

Inner-city change in Pretoria: social and spatial trends

The Pretoria inner-city area and, more specifically, the high-density Sunnyside residential area have experienced major social and spatial changes since the mid-1990s. As in other metropolitan areas, the city's spatial structure has been shaped by urban developmental processes such as decentralisation, desegregation and deconcentration. This article's assessment of these changes in the context of the ways in which the inner city is transforming and positioning itself sheds some light on what we consider an inner-city success story in terms of adaptation to radical changes.

'n Bepaling van binnestedelike verandering in Pretoria

Die Pretoria binnestedelike gebied, en meer spesifiek die hoëdigtheidwoonbuurt, Sunnyside, het sedert die middel-1990's omvattende sosiale en ruimtelike veranderinge ondergaan. Soos ander metropolitaanse gebiede is die stad se ruimtelike struktuur ontvorm deur stedelike ontwikkelingsprosesse soos desentralisasie, desegregasie en dekonsentrasie. 'n Waardebepaling van hierdie veranderinge wat fokus op die maniere waarop die binnestad transformeer, en sigself posisioneer, werp lig op 'n binnestedelike gebied wat in terme van aanpassing by radikale veranderinge as 'n suksesverhaal beskou kan word.

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During the first phase of post-apartheid transition, South African cities faced the same dilemmas as their Latin American counterparts.¹ Large-scale inner city development did not seem possible because it requires conditions such as rapid economic growth, an emphatic modernisation philosophy and strong authoritarian powers (Del Rio 1997). The central apartheid state's loss of its authoritarian grip impacted on the local state, and national legislation such as the Group Areas Act was no longer enforced in certain areas. In Johannesburg's inner city this was the case from the mid-1970s. Within a period of ten years,

[...] violations against the Group Areas Act in areas like Hillbrow and Joubert Park at the edge of the CBD increased to such a degree that illegal non-whites could only be punished arbitrarily and were as a rule tacitly accepted (Bähr & Jürgens 1996: 234).

Because the apartheid state protected only the interests of whites, inner-city areas were not adversely affected by the general process of suburbanisation because, as the spaces of whites they were "protected". The out-migration of white business, white bureaucrats, and white residents from central inner-city areas became a reality after 1994. Since then, the impact on the housing and property market, social transformation, the built environment and investment has been remarkable. As in the Brazilian example (Del Rio 1997), the negative externalities for inner-city housing, such as fiscal decline and (specifically in South Africa) the deracialisation and desegregation of urban space, are in fact important factors making these areas more accessible for the lower- to middle-income groups previously marginalised to informal areas and townships on the city's outskirts. Perceived inner-city decay surfaced in South African metropolitan areas after the demise of apartheid in the early 1990s. Morton (1998) cites several references identifying Johannesburg's inner city as a typical international scenario in terms of the diversity of population groups that live there, the physical condition of the area, its transformation into a typical racial ghetto, increased crime, dirt, poverty and overcrowding with semi-skilled and unskilled residents. Despite these spatial images portrayed from a distance by academics, the media and the white public in general, the inhabitants' own spatial images of

1 We are grateful to Elsje van Rheede van Oudtshoorn for drawing the maps.

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urban living are no different from their spatial images of living on the outskirts of the city. In some cases, however, this process reinforces spaces of exclusion where black bureaucrats replace whites and the excluded and segregated majority of the urban populace are today still marginalised to the periphery where spaces of no control — for example in terms of land-use regulation, sustainable urban development principles, economic growth and employment creation — persist, and it is up to the urban dwellers, rather than the planners, to reorganise their daily lives. This is echoed by Robinson (1998: 170) who states that

[...] while planners and government officials try to find ways to rearrange the city, or to encourage reconnection and integration, ordinary people [mainly township dwellers] are reusing and remaking urban space at a rapid rate.

Especially in the townships — and to a lesser extent the inner cities — global post-modern urban developmental practices such as densification (backyard shacks as a form of urban infill), mixed land use (home-based business), social mixes of population groupings (formal houses reflecting suburban styles build amid shacks and informal dwellings) and city-wide transport connectivity (combi-taxis) are adopted, adapted and incorporated into the people's attempts to make city life possible. Robinson (1998: 171) argues that

[...] in some spheres a new *de facto* relation seems to have emerged between the planning visions of a dominant abstract spatiality and the representational spaces of everyday life, in which the meanings and inventions of everyday life are dominant.

Internationally though, the too familiar trend of urban decay (and transformation) in inner cities has its roots in the modernist town planning principle of creating mono-functional spaces with an utopian belief in the possibility of creating livable suburbs on the outskirts of the city. Daniel & Hopkinson (1994: 192) correctly state that “there is no single panacea. Different inner-city areas display different characteristics”. With this in mind, and based on the findings of a comparative study by Jürgens *et al* (2002) on social transformation in the inner-city areas of Durban, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, this paper aims to answer some questions and identify some trends relating to the inner-city change, processes and transformation

occurring in Pretoria. The paper is divided into three main sections. First, inner-city development and change are contextualised within the appropriate literature in order to provide an international perspective. Secondly, the focus shifts to the presentation of empirical data to explain certain urban processes in the inner-city area of Pretoria. These include decentralisation, deconcentration, intensification and management strategies. Lastly, the paper focuses on a comparison between the 1996 census data for the inner-city high-density Sunnyside suburb and data obtained from a sampled questionnaire survey conducted in 2001/2 among residents in flats in a portion of Sunnyside to show the extent of social transformation over the past five years. The questionnaire survey was conducted by trained students from Vista University, and socio-economic data for 585 individuals were collected.

1. Inner-city problems and changes: international experience

Inner city revitalization is a broad concept including actions and processes such as commercial development, upgrading, gentrification and renewal. Carmon (1999) provides a pragmatic view of the three generations of urban renewal policies: policy changes in the era of bulldozers and the demolition of older suburban buildings (1950-60s); neighbourhood rehabilitation (1970s), and revitalisation in a business-like approach emphasising local economic development (LED) (1980-90s). The reactivation of brownfield sites in inner-city areas by means of the adaptive re-use and development of large housing estates is the latest trend.

1.1 Socio-spatial impacts

It is a common international phenomenon that the middle classes from inner-city/older areas relocate to suburbs and are replaced by lower-status ethnic minorities (in SA, the previously disadvantaged majority). The urban spatial process also includes the decentralisation of retail, business and entertainment operations to suburban malls and development nodes. This divergent developmental trend exacerbates property trends and segregation. According to Pacione

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(2001: 299), “a strong relationship exists between poverty and deprivation, and other dimensions of urban decline” and “the relevance of each theoretical perspective for explaining inner-city decline is contingent upon the particular interaction of a variety of local and global processes”. This is most pertinent in developed cities around the world. The list of potential causes of inner-city decline is lengthy. Table 1 presents a typology of such explanations.

