theme of Melrose Arch is eclectic, combining a European flavour with African influences, yet simultaneously attempting to create a cosmopolitan vibe with restaurants such as Orient (Figure 25) and Giovanni's. These various restaurants offer French, Mediterranean, African, Asian and European cuisine (Mbembe 2005:26).



Figure 25: Entrance to Orient restaurant, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Some of the other restaurants and shops with European or African themes are:

- ❖ Cocoa Diva (Figure 26) – This delicatessen offers handmade Belgium and Swiss chocolate as well as imported Cuban cigars;



Figure 26: Cocoa Diva, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

- ❖ Crêpe & Latte – A French Crêperie, also offering Italian coffee and gourmet sandwiches;
- ❖ Euro Casa – This furniture merchant represents leading Italian kitchens and manufacturers and also create unique designs according to client specifications;

- ❖ Obert Contemporary (Figure 27) – This art gallery showcases the work of African artists (Melrose Arch website).



Figure 27: Entrance to the Obert Contemporary Art Gallery, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

In the times before the automobile, the hierarchy of streets operated as an organiser of urban form. Towns were primarily structured with a High Street, which was the locus of both public and religious buildings, while the low street acted as the focus of commerce. This started to change with the advent of the automobile – the accommodation of traffic has now become the primary aim in urban development (Mertins & Shim 1988). In Melrose Arch this traditional concept of a High Street (Figure 28) also seems to be reversed (although the precinct uses the traditional European city as its model). Melrose Arch features only a High Street which is the centre of commerce and social activities and culminates in Melrose Square while the other two main streets, Crescent Drive and Melrose Boulevard (although not regarded as low streets), primarily host businesses and a few restaurants. Because this is a private development, there are no public and religious buildings present which are traditionally part of a High Street. It is thus clear that Melrose Arch uses the concept of a High Street and adapts it to suit its own requirements: this emphasises the misrepresentation of the European theme and the eclecticism by which it is surrounded.



Figure 28: The High Street sign, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

When looking at the design of Melrose Arch, it is clear that this landscape, as mentioned in the quote in the beginning of this section, advertises itself as a landscape featuring African internationalism. However, the design uses an eclectic fusion of elements from Eurocentric as well as Afrocentric cultures. I would say that the appeal of Melrose Arch apparently lies in its internationalism, which attracts the white middle income group, yet it adds enough local flavour to appeal to the elite black middle income group as well. With regard to the tourist industry, the unique combination that Melrose Arch offers would also appeal to the tourists, offering a simulated African experience, yet in an environment familiar enough that they would still feel comfortable. The design of Melrose Arch is thus primarily European in nature, only integrating enough African aspects to be able to sell itself as an Afrocentric design. This also shows that many upmarket landscapes still base their design on European aspects in order to appeal to the upper middle income group. The idea of what an African upmarket design might entail still leaves much to explore and implement in the future.

With regard to consumption, it is evident, according to Bocoock (1993:80), that ethnicity may affect patterns of consumption applicable to style of dress, taste in music as well as leisure pursuits. This is because consumption patterns are used to maintain and emphasise differences between ethnic groups and to demarcate boundaries between these ethnic groups, pointing some out as members and others as outsiders. I would

say that the above statement seems to be true for Melrose Arch only to a limited extent because the main differentiator in the Melrose Arch precinct is not ethnicity, but wealth. The kind of consumption undertaken in this landscape seems to include anyone who is willing to spend money. Although the products, services and activities that are available in this precinct have a definite European or African focus, this seems to be only a thin veneer over the product in order to appeal to the applicable markets. Also (apart from the physical design which is primarily European in nature), it is clear that Melrose Arch is ultimately a cosmopolitan landscape; its consumers are probably not too concerned about the extent to which their specific culture is represented and catered for there.

The tourist gaze

According to John Urry (1990:2-3), there are some characteristics regarding tourism and the tourist gaze that are worth mentioning:

- ❖ Tourism is regarded as a leisure activity which entails the opposite of regulated and organised working activities. It is an example of how work and leisure are ordered as separate entities of social practice in modern-day societies.
- ❖ The places which are gazed upon are not usually connected with work, and often they offer very definite contrasts with the idea of work.
- ❖ The places which are chosen to be gazed upon are usually based on anticipation. This anticipation is in turn based on fantasy or daydreaming.
- ❖ The tourist gaze seems to be directed towards aspects of landscape and townscape that distinguish themselves from everyday experience. These features are viewed because of the fact that they are perceived to be out of the ordinary.
- ❖ The tourist gaze is constructed through signs, while tourism has to do with the collection of signs. Tourists have certain preconceived ideas about the places they visit and what they expect to see, an example being two people kissing in Paris that the tourist gaze interprets as 'timeless romantic Paris'.

The tourist gaze is thus also regarded as a leisure activity to be consumed; by gazing at the environment tourists are immersed in a landscape and become part of its

activities. Although the places gazed upon in Melrose Arch are not exotic or historic, they are still gazed upon because of their fantasy appeal. To see people socialising and interacting at the various restaurants during the middle of a weekday creates a sense of longing and a certain degree of envy. In this sense, Melrose Arch activities may be viewed as those activities that are not part of everyday experience.

Tourist sites can furthermore be classified according to the following dichotomies: whether they are objects of the romantic or collective tourist gaze; whether they are regarded as historical or modern; and lastly whether they are authentic or inauthentic (Urry 1990:104). Because the tourist gaze is so universal, the kind of places that are subjected to this gaze are now constructed not in terms of production or symbols of power, but as sites of pleasure (Urry 1990:125). When applying Urry's three dichotomies to Melrose Arch, it seems to be an object of the collective gaze, in other words, it is a public place where large numbers of people are present at the same time (Urry 1990:45) and this helps to create its attraction. Melrose Arch is also regarded as modern and counterfeit. The design, although based on classic European-style piazzas and squares, is still modern, especially with regard to the buildings. The landscape is also regarded as an imitation because of the fact that it is based on existing themes and produces an eclectic environment.

One of the strong objections against modernism was the fact that it generates uniformity or placelessness. Therefore it was deemed difficult to build large numbers of buildings which would seem attractive to tourists who want to gaze upon the distinct (Urry 1990:125-126). It must also be kept in mind that each of these places will be viewed from a variety of perspectives: there is usually a distinction between what visitors and locals see in a specific place, while the viewpoints of old and new residents may also differ significantly (Urry 1990:126). When looking at Melrose Arch, the concepts of visitors and locals differ significantly from the distinction that was made by Urry. In Melrose Arch, the locals are indeed also visitors; since this landscape is such a new development, even those working and living there are still immersed in this fantasy environment. Furthermore, there are no associations with history as is the case in other naturally developed areas and suburbs. It must be remembered that Melrose Arch was conceived holistically from the beginning and did not develop over a long period of time in the same way that most suburban and urban

areas did. In this sense, it can be regarded as constructed, artificial and open to contesting interpretations.

4.2.4 Utopianism

Utopianism forms part of most entertainment and themed landscapes in that they portray a certain kind of nostalgia, illusion and escapism. This forms part of the selling point of these landscapes by providing a place for consumers to escape from reality and enter a world with seemingly less responsibility. In this section, the theory of Utopianism is briefly discussed in order to tie in with the history of utopian landscapes already discussed in Chapter Three. Some of the principles of utopianism by Martin Parker are discussed and applied to Melrose Arch. I will also look at the three approaches of Lane Jennings to create utopias in the future. The aim of this section is to establish whether Melrose Arch can be regarded as a utopian environment and determine the extent to which the utopian ideal is reflected there.

As previously noted, the term utopia was first coined by Sir Thomas More in his little book called *Utopia*, which was published in 1516 (see Chapter Three). Originally this word meant 'nowhere', but in time its meaning has changed to now mean 'a good place'. Because of this change in the meaning of the word, the opposite, dystopia was also invented, which connotes 'a bad place'. Where utopia expressed desire, dystopia expressed fear (Aldridge 2003:53). The term utopia is closely connected to the ideas of ideology. A simple definition of utopia is one that regards utopias as "man's dreams of a better world" (Eurich in Davis 1981:12).

The history of Utopianism is only briefly mentioned here as this has already been discussed (see 3.2.7). As previously pointed out, the French Neoclassical architects like Etienne-Louis Boullée and Claude Nicholas Ledoux established designs that were utopian in idea. Ledoux's Chaux was a city based on an open plan design and outstanding features and was termed as his "Ideal city" (Rosenau 1983:100-101). William Morris of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society also tried to create an idyllic life of financial security and in close proximity to nature (Davey 1980:21). Ebenezer Howard subsequently created the Garden City movement and also pioneered the first Garden City in Britain (Katz 1994:xv). The development methods of the Garden

Village, Garden Suburb, Satellite Town, and New Town were all different variations of the original Garden City (Ward 1992:24).⁶

Marxist theory first achieved a union of the particular conceptions of ideology (Mannheim 1936:66). A state of mind is usually utopian when it is inconsistent with the state of reality wherein it occurs. This incongruence is visible in the fact that this state of mind in experience, thought and practice is oriented towards objects that do not actually exist (Mannheim 1936:173). Utopias are often regarded as premature truths. A utopian idea can either represent an epoch which is already finished, or it can be representative of an order of existence still in the process of emerging; it is the dominant group that decides what can be regarded as utopian, and the ascendant group which is mostly in conflict with the status quo that determines what is ideological. It is very difficult to determine what, at a given period, can be considered as ideology and what as utopia. This difficulty arises from the fact that utopian and ideological elements do not occur alone in the historical process (Mannheim 1936:183).

Space and place (discussed in the next section) are fundamental concepts to utopia. This is because utopian visions have powerful links with the geographical, physical and spatial ideas of social organisation (Burrell & Dale in Parker 2002:106).

When looking at the concept of utopia from an organisational point of view, there are a few principles which have to be kept in mind. These principles are listed below and applied to the concept of New Urbanism and subsequently to Melrose Arch:

Protection: The utopia usually offers protection of a spiritual, political, physical and moral nature to the community (Parker 2002:108).

- ❖ New Urbanism promises a protected environment; this is specifically applicable in the South African environment and can be seen in Melrose Arch with its surveillance cameras and security guards.⁷

⁶ Discussed in Chapter 3.2.3.

⁷ Security and Control were discussed in the Section 4.2.1.

Boundaries: Utopias are often presented as divided from the non-utopian and dystopian world by providing clear lines of isolation (Parker 2002:108).

- ❖ Most South African New Urbanist environments are private property and accordingly isolated from the general public. Access is usually granted on the premise that the visitors intend to consume either by shopping, dining or some kind of leisure activity. Melrose Arch is an example of such a private space in the sense that continual surveillance takes place by the many cameras on the premises as well as a large number of guards patrolling the area. By emphasising these control mechanisms, the boundaries are thus enforced and the sense of inclusion/exclusion is emphasised.

The 'beastliness' of the outside as well as the 'bestliness' of the inside: The utopian boundary is intended to contain all that is regarded as superior and worthy of nurture, while simultaneously keeping anything that is regarded as beastly outside (Parker 2002:108).

- ❖ This statement connects with the previous principle by implying that by creating boundaries, the management of Melrose Arch can decide who is allowed in their landscape and who should be excluded. The concepts of exclusion and inclusion are here paramount as the landscape management has the final decision to allow people into the landscape. In a New Urbanist context, exclusion and limited access are practised in a number of ways, for example by limiting access to only one street and equipping this street with a guard house, or the most extreme version being gated communities where only residents are allowed (Bodenschatz, New Urbanism and the European perspective – Presumption, Rivalry or Challenge?). Melrose Arch practices the concept of inclusion and exclusion by creating a landscape that is primarily intended to appeal to the taste of the middle classes and which can only be afforded by them.

Control: Utopian thinking refers to the concept 'harmony' instead of 'control'. Because many utopias seek harmony within their environment, they hinder individuals from behaving in a certain manner in order to keep the peace (Parker 2002:108).

- ❖ This aspect of control also ties in with New Urbanism since most of these landscapes are controlled by a body corporate or precinct management that

strives to create a certain environment by providing rules and regulations as well as systems of surveillance. In the Melrose Arch environment, control is practised by means of signs stipulating certain rules by the precinct management, for example parking and firearms regulations. Any kind of invasion of privacy is strictly controlled; for instance, I had to obtain written permission in order to take photographs on the premises. Accordingly, privacy is highly regarded and anyone who does not subscribe to these rules may be asked to leave the premises.

Patterns of behaviour: Many utopian environments have to follow preset patterns of behaviour that have been determined even before the community has been established (Parker 2002:108-109).

- ❖ Melrose Arch has unwritten patterns of behaviour in that those people who frequent the landscape are very much in the same “class”. As this is advertised as an upmarket environment, people are expected to behave in a certain manner according to the image that this landscape intends to portray. For example, one rarely sees families and children in this landscape; it is primarily ‘yuppies’, ‘buppies’ and middle aged to older people who frequent it.

Formality: Often utopian thought lays down certain rules and regulations that are meant to be formal and objective and understood by all (Parker 2002:109).

- ❖ This again ties in with the aspect of control; it is interesting to study the way in which the management of a certain precinct communicates with its visitors, residents and workers. Melrose Arch makes use of big signposts and also advertisements on the lamp poles and walls of the development.

Thus, I am of the opinion that New Urbanism can be regarded as a form of Utopianism, as seen from the above principles and applications. It is also clear that Utopianism is only possible in a society that has the wealth to afford this ideal concept. Utopianism is not necessarily regarded as a blueprint for the perfect society, but is rather perceived as a movement of hope. Its value lies in the fact that it undermines the dominant thinking and understanding of ideas, and instead opens up new conceptual spaces for imagining possible futures (Fournier in Parker 2002:192). Utopianism may be labelled as unimaginative and predictable. It becomes a matter of

weighing up the two options: utopians give up the freedom to choose, act, change and discuss; in turn they gain defensive freedom and a well-ordered society (Parker 2002:60).

The utopian mode is eminent by its constant pursuit to acquire “legal, institutional, bureaucratic and educational means of producing a harmonious society”, and since nature and man proved to be inadequate, artifice appears to be the alternative (Parker 2002:371). This statement appears to be true for most, if not all New Urbanist societies. These developments are all based on certain themes and ideologies, sometimes a simulation of an existing ideal or historic aspect, and sometimes a new concept. Melrose Arch is no exception: its fusion of Eurocentric and Afrocentric aspects is an attempt to create a utopia where everyone can live in harmony.

