

# Beneficial urban redevelopment: a Cape Town-Liverpool comparison

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The author is grateful to the following persons for interviews during research for this paper in Cape Town in July 1996: Basil Davidson of the Cape Town Community Land Trust and Ciraj Rassool from the History Department of the University of the Western Cape. She is especially indebted to the District Six museum staff: Sandy, Mohammed, Vincent and Linda Fortuin who gave access to both information and the "spirit" of District Six. Information on Toxteth comes from an on-going research project by Gideon Ben-Tovim, Dot Lambert and the author at the Schools of Architecture and Sociology at the University of Liverpool, England.

*SUMMARY: This paper discusses the effects of urban regeneration projects in inner-city areas which, in the past, have had a pronounced multi-cultural character; in the face of the larger dominant (in this discussion, 'White') institutional and residential character of the central city. Drawing on case studies of District Six in Cape Town (South Africa) and Toxteth in Liverpool (England), it questions whether the current forms of urban regeneration benefit local populations who have remained in these inner-city areas largely because of existing cultural and socio-economic structures. This highlights the problematic nature of market driven inner-city regeneration and also, by showing the clear differences between the two districts, the city-specific nature of regeneration. The paper also discusses barriers to the development of socially integrated urban neighbourhoods that retain local less well-off populations and integrate them with newer, more affluent groups, rather than creating segregated "regenerated" areas for newcomers, leaving long-standing residents in unregenerated areas. The paper concludes by discussing other planning models which could be beneficial to a wider cross-section of today's culturally diverse inner-city populations.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE LATTER PART of the twentieth century may be most remembered as the period when the gap in earning power between the richest and poorest citizens grew at its fastest, both in high and in low-income countries. This is a fact that has become strikingly apparent in the living conditions of various social groups in urban areas and has resulted in many urban renewal projects in metropolitan areas being exclusively designed for an affluent, upwardly mobile population and its lifestyle requirements, effectively confining the urban "have-nots" to derelict inner-city areas with few public facilities.

In many cities, this situation has been further exacerbated by the initiation of urban "redevelopment" schemes. Ostensibly set up to improve the quality of life in poor inner-city areas, many schemes initiated in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in the extensive clearance of declared slum areas and the dispersal of those who had previously made up inner-city communities. Since the 1980s, public resistance to clearances and pressure from architectural conservationists have ensured that, today, urban redevelopment programmes involve limited demolition in inner-city areas with any conservation value. In many cities, however, the areas to be

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upgraded become available for speculative purchase by private developers. Former resident homeowners have the choice of upgrading their properties to agreed standards, often with limited financial help, or being forced to move out if rented property changes ownership or owned property cannot be upgraded.

In most situations, the location of these inner-city areas, and in some the age of the cleared properties, adds intrinsic land and historic value. "Gentrification" and "enveloping" projects often take place in areas where buildings have historic value. Whilst many inner-city areas have no such apparent value, their proximity to areas that have been or are becoming gentrified often has an indirect effect on land and property values that can, effectively, raise rents and property prices above the economic means or purchasing power of the former residents.

Thus, these supposed regeneration models of development being used in inner-cities, although democratic in concept, have often had contrary results. Speculative developers who purchase such land often are able to make substantial profits on their investments in these areas, and many of their schemes have resulted in the redevelopment of blighted property into high-cost housing.

The ensuing influx of new, relatively rich residents to the inner-city and the emigration of many poorer residents to "left-over", lower-cost blighted or derelict urban areas thus repeats the clearance-gentrification cycle. Regenerated or upgraded inner-city areas are thus becoming ghettos for the rich within a larger, poorer, greater metropolitan landscape. Neither the rich nor the poor in the new landscape have much in common and regeneration thus far has yet to "trickle down" from richer areas to poorer parts.

This paper looks at the nature of two case study neighbourhoods and analyzes the contextual issues which have resulted in their current position (socio-political, economic and environmental). It then discusses the barriers, both real and perceived, to the development of socially integrated urban housing neighbourhoods which retain and integrate local, less well-off populations with newer, more affluent groups. It looks specifically at the problems of providing an architecture and an urban quality that encourages the development of an inclusive neighbourhood which would result in a sustainable community. This theoretical analysis uses two case studies of metropolitan neighbourhoods, one in the North, the other in the South. The chosen neighbourhoods are Toxteth in Liverpool, England and District Six in Cape Town, South Africa. Both cities, although vastly different, exhibit identified similarities in their socio-economic structure and also in the form and nature of their future city regeneration and development initiatives. The following themes or topics have been used as tools for the city analyses.