Table 1: A typology of explanations of inner-city decline

| Explanation | Dominant process(es) |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Natural evolution | Urban growth, ecological succession, down-filtering |
| Preference structure | Middle-class flight to the suburbs |
| Obsolescence | Aging of the built environment and the social infrastructure |
| Unintended effects of public policy | Suburban subsidies, including the construction of freeways and assistance with new single-family home ownership |
| Exploitation (1) | The city being manipulated by more powerful suburbs |
| Exploitation (2) | Institutional exploitation: red-lining by financial institutions; tax concessions; sub-urbanisation of factories |
| Structural change | De-industrialisation and economic decline |
| Fiscal crisis | Inequitable tax burdens; high welfare, social and infrastructural costs |
| Conflict | Racial and class polarisation |

Source: Pacione 2001: 305

From a population transformation perspective and in terms of the physical built environment, neighbourhood change can be interpreted in the context of Downs’s (1981) continuum, in which five stages are evident: stable and viable; minor decline; clear decline; heavily deteriorated; unhealthy and non-viable. A decline with falling property values is associated with a movement from stage one to stage five whereas movement from stage five to stage one is associated with revitalisation and rising property values. Table 2 provides a summary of these stages. In the USA, as indicated above, an arbitrage² model explains how neighbourhood racial transition occurs when ownership switches from white to black: in essence, a shift takes place in the

2 The transfer of houses in the transition zone in response to the difference in price that white and minority households are willing to pay for the same unit is termed arbitrage (Pacione 2001: 198).

housing market. Displacement is a major social problem created by urban renewal processes such as gentrification, clearance and the rehabilitation of areas. Pacione (2001: 204) argues this paradox saying that

[...] whereas they [displaced urban poor families] were once concentrated in the inner city because of their limited purchasing power, they are now being displaced from gentrifying inner neighbourhoods for the same reason.

The rehabilitation of older areas and flats, for example, by creating mixed-income residences, may result in the displacement of poor residents. What we label “colonial cottage and loft living” (CCLL), has displaced 900 000 households in the USA in one year according to Le Gates & Hartman (Knox 1998).

Table 2: Stages of neighbourhood change

| |
|---|
| Stage 1: Stable and viable: healthy neighbourhoods that are relatively new and thriving or relatively old and stable, with rising property values and no symptoms of decline. Some neighbourhoods remain in this stage for decades. |
| Stage 2: Minor decline: generally older areas with some functional obsolescence and minor physical deficiencies in housing units. The area accommodates many younger families at higher densities than when the neighbourhood was first developed. Property values are stable or increasing slightly. The level of public services and the social status of the neighbourhood are below those of stage 1 areas. |
| Stage 3: Clear decline: rented housing is dominant, with poor tenant-landlord relations owing to high absentee ownership. Minor physical deficiencies are evident and many structures have been converted to higher-density uses than they were designed for. Overall confidence in the area's future is weak and there may be some abandoned housing. |
| Stage 4: Heavily deteriorated: most housing requires major repairs, and properties are marketable only to the lowest socio-economic groups. The profitability of rental units is poor and cash-flows are low or negative. Subsistence-level households are numerous; pessimism about the future is widespread, as is housing abandonment. |
| Stage 5: Unhealthy and non-viable: characterised by wholesale abandonment; expectations about the area's future are nil. Residents have the lowest social status and incomes in the city, and the neighbourhood is regarded as one to escape from rather than one to move to. |

Source: Downs (1981) in Pacione 2001: 200

1.2 Urban restructuring and new forms of renewal

Close examination of Britain reveals four basic components of the inner-city problem, according to Pacione (2001): economic decline due to de-industrialisation and suburbanisation; physical dereliction

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because of aging inner-city areas; social disadvantage, where poverty and unemployment correlate with the socio-demographic and ethnic status of residents, and concentration of ethnic minorities leading to discrimination in the job and housing markets. After the riots in British inner-city areas, a report stated that

[...] unemployment was a major factor in the complex pattern of conditions which lie at the root of the disorders [which] are exacerbated by racial disadvantage (Daniel & Hopkinson 1994: 162).

Pacione (2001) argues that inner-city problems in Britain are mirrored in the USA, but in the latter case conditioned by particular social factors such as a greater proportion of ethnic minority residents. Shopping areas in the city centres reveal physical decay and are abandoned because the intended catchment population has relocated. The increasing decentralisation of shopping malls has contributed to the virtual elimination of central area shopping in many USA cities (Kowinski 1985). In Britain, on the other hand, locational patterns for malls or shopping centres have been sustained in city centres because of preventative policies (Guy 1994).

Since the 1980s the concept of public-private partnerships has changed the emphasis from urban renewal agencies to the business community including major developers, financial institutions and community representation (Knox 1987). In Britain the aim is to establish private-public partnerships in which the public sector's role is confined to acting as a catalyst, whereas the private sector is the developer (*ie* building houses, offices, etc). A success story among such partnership schemes is the case of Manchester, where the physical environment was enhanced, cleaning grants awarded, and vacant warehouses were adaptively re-used for housing. In the USA the recruitment of skilled private-sector personnel from business and commerce and their appointment as chief executive officers has proved a major success in local government with executive powers. In addition, there are financial incentives such as tax abatements (firms being exempted from paying taxes for a decade) and land is provided virtually free of charge in the Enterprise Zones. In Baltimore (USA), rehabilitation has been spearheaded by the Homesteading Programme, in which new owners are exempt from property taxes for a year (Daniel & Hopkinson 1994).

In developed cities, the reactivation of brownfields in inner-city areas has become a main component of urban development and regeneration. This trend includes developments on deserted wasteland such as unused commercial property, industrial plants or areas for transport purposes, with docklands having been the main target of reconstruction in recent years. Brownfield development, however, remains problematic. BBR (2000) identifies certain problems related to such re-use, including conflicts between old and new usages, areas tending to have a negative image, and potential waste deposits of former industries being problematic and expensive to eradicate. In most cases the reactivation of brownfields has resulted in the development of new residential sections as well as areas for commercial use, offices, mixed land use and tourism or entertainment. Brownfield development is also applied in a developing city context: in Brazil, for example, brownfields have successfully been converted to provide housing for low-income communities.