As already illustrated, different individuals in different times have tried to create a utopian society. However, because utopianism for the most part required its members to follow the same set of rules, all the attempts at building a better world have failed. This is because humans are just too diverse to conform to one set of rules, ideas and values. With the aspect of competition coming into play, people tend to choose sides which result in an “us” against “them” scenario (Jennings 2007:32). Accordingly, Utopianism may differ according to the specific market: because people and communities are so diverse in their needs, beliefs and habits, it seems to be quite impossible to create a standard model for Utopianism.

Lane Jennings has identified three possible approaches to create utopias in future; these are called Safe Havens, Free Zones and Artificial Worlds.⁸

Safe Havens

Before the modern era in which we now live, isolated cultures that had very different value systems could co-exist in a peaceful manner. Safe havens like these are now harder to find, however there are a few isolated groups (for example Chinatown or Little Italy) which have established themselves in large cities successfully, proving that

⁸ Artificial Worlds refers to the Internet domain and is not discussed here as it is not relevant for the purposes of this study.

it is indeed possible to function in the normal world, yet also remain apart successfully (Jennings 2007:33).

Free Zones

Sometimes individuals have the need to indulge in something that is not normally acceptable social behaviour. Although it is society's responsibility to guard its members against danger associated with irrational behaviour, some cultures have designed ways to give free rein within strict boundaries, for example the annual Mardi Gras in New Orleans and the Carnival in Rio. Many other Free Zone areas exist where people may indulge in activities that would be considered impolite and dangerous in other areas. These Free Zone areas include bars, casinos, amusement parks and private clubs (Jennings 2007:35-36).

Melrose Arch can be regarded as a Safe Haven rather than a Free Zone. This landscape has indeed succeeded in establishing itself as a separate city within a city, yet still manages to integrate with Johannesburg. When applying Utopianism in such a way that the landscape does not become an isolated area, it can be regarded as a successful kind of Utopianism. Therefore, the extent to which Utopianism is applied in Melrose Arch is regarded as adequate to create some form of escapism, yet not strong enough to mislead and create a false sense of illusion.

Utopianism seems to be one of the biggest criticisms against New Urbanism. According to Peter Marcuse (*The New Urbanism: The Dangers so Far* 2000), New Urbanism has so far created a series of insulated, homogeneous middle class communities which are exclusionary in practice and gated in concept. These communities appeal to a nostalgia for a past which was never experienced, and reflect a fear of the urban.

I believe that the divide between reality and Utopianism is something which should be approached with great care. An environment that seems to be too far removed from reality may also damage people's perceptions of reality, in that an expectation is created that all cities and streetscapes need to conform to these ideals. People used to these utopias could then act in the same manner in "normal" communities, which

might lead to problematic scenarios; for example individuals coming from a safe environment, tend to be negligent in terms of their own safety in environments where they should be more aware of their surroundings. Ultimately, Utopianism remains an ideal concept and ideology that is usually removed from the reality of everyday life, and applied by most developers as a “theme” rather than reality. There is even a security complex in the Eastern suburbs of Pretoria called “Utopia Place”, which proves to show the way in which developers sell their complexes based on false realities.

4.2.5 Space and place

Space and place seem to be two concepts that are self-explanatory in nature, yet they remain very complex, ill-defined and unclear in the social sciences and humanities. In their everyday use, the concepts of space and place are often associated with terms like region, location, landscape and environment (Hubbard in Atkinson et al. 2005:41). This complexity of space is reflected in the fact that there is no universally accepted definition for this specific concept. Space is not an immaterial idea; it is the “embodiment of cultural, political and psychological phenomena” (Cavallaro 2001:170). Accordingly, “[w]hereas space refers to the structural, geometrical qualities of a physical environment, place is the notion that includes the dimensions of lived experience, interaction and use of a space by its inhabitants” (Harrison & Dourish in Hornecker:sp).

Edward Relph, in his book *Place and Placelessness* (1976), discusses the ways in which “places manifest themselves in the consciousness of the lived-in world”, in other words describing the various aspects of places as they are expressed in the landscape. One of the major concerns in Relph’s writing, however, is the fact that certain places seem to be more authentic than others. Another matter of concern is that community belonging, as well as a ‘sense of place’ only surface where the bond between people and the specific place is entrenched (Hubbard in Atkinson et al. 2005:43).

Place is often associated with the concepts of security and enclosure, while space is linked to freedom and mobility (Tuan in Atkinson et al. 2005:43). It is, however, the

ideal to consider the concepts of space and place in terms of a cultural geography that explores the relation between these concepts, thus implying that both space and place are created and recreated by means of networks which involve people, practices, languages and representations (Hubbard in Atkinson et al. 2005:47). This is also the approach that I am taking in the application of space and place to Melrose Arch. In Melrose Arch, place is emphasised by means of visible security in the form of guards and surveillance cameras. Space, in turn, is emphasised by the fact that one can drive or walk around in this precinct; most amenities are in close proximity and accessible to visitors and residents alike. Melrose Arch offers freedom of movement and choice – people can go anywhere and do anything in this landscape, provided they have the means to pay for it.

Space and place are organised according to the concept of absence-presence – place is defined by face-to-face encounters and space is defined in terms of the relations between absent others (Giddens in Gottdiener 1995:292). According to Sharon Zukin, a prime example of the privatisation of public space is the transformation of public parks: these were usually built as public places for people to meet and participate in common activities (in Gottdiener 1995:303). However, today these spaces seem to be on the decline, while new areas of public meeting places are propagated in the form of private commercial spaces like shopping malls and simulated theme parks (Gottdiener 1995:304).

This new kind of meeting place is a result of a number of factors, including:

- ❖ The unwillingness of governments to create and maintain public areas;
- ❖ The ever-increasing fear around crime in public places;
- ❖ The increase in leisure activities and the growing leisure industry and an increased involvement of private security in the general management of 'public' spaces (Gottdiener 1995:304).

One of Sharon Zukin's major concerns is the fact that public culture is shaped by the private sector, which presents three problem scenarios:

- ❖ Firstly, only those sites that enhance property prices are developed;

- ❖ Secondly, access control to these so-called public spaces lies in the hands of the security companies who exclude unwanted social groups;
- ❖ Thirdly, there is an attempt to control the environment by means of population flow, which results in a culture favourable to commerce (Zukin in Gottdiener 1995:304).

According to Henry Lefebvre (1974:73) in his seminal book *The Production of Space*, social space “subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity”. While it is developing, the idea of social space becomes broader to infiltrate the concept of production, in essence becoming part of its content (Lefebvre 1974:85). When looking at the consumption of space, it is clear in terms of Lefebvre’s argument that there can be no consumption of space without the prior production thereof. The understanding of the production of space can be twofold: firstly, the production of space is a direct part of the capital accumulation process – thus implying that capitalism is changing settlement space into a commodity. Secondly, the natural world has disappeared and in its place commodification, surveillance and land regulation are now the dominant practices (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp).

Today, most kinds of leisure activities are examples of the consumption of space; sites like theme parks, shopping malls and country clubs are commodified and regulated environments where the consumption of space can take place freely (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp). Thus, most activities involve some or other form of spatial consumption, with the built environment forming the backdrop against which consumer culture takes place (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp). In a landscape like Melrose Arch, the fact that people can now consume their workspace, living space and play space within the same environment, gives a whole new perspective to the consumption of space. When different spaces overlap like this, consumption is more intense than in areas where only singular consumption takes place. Thus, when looking at place and space, one should assess whether the consumption and production of these places are intended to be consumed individually or as part of a whole lifestyle package. When living in a space like Melrose Arch, the consuming of place and space is a continuous process and as such much more effective in terms of economic consumption.

According to Henry Lefebvre, during industrial capitalism the main activity was the circulation of commodities, while today the main activity is the circulation of leisure activities, with tourism involving the circulation of people to certain locations where consumption takes place in the form of sport, amusement and leisure (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp). A very important element in the consumption of space by means of tourism is the presence of places to shop. The focus today is on themed environments; anything from restaurants, malls, hotels and monuments are themed. What draws people to malls and theme parks today, is these environments' reputation as spaces of consumption, with architecture being used to 'seduce' the consumer in a commercial environment (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp). This is evident in Melrose Arch: the architecture is designed in such a way to attract people and create an illusion of a sophisticated European city. However, once one starts to consume, an interesting combination of African and European influences is suddenly available.

Signs and themes also play a big role in consumption – symbols and environments are consumed equally along with goods and services. Ultimately, the success of themed environments lies in the fact that they are not only spaces of consumption, but because the experience they offer consumers seems to be a spatial experience, in other words, they promote the consumption of space itself (Gottdiener in Chaplin & Holding 1988:sp).

Henry Lefebvre (1974:410-411) rightly states that:

Space is becoming the principal stake of goal-directed actions and struggles. It has of course always been the reservoir of resources, and the medium in which strategies are applied, but it has now become something more than the theatre, the disinterested stage or setting, of action. Space does not eliminate the other materials or resources that play a part in the socio-political arena, be they raw materials or the most finished of products, be they businesses or 'culture'. Rather, it brings them all together and then in a sense substitutes itself for each factor separately by enveloping it. The outcome is a vast movement in terms of which space can no longer be looked upon as an 'essence', as an object distinct from the point of view of (or as compared with) 'subjects', as answering to a logic of its own.

Indeed, space no longer fulfils the role of a neutral stage on which actions take place. It instead manifests in all our actions and is portrayed by means of consumption and production.

The space in malls and entertainment landscapes is usually enclosed in order to insulate the environment from outside influences (Kowinski in Van Eeden 2005:50). This is thus a simulated space in which the actions and commerce that take place are constrained by rules from those forces that manage the particular space. Zukin (in Van Eeden 2005:52) is of the opinion that commercial landscapes tend to displace the local contexts and instead replace them with random visual themes. This is true for Melrose Arch, as already discussed in the previous section regarding Eurocentric and Afrocentric views, since the landscape is based on a theme featuring various themes and symbols. The developers are free to use whichever aspects they would like to represent this landscape – nothing needs to be truly representative of the theme, usually resulting in an eclectic mix of themes. Space can never be regarded as neutral, it is invariably “filled with politics and ideology” (Keith & Pile in Van Eeden 2005:55).

According to Marks, the privatisation of public space has led to the “thematization and commodification” of space (in Van Eeden 2005:57). This is clear in the Melrose Arch slogan, namely “The space to be yourself” (Figure 29, 30). This alludes to the idea that whoever visits, lives or works in this complex, has the freedom to make their own decisions and be whoever they want to be. This is a false claim because this particular space is still linked to capitalism and the elitist notion of choice and empowerment through money.

Themed and controlled environments like Melrose Arch are very strict in terms of access, control, rules and regulations. Anyone who visits this landscape needs to comply with these rules or else the precinct management has the right to remove such individuals from the premises. An example of this is the fact that, as already mentioned, no-one is allowed to take any pictures or videos without prior arrangement from the precinct management; this is done by filling in a form and proving that one represents some or other institution. Accordingly, a slogan like “The space to be

yourself” only supports the theme that the precinct management wishes to portray, regardless of whether this is true or not.



Figure 29: Advertisement in Melrose Arch precinct, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 30: Advertisement on Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

When looking at the way in which space is arranged in Melrose Arch, it is striking how much open space is used in this environment. This in itself illustrates the status of Melrose Arch when considering that prices of land in such a prime area must be exceptionally high. However, the developers of Melrose Arch wished to acknowledge

the importance of ample open space to contribute to the overall sense of place. This is done by making generous use of space in the roads and intersections (Figure 31). In addition, the use of benches, fountains and wide flower beds contribute towards creating a sense of place, with the wide sidewalks, traffic crossings and roads in the precinct easing traffic while simultaneously making it more accessible to pedestrians.



Figure 31: Ample use of space, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The largest amount of space is located in the public areas, for example Melrose Square. Because of the wide pavements and the ample space surrounding the Melrose Arch Hotel, which is located adjacent to the square, the Square appears to be much bigger than it really is.

However, because undeveloped land is still available (as seen in Figure 32) and also a great deal of developments taking place as part of Phase 2, the current perception of ample space might be altered once the whole precinct is completed.



Figure 32: Undeveloped land, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The largest part of open space in Melrose Arch is in the form of lawns and gardens between the residential and office buildings (Figure 33). This is done more for the office workers and residents really than for visitors as these areas are not visible from the main public places in Melrose Arch.

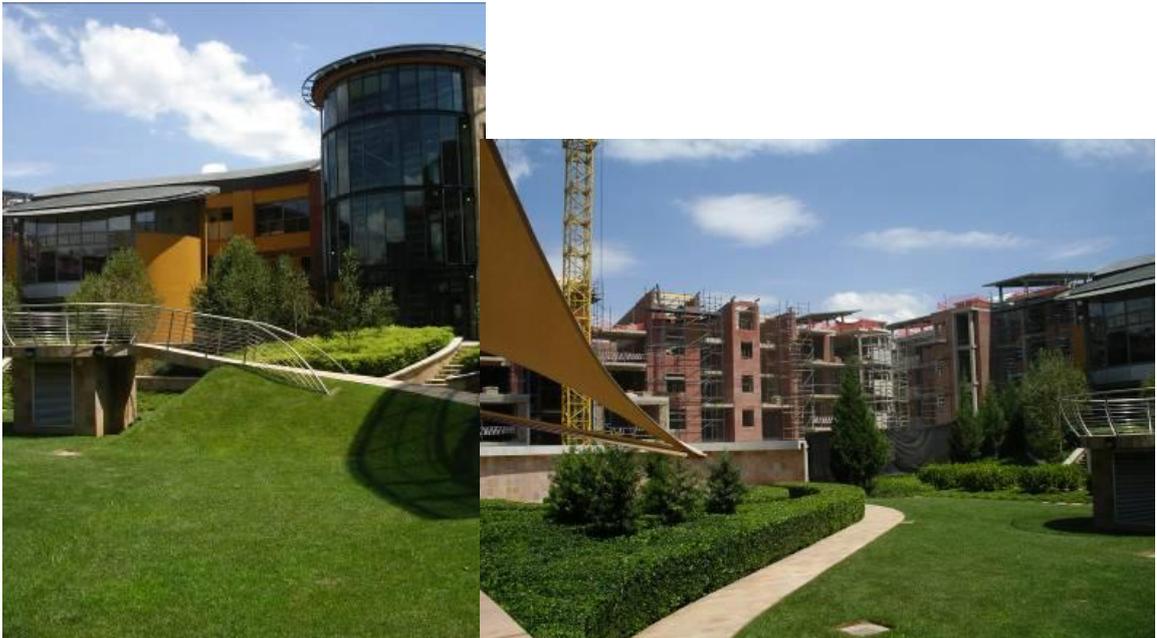


Figure 33: Gardens and lawns, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photographs by JI Dannhauser.