### a. Housing, Social Stratification and "Sustainability"

Whilst urban regeneration and the need for sustainability are much used phrases in current urban discourse, the increasing social stratification of residential, commercial and leisure infrastructure in urban neighbourhoods is less frequently mentioned. Few, however, would deny the influence of past and contemporary urban design and planning issues on the exacerbation of this stratification process.

The word "sustainability" allows a range of vague interpretations which has made it a catch-all element expected of successful urban regen-

1. See, for example, Marcuse, Peter (1998), "Sustainability is not enough", *Environment and Urbanization* Vol.10, No.2, October, pages 103-111; also Satterthwaite, D. (1997), "Sustainable city or cities that contribute to urban development?", *Urban Studies* Vol.34, No.10, pages 1667-1691; and Nijkamp, P. and G. Pepping (1998), "A meta-analytical evaluation of sustainable city initiatives", *Urban Studies* Vol.35, No.9, specifically pages 1481-1484.

2. In the two case study cities studied, Cape Town and Liverpool, the Victoria and Albert Dock Harbour Development Company and the Merseyside Dockland Corporation, respectively, are the semi-private companies set up to oversee this development.

3. The loft development projects in New York and, more recently, the regenerated Docklands areas in London are examples of this.

eration projects.<sup>(1)</sup> Here, its use is limited to environmental sustainability issues in urban areas.

To attain the now accepted standard of inner-city development requires a directed upgrading approach in the selected city areas. What this often means is the development of "showcase" areas through targeted grants and funding.<sup>(2)</sup> These can be regenerated rapidly as the chosen locations are often in sparsely populated marginal areas. In situations where there is a resident population, they often prove unable or unwilling to question constructively the development of the area for various reasons such as their lack of political clout or their marginal socio-cultural and economic position in society.

Where redevelopment does occur, the high quality of such initial "catalyst" development isolates the immediate local community from the target (regeneration) area as a whole, resulting in the segregation of incomers in the regenerated area, with old residents remaining in the unregenerated areas. Some old resident communities form strong enough groups to resist pressures to move and are often perceived as "problem groups" who may be left out of city redevelopment plans altogether or at least until there is sufficient finance and time to resolve the issues they have raised. The majority of such inner-city communities, however, are forced to move out as they are not strong enough to resist being "priced out" of their homes, as a necessary (economic) consequence of urban regeneration is a rise in property values and rentals.

At its worst, a hypothetical situation could be envisaged where a regenerated new community would exist in the midst of a larger non-regenerated, inner-city community. This, in turn, might produce a series of regenerated areas surrounded by, or close to, "problem" derelict inner-city areas with no funds for development. With continued cuts to grants for social housing by central government in countries such as the United Kingdom, and the even greater limitations in most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, some aspects of this scenario are already a reality in some cities.<sup>(3)</sup> The capital and infrastructure required to regenerate and create inner-city areas often relies on specially channelled state finance and private funding, and much of the success of the regeneration depends on wage-earning locals who buy property, pay local taxes and patronize the local economy. Few of the more "difficult" inner-city areas have this capacity to generate their own income and unemployment levels tend to be high; thus, regeneration in this form often becomes impossible. Such areas require cheaper housing alternatives such as social or rental housing, neither of which are tenable as they would not cover the economic costs associated with redevelopment in the current regeneration models.

Environmental issues relating to the planning and design of regenerated areas are often foremost on the development agenda. In areas of substantial natural potential, the necessary grant aid and funding is often available to re-establish natural features and ensure, where possible, that environmentally friendly planning strategies, for example, increased frequency of and easy access to public transport, and the maintenance or development of urban parks, are put in place. This is in stark contrast to non-regenerated inner-city neighbourhoods, often in marginal areas without a substantial resident population but still home to ailing or extinct industrial and commercial enterprises. Such areas have little, if any, parklands or natural areas. Also, they are sometimes additionally burdened with hazardous environmental conditions such as land and water contamination as a result of their proximity to old industrial plants that had not

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had the land nearby properly cleared of industrial waste at their decommissioning. Furthermore, the marginalization of many of these communities often alienates or isolates them from city-wide environmental policies such as improved bus services or children's nature events due to their relatively small population and the dangers of working in the inner-city as perceived by many such service providers.