Inner-city/older suburbs are also areas where the cultural heritage of buildings is important. According to the BBR (2000: 57) “the cultural heritage of buildings and the variety of the available culture enrich the inner city and are important starting points for inner city policy”. In recent years heritage conservation has played a significant role in urban planning for historic inner-urban districts (Hamer 2000). Legislation to protect the character and aesthetics of conservation areas in Britain — mainly located in inner-city areas — dates back to the 1950s. Mageean (1999: 71) divides the dominant policy themes into three phases. First, preservation as a priority (1950s to mid-1970s), with financial backing from the government. Secondly, enhancement and regeneration, lasting until the late 1980s and depending heavily on private funding and initiatives. Thirdly, managing the capacity for change by integrating conservation within the context of planning and development. Conservation is now acknowledged in policy as a key element of inner-city economic regeneration, improving the physical condition of the historic built environment, increasing residential use and encouraging commercial development in under-used areas. In arguing for an integrated environmental sustainability approach — merging heritage and culture with a business

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The remaining section of this paper will provide a perspective on general trends observed in Pretoria and their impact on the inner city, the social transformation of an inner-city suburb, and the policy initiatives aimed at addressing the issue of inner-city changes.

2. Pretoria's inner city/CBD in context

Pacione (2001: 514) states that

[...] few cities in the Third World are in a position to undertake urban renewal to improve housing conditions since the general shortage of housing militates against any deliberate reduction in stock through slum clearance [...] in practice most urban renewal schemes are undertaken for commercial reasons rather than for social welfare objectives.

In the South African context this is echoed by Khosa & Naidoo (1998) who observed that the Durban-Warwick Avenue inner-city renewal programme was not “explicitly addressing poverty alleviation [...] Rather, it was aimed at modernising and commercialising the area”. Similarly, Bremner's (2002) exploration of responses to inner-city changes in Johannesburg from 1991 onwards found that the LED initiatives were based on reinventing, re-imagining and re-marketing the inner city. While in the pre-1994 period LED initiatives were

[...] expansionist and buoyant [and] relied on an aesthetic, property-led development programme to regenerate a declining economy, re-image a city tarnished by its oppressive, racist past and position Johannesburg as a ‘world city’,

the post-1994 period was

more cautious and less speculative, advocating an environmentally-led programme of stabilization and neighbourhood development to address immediate problems of inner-city decay (Bremner 2000: 191).

However, due to the dramatic race-space transformation of areas such as Hillbrow (Morris 1994) and the acceleration of decentralised commercial property developments in the northern suburbs (Rogerson 1996; Beavon 2000), the Johannesburg inner city has witnessed increasing dominance by informal manufacturing and small and

medium-sized enterprises (SMMEs) (Rogerson 2002; Kesper 2002). This brings with it a new factor, namely foreign in-migrants, contributing to new processes of social polarisation and to xenophobia (Morris & Bouillon 2001).

Although it is not the purpose of this paper to compare the inner-city trends of Pretoria and Johannesburg, it is nevertheless interesting to note the contrast. Although only 60 km apart, inner-city changes in Pretoria have occurred somewhat differently from those in Johannesburg. Most noteworthy is the spatial difference. The visual image of the built environment of Pretoria's skyline never developed into the type of visual spectacle as Johannesburg's because building heights were restricted by low-rise town planning restrictions dating from the early 1930s. Therefore most blocks of flats are no more than five to eight storeys high, due to a statutory 30-metre limitation that lasted until the late 1960s (Voutsas 2001). Historically, the physical structure and function of Pretoria and Johannesburg were also different. During the apartheid era, the two distinct cities symbolically portrayed two different forms of power: one being the capital city (Pretoria), the other, the city of capital (Johannesburg). In Pretoria the low-rise restrictions were relaxed for civic buildings, thus "ensuring that the presence of the state overpowered that of capital" (Brittan & Van Wyk 1998: 255) while in Johannesburg commercial building heights triumphed. However, in 1969 the Pretoria Amendment Scheme No 1/152 extended building size and permitted commercial buildings to outstrip civic structures (Brittan & Van Wyk 1998). This ideological analogy is perhaps still evident in inner-city residential areas, where Sunnyside and Pretoria Central accommodate the new government's burgeoning black bureaucratic class while Johannesburg serves as a magnet for black (South) Africans seeking wealth and employment. In Pretoria, the public sector remains the major employer (36%), followed by a stagnating manufacturing sector. While the public sector contributes 44% to the GGP, industry accounts for a mere 18% (Gauteng Provincial Government 2000). Despite the visual differences, the various inter-related processes that contribute to what Turok (2000) refers to as the divergent development trends across South African cities are also evident in Pretoria. Inner-city changes have to be understood within the context of various urban

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developmental processes (see section 3 below). The four main processes impacting directly on Pretoria's inner-city areas are decentralisation, deconcentration, differentiation and drift.

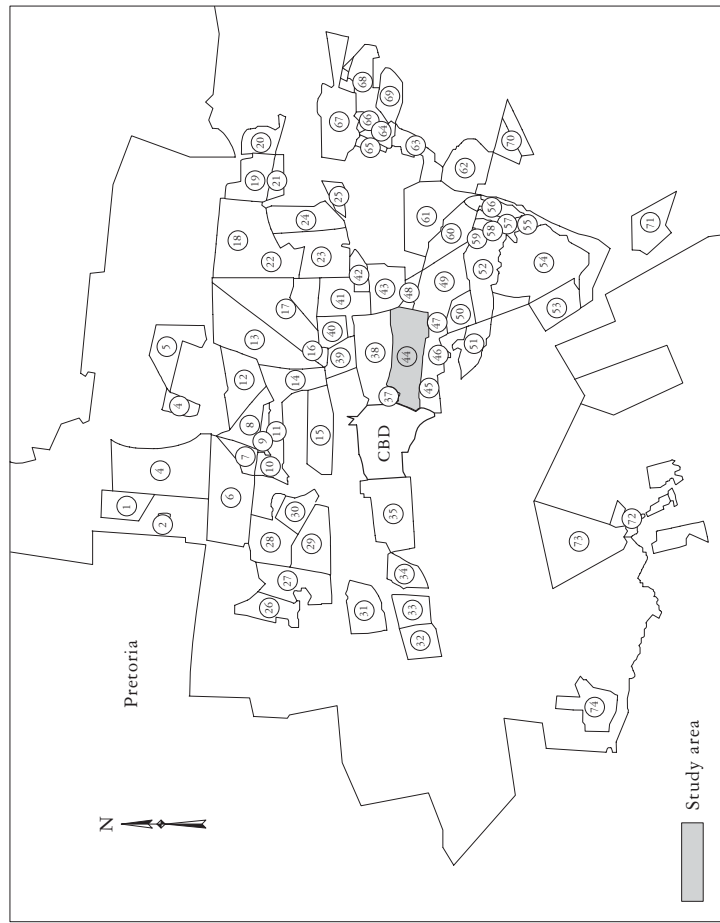
Figure 1 shows the residential suburbs of Pretoria in relation to the CBD. In this paper, references to the inner city include the following suburbs/areas: the CBD, Sunnyside, Trevenna and Arcadia. Despite a decline in overall economic performance, the most notable activity area in Pretoria is the inner city.