Space and place in Melrose Arch seem to be highly manipulated and therefore express ideological concerns. It must be remembered that the way in which a

landscape like this portrays space and place, and the real essence and meaning of these concepts, differ significantly.

4.2.6 Simulacra

Simulation is a key element of the capitalist world, and has been addressed by various thinkers, of which Jean Baudrillard's writings are the most famous. According to Baudrillard, there are three orders of simulacra or western culture which have emerged since the Renaissance period (Gane 2006:282). The first is the classical order of the counterfeit, where copies of nature are produced and reproduced. In the second order of simulacra, what counts now is not the reproduction of nature but rather the "indefinite reproducibility" of certain articles, resulting in the series, instead of the original becoming of main significance (Gane 2006:282). What is of interest here is to what extent Baudrillard's viewpoint correlates to that of Walter Benjamin⁹ in his essay entitled "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", written in 1936. In this work, Benjamin claims that the reproduction of a work of art – even if this proves to be a perfect reproduction – is still lacking one element: its presence in time and space (Marxists Internet Archive). According to Benjamin, "that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art" (Marxists Internet Archive). Moreover, the mechanical reproduction of a work of art usually changes the perception of the masses toward art (Marxists Internet Archive). What must be decided is how important the audience perceives the aura of the original work to be: if this is a perfect reproduction and the aura is not so much of importance, it may, as Baudrillard argues, become just as valuable, or even more so than the actual original.

However, if the time and space in which this work of art have been created, as well as the aura of the work, seem to be of significant importance to the work of art itself, reproducing it may seem to result in a simulation that is regarded as worthless. This is especially true when the perception of the masses towards a work of art is changed,

⁹ Walter Benjamin was born on 15 July 1892 in Berlin and committed suicide in 1940. He considered himself as a literary critic rather than as a philosopher. His most prominent works include *Illuminations*, *The Origin of German Drama*, *Reflections*, *Moscow Diary*, *The Arcades Project* as well as *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1936) which is arguably the most influential of all his essays (The European Graduate School).

which will also determine to a great extent the value and significance of both the original and the reproduction. However, no matter how ‘true’ the simulation of a particular object or article is or how the significance of the series proves to have credence, ultimately the context in which the work of art has been created, is still lacking in the reproduction of these artefacts.

In the third order, which is known as the order of simulation, it is clear that, according to Baudrillard (in Gane 2006:282), “there is no more counterfeiting of an original, as there was in the first order, and no more pure series as there were in the second; there are only models from which all forms proceed according to modulated differences. Only affiliation to the model has any meaning”. In this third order of simulation, it is clear that the importance now lies with the particular model on which forms are based, thus, no real original exists and the reproduction of the model is evaluated in terms of its association with the particular model.

When contextualising Melrose Arch in one of the discussed orders of simulation, it is my opinion that Melrose Arch is a fusion of the second and third order of simulation. As already mentioned, in the second order of simulation, what is of importance is the reproduction of articles that result in a series: this is true in the sense that Melrose Arch (like most entertainment landscapes and shopping malls today), is based on an eclectic mix of design features and physical locations primarily located in Europe. The cobbled piazza, for example, is part of a series of reproduced areas visible in most cities, landscapes and entertainment areas. There is no one original on which these features are based, Europe is filled with piazzas and open squares, which are all regarded as originals. Modern landscapes simulate this and many other features in an attempt to recreate the aura of these public spaces. However, as Benjamin states, what is usually lost in these reproductions, is the context and aura of the original spaces. By reproducing any original area, developers often attempt to transfer the aura to the new landscape, this is however not possible (in the sense that a landscape like Melrose Arch will never truly feel like a historic European city), and developers must instead aim to create a new aura to suit the modern simulation of a historical concept.

Melrose Arch also forms part of the third order of simulation, since it is based on a model on which its design is founded. Most of its design features are aspects that proved to be successful in many other similar landscapes. New Urbanism, which is its main design framework, can be regarded as belonging to the third order of simulation in that New Urbanism is a combination of various aspects and features combined into a model to be used by landscapes that want to fit into this category of simulation.

Representation originates from the idea that the sign and the real are equivalent – even if this is utopian. On the contrary, simulation then originates from the Utopia of this principle of equivalence. While representation aims to absorb simulation by interpreting this as false representation, simulation surrounds the whole structure of representation as a simulacrum (Gane 2006:283).

According to Jean Baudrillard (1983:5), “to dissimulate is to feign not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one hasn’t. One implies a presence, the other an absence”. While representation aims to understand simulation by interpreting this as false representation, simulation includes the entire creation of “representation as itself a simulacrum” (Baudrillard 1983:11).

Because simulation originates “from the utopia of this principle of equivalence” (Baudrillard 1983:11), it is clear to me that the absence which is so pertinent in simulacra is masked by developers in that they claim to design original landscapes. This is also where the design model of New Urbanism is of significance; this model claims to be an original design feature, using historical elements like the Garden City and New Towns and creating a new design movement which is unique in its approach and application. Yet, can New Urbanism be regarded as an original concept, or is this just a very good reproduction of original ideas, a simulation and a muddle of historical design principles in order to create the perfect fake? It is my opinion that New Urbanism as a concept is nothing more than a type of simulacrum, cleverly camouflaged to be perceived as an original and pioneering concept.

Baudrillard describes the nature and problem around representation and simulacra in the following quote: “it is no longer a question of the ideology of work ... but of the scenario of work”.

In the same way, it is also not anymore

a question of the ideology of power, but of the scenario of power. Ideology only corresponds to a betrayal of reality by signs: simulation corresponds to a short-circuit of reality and to its reduplication by signs. It is always the aim of ideological analysis to restore the objective process: it is always a false problem to want to restore the truth beneath the simulacrum (Baudrillard 1983:48).

The themes that were discussed in the above sections were identified by me as being important in terms of New Urbanism and very significant in a South African discussion. The implications of the discussed themes are manifold and it is clear that they do indeed play a significant role in New Urbanism – in so far as this movement is affected by issues like security, class and Utopianism.

Simulacra is of importance because of the fact that Melrose Arch is not only based on New Urbanism as a theme, but also simulates various aspects which essentially contribute in making this landscape a fake and eclectic representation. Contributing to the above is the sense of superficiality, evident in the quotation below from Andy Warhol (Figure 34). In our hedonistic and outrageous society, it is acceptable and even fashionable to admit that you are a superficial person seeking pleasure and money.



Figure 34: Poster for Melrose Arch Champagne event.
Source: Melrose Arch Website/Events/Melrose Arch Champagne evening.

4.3 Application of principles of New Urbanism to Melrose Arch

Melrose Arch is advertised as a New Urbanist development where living, working and playing are integrated. For the purposes of this study, it is necessary to determine whether it is indeed a New Urbanist environment, and if so, to what extent the principles of New Urbanism are applied there. Because I am using Melrose Arch as an application of a New Urbanist environment, it is thus important that we assess this landscape in terms of its success in implementing the New Urbanist principles. It must be borne in mind that Melrose Arch is only scheduled for completion during middle 2010, which may still affect the degree to which it can be regarded as a New Urbanist environment. It is also important to assess whether Melrose Arch applies and adapts the principles of New Urbanism to a South African context.

It must be remembered that the whole landscape of Melrose Arch is constructed according to a specific theme, in essence constraining this space by assigning certain attributes to which it must conform. The nature of the theme is upmarket and the attributes that reinforce this thematic unity include the manner in which Space and place, Status and elitism, and Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism are represented. Even the main architectural development style that is discussed in this dissertation, namely New Urbanism, can be regarded as a theme in that even this style is constructed, artificial and based on other types of residential, entertainment and commercial landscapes.

The principles of New Urbanism that are used for this assessment, are those circulated by the official New Urbanism website. NewUrbanism.org was established in 1998, and is now regarded as a leading and respected website that promotes New Urbanism. This website is independently owned with no connection to any other organisation (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Robert Steuteville, editor of New Urban News, an online professional newsletter aimed at developers, architects and builders (New Urban News), has also identified principles on which New Urbanists should base their designs. For the most part, these principles overlap with the ones from the New Urbanism website; where this is the case, I will integrate these principles into the analysis of Melrose Arch. Half of the subscribers to the New Urban News are also members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU)

(Congress for the New Urbanism); all CNU members receive automatic membership to this newsletter. The New Urban News is highly regarded, as is evident in the following quote from Andres Duany, co-founder of the New Urbanist movement:

New Urban News has already become an indispensable tool of the movement to Traditional Town Planning. We, the beleaguered few, it turns out, are many and very active. This periodical is the record of a revolution (New Urban News).

Principles of New Urbanism

The principles of New Urbanism have already been discussed in Chapter Three; I am now returning to these principles in order to apply them to Melrose Arch and consider to what extent Melrose Arch may be classified as a good example of New Urbanism. Each of the principles of New Urbanism is listed below and then discussed and applied to Melrose Arch. Images are used to illustrate and emphasise the statements. Some of the principles discussed by Robert Steuteville from the New Urban News have also been incorporated into the principles below:

1. Walkability

Most places need to be within a 10-minute walk from both home and work – the street design should be pedestrian-friendly, for example buildings should be close to the street front, there should be on street parking and garages at the back of houses, and slow speed streets (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities).

Even though Melrose Arch is still in the process of being developed, it is already evident that it will comply with the close proximity rule. The area on which Melrose Arch is built is not vast, and thus all destinations within the precinct will be in close proximity to one another. As evident in Figure 35, buildings are located right on the street front, which creates an ambient and interactive environment. Restaurants are located in Melrose Square as well as in the High Street, with all of them providing tables situated on the sidewalks. This also contributes toward encouraging pedestrian activities, as the presence of people socialising in the cafes and restaurants creates the perception of a cozy and safe (and European) environment. Parking is available on both sides of most streets, making it very convenient to shop and dine since people can park right next to their location.



Figure 35: Europa Supermarket on the corner of Crescent Drive and The High Street, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

There is, however, also underground parking available, which is not in accordance with the principles of New Urbanism since ample parking in the form of underground parking encourages people to make use of cars instead of walking. However, it must be remembered that the majority of shoppers and diners would still be visitors to the precinct, which means that the majority of them need to make use of cars. This is firstly because of the fact that the residential part of Melrose Arch is still being developed, and even when it is complete, will not provide enough housing to make it economically viable for shops and restaurants to only serve residents. I have, however, noticed that quite a number of people (especially during lunch hour) from the surrounding area do enter the main gates on foot. Furthermore, I have noted that drivers of motor vehicles tend to drive relatively slowly and carefully within the precinct – something which is quite rare in the South African environment.

According to the tenets of New Urbanism, pedestrian streets should aim to be free of cars as far as possible (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This has already been discussed in connection with the above principle. I have noted that, although walking is quite popular in this environment, no other alternative transport methods are used, for example bicycles or roller blades.

New Urbanism principles state that streets should be quite narrow and shaded by trees – this slows down traffic and also creates a suitable environment for pedestrians

and bicycles (New Urban News). This principle is not adhered to in Melrose Arch; because this is a newly built landscape, the trees are still very small, currently providing very little or no shading. However, most of the buildings have been designed in such a way as to provide shading to people walking on the sidewalks.

The streets of Melrose Arch are quite wide (Figure 36), which is in contrast to the New Urban specifications. It is my opinion that the design actually works in this instance; in a South African environment people are used to big spaces, in contrast to many European cities. By using space generously in this way, the designers indeed encourage pedestrian activities since there are enough places to interact with other people and also look through the shop windows while walking on the wide sidewalks.



Figure 36: Street design, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Melrose Arch does not seem to struggle with the problem that most shopping malls experience, which is that often too many people are found in their confined spaces, resulting in agitation and irritation. This may change, however, once the new shopping complex is complete and may result in overloading the landscape's capacity. As can be seen in Figure 37, the intersections are constructed from brick paving, which also contributes to making the streets more pedestrian-friendly as this simulates the idea of cobbled European streets. The intersections are also very wide, and based on the same idea than that of the wide street design, this also increases visibility and reduces traffic congestion.¹⁰

¹⁰ The use of space was discussed in Section 4.2.5.



Figure 37: Traffic crossing, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

2. Connectivity

An interconnected street grid network disperses traffic and makes walking much easier (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities).

As can be seen in Figure 38, the three main streets in the Melrose Arch precinct, namely Melrose Boulevard, The High Street and Crescent Drive, are all connected in a triangular fashion. This design makes the area pedestrian-friendly as everything is in close proximity and there is no need to walk backwards and forwards. Another factor that contributes towards a positive design, is the fact that two of the roads within Melrose Arch, namely Melrose Boulevard and the High Street, extend beyond the precinct into the public domain, leading directly to Corlett Drive, which is one of the main access roads in the Melrose area. Old House Lane and Short Street in Melrose Arch are both cul-de-sacs, but since both of them are not located in the hub of activities, but rather host the residential and business areas in Melrose Arch, this does not have an effect on accessibility within the precinct.