## II. THE CITIES - AN ANALYSIS

THE ANALYSIS OF two inner-city neighbourhoods, District Six in Cape Town, South Africa and L8 (also known as Toxteth) in Liverpool, England allows us to consider which factors have influenced the form and nature of any proposed or completed regeneration in each area. It will also allow for a discussion on, and comparative view of, the issues surrounding urban regeneration, social stratification and practical results in relation to these two neighbourhoods and the theoretical issues discussed in the first section.

Liverpool and Cape Town are both major port-cities whose pre-eminence in shipping has waned as other seaports and modes of transportation have taken over. Liverpool, the older and more established port, has medieval origins as a small fishing village which gained eminence during its involvement in the slave trade from the mid-eighteenth century and its subsequent establishment as a port for human migration and the global shipment of produce by the nineteenth century.<sup>(4)</sup> Cape Town's formal establishment as a "Western-style" port can be traced to the sixteenth century when it was used as a stop-over point for Portuguese and Dutch ships in transit to the Far East, before finally becoming the territory of the Dutch East India Company.<sup>(5)</sup>

As seaports located on international trade routes, both cities have had an established multi-cultural character for centuries although they have acquired it very differently. Cape Town has experienced the effects of colonization, of waves of immigration from both elsewhere in Africa and further afield, and of the Nationalist party politics and its precursors that have dominated South Africa for the best part of the twentieth century. This ensured that from the 1940s to the late 1980s its multi-cultural character was systematically suppressed in various legislative ways by the political ideologies of the day. Liverpool, on the other hand, was once a major city of the British Empire and a centre for immigration and emigration (to the New World). With a varied mix of political leaders, it has remained a radically multi-cultural city despite the local and institutionalized prejudices which also exist. Thus, both cities have had long-established "immigrant" neighbourhoods in inner-city areas which can still be traced today.

Both cities have also had prosperous pasts and have had to adjust to diminished circumstances as their prosperity waned. Similarly, both had well planned residential neighbourhoods for the affluent, which gradually transformed as the cities' fortunes changed. Socio-economic segregation was the general determinant which shaped each city's geography; housing, health and educational institutions and other forms of social infrastructure similarly reflected this.<sup>(6)</sup>

Environmental considerations in both cities are equally crucial. As seaports, both have developed into the cities they are mainly as a result of their geographical features as natural or convenient harbours. The development process in both cities occurred rapidly, although at different times: in Liverpool, during the 1860s through the efforts of the Victorian engi-

4. The main historical sources for Liverpool were Baines, T. (1852), *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool*, Longmans, London; and Waller, P. (1981), *Democracy and Sectarianism, A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

5. For historical references to South Africa, see Davenport, T. (1992), *South Africa - A Modern History*, Macmillan, London; also Saunders, C. et al. (editors) (1988), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Centre for African Studies, Cape Town; and Pama, C. (1977), *Bowler's Cape Town: Life in the Cape in Early Victorian Times*, Tafelberg, Cape Town.

6. Although Cape Town is an African city, its development has been more along the lines of similar seaports such as Liverpool and Sydney rather than African cities such as Nairobi or Lagos. This was due mainly to its large European immigrant population and its commercial status.

neers and shipping magnates, and in Cape Town in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the National Party government's foreshore development plans. In both cases, the importance of shipping to each city's economy meant that little thought was given to the effects of this development on the destruction of the natural environment of the harbours and their surrounding areas. The movement of affluent residents in the recent past away from these dockland areas to the more salubrious suburbs must, no doubt, be a reflection of this.

In more recent times, however, the need to improve the environmental quality of both cities after years of neglect and shipping related pollution has been emphasized in all key planning agendas. As in the docklands redevelopment schemes in London and parts of the USA, both Cape Town and Liverpool are successfully transforming the remains of the docklands and surrounding wetlands into nature reserves with limitations placed on housing and other building schemes near these areas. This, however, is in direct contrast to other inner-city neighbourhoods in both cities which have lower environmental profiles and which fall outside the targeted dockland regeneration areas and whose environmental redevelopment has remained unaddressed or has been extremely limited. This is discussed in the next sub-sections.