Table 3: Number and type of dwelling units in the inner city by selected areas, 1997 (PICP 1998: 60)

| Suburb | Sunnyside | Arcadia | Central (CBD) | Total for all inner city areas (including Trevenna, Marabastad, Prinshof and Salvokop) |
|---------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--|
| No of houses | 475 | 301 | 1037 | 2330 |
| Flats (units) | 9519 | 6261 | 7008 | 23440 |
| Flats (blocks) | 282 | 201 | 142 | 644 |
| Duplexes (units) | 260 | 134 | 0 | 405 |
| Duplexes (blocks) | 21 | 12 | 0 | 36 |
| Simplexes (units) | 944 | 43 | 0 | 987 |
| Simplexes (blocks) | 36 | 2 | 0 | 38 |
| Simplexes and duplexes (units) | 29 | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| Simplexes and duplexes (blocks) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total high density units | 10752 | 6438 | 7008 | 24861 |
| Total high density blocks | 340 | 215 | 142 | 719 |

From Table 3 it is evident that Sunnyside has the highest percentage of residential units among suburbs of the inner city: 41% of flats (units); 44% of blocks of flats; 43% of the total high-density units and 47% of the total high-density blocks, as well as other residential structures such as simplexes (96%), duplex units (51%) and duplex blocks (58%). According to the Gauteng Provincial Government (2002) there are approximately 275 000 jobs in Pretoria's inner city and the fringe area of Hatfield. The highest gross employment density per hectare (more than 100 jobs/ha) in Pretoria is found in the

Figure 1: Sunnyside in the city-wide context



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Figure 1: Pretoria residential areas

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------|----|--------------------|----|------------------|
| 1 | Wolmer | 26 | Booyens | 51 | Groenkloof |
| 2 | Tileba | 27 | Claremont | 52 | Waterkloof |
| 3 | Pretoria-North | 28 | Daspoort | 53 | Monument Park |
| 4 | Anlin | 29 | Pretoria Tuine | 54 | Waterkloof Ridge |
| 5 | Sinoville | 30 | Hermanstad | 54 | Waterkloof Park |
| 6 | Mountain View | 31 | Danville | 55 | Ashley Gardens |
| 7 | Parktown | 32 | Kwaggastrand | 56 | Alphen Park |
| 8 | Mayville | 33 | Wespark | 57 | Maroelana |
| 9 | Les Marais | 34 | Proklamsieheuwel | 58 | Hazelwood |
| 10 | Roseville | 35 | Pretoria West | 59 | Menlo Park |
| 11 | Eloffsdal | 36 | Pretoria Central | 60 | Lynnwood |
| 12 | Wonderboom South | 37 | Trevenna | 61 | Lynnwood Glen |
| 13 | Rietfontein | 38 | Arcadia | 62 | Lynnwood Manor |
| 14 | Gezina | 39 | Riviera | 63 | Val de Grace |
| 15 | Capital Park | 40 | Rietondale | 64 | Lydiana |
| 16 | Deerness | 41 | Brynterton | 65 | Georgeville |
| 17 | Villieria | 42 | Colbyn | 67 | Silverton |
| 18 | Waverley | 43 | Hatfield | 68 | Meyerspark |
| 19 | East Lynne | 44 | Sunnyside | 69 | Murrayfield |
| 20 | Jan Niemand Park | 45 | Muckleneuk | 70 | Garsfontein |
| 21 | Koedoespoort | 46 | Lukastrand | 71 | Elarduspark |
| 22 | Moreglod | 47 | Baileys Muckleneuk | 72 | Glen Lauriston |
| 23 | Koedoespoort | 48 | Hillcrest | 73 | Valhalla |
| 24 | Kilner Park | 49 | Brooklyn | 74 | Erasmia |
| 25 | Weavind Park | 50 | New Muckleneuk | | |

CBD and Sunnyside. The highest gross residential density (6-10 dwelling units/ha) is located in the same area. In comparison with other areas in the city, a density of less than 5 dwelling units per hectare is evident, with the exception of the primary black township of the city, Mamelodi.

Notwithstanding the above observations, the Tshwane Metro's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2002) reveals that a number of processes and developments have occurred since the mid-1980s that have dramatically changed the spatial and socio-economic character of the inner city. The IDP lists the following five aspects:

- the rapid residential growth, mainly in easterly and northerly directions;
- the development of suburban shopping centres and the growth of major nodes like Menlyn Park, Pretoria North, Hatfield and Brooklyn to cater for changing market requirements;
- the decentralisation of offices to the eastern suburbs, with Hatfield, Brooklyn and various nodes in the eastern suburbs being the most important;
- the change in the CBD's shopper profile from a middle-to-affluent profile to a low-income, and
- the strong growth in the informal sector and the negative perceptions created by this presence and the congestion of the pavements (Tswane Metro 2002: 94).

These observations are not very different from the national and international experiences alluded to earlier in the paper. Certain questions, however, spring to mind: to what extent are these processes different? why are they taking place? and what attempts are being made to reposition the inner city in the context of a changing and transforming metropolitan area? The next section will explore some of the processes contributing to inner-city changes.

3. Inner-city developmental trends in Pretoria: impact and policy

According to Urban-Econ (1998: 1):

The Pretoria Inner City is generally known as the primary productive heart of the metropolitan economy as it contains the central area of its administration, business, main markets, services and utilities required in addition to the residential areas around it. [How-

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ever,] the Pretoria Inner City is currently experiencing severe stress and is in a process of physical, economic and social decline. This decline is causing the loss of valuable economic and social resources, infrastructure and development opportunities unique to the urban central area [which] is evident from the following: decline in physical environment, the quality of life including standards, economic decline, the exodus of economic activity and the increase vacant space, increasing poverty and unemployment [*sic*].

In order to shed some light on the above quotation, an empirical assessment of decentralisation, deconcentration and intensification in the inner city will be discussed. The impact of management strategies will then be considered by reference to city improvement districts in Sunnyside. This will be followed by an analysis of the social impact of inner-city change, namely residential desegregation, with specific emphasis on the high density suburb of Sunnyside.

3.1 Decentralisation

The steady growth in decentralised³ office development reflects the prime office rentals for the period November 1999 to November 2000, where decentralised office rentals show 3.2% growth. However, the data also reveal a “growing distaste for CBD office space”, and in 2000 the highest real rental contraction since 1995 was recorded (*Rode's Report 2000*: 36). A comparison of Grade A+, A and B office vacancy factors for November 1999 in the CBD and the decentralised eastern suburbs reveals a 12% vacancy in the CBD, 4.9% vacancy in the eastern suburbs, and 7.1% vacancy in Sunnyside. It is estimated that the CBD has lost approximately 18 000 office workers since 1990. From a symbolic point of view, the decentralisation of government — the Auditor-General and the Receiver of Revenue to Menlyn and Brooklyn, respectively, and the Gauteng Provincial Government to Johannesburg — did not do justice to investor confidence either (Donaldson 2001).