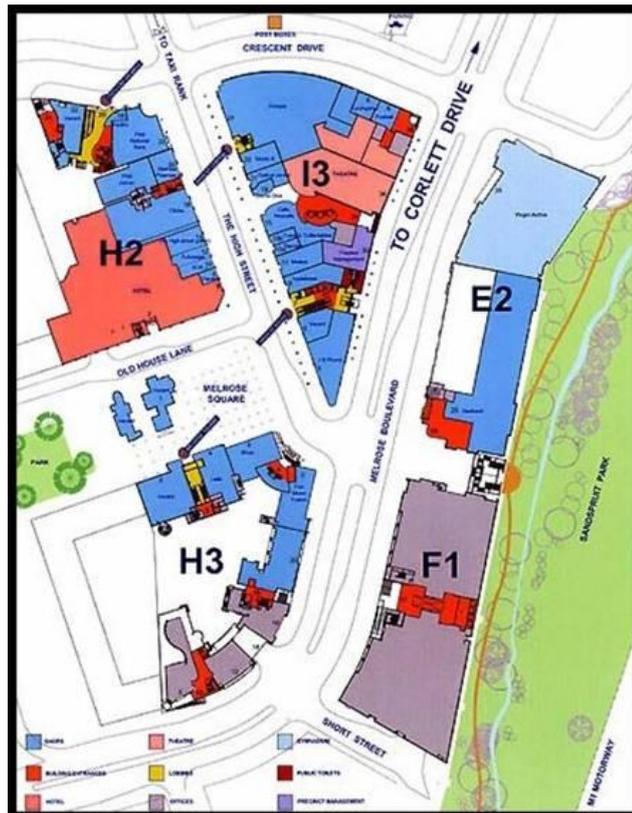


Figure 38: Melrose Arch street layout, Melrose Arch, 2005. Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.

3. Mixed use and diversity

A mix of shops, offices and homes in the same precinct should be propagated. Mixed use should even be applied within the same buildings as far as possible (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This notion is applied successfully in the sense that there is an equal mix of residential areas, offices, shops and recreational activities in the Melrose Arch precinct.

Diversity of people in terms of age, income levels, cultures and races should be strived for (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). As already discussed in Section 4.2.2, diversity in terms of age and income levels is not representative in this landscape. Melrose Arch is an exclusive landscape that focuses on the middle income group and not so much on affordable housing and services. Diversity in terms of culture and race is represented more in terms of class than race; however, even though Melrose Arch is frequented by the upcoming black middle income group, the majority of visitors to this landscape are still predominantly white.

4. Mixed housing

A wide variety of different types, sizes and price ranges in close proximity to each other (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This aspect is not efficiently dealt with in Melrose Arch: the residential offerings are all focused on the middle income group, with even the smaller, more affordable apartments selling for R1.1 million (Pam Golding Properties website). Most housing in Melrose Arch ranges from the mentioned R1.1 million to about R8.5 million for a penthouse (Property 24.com). When looking at types and sizes, the precinct does offer versatility in that the residential apartments are designed with different themes in mind. Yet, all these themes seem to be European in nature; accordingly, it does not seem to offer much of a creative variety. An example of this (as mentioned in the section on Class, race and elitism), is the Lincoln that is based on London's Canary Wharf, while Melrose Square on Oak Lane's design is based on the European loft apartments that are found in cities such as Paris, Antwerp and Milan (Melrose Arch website).

5. Quality architecture and urban design

The emphasis should be on aesthetics, comfort and creating a sense of place (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Melrose Arch has been developed in such a way so as to focus on the aesthetic appeal and design of this landscape. The focus is definitely on innovative architectural design features and aspects to create comfortable surroundings. The use of coloured glass in the design of the residential apartment buildings on Crescent Drive is quite innovative (Figure 39). This four-storey apartment building hosts two exterior lifts constructed from coloured laminated glass with Vanceva interlayer.¹¹ The colours of the shaft were designed to follow the rainbow spectrum, and change from red at the top to violet at the bottom. This postmodern colourful glass has become a “vibrant contributor to the panache and elegance of Melrose Arch as a precinct, and to the emotional and intellectual stimulation of its residents” (*Built* magazine, November/December 2006:38).

¹¹ Solutia's Vanceva range of coloured interlayers can be used as single layers or in combinations of up to four layers, and can give more the 1000 colour variations. This glass has benefits such as UV protection, durability and sound control, and can be used in a wide variety of applications. In addition, this glass does not crack under changes in temperature, neither does the colour fade (*Built* magazine, November/December 2006:36, 38).

According to *Built* magazine (2006:36), the intensity of the coloured glass has been used as a counterpoint to the ultra-modern and new-urban style that is replicated by the apartments.

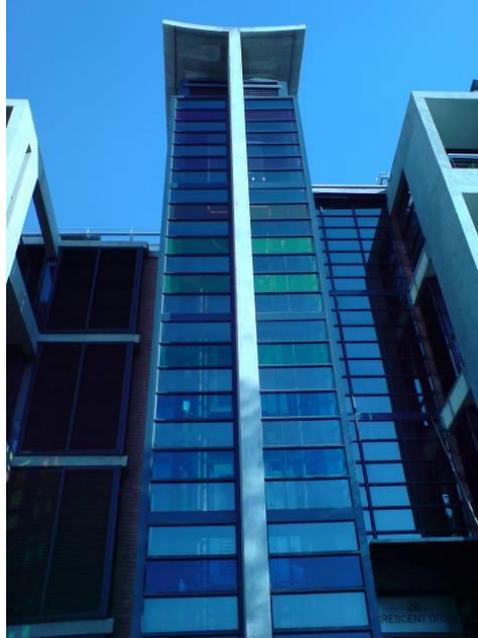


Figure 39: Residential apartment building on Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

As can be seen in Figures 40 and 41, Melrose Arch uses innovative ways to indicate its streets and building names.



Figure 40: Creative way of indicating street names, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The use of stainless steel is prominent in this landscape, and the combination of different textures on which these stainless steel signs are used, is also creative and original and typical of postmodernism's focus on texture and surface.



Figure 41: Creative way of indicating street names, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The Melrose Arch Hotel makes use of steel, glass and light to emphasise its entrance – this stimulates the tourist gaze by making use of visual attraction (Figure 42).



Figure 42: Entrance to the Melrose Arch Hotel, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

There are various aspects in the Melrose Arch precinct that contribute to creating comfort and a sense of place. The presence of fountains and water features contribute to creating an aesthetic appeal and a peaceful environment (Figures 43, 44).



Figure 43: Fountain on the corner of Melrose Boulevard and The High Street, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 44: Water feature, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Other features that contribute towards a sense of place are the presence of benches (Figure 45) in Melrose Square as well as along the roads in the precinct. Pot plants are placed at various locations in Melrose Arch to contribute to the overall appeal of the landscape (Figure 46).



Figure 45: Bench in Melrose Square, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 46: Pot plants in Melrose Boulevard, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

As evident from the above examples, the design of Melrose Arch focuses on creating an ambient atmosphere and a sense of place. The architecture of the precinct is based on themes that simulate the specific feel that the developers wish to portray. As already mentioned in the beginning of this section, the theme seems to be upmarket in nature, conveying a sense of elegance unique to Melrose Arch.

6. Traditional neighbourhood structure

The neighbourhood should have a discernable centre, as well as ample public space at this centre (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Melrose

Square is the hub of this precinct (Figure 47) – the restaurants located in the square, namely The Meat Company, Moyo and Ocean Basket, as well as Orient and JB’s corner (which are located close to Melrose Square), form the core of activity in Melrose Arch.



Figure 47: Melrose Square, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

This public open space could have civic art designs (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This is evident in Figure 48; this pavement art is part of Melrose Square, which is located in the heart of Melrose Arch. Figure 49 also portrays some civic art designs which can be found on the perimeter walls, as well as in the parking arcade.



Figure 48: Melrose Square pavement, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 49: Wall paintings surrounding the precinct, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The neighbourhood should make use of transect planning: in other words, highest densities should be located at the centre, with less dense areas towards the edge of the precinct. This transect system is an analytical system that takes mutually reinforcing elements and conceptualises them in order to create natural habitats and lifestyle settings. Accordingly, the professional boundary between the natural and man-made disappears, which enables environmentalists to assess the design of the human habitats, and the urbanists to support the viability of nature (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Transect planning is used to a certain degree in Melrose Arch: while the hub of activities is located in Melrose Square and alongside The High Street, most of the offices and residential areas are located towards the boundaries of this landscape alongside Crescent Drive, Old House Lane, Short Street, Melrose Boulevard and Oak Lane. This balancing of elements creates a harmonious integration of lifestyles; the centre of activity is close enough to the offices and residential units, yet far enough in order for residents and workers to function in peaceful surroundings.

7. Increased density

The environment should provide a mix of shops, residences, services and businesses as close together as possible, creating an easy walking environment (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Melrose Arch is compact enough to comply

with this principle – the mix of different uses is close enough in order for one to walk conveniently to any of these buildings. The wide sidewalks and streets also make it pedestrian-friendly to walk the streets and drivers of cars seem to take more note of pedestrians than would be the case in normal city streets. Although the presence of benches contributes towards creating a friendly environment, the fact that not enough shade is provided by the trees yet, could deter pedestrians to a certain degree, especially in the scorching African sun.

8. Smart transportation

A pedestrian-friendly environment should be created which encourages the use of bicycles, rollerblades, scooters as well as walking as a daily transport system (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). Currently, the only kind of pedestrian activity practiced in Melrose Arch is walking. Apart from cars, other means of transport are private taxis, as can be seen in Figures 50 and 51.

A network of high-quality trains which connect cities, towns and neighbourhoods together should be established (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This principle is not practiced at all, or even viable in the South African environment and as such is not regarded as successfully applied in Melrose Arch. However, this is not something within the control of such a small private development, but rather a bigger infrastructure problem.



Figure 50: Taxi stop, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 51: Official Taxi Service, Melrose Arch, 2005.
Photograph by JI Dannhauser.

9. Sustainability

The neighbourhood should be energy efficient and reduce the use of finite fuels by promoting more walking and less driving. Also, it should encourage eco-friendly technologies, and by doing this cause minimal environmental impact (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). The neighbourhood is a self-governing body, making its own decisions regarding security, maintenance and so forth (New Urban News). This principle is evident at Melrose Arch in the presence of signs like the one displayed in Figure 52, as well as other signs stipulating that no firearms are allowed in the precinct and the sign stating that vehicles may be searched. Because this property is privately owned by Southern Palace Investments, the rules and regulations governing it are determined by these owners. Matters regarding security, right of entry and the functioning and management of Melrose Arch are all decided upon by the management body.



Figure 52: Notice board, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

10. Quality of life

When all the above aspects are added up, this creates a high quality of life, and also creates places that inspire the human spirit (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). It must be kept in mind that the vision to integrate all the above principles of New Urbanism is propagated by its developers and advocates as being the perfect way of life. This is, however, only a matter of opinion and no real proof exists yet if this is really the solution to Urban Sprawl and over-populated suburbs. In theory, the concept of New Urbanism seems to be a very likely solution to many of the problems caused by over-population and pollution. However, many studies still need to be conducted in order to determine the success of this development style. The aim of this study was to examine a singular landscape based on the principles of New Urbanism, and determine its degree of success, taking into consideration the South African environment and the success with which this landscape takes the local environment into consideration.

Benefits of New Urbanism

The benefits which New Urbanism holds for residents, business developers and municipalities are manifold, according to the New Urbanism website (New Urbanism.

Creating livable sustainable communities). When looking at the benefits for residents, the following are included: higher quality of life; better places for living, working and playing; less traffic congestion; close proximity to the main street retail and services; communities that are pedestrian-friendly and thus offer more opportunity to get to know others; more freedom and independence to children, the elderly and the poor in that they do not need cars or people to drive them anywhere; better sense of place and community identity; and more open space (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). In Melrose Arch, most of the above-mentioned benefits are realised; although cars still play a big role in Melrose Arch, the roads are pedestrian-friendly and everything is in close proximity.

Benefits to businesses include: increased sales because of more foot traffic as well as people spending less on cars; better lifestyle by living above the shops in live-work units; smaller spaces promoting small business incubation; and lower rents, which is the result of smaller spaces and smaller parking lots (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). These benefits are not entirely true for Melrose Arch as there is no provision for live-work units, and the cost of retail space in this precinct is exceptionally high.

With regard to the benefits to developers, these include more income potential from higher density mixed-use projects; cost saving in parking facilities; and less impact on roads, which results in lower impact fees.

Lastly, the benefits to municipalities include a stable, appreciating tax base; less spent per capita on maintaining infrastructure; less traffic congestion due to walkability; less crime and thus less spend on policing; less resistance from community and an overall better community image and sense of place (New Urbanism. Creating livable sustainable communities). This is true for Melrose Arch since this landscape has its own security company and takes charge of its own maintenance.

According to the Congress for the New Urbanism, there are various principles to guide public policy with regard to development practice: these principles are divided into macro and micro levels, starting with the region: Metropolis, city and town, then moving onto the neighbourhood, district and corridor and lastly the block, street and

building (Congress for the New Urbanism). For the purposes of this discussion, I will briefly consider the neighbourhood, district and corridor as well as the block, street and building. The metropolis, city and town will be omitted due to its irrelevance for this study in that New Urban developments are currently only undertaken by private developers and are not yet implemented in our country as part of city and town planning. Also note that many of these principles overlap with the principles of New Urbanism already discussed and accordingly will either be excluded or only mentioned briefly.

The following principles are of value when evaluating the neighbourhood, district and corridor:

1. Neighbourhoods should be pedestrian-friendly and compact mixed-use landscapes. Districts usually focus on a special single use, and often follow the principles of neighbourhood design. Corridors are the regional connectors of neighbourhoods and districts, and range from boulevards to rivers and parks (Congress for the New Urbanism).
2. Many of the daily activities should happen within walking distance; this gives independence to those who do not drive (Congress for the New Urbanism).
3. Transit corridors, when they are planned and coordinated properly, will help to organise the metropolitan structure and also revitalise urban centres. Highway corridors should not be allowed to displace investment from existing centres (Congress for the New Urbanism).
4. Suitable building densities and land uses should be within walking distance of transit stops; this enables public transport to become a viable alternative to the car (Congress for the New Urbanism).
5. Various concentrations of civic, institutional and commercial activity should be embedded in neighbourhoods and districts, and not isolated in remote complexes (Congress for the New Urbanism).
6. A range of parks and community gardens should be placed about the neighbourhoods. Conservation areas and open land should be used to define and connect different neighbourhoods and districts (Congress for the New Urbanism).

These principles of the neighbourhood, district and corridor are neither applicable to Melrose Arch nor to the surrounding area. The mentioned principles are guidelines for city and town planners who wish to extend the movement of New Urbanism to the whole area. In South Africa, however, New Urbanism is only applied to private developments as local governments do not implement these principles in big areas.