#### a. Cape Town

Cape Town and its environs, including Guguletu and other racially segregated townships and suburbs, used to be demographically the largest urban conglomeration in Southern Africa. However, with the redrawing of urban metropolitan boundaries in 1995, Guateng, comprising Johannesburg, Soweto, Alexandria, other townships and surrounding suburbs now has this distinction. Cape Town is one of South Africa's three key urban conglomerations and is home to a multi-cultural population comprising all Southern African racial groups<sup>(7)</sup> and a large number of foreign nationals. In 1952, the Nationalist Party legislated that Cape Town was officially a "Coloured preference" area,<sup>(8)</sup> meaning that there was a government enforced employment system ensuring jobs were given to Coloured South Africans in the Western Cape in preference to Blacks unless there was no Coloured labour available to fill the job.

This employment restriction on Black labour in the Cape region was also enforced through government controls on Black migration to cities and townships in the province. This led to a fall in the provision of state and self-built housing for Blacks in the province and a concomitant manifold increase in the construction of "shanty" informal housing, such as Crossroads near Cape Town.

Cape Town had been a multi-cultural seaport from its origins until well into the twentieth century. It had been known as the "Tavern of the Seas" and was a thriving port embracing sailors and cultures from all over the world. Residential segregation in Cape Town, however, had begun well before the Nationalist era started in 1948 with various laws having been enacted early on in the century which ensured that property transactions and residence were racially restricted.<sup>(9)</sup> Despite this, until 1948 Cape Town remained a relatively racially mixed city with its central and port areas consisting of different neighbourhoods of predominant ethnic groups living in close proximity. These included the Bo Kaap, or Malay quarter, Oranjezicht (with a large proportion of Jewish residents) and District Six, a mixed neighbourhood.

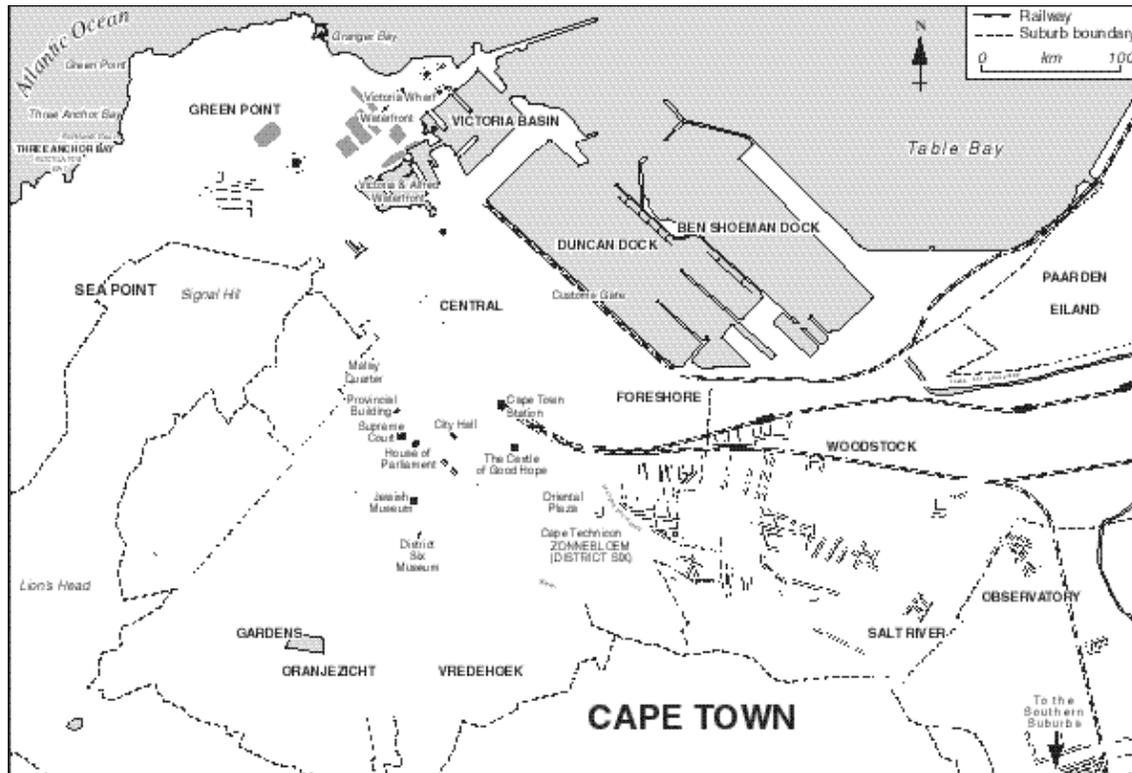
7. The racial group categories used in this paper are as classified by the past administration, namely, White, Coloured, Black and Indian, including the Malay sub-category.