Since 1995 new office developments in the decentralised areas have outperformed any new office developments in Pretoria Central. 1995 saw 10.442m² of new office developments in the CBD. The figure declined to 4.600m² in 1997, whereafter a 0m² was recorded up

3 Defined as a net shift in economic activity away from the CBD towards suburban centres (Turok 2000: 14).

to 2000. On the other hand, in the decentralised area, new developments peaked at 103.948m² in 1996, dropped to 36.600m² the following year but then showed a gradual increase of between 20.000 and 30.000m² per year until 2000 (*Rode's Report* 2000: 59). A comparison of Pretoria's CBD office development to that in the three other metropolitan areas (Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg) reveals that Pretoria experienced the second-lowest growth in total, with Durban's figure being the lowest (Table 4). New developments are not expected in the inner city, primarily due to lack of space. However, Table 4 points out that little or no new office development as a consequence of brownfield development, clearance, and redevelopment is taking place in the inner city as has been the case internationally.

Data on retail activity is not available, but a similar trend appears to be present, with the greatest development taking place at the Menlyn Shopping Centre's decentralised node. The centre doubled its leasable floor area to 110 000m² in 1999.

The decentralisation of offices usually has a direct bearing on rental prices of flats because it is argued that decentralisation of employment creates a new customer base in inner-city residential areas. In the decentralised eastern suburbs, the average rental for an upmarket 3-bedroomed flat was R2475, compared to R1992 in Sunnyside during the first quarter of 2000. For standard quality 1- and 2-bedroomed unit there was no major difference between Sunnyside and the eastern suburbs, where average prices were R1012 (1-room) R1371 (2-room) and R1179/R1557, respectively. This relative stability in the rental market for flats in the inner city supports the notion that residential transformation represents purely racial not class-based (see section 4).

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Table 4: Comparison of new office developments in the CBD and decentralised areas in four metropolitan areas, 1995-2000

| New office developments — trends in decentralisation (m ²) | | | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Metropolitan area | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
| Pretoria: | | | | | | |
| CBD | 10.442 | 5.300 | 4.600 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Decentralised | 33.082 | 103.948 | 36.600 | 34.371 | 50.301 | 81.060 |
| Total | 43.524 | 109.248 | 41.200 | 34.371 | 50.301 | 81.060 |
| Johannesburg: | | | | | | |
| CBD | 109.909 | 41.225 | 30.785 | 0 | 0 | 44.500 |
| Decentralised | 208.867 | 345.497 | 237.080 | 281.953 | 208.481 | 245.685 |
| Total | 318.776 | 386.722 | 267.865 | 281.481 | 208.481 | 299.185 |
| Durban: | | | | | | |
| CBD | 5.000 | 39.218 | 3.500 | 2.700 | 0 | 0 |
| Decentralised | 3.500 | 9.691 | 33.457 | 58.611 | 15.098 | 13.800 |
| Total | 8.500 | 48.909 | 36.957 | 61.311 | 15.098 | 13.800 |
| Cape Town: | | | | | | |
| CBD | 19.800 | 4.160 | 9.700 | 26.960 | 1.200 | 46.000 |
| Decentralised | 66.599 | 67.685 | 42.032 | 128.149 | 117.180 | 82.413 |
| Total | 86.399 | 71.845 | 51.732 | 155.109 | 118.380 | 128.413 |
| National CBD | 145.151 | 89.903 | 48.585 | 29.660 | 1.200 | 90.500 |
| National decentralised | 312.048 | 526.821 | 349.169 | 503.084 | 391.060 | 431.958 |
| Total | 457.199 | 616.724 | 397.754 | 532.744 | 392.260 | 522.458 |

Source: *Rode's Report 2000*

3.2 Deconcentration

According to Turok (2000) deconcentration⁴ encourages spatial fragmentation and low density, car orientated development of offices on main roads. The Pretoria City Council consciously promoted deconcentration in 1992 when it revised its urban development policy for Cell 25,⁵ including development guidelines for non-residential land use. Three scenarios were formulated, taking two main aspects into consideration. The first was the unique combination of land use, in-

4 Defined as a net shift in economic activity away from established centres towards a more dispersed pattern of development (Turok 2000: 16).

5 The old east: Eastclyffe, Kilberry, Eastwood, Lisdogan Park, Brynterion, Blackmoor, Colbyn, Hatfield, Hillcrest, as well as parts of Arcadia and Sunnyside.

cluding seven vehicular arterials (and the impact of this on the adjacent residential stands); the second, that it is the most important historical conservation area of Pretoria. The first scenario basically recommended that the area remain unchanged while the other two scenarios recommended dramatic changes. A summary is given in Table 5. We argue here that this shift in policy to encourage business development away from the CBD contributed to a snow-ball effect once the apartheid-protected machinery ceased to exist in the mid-1990s. Scenario 3 was approved by the Council on 24 November 1992. The re-use of houses in Pretoria's historical inner-city fringe suburb of Arcadia has been taking place since, contrary to the Pretoria City Council's Development Plan, which made provision for low-, medium-, and high-intensity home offices. The Council also postulated that there would be minimal impact on office floor space in the CBD. That may perhaps have been the prediction but the subsequent negative externalities of the development plan contributed to a range of other urban developmental trends, such as decentralisation to the east. In addition, contrary to the adopted regulations, the destruction of historical architecture was brought about through indiscriminate re-zoning with little or no attention being paid to the preservation of the physical and historical character of certain areas. The complexities of transitional political arrangements (moving from a racially biased to a non-racial society) and the importance of local government restructuring resulted in a lack of control or enforcement of the by-laws in respect of the planned scenario. In driving through the area today, it is obvious that the City Council did not adhere to the proposed scenario 3 development framework.

3.3 Intensification

As is the case in most major cities, there is not much vacant space for intensification⁶ by means of new developments on undeveloped land in Pretoria's inner city. However, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council has allocated 4ha of derelict land and buildings in the Trevenna Precinct adjacent to Sunnyside to the Department of Trade and Industry for the construction of new offices. (This area had been identified in

6 This is a cumulative process that takes place over time. Intensification of built form and intensification of activity can take place (Jenks 2000: 242).

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the mid-1990s as the site for a waterfront development but insufficient funding was raised). The project forms part of the Nelson Mandela Development Corridor and the construction of a unified service delivery campus for the Department's retail and office development started in May 2002 (*Pretoria News* 2001: 4) — see photo 1. The development is estimated for completion by December 2003.