When looking at the block, the street and the building, the following principles are of importance:

1. A primary task of urban architecture is the physical definition of streets and public spaces as places of shared use (Congress for the New Urbanism).
2. Individual architectural projects should be linked to the environment; this issue seems to be more important than style (Congress for the New Urbanism).
3. The revitalisation of urban places depends on the safety and security of these places. Therefore, the design of streets and buildings should reinforce safe environments, however not at the expense of accessibility and openness (Congress for the New Urbanism).
4. The streets and squares should be safe, comfortable and interesting to the pedestrian (Congress for the New Urbanism).
5. The architecture and landscape design should evolve from the local history, building practice and topography (Congress for the New Urbanism).
6. Buildings should provide their inhabitants with a clear sense of location, time and weather. If possible, natural methods of heating and cooling should be applied (Congress for the New Urbanism).
7. The preservation and renewal of historical buildings and districts will affirm the continuity and evolution of the urban society (Congress for the New Urbanism).

Most of these aspects are applied in Melrose Arch: streets are defined in terms of shared use, buildings seem to be linked to the environment by means of large expanses of lawn, and generally residents and visitors feel secure in this landscape.

Below is a table which indicates the ten principles of New Urbanism and an evaluation of Melrose Arch against them. Please note that this is by no means scientific and only based upon my opinion. It is almost impossible to measure the compliance of Melrose

Arch to these principles in a quantitative manner, as most of the principles are regarded as a matter of opinion.

**Key:
10 point scale**

- 1 – 2: Non compliance
- 3 – 4: Limited compliance
- 5 – 6: Adequate compliance
- 7 – 8: Partial compliance
- 9 – 10: Full compliance

A ten point scale is used in order to show in a qualitative manner the extent to which Melrose Arch applies to the ten New Urbanism principles. The scale is divided into five categories of compliance in order to add more meaning to the ratings. All these ratings are then reworked to get an overall compliance rating of the Melrose Arch landscape. All these ratings, including the overall score, are based purely on my opinion.

Principles of New Urbanism	Melrose Arch's compliance to the principle	Author's comments
1. Walkability	6	Melrose Arch generally encourages walkability by locating most activities within a close proximity and also by creating a pedestrian-friendly street design. However, when looking at the amount of cars still travelling the few streets within this precinct, it is evident that, although there is sufficient encouragement for being a pedestrian, the South African car culture is too deeply ingrained in most people to forfeit their cars. The reality is that in order to get to Melrose Arch, people still need to make use of either public transport or their cars. Although this precinct encourages public transport by providing bus stops and taxi ranks, the majority of visitors (especially the market to which Melrose Arch appeals) are not likely at all to make use of public transport. It is not yet possible to establish how many people who work in this precinct actually live here, making it difficult to determine pure close proximity to home, work and recreational activities. Another aspect of this New Urban principle, is the prescription to make use of narrow streets, and as already mentioned, the streets in Melrose Arch are exceptionally wide.
2. Connectivity	7	The three main streets in Melrose Arch form an interconnected street grid. Once again, as mentioned above, there are no narrow streets and alleys at this stage.
3. Mixed use and diversity	8	The combination of mixed uses is applied quite effectively in Melrose Arch, both within blocks and to a lesser extent buildings. According to the interactive map on the Melrose Arch website, there are an equal mix of single-use and mixed-use buildings. In terms of diversity, Melrose Arch is not very equally represented in terms of age, race and culture.

4. Mixed housing	2	So far, this principle is not adhered to very efficiently. The range of housing in terms of price is limited to the middle income group with no big range in terms of affordable to luxury apartments. When looking at diversity in terms of design it is clear that although different themes are used, the range of themes is not very wide.
5. Quality architecture and urban design	9	Melrose Arch complies quite effectively with this principle, since it focuses on aesthetics, comfort and creating a sense of place. The architecture is also of a very high quality.
6. Traditional neighbourhood structure	8	Melrose Arch complies with this principle quite successfully as it does have a discernable centre with a public space at this centre. There is also sufficient public open space designed as civic art. Lastly, the use of transect planning is applied to a certain degree in this precinct, however only once the whole precinct is fully developed, will the effectiveness of this planning be fully illustrated.
7. Increased density	9	Melrose Arch is designed with most of its buildings in close walking proximity, this is thus a compact environment which complies with this principle.
8. Smart transportation	2	It must be kept in mind that South Africa has a very limited public transport system, thus resulting in non-compliance to this principle. However, the precinct management does attempt to encourage other means of transport by providing bus stops and taxi ranks within the precinct. Walking is quite popular here, although other means like bicycling and rollerblades have not been explored yet.
9. Sustainability	5	In terms of sustainability, this principle is perhaps the most difficult to determine as the extent to which this precinct has an environmental impact is difficult to assess. The only part of this principle which is definite, is the fact that it is a self-governing body with its own management.
10. Quality of life	8	Keeping all the above principles in mind, the author would say that Melrose Arch is a place well worth living in, although many of the above principles are not yet, or never will be complied with.

*Disclaimer: Please note that, as already mentioned; Melrose Arch is still being developed. Accordingly, the opinions and rate of compliance discussed above may change significantly once this precinct is fully developed.

Also note that, since my comments are conclusions drawn from the previous discussion on the principles of New Urbanism (Section 4.3), there might be a certain degree of repetition.

The three primary roads in Melrose Arch are Crescent Drive, Melrose Boulevard and The High Street. As already mentioned in the section on Consumption, the High Street is the centre of commerce and leisure activities, much opposed to the original idea of the Low Street featuring these aspects.

When looking at the tenant mix of Melrose Arch, the equal mix of offices, residential units and entertainment areas seem to be balanced. Melrose Boulevard (Figure 53) consists of existing and new developments and is the only street in Melrose Arch that runs through the precinct.



Figure 53: Melrose Boulevard, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

Crescent Drive (Figure 54) is less busy because it is currently on the outskirts of the development. However, the new shopping and office phase is being developed on Crescent Drive which could possibly give this road equal status in terms of traffic volume to The High Street and Melrose Boulevard.



Figure 54: Crescent Drive, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

As can be seen in Figure 55,¹³ many of the main attractions of Melrose Arch are still in development phase. Although this landscape is planned to be completed in 2010 (as mentioned previously), the majority of its developments are either complete or currently in progress.

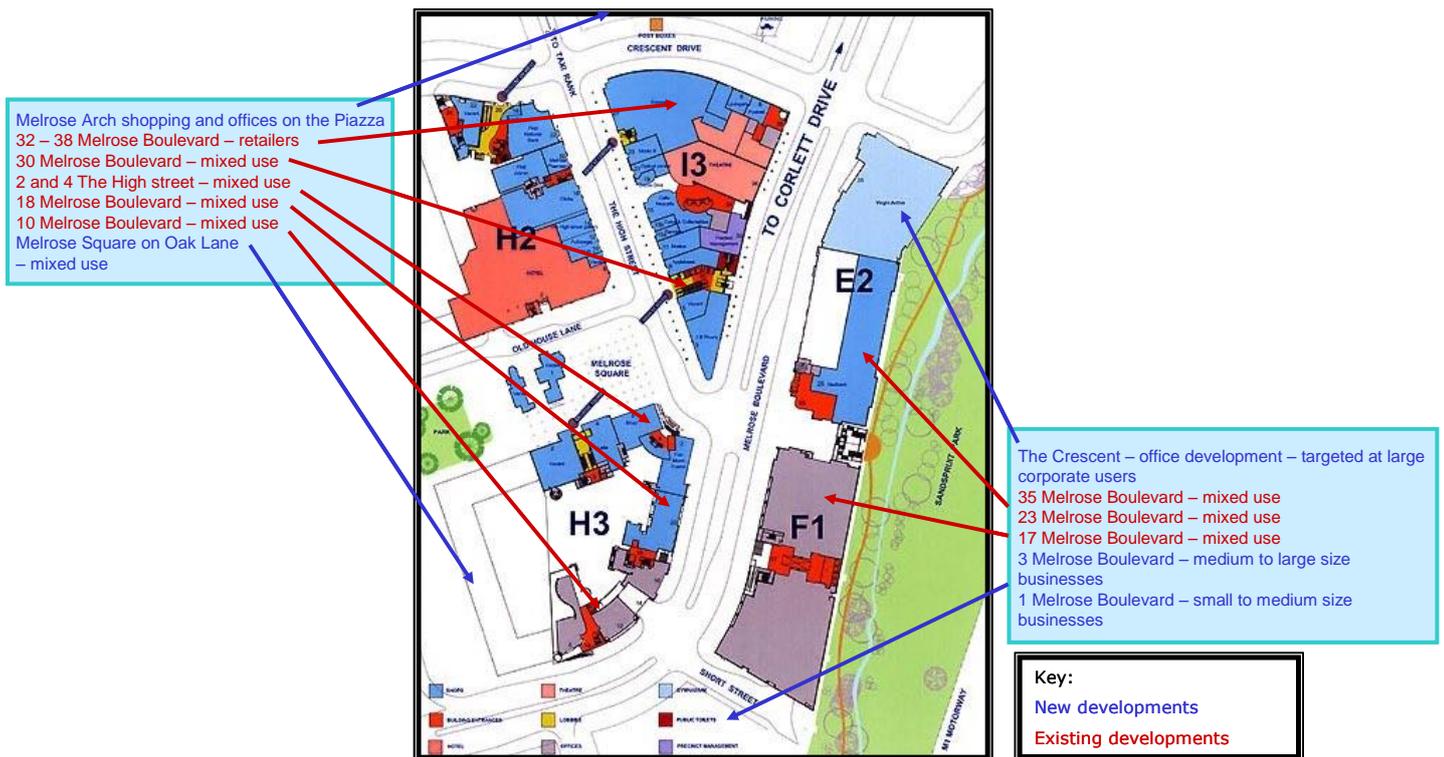


Figure 55: Street layout of Melrose Arch with developments as indicated by author, 2005.
Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.

¹³ Please note that this is an outdated map of Melrose Arch, hence the arrows pointing to blank areas. An updated map is available on the Melrose Arch website; however this is not available in a format to be copied.

The Melrose Arch shopping and offices on the Piazza development is inspired by European aspects, as is evident in the below quote from Melrose Arch development company director, Nicholas Stopforth:

Inspired by international shopping streets, such as Regent's street in London, and Grafton Street in Dublin, and squares such as the Piazza del Campo in Sienna, Melrose Arch Shopping will be the nucleus of the Melrose Arch mixed-use retail, office, residential and leisure precinct, which forms a genuinely integrated urban experience (*Built Magazine* January/February 2007:50–51).

The Melrose Arch shopping centre integrates seamlessly with the existing Melrose Arch theme and aims to connect the two high energy public squares, namely the existing Melrose Square and the planned Piazza in the mall. The Piazza will feature an open-air theatre for performing arts and will be a pulsating meeting place in a themed traditional urban context.

As is evident from Figure 56, the majority of buildings are, according to the Melrose Arch website, utilised as mixed-use areas. What is of interest though is the distinction made for different size businesses; while The Crescent office development is targeted at large corporates, 1 and 3 Melrose Boulevard are aimed respectively to cater for small/medium and medium/large businesses. This is accordingly not a true New Urbanist application, as there is no representative mix of size and scope.



Figure 56: Landscape view of Melrose Arch shopping and offices on the Piazza, Melrose Arch, 2007. Photograph by the author.

When looking at Figure 57, it is clear that The High Street primarily features retail areas with a few business areas. The Melrose Arch Hotel is also situated on The High Street, which adds to its residential mix. The residential apartments on Oak Lane, Crescent Drive and Old House Lane are very well situated in that they are integrated

into Melrose Square on the one side, and yet very private on the side of Old House Lane.



Figure 57: Street layout of Melrose Arch with developments as indicated by author, 2005. Map and information obtained from Melrose Arch concept document.

Regarding advertising and marketing, Melrose Arch and many of its tenants make use of innovative designs and placement of its advertisements. An example of this innovative marketing can be seen in Figure 58, which comprises a whole panel of windows of the Europa Supermarket. The images are extremely naturalistic and juicy, and attract immediate attention because of their size.



Figure 58: Window of Europa Supermarket, Melrose Arch, 2007. Photograph by the author.

Nicholas Stopforth states that “the architecture of Melrose Arch Shopping will continue the existing Melrose Arch measured ‘contemporary African’ expression characterised by the use of first world and natural materials, which enhances the powerful Melrose Arch brand” (*Built* magazine January/February 2007:51). Branding seems to be of utmost importance in advancing the Melrose Arch image and this brand seems to be already strongly established in the media and amongst people. The proprietors of Melrose Arch choose to constantly remind visitors, office workers and residents alike of the benefits and distinctive difference Melrose Arch offers. Posters and advertisements are placed at prominent places, for example in The High Street and Crescent Drive with the Melrose Arch slogan “The space to be yourself” featuring on all these advertisements.¹⁴

Even the parking area is utilised to brand and maintain the image that Melrose Arch wishes to convey – some of the walls in the parking area are painted with the same theme as some of the outer parameter walls.

In addition, as can be seen in Figure 59, advertisements are painted on some of the pillars and also placed strategically next to the pay stations (Figure 60).



Figure 59: Poster painted on a pillar in the parking area, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

¹⁴ This slogan has been discussed in the section on Space and place.



Figure 60: Standalone light advertisement next to the pay station, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

The presence of the management body and the Melrose Arch brand is so strong that even maintenance signs are branded with the Melrose Arch name, as can be seen in Figure 61. This constant presence of the Melrose Arch brand name is used by the precinct management to enforce the brand upon its residents and visitors, and to ensure that no confusion with regard to the brand name exists.



Figure 61: Maintenance signs, Melrose Arch, 2007.
Photograph by the author.