8. The Eastern and Western Cape provinces were roughly divided by the 'Eislen Line' into Black (African) and Coloured preference areas, respectively; see reference 5, Davenport (1992).

9. See Bickford Smith, V. (1995), *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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**FIGURE 1: District Six within the Centre of Cape Town**



This analysis looks specifically at housing development in District Six from its initial administrative origins through to the present day. District Six has its origins in the early development of greater Cape Town in the last century when it was a connecting area between the city and the garden and farm areas south of the port; it had also been an area of freed slave settlement after the abolition of slavery in 1835. Archival records suggest that the area was named District Six by the Cape Town governing board in 1867, as the sixth administrative district.<sup>(10)</sup>

District Six originally had a diverse population ranging from wealthy (predominantly White) to indigent (predominantly Black or Coloured) residents. The development of the southern suburbs led to the departure of many of the more affluent White population and an influx or more wealthy Black and Coloured residents to live with the remaining White population in this non-segregated, multi-ethnic neighbourhood. Past municipal street records show the variety of backgrounds and ethnicities of the inhabitants.<sup>(11)</sup> The socio-economic circumstances of District Six have been equally varied. Although it became a predominantly working-class neighbourhood, there were also a number of middle-class residents who lived and worked in listed professions<sup>(12)</sup> and it had a much higher socio-economic status than the shanty towns and townships which had begun to develop.

Its culturally heterogeneous population also ensured that there was a mixed religious and cultural focus to the neighbourhood. Originally, District Six boasted mosques, churches and synagogues and 12 educational institutions, mainly church schools. The synagogues, used by the area's substantial Jewish Litvak community (who had arrived from Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s) had closed by the late 1940s and

10. Various documents exist on the history of District Six. The key texts referred to here have been Bickford Smith (1995), see reference 9; also Nasson, B. (1986), *Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six*, paper presented at the Western Cape Roots and Realities Conference, University of Cape Town; Schoemann, C. (1994), *The Spirit of Kanala*, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town; Barnett, N. (1993), *Race, Housing and Cape Town with Reference to District Six*, MA thesis, University of Cape Town; and Hart, Deborah Mary (1990), *Master Plans: The South African Government's Razing of Sophiatown, Cato Manor and District Six*, PhD thesis, Syracuse University, USA.

11. In the 1940s, District Six comprised a cultural mix of residents including Blacks, Whites, Coloureds, Muslims, Jews, Christians, minor professionals, traders and civil servants, amongst others; also see reference 9.

12. As shown in archival street records displayed at the District Six museum.

13. For more information on District Six, see Western, J. (1982), "The geography of urban and social control: group areas and the 1976-1980 civil unrest in Cape Town" and Smith, D. (1982), "Urban and social change under apartheid, some recent developments", both in Smith, D. (editor), *Living Under Apartheid*, Allen and Unwin, London, pages 217-227 and 32-37, respectively; also Jeppie, S. and C. Soudien (1990), *The Struggle for District Six*, Buchu Books, Cape Town; and Marks, R., M. Bozzolli and M. Kruger (1997), *Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six*, Cape Technikon, Cape Town.

14. In personal discussion with Basil Davidson, in July 1996, I was informed that the location of District Six was also considered a security risk as it was close to all the communication arteries into central Cape Town.

15. These schemes included a Shell commercial proposal, a BP (South Africa) residential regeneration proposal and various private residential development schemes. See Penkin, D.L. (1989), *Building Developments in District Six - BPSA's Proposal*, BA thesis in Economic History, University of Cape Town.

16. Volumes of local press cuttings exist on District Six, some of which are relevant to this discussion. They include ones from *The Star*, 14 February, 1983, "Scruples not at home in restored District Six"; *Weekend Argus*, 21 January, 1989, "The Jews of District Six"; and *Cape Times*, Friday 7 August, 1996, "Fracas over (District Six) land claims".

the Jewish population dispersed to more exclusive parts of the city such as Oranjezicht and the suburbs.