Table 5: Development scenarios for Cell 25

| Characteristics | Scenario 1 | Scenario 2 | Scenario 3 |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Main aim of scenario | Conservation of residential function | Business development along seven vehicular arterials | Conservation of cultural-historical importance |
| Residential component | Enhances residential component | Enhances residential component in 4 sub-areas only | Makes provision for more residential expansion in 4 sub-areas |
| Business component | Does not enhance business component | Enhances business component | Makes provision for expansion of business component in terms of the structure plan |
| Home offices | No provision | Open zoning for home offices and other developments | Provision for low-, medium-, and high-intensity home offices |
| Transport | Alternative routes to be found for Schoeman and Pretorius streets | Accepts current situation and also expansion of main arteries | Accepts current situation |
| Office floor space in Hatfield node | Vacant space can decrease | Vacant space can drastically increase | Vacant space can marginally increase |
| Office floor space in CBD | Not affected | Negatively affected | Minimally affected |
| Employment opportunities | Decline in employment opportunities in CBD | Employment created | Employment created |
| Cultural historical importance | Conserved | No conservation | Conserved and even enhanced |

Source: Pretoria Stadsraad 1992: 357

Photo 1 : Inner-city infill development adjacent to Sunnyside:
the DTI campus development



Intensification of activity — the increased use of existing buildings and changes in land-use — is not apparently on the policy agenda of the City Council. A recent research report by the Pretoria Technikon's Department of Economics and Logistics for the City Council argues against the re-use of empty office buildings for housing purposes. This is contradictory to the Gauteng Provincial Government's (1997) White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres, which advocates densification and mixed land use.

3.4 Management strategies: City Improvement Districts (CIDs)

The revitalisation process of inner-city areas is a rapid process with a marked change in neighbourhood character and great potential for conflict. The significance of the process lies in the "qualitative, symbolic and ideological implications for urban change" (Knox 1987: 335). Re-urbanisation of the inner city is not possible within a climate of fear, crime and general public decadence. For example, specific land zoning actions were introduced to rid USA cities of sex shops, strip-tease bars, and so on. The introduction of a zero tolerance policy in New York City succeeded in reducing crime levels significantly. Recently, South African metropolitan areas have established Metro Po-

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lice Departments. In Tshwane (Pretoria-Centurion-Soshanguve) 492 members were thus employed by the end of February 2002. It is aimed to increase the number of recruits to 1300 by 2006. Their main task will be general crime prevention, the application of traffic rules and policing municipal regulations (*Beeld* 2002: 6).

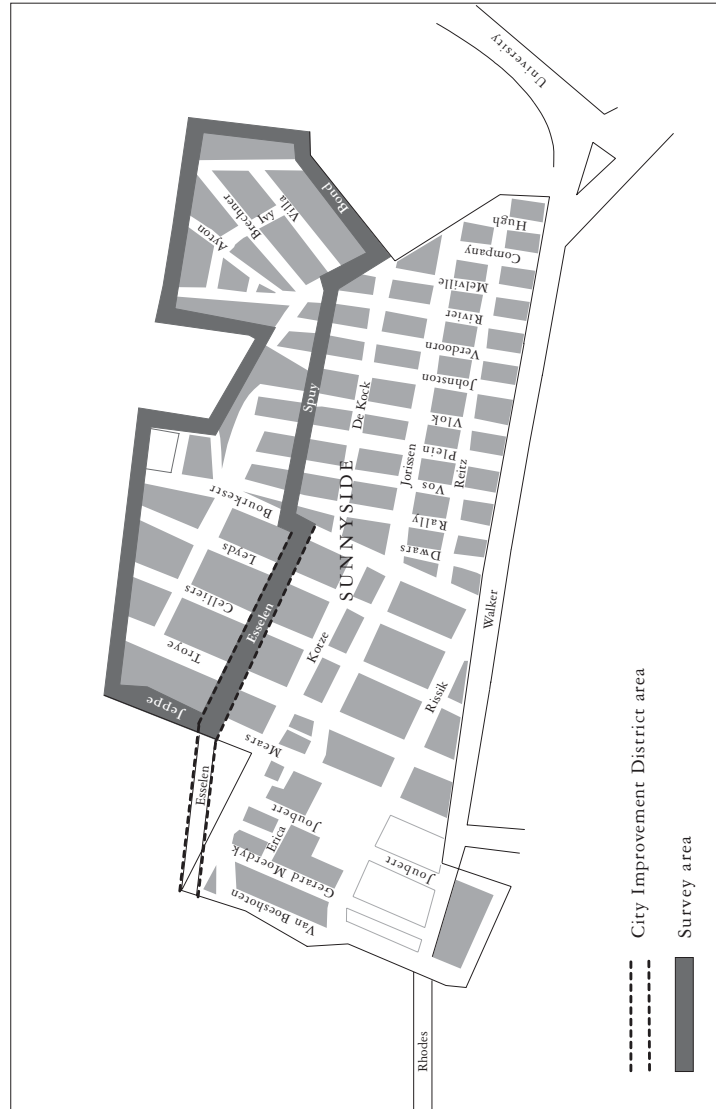
One of the first urban management strategic policies emanating from the White Paper on Urban Centres is the Gauteng City Improvement Districts Act (No 12 of 1997), which came into operation on 30 November 1999. To date there have been four applications from Pretoria, of which three are in the inner city: the Sunnyside (see Figure 2), Arcadia, and Church Street CIDs. This policy will go a long way towards easing the growing concern among property owners, residents and business owners about the degeneration of city centres, in that a CID can contribute to improved security and safety, cleanliness, better standards for shop owners, increased control of street trading, and higher standards in terms of the types of business permitted — especially to control seedy activities (Gauteng Provincial Government 1997).

The Provincial Government Notice for the Sunnyside CID stipulates that in year one of the 3-year development plan the following services will be provided:

- management of the area and supplementary cleaning and maintenance;
- negotiation and implementation of an informal trading policy
- co-ordination of the Pretoria City Council's existing security and tourist patrols;
- development of a plan in conjunction with appropriate social service providers to deal with social problems such as homelessness, street children, prostitution and drug abuse, and
- management of a car guard system (Gauteng Provincial Gazette 2000).

In Sunnyside, the CID has already achieved significant improvements with the provision of stalls for hawkers (photo 2) and cleaner streets. In March 2002 the CID announced proposed legislation to prohibit the growing sex industry (sex shops, striptease bars, etc) from the area, which ten years previously had housed boutiques, de-

Figure 2: Survey area and City Improvement District



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signer stores and trendy shops (*Rekord* 2002). It is too soon to provide any form of assessment of the success of the CID and the Metro Police as management strategies. It is, however, hoped that these strategies will contribute to the rejuvenation of residential suburbs such as Sunnyside and that they will not become completely racially segregated areas, like Hillbrow, for example. In terms of identity — other than race — there is, however, a major transformation in terms of business ownership among foreigners. Darkey (2002) found that 22 of the 28 hair salons in Esselen Street (the CID area) are owned by entrepreneurs from other countries in Africa. However, these salons do not exclusively employ non-South Africans (36% employed are South African). In the last section of this paper the social transformation of Sunnyside will be described.