This chapter discussed various themes which I identified as important aspects in relation to Melrose Arch. A brief background or history of each theme was provided,

after which I applied it to Melrose Arch by using examples and pictures. The purpose of this chapter was therefore to evaluate the extent to which Melrose Arch can be considered a New Urbanist landscape.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The lifestyle of people in South Africa and the way they live and approach life has changed significantly over the last couple of decades. Where previously most families lived in separate houses with their own gardens and ample space and privacy, today the residential scene has moved towards combined developments such as cluster homes, country, golf and lifestyle estates and mixed-use living. This is partly a consequence of the high crime rate in South Africa, specifically in Gauteng; however, this move away from traditional living cannot be attributed only to the occurrence of crime and people's need for safer environments. The way that people choose to live today is influenced by a desired lifestyle of hedonism and ease of living. Time is of the essence in the rushed lifestyle of most middle class people. There is a need to return to a so-called simple way of life, which consequently results in the demand for country and lifestyle estates. Most of these estates and even cluster developments provide garden and maintenance services, refuse removal, and general maintenance of the buildings. Residents thus save time and resources because they do not need to maintain their houses themselves. The growing rate of traffic congestion in Gauteng and the absence of an efficient public transport system contribute to people wanting to live in mixed-use environments where they need to travel as little as possible. However, residents living in these developments give up a part of their privacy and have to abide by certain rules laid down by the body corporate.

It is thus clear that new development movements such as New Urbanism will probably play a very important role in the local residential scene for a long time. These development movements should be studied and analysed so that current developers can make informed decisions as to which movements work and which aspects of these movements are most efficient in the South African environment.

5.1 Summary of chapters

This study started with a discussion of the origin and history of Johannesburg, including the development of the city centre and rise of the suburbs, in order to

contextualise the landscape of Melrose Arch. Some early developments that influenced the modern development movements included the arcade, international world fairs and expositions and garden cities. A comparison was made between the Johannesburg of a few decades ago and the contemporary city to illustrate how events and tendencies created the city of today. The current initiatives that are being undertaken to reinvent the CBD and other areas of the city were considered as well, in order to sketch the place of Melrose Arch in contemporary Johannesburg. This chapter served as a background study to contextualise the city in which Melrose Arch is situated, and to create an understanding of the different aspects (such as decentralisation and gentrification) at play in the city of Johannesburg that might influence future New Urban developments.

In Chapter Three, I looked at the predecessors of New Urbanism in order to see how this movement developed. A brief history of cities was given, and the influence of Classical Reformers like Etienne-Louis Boullée and Claude Nicholas Ledoux was discussed. The Garden City originated as a result of the influence of the Classical Reformers, with other variations of the Garden City being the Garden Village, Garden Suburb, Satellite Town and New Town.

Chapter Three also discussed the New Urbanism movement by looking at its history and background, which led to it being placed in a contemporary context regarding its history and influences. The ten principles of New Urbanism were discussed and applied to the South African context; these same principles were also discussed in Chapter Four and applied to Melrose Arch specifically. Some contemporary variations of New Urbanism, namely the Traditional Neighbourhood Development or District (TND) and the Pedestrian Pocket (PP) were discussed, illustrating the many ways in which the Congress of New Urbanism can actually propagate New Urbanism by also implementing variations.

The chapter was concluded by looking at some criticism against the New Urbanism movement, and discussed some other local New Urban landscapes. The correlations and differences between three New Urbanist landscapes in Gauteng were pointed out, in order to evaluate the success of these landscapes in applying New Urbanist principles. My aim in this chapter was to discuss New Urbanism and its principles and

characteristics and apply it to the South African context in general. By providing some criticism against New Urbanism, it is hoped that areas for improvement can be examined and some rethinking can occur in terms of future developments. When comparing the three different New Urban developments, I deduced that there are different criteria regarding success in New Urbanism. In terms of financial success, Melrose Arch appeared to be the most successful, while Ecopark and Brickfields are more focussed toward providing affordable housing in an environment that is still perceived as trendy. The degree of success is thus debatable as each of these developments is successful in terms of what they aimed to achieve. Yet, as New Urbanism aims to provide housing that ranges in type, size and price, Melrose Arch might be regarded as the least successful in this regard.

Chapter Four focused on application, and examined different themes that are relevant to New Urbanism and are suitable to be applied to Melrose Arch. The chapter was introduced by taking a brief look at post-modern architecture, as well as an overview of the development history of Melrose Arch. This chapter also discussed the location and completed developments at Melrose Arch and mentioned those areas that are still under construction as part of Phase Two. This descriptive overview also took a look at the areas of live, work and play which are the main selling points of New Urbanism.

The different themes discussed in this chapter looked at important issues that form part of New Urbanism and are matters which are still debated and contested. These themes were discussed in terms of key theories and then applied to Melrose Arch in order to determine the extent to which the themes are relevant to the landscape. I also commented on the applicability of the themes and positioned them against the backdrop of the New Urbanism movement. The following themes were discussed:

- ❖ Security and control – in this section I looked at various opinions regarding how New Urbanism is believed to affect crime in neighbourhoods. The section also examined how the precinct management at Melrose Arch control the environment by setting rules and regulations. Because we are living in an ever increasing transparent society, the notion of surveillance was examined as this ties in closely with control. I found that Melrose Arch prioritises security and control, especially as people buy into its lifestyle of protection and surveillance.

Melrose Arch is controlled by the precinct management in most aspects, creating a safe but very controlled and continually surveyed area.

- ❖ Class, race and elitism – this aspect dealt with the exclusivity with which Melrose Arch is surrounded, which is used to propagate an ideal lifestyle. The issue of race and culture was also dealt with as this is a prominent discussion point in the South African context. Although Melrose Arch claims to cater for all walks of life, it is actually very elitist and can only be afforded by middle class citizens. Accordingly, my findings on these aspects are that Melrose Arch creates a false sense of accessibility and mixed-use living for all.
- ❖ Consuming and gazing at Melrose Arch – the activity of consumption is paramount in a landscape such as Melrose Arch. Therefore, I examined consumption theory and also the way in which it connects with class theory. Melrose Arch is an eclectic mix of both Eurocentric and Afrocentric cultures, aiming to appeal to as many people as possible. However, the main focus in Melrose Arch is wealth and not ethnicity, resulting in an environment where the ability to consume is the main enabler.
- ❖ Utopianism – Melrose Arch plays on the notion of escapism and an illusion of a perfect lifestyle. The theory and origin of Utopianism was briefly discussed and applied to Melrose Arch. I found that Melrose Arch can be regarded as a Safe Haven, since this landscape is situated in a big city, yet simultaneously remains apart from the city. Melrose Arch can be regarded as a utopian environment since it is, to a certain extent, removed from reality Residents and visitors are protected from crime, are instructed on how to behave, and are monitored and controlled most of the time. This is ironic in the sense that control and proscription seem far removed from a utopia, yet create a false sense of belonging and caring for the residents and visitors.
- ❖ Space and place – Melrose Arch seems to make efficient use of space by creating enough open space and also by arranging space in well-organised ways. There are ample open spaces in Melrose Arch, yet another indicator of the wealth of this landscape. Space and place in Melrose Arch are manipulated

by the precinct management, with ample open space available to Hotel visitors and residents, yet with less space available to visitors. Thus, even space and place are used and controlled by the precinct management and reveal ideological underpinnings.

- ❖ Simulacra – most entertainment landscapes are regarded as simulations of reality, and Melrose Arch is no exception. As Jean Baudrillard is the leading theorist on simulacra, his theories were used in discussing representation and simulacra. I identified Melrose Arch as belonging to both the second and third order of simulation. I came to the conclusion that Melrose Arch is not a landscape featuring an original design, but is a clever simulation of a perfect living and working environment.

In conclusion, the principles and characteristics of New Urbanism were applied to Melrose Arch in order to assess the extent to which New Urbanism has been applied to this landscape, and how successful this implementation has been.

5.2 Contribution of this study

Because New Urbanism is an international development movement that was designed for first world countries, it is important that when implemented in the South African context, it has to be customised in order to suit the local environment and circumstances. This study aimed to examine New Urbanism from a local perspective to see whether it can be applied effectively in the South African environment and be sustainable in the long run. I commented and provided criticism on the various themes and principles of New Urbanism, consistently keeping the local context in mind. The conclusion from these themes and principles is that New Urbanism can indeed be successfully applied to local contexts, and is applied to a certain degree of success in the South African environment, more so in Brickfields for example, than in Melrose Arch. There are, however, many aspects which still need improvement regarding the localisation of New Urbanism. Developers could use studies like this one to assess their current success rate and maybe receive ideas on how to integrate New Urbanism with the local environment successfully. Because New Urbanism is such a new

movement, this study may contribute in expanding the current writing on New Urbanism in South Africa.

The study contributed towards creating an assessment of the use and application of New Urbanism in Melrose Arch. Once again, I used various themes as well as the principles of New Urbanism to apply these to Melrose Arch specifically. The many findings and assessments made can contribute significantly to future writings and analyses of New Urban landscapes in South Africa. The specific concluding findings on whether Melrose Arch complies with the principles of New Urbanism may indicate points of discussion as to the extent to which the developers would like Melrose Arch to be a New Urban landscape. This also provides an opportunity for future research; once Melrose Arch is completely developed, it can be established whether the application of New Urbanism has changed. This leaves the opportunity for future researchers to concentrate on individual aspects of the principles of New Urbanism or the identified themes that can be elaborated on.

The way in which Melrose Arch established itself was examined to assess whether this landscape succeeded in targeting its preferred market. I found that Melrose Arch does indeed reach its target market, yet it simultaneously affronts other potential markets by not catering for their needs. This study contributed by defining and describing this target market, which can assist marketers and developers of other landscapes if they ever want to re-align their target market.

Contributing to the above, future academic writers can use these discussed aspects as a benchmark against which to measure other mixed-use landscapes and by providing more discussion on different mixed-use landscapes, the understanding and application of New Urban principles and ideas might improve significantly.

5.3 Limitation of this study and suggestions for further research

Which aspects are important when looking at the possibility of turning a previously neglected area into a sought after, middle-class neighbourhood? One needs to look at decentralisation and contemplate whether Melrose Arch functions as a development that encourages centralisation and rejuvenation of central areas in Johannesburg, or

does it act to support a further shift away from the core of the city. The influence that Melrose Arch exerts over the areas surrounding it and even as far out as the Johannesburg CBD is an aspect which would need further study.

One of the limitations of this study is the absence of formal quantitative research findings to 'prove' results. Since this study used the field of Visual Culture as its approach, the aim was exploratory and assessed the aspects by observation and by making use of visual aids. In this regard, possible future research may be quantitative, and conducted using questionnaires and interviews with the actual residents, workers and visitors to Melrose Arch in order to assess their opinions on the way they perceive the landscape.

Another limitation is the fact that the issues which were identified for discussion, were limited in focus. There are, however, many other issues and aspects which can be applied in a discussion of New Urbanism.

An aspect of possible further research could be the assessment of other New Urban landscapes in South Africa, for example Brickfields, Ecopark and Century City. Of importance for future research, would be a re-evaluation of all the principles of New Urbanism, as well as the themes identified and discussed in this study once all phases of Melrose Arch have been completed. The findings of this study may be modified significantly upon completion of this landscape. More future research can be done by using different methodologies and approaches than the methodology of Visual Culture used in this study. Studies which are done by using these methodologies can then be compared to see how the particular approach will affect the results.

Because Visual Culture is a product of humans, it reflects ideological concerns and needs and should be studied on an ongoing basis in order to reveal these underpinnings. By looking at the ideologies and myths which surround us on a daily basis, it would be easier to comprehend the interplay and rationale behind many Visual Culture subjects.

The modern perception is one of cynicism regarding community and what it stands for, as reflected in the following quote from Francois Gaspard:

There is no community, only a collection of people who are strangers to one another (Periferia, Internet Resources for Architecture and Urban Design in the Caribbean).

However, if New Urbanism achieves what it proclaims it can achieve, we might experience a whole new perception of modern living, as illustrated in the following quote from Jim Kunstler:

The 20th Century was about getting around. The 21st Century will be about staying in a place worth staying in (Walkable Streets, A Collection of Urban Design Quotes).

If this can be achieved, New Urbanism will truly be an established movement anticipated to be the solution to all our city planning problems.

SOURCES CONSULTED

- Agger, B. 1992. *Cultural Studies as Critical Theory*. London: Falmer.
- Akst, D. 2005. *Choose you can use – school choice could be an answer to Sprawl*. [O]. Available:
www.grist.org
Accessed: 5 September 2005.
- Aldridge, A. 2003. *Consumption*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- All the best quotes. *City quotes*. [O]. Available:
<http://chatna.com/theme/cities.htm>
Accessed: 18 September 2007.
- Amdec properties development. [O]. Available:
www.amdec.co.za/commercial_development_melrose.HTML
Accessed: 13 March 2007.
- A tale of two cities. 2004. *Financial Mail*. [O]. Available:
www.eprop.co.za/news/article
Accessed: 15 January 2005.
- Atkinson, D, Jackson, P, Sibley, D & Washbourne, N (eds). 2005. *Cultural geography, a critical dictionary of key concepts*. London: Tauris.
- Barboza, D. 2005. *For China, new malls jaw-dropping in size, in The New York Times*. [O]. Available:
<http://www.iht.com/articles/2005/05/24/yourmoney/mall.php>
Accessed: 24 August 2004.
- Barthes, R. 1972. [1957]. *Mythologies*. Translated by A Lavers. London: Paladin.
- Baudrillard, J. 1983. *Simulations*. New York, N.Y: Semiotext(e).
- Baudrillard, J. 1998. *The consumer society, myths and structures*. London: Sage.
- Beaverstock, JV, Smith, RG & Taylor, PJ. 1999. A roster of world cities, in *Cities, The international journal of urban policy and planning*. 16 (6:445-458). [O]. Available:
www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb5.html
Accessed: 20 February 2005.
- Bednar, MJ. 1990. *Interior pedestrian spaces*. London: Batsford.
- Bekker, S & Leildé, A (eds). 2006. *Reflections on identity in four African cities*. Stellenbosch: African minds.

Benfield, FK, Raimi, MD & Chen, DDT. 1999. *Once there were greenfields. How Urban Sprawl is undermining America's environmental economy and social fabric*. New York: The Natural Resources Defense Council.

Bignell, J. 1997. *Media Semiotics. An introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bird, M. 2006. *Briefing: consumption and consumerism*. [O]. Available: <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/189>
Accessed: 9 July 2007.

Bocock, R. 1993. *Consumption*. London: Routledge.

Bodenschatz, H. Council for European Urbanism
New Urbanism and the European perspective – presumption, rivalry or challenge? [O]. Available:
http://www.ceunet.de/new_urbanism_and_the_european_perspective.html
Accessed: 13 July 2007.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bremner, L. 2002. *Johannesburg: rescue 011*. [O]. Available:
www.sundaytimes.co.za
Accessed: 29 January 2005.