District Six reached its multi-cultural zenith between the 1930s and 1950s. Cape Town's economy had slumped during the inter-war years when there had been a move in employment to the goldfields of the Transvaal but this was followed by an influx of work-seeking immigrants from surrounding areas and other Southern African countries. District Six's location close to Cape Town's central business district and to the more affluent residential suburbs of Oranjezicht and Signal Hill ensured that it would have a marked identity that contrasted sharply with the more segregated parts of the city.

In the 1960s, following the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Cape provincial council proclaimed that housing in District Six was unfit for human occupation. Forced evictions and the relocation of residents to segregated townships in Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Manenberg and Guguletu followed. Most of the residential accommodation and built infrastructure in District Six was demolished and the Cape government declared new development initiatives for the area, now renamed Zonnebloem.<sup>(13)</sup> This was the most comprehensive removal from the area. The first forced removals had taken place during a plague epidemic in 1901 in which the then Black population was moved to Ndabeni before finally being resettled in the newly built Black township of Langa. Further removals took place with the construction of Eastern boulevard which was to be part of a grand foreshore development scheme that would have obliterated District Six completely had it gone ahead.

The official reason given for the demolition of District Six was the need to eradicate the slum environment and attendant vices which the neighbourhood encouraged. Equally important, though, was the need to obliterate the "Black" spot in what was considered a White group area. It was a conspicuously multi-racial neighbourhood which flew in the face of the "own group area" development policies which were being legally instituted at the time. Its location close to the city's business district (see Figure 1) also meant that it was a visible challenge to the establishment<sup>(14)</sup> and its valuable real estate location, surrounded by White residential areas, meant that, ultimately, the neighbourhood with its then multi-racial composition would have to go.

However, the government's redevelopment plans for the area have gone largely unrealized as have a series of private development schemes.<sup>(15)</sup> There has been the eventual construction of a polytechnic (the Cape Technikon), of an Asian bazaar and a number of government built houses for the army and police; most former churches and mosques remain standing, some having been incorporated into the polytechnic site. It has proved impossible to get financial backing and public approval for the site's redevelopment. The area's past history and continuing publicity have played a considerable role in this<sup>(16)</sup> as few investors or potential developers with a knowledge of the site would want to be seen to have profited directly from the clearance of District Six. Significantly, the national government eventually "reproclaimed" a small part of District Six as a Coloured or "special" group area in 1983.

The new political and social scenario which began with negotiations and discussions in the late 1980s has led to the re-emergence of District Six both as an issue and as a memory. As with two similar areas in Cape Town, the Bo Kaap and Mowbray, there have been moves to redevelop or gentrify what property remains standing in District Six, the main players

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in this redevelopment game being the more affluent or the outright property speculators. The scale is rather limited, however, as most of District Six no longer exists.

As a counter to this free market redevelopment, there has been the emergence of various District Six pressure groups. Since the forced removals in 1966, these groups have worked to keep the memory of District Six alive through the arts, the press and other forms of publicity.<sup>17</sup> One body set up an exhibition of archival, oral and material records from District Six up until its demolition. This eventually became a permanent exhibit in its church surroundings and became the District Six museum.

Also, prior to the unbanning of the ANC (African National Congress), the UDF (United Democratic Front) worked with former District Six residents to secure a promise from the authorities to freeze all purchases of land in District Six until the issue could be discussed with those who had been forcibly removed from the area. The group has been successful in ensuring that all discussions about the area's future development take place openly with past residents who can and do claim ownership of much of the bulldozed land. The result of this settlement has been the inauguration of the Cape Town Community Land Trust whose remit is to work with former residents and owners of land which was repossessed during the Group Areas Act, to redevelop these areas, and to give former residents compensation or new property in the redeveloped areas. The consultation process was still taking place in July 1996 but was proving problematic for three key reasons. First, there was only a limited amount of free land left for redevelopment in District Six as the polytechnic and the freeway had taken up a large proportion of the area. Second, many former residents had been tenants and not property owners which meant that their legal claim to compensation was limited. Finally, although perceived demand for housing in the proposed District Six redevelopment is high, the actual number of land compensation claims has remained low.

It is unlikely that all former residents of District Six, should they decide to apply, will have access to the proposed housing, owing to its limited quantity and likely cost and to the policy of promoting residential diversity. Currently, a financial compensation option is being worked out for residents who are unable to have new housing. It is uncertain how successful this will be as there is continuing controversy over the redevelopment.