Photo 2: CID in Sunnyside - formal hawker's stall



4. Residential change: the case of Sunnyside

Sunnyside (cf Figure 1) is an inner-city suburb established in 1875 as a hamlet and incorporated into the municipal area in 1888. By 1934, all the residential stands in Sunnyside were completely developed. Between 1934 and 1951 — the war period — the newly established ISCOR steel industry produced a boom in residential development in Pretoria Central and Sunnyside, where the need for cheap accommodation mainly for poor whites was catered for in the form of flats. Between 1952 and 1963 Pretoria experienced economic decline. However, from 1964 to 1975 the city — and the country as a whole

— experienced an economic boom (Pretoria Stadsraad 1992). From the 1960s Sunnyside changed its character dramatically, from a one-house-one-plot suburb to a high-density area of over 100 blocks of flats with a vibrant business area (*Sunnyside News* 2001). Van Bergen & Olivier's (1983) study showed that Pretoria Central and Sunnyside were the city's main cosmopolitan areas during the 1980s. This situation, however, underwent a dramatic turnaround during the 1990s after the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation were scrapped.

4.1 Residential patterns: 1991-1996

A comparison of the census data for a number of suburbs in and around the CBD of Pretoria is given in Table 6. There has been a dramatic decrease of whites in all the inner-city suburbs, with the most notable decline being in Trevenna (42%), followed by the CBD residential area where the percentage dropped by 40%, and a 19% drop in both Arcadia and Sunnyside. The percentages for the more afflu-

Table 6: Comparison between 1991 and 1996 census data according to race for selected suburbs

| Census 1991 and 1996 | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Geographical areas of Pretoria by population group for person, weighted and percentage | | | | | | | | |
| | Black 1991 | Black 1996 | Coloured 1991 | Coloured 1996 | Indian 1991 | Indian 1996 | White 1991 | White 1996 |
| Arcadia | 1179 7% | 2912 22% | 36 0.2% | 323 2% | 16 0.1% | 267 2% | 15677 93% | 9785 74% |
| Pretoria CBD | 614 4% | 7004 40% | 24 0.1% | 675 4% | 49 0.3% | 171 1% | 16045 96% | 9820 56% |
| Sunnyside | 757 3% | 4180 20% | 30 0.1% | 377 2% | 19 0.1% | 249 1% | 21675 96% | 16447 77% |
| Trevenna | 40 3% | 552 38% | 2 0.1% | 59 4% | 6 0.4% | 38 3% | 1551 97% | 796 55% |
| Lukasrand | 141 29% | 94 24% | 0 0% | 1 0.3% | 2 0.4% | 3 0.8% | 346 71% | 301 75% |
| Muckleneuk | 557 10% | 842 18% | 16 0.3% | 83 2% | 0 0% | 47 1% | 4984 90% | 3801 80% |

Figures greater than 0 and less than 5 are randomised to preserve confidentiality; unspecified not included.

Source: Statistics South Africa, Census 1991 and 1996

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ent upper-income suburbs of Lukasrand and Muckleneuk reveal a marginal decline. Cognisance should be taken of the fact that in these areas it is the norm for white households to have black domestic workers living in. The high percentage of blacks in Lukasrand in 1991 may possibly be ascribed to builders living onsite, and so on. In this suburb there was also a marginal increase in coloured and Indian population groups, mainly due to the demographics of the country as a whole. Figure 3 shows the population distribution for the various suburbs around the inner city.

4.2 Socio-demographic patterns: 1996 to 2001

For a more detailed socio-economic-demographic analysis we compared the 1996 census data for Sunnyside as a whole with findings from our own 2000/1 survey data (Table 7) for the survey area (Figure 2). Based on the samples, racial transition in the suburb of Sunnyside has shown a further increase from being 19% inhabited by blacks in 1996 to 58% in 2001. In terms of the coloured and Indian categories, no significant change occurred during this period. The replacement of whites by blacks is thus the main phenomenon. Between 1991 and 1996 a 17% increase of blacks in the public sector may have contributed to this significant increase. In comparing Pretoria to the inner-city suburbs of Durban and Johannesburg (Jürgens *et al* 2002) where

Table 7: Socio-demographic comparison: 1996 census and 2001 survey

| Socio-demographic variable | 1996 | | | | 2001/2 | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|-----|
| Race: | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 4180 (19%) | | | | 559 (58%) | | | |
| White | 16447 (77%) | | | | 332 (34%) | | | |
| Coloured | 377 (2%) | | | | 17 (2%) | | | |
| Indian | 249 (1%) | | | | 3 (0.3%) | | | |
| Unknown | 200 (1%) | | | | 0 | | | |
| Income: | B | C | I | W | B | C | I | W |
| Low: R1-R1000 | 29% | 6% | 5% | 14% | 11% | - | - | 4% |
| Low-middle: R1001-R2500 | 23% | 36% | 22% | 29% | 12% | 40% | 50% | 16% |
| Middle: R2501-R8000 | 43% | 51% | 62% | 51% | 62% | 20% | - | 60% |
| High: R8001 and > | 5% | 7% | 12% | 6% | 18% | 40% | 50% | 17% |