Britainusa. *Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott addresses Congress for the New Urbanism*. [O]. Available:
http://www.britainusa.com/sections/articles_show_nt1.asp?d=0&i=41020&L1=41002&L2=41020&a=42012
Accessed: 12 June 2006.

Buchanan, R. 2006. Urban multi-tasking. *The property magazine*, page 33-37. [O]. Available:
<http://www.thepropertymag.co.za/pages/452774491/articles/2006/July/NW-Melrose-Arch.asp>
Accessed: 20 April 2007.

Built magazine. November/December 2006. *The splendour of colour*. Page 36-38.

Built magazine. January/February 2007. Page 50-51. *Inspired integration*.

Byrne, D. 2005. *Social exclusion*. Second edition. New York: Open university press.

Calthorpe, P (ed). 1993. Neighbourhood, district, and corridor, in *The next American metropolis: Ecology, community and the American dream*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Calthorpe, P. *Not perfect, but improving*. The website of the newshour with Jim Lehrer. [O]. Available:
<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/newurbanism/calthorpe.html>
Accessed: 29 September 2007.

Campbell, CC. 1976. *New towns, another way to live*. Reston: Reston publishing company, Inc.

Carruthers, J. *Urban land claims in South Africa: the case of Lady Selborne township*, Pretoria, Gauteng. [O]. Available:
<http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=1140>
Accessed: 2 October 2007.

Cavallaro, D. 2001. *Critical and cultural theory, thematic variations*. London: The Athlone Press.

Century city. [O]. Available: www.centurycity.co.za/main.asp
Accessed: 10 March 2005.

Chaplin, S & Holding, E (guest editors). Toy, M (ed). 1988. *Consuming architecture*. 1988. London: Architectural design.

Chipkin, CM. 1993. *Johannesburg style. Architecture and society, 1880s-1960s*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Christensen, CA. 1986. *The American Garden City and the New Towns movement*. Michigan: UMI Research Press.

Civil Engineering contractor, 1 January 2007:13. Available:
www.melrosearch.co.za
Accessed: 5 October 2006.

Clarke, J. 1987. *Like it was. The Star 100 years in Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: Argus.

Clifton-Mogg, C. 1991. *The neoclassical source book*. New York: Rizzoli.

CNU. Congress for the New Urbanism. [O]. Available:
www.cnu.org
Accessed: 16 July 2007.

Cofman. The holiday home portal. Tivoli. [O]. Available:
<http://www.cofman.co.uk/attractions/tivoli.htm>
Accessed: 2 September 2007.

Colorado Historical Society, office of Archaeology and Historic preservation. [O]. Available:
www.coloradohistory-oahp.org
Accessed: 12 May 2005.

Condé Nast traveller magazine, the hot list 2004. [O]. Available:
www.cntraveller.com/Special_Features/The_Hot_List_2004/Melrose_Arch_Hotel

Congress for the New Urbanism. [O]. Available:
www.cnu.org

Accessed: 15 May 2005.

Conspicuous Consumption, a century after Veblen. [O]. Available:
<http://www.grammarmudge.cityslide.com/articles/article/307084/21822.htm>
Accessed: 23 Feb 2005.

Cowie, AP (ed). 1989. *Oxford Advanced Learner's*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crang, M. *Cultural geography*. 1998. London: Routledge.

Crawford, M. 1992. The world in a shopping mall, in *Variations on a theme park*. Sorkin, M (ed). New York: Hill & Wang.

Crompton, R. 1998. *Class and stratification. An introduction to current debates*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Dannhauser, JI. 2005, in Making the intangible tangible: physical evidence and the servicescapes of Melrose Arch. Praise, critique and recommendations. Honours paper, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Davey, P. 1980. *Arts and crafts architecture: the search for earthly paradise*. London: Architectural Press.

Davidson, J. 2005. *Rebuilding New Orleans: We must not get this wrong*. [O]. Available:
www.newsday.com
Accessed: 5 October 2006.

Davie, L. 2002. *Jo'burg, the 24-hour city*. [O]. Available:
www.joburg.org.za/dec_2002/dec2_24hours.stm
Accessed: 21 January 2005.

Davis, B. 1997. *New Urbanism: Cause for Celebration?* [O]. Available: www.impactpress.com
Accessed: 10 October 2004.

Davis, JC. 1981. *Utopia and the ideal society. A study of English utopian writing*. 1516 – 1700. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dead Sociologists' Society at Pfeiffer University. [O]. Available:
<http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~Iridener/DSS/Marx/MARXW2.HTML>
Accessed: 9 July 2007

Dear, M & Flusty, S. 1998. *Postmodern Urbanism. Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 88(1), 1998, p 50-72.

Dedicated Micros. [O]. Available:

http://www.dedicatedmicros.com/uk/application_case_study.php?case_id=32

Accessed: 9 July 2007.

Digest of South African Architecture. 2006/7:134-135. *Melrose Arch residential, Oak lane, Johannesburg.*

Dixon, B & van der Spuy, E (eds). 2004. *Justice gained? Crime and crime control in South Africa's transition.* Cape Town: Willan Publishing.

Dlamini, N. 2004. *Brickfields housing development on course.* [O]. Available: www.joburg.org.za

Accessed: 10 July 2006.

Dlamini, N. 2005. *Rollout for Brickfields flats.* [O]. Available:

http://www.joburg.org.za/2005/jan/jan26_flats.stm

Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Dodson, B. 2000. Are we having fun yet? Leisure and consumption in the Post-Apartheid city, in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* – 2000, Vol 91, No 4, pp 412-425.

Doherty, P. 2005. *To Rebuild or to restructure?* [O]. Available:

www.tompaine.com

Accessed: 10 October 2005

Drew, B. 1998. *Crossing the expendable landscape.* St Paul: Graywolf Press.

Duany, A & Plater-Zyberk, E. 2000. *Suburban Nation: The rise of Sprawl and the decline of the American dream.* New York: North Point Press. [O].

Available:

www.answers.com

Accessed: 3 April 2006.

Durban. Playground of the Zulu Kingdom. [O]. Available:

www.durban.kzn.org.za/durban/about/67.html

Accessed: 28 May 2007.

During S (ed). 1993. Things to do with shopping centres, in *The Cultural studies reader.* London and New York: Routledge.

Ellin, N. 1996. *Postmodern urbanism.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Ellis, C. *History of Cities and City Planning.* Art.Net. [O]. Available:

<http://www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html>

Accessed: 3 April 2006.

Ewing, R, Schieber, RA & Zegeer, CV. 2003. Urban Sprawl as a risk factor in motor vehicle occupant and pedestrian fatalities, in *American Journal of Public Health*. Vol 93, no 9.

Felson, M. 2002. *Crime and everyday life*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Fenton, J. 2005. *Report: Sprawl a matter of choice*. [O]. Available: www.thereporteronline.com
Accessed: 7 October 2005.

Fife, I. Melrose Arch faulty towers, in *Financial Mail*. 30 Jul 2004. [O]. Available: <http://www.eprop.co.za/news/article.aspx?idArticle=4236>
Accessed: 20 June 2007.

Filming location for the Truman Show. 1998. [O] Available: www.imdb.com
Accessed: 3 April 2005.

First of its kind: Breaking New Ground houses handed over to beneficiaries. [O]. Available: <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2007/07061410151003.htm>
13 June 2007
Accessed: 25 September 2006.

Fiske, J. 1989. *Reading the popular*. London: Routledge.

Forgács, E. 1995. Translated by John Batki. *The Bauhaus idea and Bauhaus politics*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Fraser, N. 2003a. *Citichat*. [O]. Available: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/2003/june27_citichat.stm
Accessed: 20 February 2005.

Fraser, N. 2003b. *Citichat*. *Brickfield's – providing a better future*. [O]. Available: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/2003/aug15_citichat.stm
Accessed: 11 July 2006.

Fraser, N. 2003c. *Citichat*. *A 'Cultural' close to the year – Johannesburg and the Arts*. [O]. Available: http://www.joburg.org.za/citichat/2003/dec12_citichat.stm
Accessed: 11 July 2006.

Fraser, N. *Reshaping Johannesburg's inner city*. [O]. Available: <http://www.joburg.org.za/business/cbd.stm>
Accessed: 13 June 2007.

Fraser, N & Cox, K. Sustainable cities, it is about density and choice, in *Built magazine*. September/October 2006: 24-26.

- Frost, S. 2006. Durban's ugly duckling emerges as SA's new swan, in *Business Day*. [O]. Available: <http://www.eprop.co.za/news/article.aspx?idArticle=7007>
Accessed: 4 September 2007.
- Fulton, W. 1996. The New Urbanism challenges conventional planning (land lines article), in *The Lincoln Institute Policy Focus Report*. [O]. Available: <http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/PubDetail.aspx?pubid=508>
Accessed: 29 September 2007.
- Gane, N. 2006. Simulation in *Theory, culture & society*. 23, 282. Sage. [O]. Available: www.ebsco.co.za
Accessed: 4 August 2007.
- Garner, J. *New urbanism: Cape Town: the future is now*. [O]. Available: http://www.thepropertymag.co.za/pages/452774491/articles/2004/April/New_urbanism_Cape_Town_the_future_is_now.asp
Accessed: 13 March 2006.
- Garreau, J. 1988. *Edge city. Life on the new frontier*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday.
- Gehl, J. 1987. *Life between buildings*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold. [O]. Available: www.rudi.net
Accessed: 5 October 2005.
- Geist, JF. 1989. *Arcades. The History of a building type*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Gibbs-Smith, GH. 1950. *The Great Exhibition of 1851*. London: Raithby & Lawrence.
- Goldberger, P. 1983. *On the rise, architecture and design in a postmodern age*. New York: Penguin books.
- Gottdiener, M. 1995. *Postmodern Semiotics. Material culture and the forms of postmodern life*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Gottdiener, M. 1997. *The theming of America, dreams, visions and commercial spaces*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF) today. Issue 11. August 2004. [O]. Available: <http://www.gepf.co.za/pdf/gepftoday/GEPF-TODAY-August2004.pdf>
Accessed: 18 July 2007.
- Grant, J. 2006. *Planning the good community. New Urbanism in theory and practice*. New York: Routledge.

Gumpert, G & Drucker, S. *The Sidewalks of New York (and Suburbia): Security and Surveillance*. Towards a New Urbanism, Re-imagining the Cultural Metropolis and Reconstructing Urban Knowledges, Conference, Berlin, 29th of June of 1st of July, 2000. [O]. Available: www2.hu-berlin.de/amerika/projects/newurbanism/nu_pt_gumpert_a.html
Accessed: 20 June 2007.

Hardy, D. 1991. *From Garden cities to new towns, campaigning for town and country planning, 1899-1946*. London: Spon.

Head, B. 2006. Living on the edge, in *Sunday Times*. [O]. Available: www.suntimes.co.za
Accessed: 12 March 2006.

Hornecker, E. *Space and Place – setting the stage for social interaction*. [O]. Available: <http://www.informatics.sussex.ac.uk/research/groups/interact/publications/Hornecker.pdf>
University of Sussex.
Accessed: 6 September 2007.

Hossack, C. 2002. *Jo'burg set to become the shopping mecca of Southern Africa*. [O]. Available: www.joburg.org.za/feb_2004/shopping.stm
Accessed: 21 January 2005.

Howard, E. 1945. *Garden cities of to-morrow*. London: Faber & Faber.

Interpreting the figures, in *Integrated Development Plan 2003/4*. [O]. Available: www.joburg.org.za/facts/index.demographics.stm
Accessed: 3 January 2005.

Jayne, M. 2006. *Cities and consumption*. New York: Routledge.

Jennings, L. Reinventing Utopia. Changing social mores and the spread of the Internet offer alternative routes to the good life in the twenty-first century, in *The Futurist*, July-August 2007. [O]. Available: www.wts.org.
Accessed 14 July 2007.

Johannesburg Hotel Guide. [O]. Available: http://johannesburg.hotelguide.co.za/Johannesburg_Hotels-travel/johannesburg-hotel-melrose-arch_accommodation.html
Accessed: 13 August 2007.

Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC). [O]. Available: http://www.jhc.co.za/article.php?a_id=100&PHPSESSID=d8bb3f61a91e207fa5021f9f1083a496
Accessed: 13 August 2007.

Johannesburg Housing Company, *The Brickfields project concept*. [O]. Available: http://www.jhc.co.za/item.php?i_id=48
Accessed: 24 July 2006.

Judd, DR. 1995. The rise of the new walled cities, in *Spatial practices. critical explorations in social/spatial theory*. Helen, L & Perry, DC (eds). London: Sage Publications.

Julier, G. 2000. *The culture of design*. London: Sage publications.

Katz, P (ed). 1994. *The New Urbanism, towards and Architecture of Community*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Khuzwayo, W. 2004. Gauteng provincial government's precinct approved, in *Business Report*. [O]. Available: www.eprop.co.za
Accessed: 21 January 2005.

Landman, K & Schönteich, M. 2002. *Urban fortresses – Gated communities as a reaction to crime*. [O]. Available: www.iss.co.za
Published in African Security Review Vol 11 No 4.

Lefebvre, H. 1974. *The production of space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Le Page, D. 2000. Vampires of urban development, in *Mail & Guardian*, 21 – 27 July: 42.

Lin, J & Mele, C. 2005. *The urban sociology reader*. London: Routledge.

Lo, F & Yeung, Y. 1998. *Globalization and the world of large cities*. Japan: The United Nations University Press.

London government website. [O]. Available: <http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/congest/>
Accessed: 13 August 2007.

Lucey, N. 1973. *Planned communities*. United Kingdom: Rickmansworth. [O]. Available: <http://www.lib.umd.edu/NTL/gardencities.html>
Accessed: 20 September 2005.

Madlala, O. *State's 'Breaking New Ground' policy aims to ensure new suburbs are not isolated from social and economic infrastructure*. [O]. Available: http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article.php?a_id=100775
Published: 9 Feb 2007
Accessed: 10 July 2007.

Madsen, P & Plunz, R (eds). 2002. *The urban lifeworld. Formation, perception, representation*. London: Routledge.

Majola, B. *Perceptions of Joburg inner city improve*, June 19, 2003. [O]. Available:

http://www.joburg.org.za/2003/june/june19_perceptions.stm

Accessed: 2 May 2007.