Current redevelopment plans are based on hoped-for commercial and private funding which will provide the necessary capital for building low-rise housing and commercial dwellings mainly for rent or outright purchase by the "average" worker. This would be further augmented by charging higher real estate prices for upper-class residential developments on the De Waal Boulevard slopes of District Six. Further funds for subsidizing the proposed lower-income housing are expected to come from the redevelopment of a commercial area on the site. This total redevelopment would mean the redesignation of all remaining land.

There has yet to be agreement on the redevelopment by all former residents although the consultation process is continuing. The main conflict is between the cost/economics driven redevelopment plans and past residents' views on the reclamation of their physical space and identity.

The wider issue of social stratification also has a bearing on the current analysis. District Six was ostensibly demolished in the 1960s on account of its "unhealthy" environment (this term, used euphemistically as the major complaint about District Six, concerned criminality and the multi-cultural nature of the neighbourhood). Its current reclamation or rede-

17. Such as the Hands off District Six group.

velopment has two different socio-economic objectives. Developers and the free market want inhabitants who can cover the full cost of purchasing or renting a certain standard of accommodation and so cover the full costs of the redevelopment. For the former District Six community, the neighbourhood will only attain its former social identity and local integrity when former residents are given the chance to reclaim their physical space or land and their emotional identities or ties with District Six. For many of the former residents, who for the developers would not make financially attractive occupants, the proposed redevelopment falls short of their objectives.

### b. Liverpool

Liverpool is an old English seaport, originally a small fishing village, which received its Royal Charter in 1207. Its rise to greatness came as a result of English involvement with Ireland, America and Africa, and later on its maritime trade links with the British Empire. By the early twentieth century, Liverpool had become a principal city in the United Kingdom. Its population rose from 10,000 in 1670 to near 400,000 in the 1920s and it was called the "Marseilles of the North" in recognition of its multi-cultural population.<sup>(18)</sup> From its earliest development, it has had a mixed resident immigrant population and many Liverpudlians can trace their descent from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, China, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Somalia, the West Indies and other countries in the British Commonwealth and further afield. Religious diversity is also a city characteristic with strong Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim communities in the city.

Liverpool's decline has been brought about mainly by changes in human and freight transportation which led to the closure of most shipping related industry in the region and coincided with the large decline in Liverpool's population over the past 50 years. Initially, there had been a gradual movement of the middle and upper-classes to the suburbs of Liverpool or to the Wirral, the peninsula south of the river Mersey. However, the worsening employment situation hastened the out-migration of many Liverpudlians to find work elsewhere. These factors have contributed to the city's population decline and, as a result, there has been a surplus of vacant property in once affluent inner-city residential areas. Some of these less desirable areas have changed substantially in identity with a new community in place that has few links with the neighbourhood's past. Property in such areas is often neglected and in poor condition which makes it cheap to rent or buy. Much of the Toxteth neighbourhood has undergone this transformation and migration process.

### Toxteth

Toxteth, or L8, is now a neighbourhood synonymous with Liverpool's Black population.<sup>(19)</sup> Parts of it are within a formerly affluent area of Liverpool which contained the homes of some of Liverpool's merchant and professional classes (see Figure 2). The area boasts a synagogue, a Greek Orthodox church and other established churches although the Jewish, Greek and other immigrant populations who lived within and near Toxteth have since moved out of the inner-city. This process has been taking place gradually since the beginning of the century but increased rapidly after a spate of violent social protests in 1981 which have come to be known as the "Toxteth riots".<sup>(20)</sup>