Source: Statistics South Africa, Census 1996, and own survey findings 2000/1

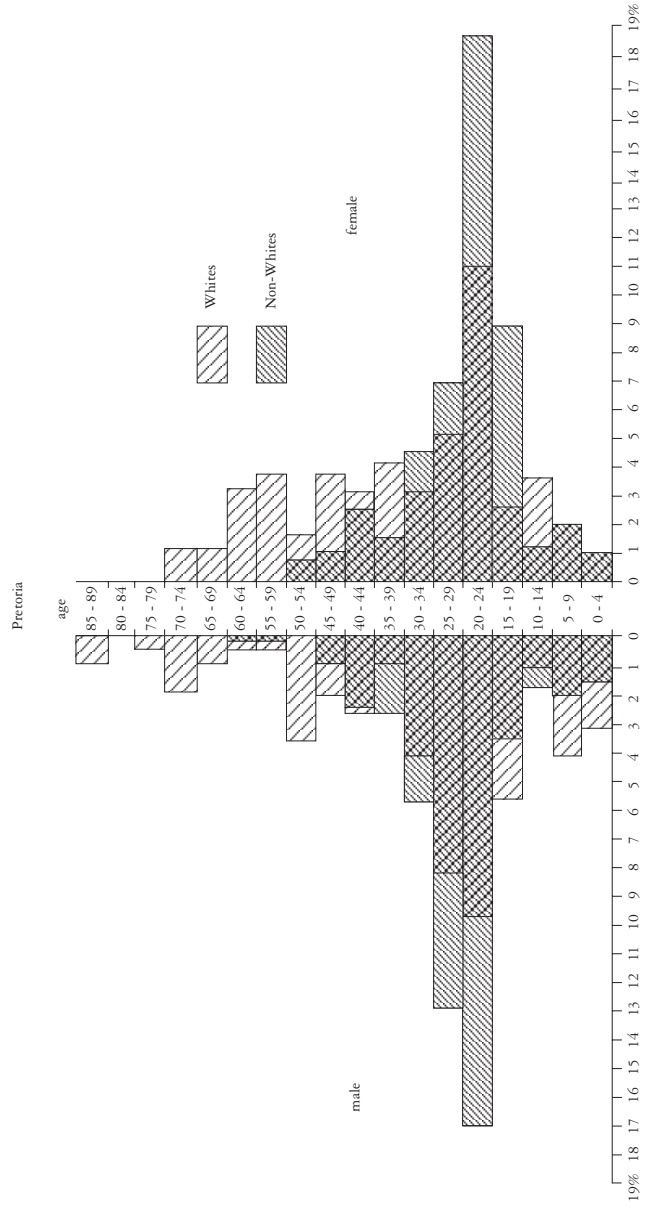
few whites, if any, remain, we argue that it is mainly the presence of the public sector that serves as a catalyst for stability and contributes to the creation of a truly post-apartheid inner-city residential area.

Inner-city areas experiencing transformation tend to be susceptible to change. In Sunnyside, it is significant that a mere two percent of household members were unemployed at the time of the survey. Although somewhat arbitrary, the categorisation of income status from low to high shows a trend of stabilisation. In other words, there has not been a dramatic decline from the perspective of class. Both black and white income groups have steadily increased. (We argue here that this may have occurred in line with inflation, so that there has not been a real change in class structures when compared to the 1996 census data). A significant shift to higher income groups — more than 30% increase — for coloureds and Indians has been observed. These percentages may be deceptive if viewed in the context of the actual increase in these population groups. However, there appears to be an even spread of income levels among these two population groups, reflecting no real internal class difference.

From the 1996 census data it may be observed that there was no real difference in age category for blacks, where the age group in the 20s was most populous (36%). By comparison, the white age category younger than 30 comprised 59% of all categories for the two population groups. Another noteworthy statistic is the high percentage of whites older than 40 (30%), of which 14% are over 60. In the 2001 survey a completely different population pyramid was observed for the younger residents of Sunnyside. Figure 3 shows that, by now, almost 80% of blacks are younger than 30, while just over 50% in the same age category are white. Social entrapment may be the reason why the percentage of residents older than 60 remained the same for blacks and whites.

It is still not certain whether Sunnyside will lean towards becoming a stable, non-transient suburb or whether the pattern of in- and out-migration of young blacks will become the norm. However, given the fact that most flats in Sunnyside only became body corporates and sectional titles after 1994 and that blacks were not allowed to purchase property there until after 1991, this area can be consider-

Figure 3: Population pyramid for Sunnyside survey according to race and gender



ed “newly” developed. From the government’s intention to outlaw redlining practices to the observation of Donaldson & Van der Merwe (1999) that black residential mobility indicates that black property owners do not relocate easily once they have purchased a first property, we may speculate: will Sunnyside become a model low-middle income suburb for the city in which the demographics of the country are represented, where a new sense of national citizenship (identity) is fostered and maintained, and where the banning of redlining promotes the process of constructional revitalisation and thus of positive integration?

5. Conclusion

This paper attempted to illustrate how inner-city changes and processes in Pretoria — ranging from spatial processes to social transformation — are contributing to shaping the changing geography of a South African city. The city provides an interesting laboratory for investigation since it has always been considered moderate because of its capital city status. The spatial trends, such as decentralization and deconcentration, observed in Pretoria are similar to those in other metropolitan areas in South Africa. In the context of Table 1 all the processes that contribute to inner-city decline are evident in Pretoria. However, it is the pace, manner and intervention strategies that will dictate the success or failure of the inner-city areas of the city. Urban development interventions such as intensification are already making significant contributions to the regeneration of derelict land in the inner city. Moreover, the Department of Trade and Industry’s new offices and the planned station(s) for the rapid rail link, the Gautrain, will also benefit the area. Management strategies such as public-private partnerships in establishing City Improvement Districts are definitely showing signs of renewal, especially in relation to the control of informal street trading, cleanliness and safety. In addition to existing strategies, at the time of writing, the Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel, had announced that urban renewal requires greater business investment in the regeneration of inner-city areas. With this in mind, it is proposed that investment in the refurbishment or construction of buildings in certain urban areas receive special treatment. Taxpayers refurbishing a building within designated zones will

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receive a 20% straight-line depreciation allowance over a 5-year period. The construction of new buildings within such a zone will attract a 20% write-off in the first year and 5% a year for a further 16 years. This benefit will be available to owners as users of the building or as lessors/financiers of these investments. Commitment from the national government via tax incentives will probably not make a significant contribution to encouraging movement back to the inner city in the initial period. However, once some of the provincial projects materialise — such as the proposed Gautrain and the Salvokop Heritage Museum — confidence in investment in the inner city may be renewed.

Insofar as the social geography of the inner city is concerned, the processes of desegregation and inclusion relating to the in-movement of previously segregated population and income groups, contributes greatly to the changing character and function of these areas.

A remarkable increase of 39% in black numbers between 1996 and 2001 reflects the main trend. However, the decline in whites is represented mostly in the low and low-middle income categories, while the middle and high income categories have shown an increase for both blacks and whites. The fact of a different racial group replacing a similar class group indicates that stability can be expected in the property market. It is postulated here that in lower income groups where such replacement has taken place, it has taken place among students, since Sunnyside has been for years a preferred location for white university and technikon students.

The potential perpetuation of social exclusion may be reason for concern here. In relation to further research, Parnell & Oldfield (2002) consider it necessary

[...] for a move beyond a narrow segregationist frame to a wider perspective that embraces the causes and consequences of exclusion for city development. An analysis of exclusion facilitates a multi-dimensional understanding of not only spatial and racial division, but also ways in which these aspects engage relationally with economic, political, institutional and identity-based processes.

This paper has attempted to provide a broader perspective on assessing inner-city urban change in Pretoria by looking at various spatial, developmental and management processes in relation to socio-demographic trends since 1994.

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