MallExpo 2006. [O]. Available:

www.specialised.com/mallexpo/main.asp

Accessed: 15 May 2005.

Mandy, N. 1984. *A city divided, Johannesburg and Soweto*. Johannesburg: Macmillan.

Mannheim, K. 1936. *Ideology and utopia*. London: Routledge.

Marcuse, P. 2000. *The New Urbanism: the dangers so far*. [O]. Available:

www.nsl.ethz.ch/index.php/content/download/320/1971/file/

Accessed 24 July 2007.

Marks, R. 2001. From Densification to Disneyfication, in *The Digest of South African Architecture*.

Marquand, R. 2004. *China's supersized mall*. [O].

Available:

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/1124/p01s03-woap.html>

The Christian Science Monitor

Accessed: 14 May 2006.

Marshall, A. 2000. *How cities work, suburbs, Sprawl and the roads not taken*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Marxists Internet Archive. [O]. Available:

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>

Accessed: 20 August 2007

Source: UCLA School of Theater, Film and Television;

Mayell, H. As consumerism spreads, earth suffers, study says, in *National Geographic News*, 2004. [O]. Available:

http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/01/0111_040112_consumerism.html

Accessed: 9 July 2007.

Mbeki, T. 2005. *Address by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the opening of the Brickfields Housing Development, at the Newtown Cultural Precinct, Johannesburg*. South African Government Information. [O].

Available:

<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2005/05081215451001.htm>

Accessed: 29 September 2007.

Mbembe, A. 2005. Mail and Guardian Leisure.
Fantasies of the Metropolis, page 24-28.

Melrose Arch brochure. A Sentinel Mining Industry Retirement Fund property investment. Published by Marketing Concepts.

Melrose Arch comes to life, in Hotel and restaurant magazine. [O]. Available
www.hotelandrestaurant.co.za/news/2003/june/melrose.asp
Accessed: 28 July 2007.

Melrose Arch concept document, as received from Melrose Arch developers, 2005.

Melrose Arch website – Fact File. [O]. Available:
www.melrosearch.co.za
Accessed: 28 July 2007.

Mertins, D & Shim, B. 1988. Public Space: The State of the Art? *The Canadian Architect*. May Vol. Southam Business Publication, Toronto, Ontario.

Miller, M 1989. *Letchworth. The first Garden City*. Chichester: Phillimore.

Mirzoeff, N. 1999. *An introduction to Visual Culture*. London: Routledge.

Moyo restaurant. [O]. Available:
<http://www.moyo.co.za/>
Accessed: 28 July 2007.

National Amusement Park Historical Association. *Industry History, the amusement park industry, a very brief history*. [O]. Available:
www.napha.org/history.html
Accessed: 10 March 2005.

Natural Resources Defense Council. S.a. Article based on *Solving Sprawl: models of smart growth in communities across America*. 2001. Published by Natural Resources Defense Council. [O]. Available:
www.nrdc.org
Accessed: 7 October 2005.

Negus, K. The work of cultural intermediaries and the enduring distance between production and consumption, in *Cultural studies*, 16(4) 2002, 501 – 515. [O]. Available:
www.ebsco.com.innopac.up.ac.za
Accessed: 28 May 2007.

New Urbanism. *Creating livable sustainable communities*. [O]. Available:
www.newurbanism.org
Accessed: 15 July 2007.

New Urban News. *Connecting you to the latest development in New Urbanism and Smart Growth*. [O]. Available;
www.newurbannews.com
Accessed: 16 July 2007.

Organisation for economic co-operation and development. 1974. *Streets for people*. France: OECD Publications.[

O'Toole, R. 2003. *New Urbanism promotes crime*. Thoreau Institute and Reason Foundation. [O]. Available
<http://www.rppi.org/newurbancrime.shtml>
Accessed: 22 June 2007.

Pam Golding Properties website. [O]. Available:
http://www.pamgolding.co.za/lifestyles/prop_dev_melrosearch.asp?complex_code=2672&Dev=True
Accessed: 2 June 2007.

Paradis, T. *Architectural styles of America*. [O]. Available:
<http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~twp/architecture/postmoderncom/>
Dept. of Geography, Planning and Recreation
Northern Arizona University.
Accessed: 2 June 2007.

Parker, M (ed). 2002. *Utopia and organization*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Pearce, J. 2006. *Crossing Johannesburg's red line*. [O]. Available:
www.jhc.co.za
Accessed: 10 July 2006.

Pedestrian movement – sustainable design guidelines reference manual. 2005. Croxton Collaborative Architects. [O]. Available:
www.panynj.gov
Accessed: 2 June 2007.

Periferia. Internet Resources for Architecture and Urban Design in the Caribbean. [O]. Available:
<http://www.periferia.org/publications/Quotes.html>
Accessed: 30 April 2006.

Population census 1996. [O].
Available: www.statssa.gov.za
Accessed: 4 April 2005.

Project Review Series, Brickfields and Legae. [O]. Available:
www.jhc.co.za
Accessed: 10 July 2006.

Promising outlook for inner-city investors, in *Business Day*. 2004. [O]. Available:

www.sapoa.co.za

Accessed: 28 February 2005.

Purdom, CB. 1925. *The building of satellite towns*. London: JM Dent & Sons Ltd.

Regional plan association. [O]. Available:

<http://www.rpa.org/>

Accessed: 10 July 2006.

Relph, E. 1987. *The modern urban landscape*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Report on the Public Hearings into the use of Boom Gates and Road Closures Mar 10, 2005. [O]. Available:

http://www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc/cms/publish/article_132.shtml

Accessed: 2 May 2007.

Research Surveys. [O]. Available:

www.researchsurveys.co.za

Accessed: 3 September 2007.

Robbins, E & El-Khoury, R. 2004. *Shaping the city – studies in urban design, history and theory*. New York: Routledge.

Robertson, D. 2004. Giving downtown an upbeat look, in *Business Day*. [O].

Available: www.eprop.co.za

Accessed: 20 January 2005.

Rosenau, H. 1983. *The ideal city. Its architectural evolution in Europe*.

London: Methuen & Co Ltd.

Rosenbaum, DP, Lurigio, AJ & Davis, RC. 1998. *The prevention of Crime, Social and Situational Strategies*. Halfway house: International Thomson Publishing Southern Africa.

SA Builder, 1 January 2007. [O]. Available:

www.melrosearch.co.za

Accessed: 28 July 2007.

SA Venues website. [O]. Available:

<http://www.sa-venues.com/ga/fact-sheet/melrose-arch-hotel.php>

Accessed: 12 September 2007.

Shipman, A. 2004. Lauding the leisure class: symbolic content and conspicuous consumption, in *Review of social economy*, vol. LXII, No 3. [O].

Available:

www.ebsco.com.innopac.up.ac.za

Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Shopping malls. 2005. [O]. Available:
<http://www.joburg.org.za/whatson/malls.stm>
Accessed: 10 January 2005.

Sim S (ed). 1998. *The Icon critical dictionary of postmodern thought*.
Cambridge: Icon.

Singleton, EC. 1996. The beginning of the end of transportation as we know it, in *New Times*. [O]. Available:
www.kitesingleton.com
Accessed: 12 April 2006.

Slater, T. 2002. *What is Gentrification?* [O]. Available:
www.members.lycos.co.uk/gentrification/whatisgent.html
Accessed: 20 March 2005.

Smith, N & Williams, P. 1986. *Gentrification of the city*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Sorkin, M. 1992. *Variations on a theme park: The new American city and the end of public space*. New York: Hill and Wang.

South Africa: Drive to regenerate decaying heart of Jo'burg. 2005. [O].
Available:
www.irinnews.org
Accessed: 10 March 2005

Speeches and Articles: Architecture. 2005. [O]. Available:
www.princeofwales.gov.uk
Accessed: 3 July 2006.

Steuteville, R. 2004. *The New Urbanism: An alternative to modern automobile-oriented planning and development*. [O]. Available:
www.newurbanism.com
Accessed: 1 April 2004.

Steyn, ME & Motshabi KB (eds). 1996. *Cultural Synergy in South Africa, weaving strands of Africa and Europe*. Randburg: Knowledge Resources.

Summerson, J. 1986. *The architecture of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.

Sukhraj, P. 2004. Shop till you drop, in *Sunday Times*. [O]. Available:
www.eprop.co.za
Accessed: 24 May 2006.

Thale, T. *The Sprawl stops along this line*, March 8, 2002. [O]. Available:
http://www.joburg.org.za/march2002/urban_sprawl.stm
Accessed: 24 July 2006.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary. Ninth Edition. Edited by Della Thompson. 1995. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

The European Graduate School. [O]. Available:
<http://www.egs.edu/resources/benjamin.html>
Accessed: 20 August 2007.

The list. *Parks, Organizations, Companies* [O]. Available:
www.themeparksonline.org/parklist.asp
Accessed: 15 February 2005.

The philosophy of New Urbanism. 2003. [O]. Available:
http://www.rwaterfront.co.za/news/archive/03_new_urbanism.html
Accessed: 30 March 2005.

The traffic group, Inc projects. Zonk'Izizwe, developer: Old Mutual Insurance Companies. [O]. Available:
<http://www.trafficgroup.com/projects/zonk.html>
Accessed: 20 August 2007.

Thubelisha. [O]. Available:
<http://www.thubelisha.co.za/profile/intro.html>
Accessed: 4 September 2007.

Tilley, L. Planners peer into Jo'burg's mirror. June 20, 2002. [O]. Available:
http://www.joburg.org.za/june_2002/sdf.stm
Accessed: 24 July 2006.

TNS Research Surveys. [O]. Available:
http://www.researchsurveys.co.za/black_diamond/black_diamond_summary.html
Accessed: 4 September 2007.

Tolley. R (ed). 1990. *The greening of Urban transport. Planning for walking and cycling in Western cities*. London: Belhaven Press.

Tomlinson, R & Larsen, P. 2003. *Emerging Johannesburg, perspectives on the postapartheid city*. New York & London: Routledge.

Top Story: Exec rental units in Melrose Arch. 2007/08/21. [O]. Available:
<http://www.property24.com/Property24/news/FullArticle.aspx?ArticleId=5764>
Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Town, S & O'Toole, R. 2005. *Crime-friendly neighbourhoods, how "New Urbanist" planners sacrifice safety in the name of "openness" and "accessibility"*. [O]. Available:
<http://www.reason.com/news/show/36489.html>
Accessed: 15 July 2007.

Transport for London. [O]. Available:
<http://www.cclondon.com/>
Accessed: 4 September 2007.

Treasury launches Urban Renewal Tax Incentive, in *Business Day*. 2004. [O]
Available: www.eprop.co.za
Accessed: 20 January 2005.

Treib, M. 2002. Theme Park, Themed living: The Case of Huis ten Bosch (Japan), in *Theme Park landscapes: antecedents and variations*. Washington: Young, T & Riley, R.

Trigg, AB. 2001. Veblen, Bourdieu, and conspicuous consumption, in *Journal of Economic Issues*. Vol. XXXV. No. 1. [O]. Available:
www.ebsco.com.innopac.up.ac.za
Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Tshehla, B. 2004. Do the means defeat the ends? Impact of legislation on Gauteng 's enclosed neighbourhoods, in *Crime Quarterly*, no 9. [O]. Available:
http://www.iss.co.za/index.php?link_id=3&mlink_id=1095&link_type=12&mlink_type=12&tml_id=3
Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze, Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage publications.

Useful terms. [O]. Available:
www.financialmail.co.za
Accessed: 13 May 2005.

Vaida, G. Ambitious Melrose Arch proves the sceptics wrong, in *Business Times* 2003/02/10. [O]. Available:
<http://www.bidvest.co.za/archivepressnewsdetails.asp?StoryId=1&folder=./Bidvestpressnews/2003%20Jan%20to%20Jun/2003210/>
Accessed: 31 July 2007.

Van Dyk, S. 2005. University of Pretoria, page 14. [O]. Available:
<http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-05182005-112443/unrestricted/03context-study.pdf>
Accessed: 24 May 2006.

Van Eeden, J. 2005. "All the mall's a stage": the shopping mall as visual culture, in *South African Visual Culture*. Van Eeden & Du Preez (eds). Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Van Rooyen, D. 2006. Bouwerk aan groter Arch goed of dreef, in *Rapport, Gauteng-Nuus*:3. [O]. Available:
<http://152.111.1.251/argief/berigte/rapport/2006/02/26/RU/3/02.html>
Accessed: 3 October 2007.

Veenstra, G. 2005. Can taste illumine class? Cultural knowledge and forms of inequality, in *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 30(3). [O]. Available: www.ebsco.com.innopac.up.ac.za
Accessed: 28 May 2007.

Viruly Consulting, fourth quarter 2004, in *Progress in the City 2004*, Johannesburg Development Agency. [O]. Available: <http://www.callcentres.co.za/Default.aspx?TabID=280>
Accessed: 29 September 2007.

Walkable Streets, timeless neighborhood design services regulations, plans, speeches. A collection of Urban design quotes. [O]. Available: <http://www.walkablestreets.com/quote5.htm>
Accessed: 24 May 2006.

Walker, J. & Chaplin, S. 1997. *Visual culture: an introduction*. New York: Manchester University.

Ward, SV. 1992. *The Garden city*. London: Spon.

Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire. [O]. Available: www.hertsinternet.com
Accessed: 7 July 2006.

Whitford, F. 1984. *Bauhaus*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Wiebenson, D. 1982. *Architectural theory and practice from Alberti to Ledoux*. Chicago: Architectural publications.

Wilson, N. 2006. *New retail, office space planned for Melrose Arch* in *Inet Bridge*. [O]. Available: www.eprop.co.za/news/article.aspx?idArticle=7974
Accessed: 4 September 2007.

Wilson, N. 31 July 2007. Work on Zonk'izizwe site to start this year, in *Inet Bridge*. [O]. Available: <http://www.eprop.co.za/news/article.aspx?idArticle=9139>
Accessed: 31 July 2007.

Winstanley, A, Thorns, DC & Perkins, HC. 2003. *Nostalgia, community and new housing developments: A Critique of New Urbanism incorporating a New Zealand Perspective*, by Urban Policy and Research, Vol. 21. No. 2, 175-189

Zukin, S. 1995. *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge: Blackwell.