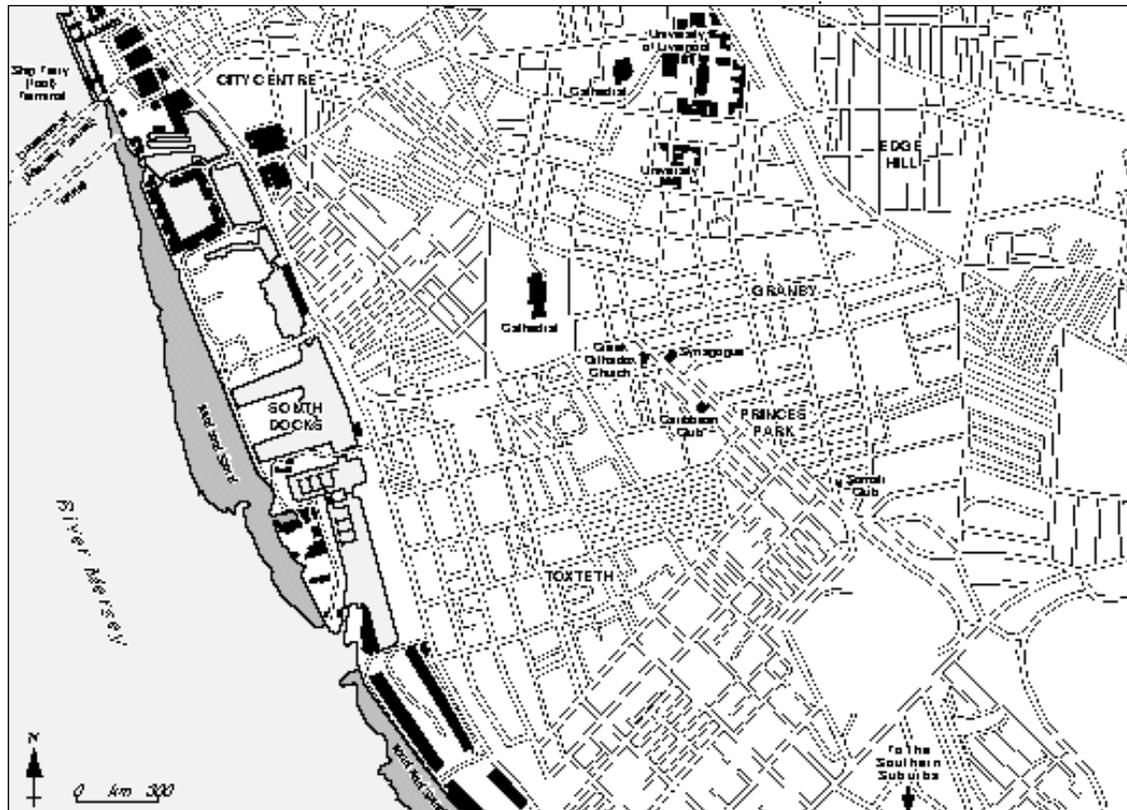
18. The main information sources for Liverpool were as in reference 4; also Fryer, P. (1984), *Staying Power*, Pluto Press, London.

19. "L8" is the postcode district under which Toxteth falls.

20. The main information sources for Toxteth were Gifford, A., W. Brown and C. Bunday (1989), *Loosen the Shackles*, report of the L8 enquiry into racial disturbances in Liverpool, Karia, London; and Liverpool City Council (1995), *Neighbourhood Renewal Assessment, (Granby Area), Executive Summary*, Liverpool City Council, Liverpool; see also Uduku, O. and Ben Tovim, (1998) *Social Infrastructure in Granby/Toxteth*, University of Liverpool, Liverpool.

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FIGURE 2 - Location of Toxteth within Liverpool



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Toxteth's current population is multi-cultural in origin but has the highest ethnic Black demographic ratio of all Liverpool electoral wards (more than 25 per cent are census identified as Black).<sup>(21)</sup> Historically, Blacks in Liverpool lived in the South Docks area of the city. The population moved from the docks to the Abercromby (or university) electoral ward after the dock slum clearances during the inter-war years but were forced to move again as a result of the university's property acquisitions in the area in the 1950s; they went to Toxteth, an adjoining ward which was close, cheap and affordable.<sup>(22)</sup>

The new Toxteth population came from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds. Many were immigrants from the "new" Commonwealth, mainly the West Indies or West Africa, who had arrived as seamen and settled in Liverpool. Others were immigrant workers who had travelled to Liverpool having been given offers of, or seeking, work. There has also been a long history of a substantial university student population residing in Toxteth. Since housing in the area remained a mixture of rented, owner-occupied and sub-let dwellings, the cost of property, for rent or purchase, ensured that it was attractive to a number of less-well-off Liverpudlians as well as immigrants and students. The vibrant community life centred on Granby Street which, in its heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, was a multi-cultural shopping street with continental food produce from all over the world.

However, as Liverpool's economy declined, leading to an increase in unemployment and social deprivation, areas such as Toxteth became

21. Office of Population and Census Studies (OPCS), *1991 British Census, Granby Ward*, Merseyside census dataset, OPCS, London.

22. See Simey, M. (1996), *The Disinherited Society*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.

economically marginalized. The neighbourhood became an ethnic "sink" for Black residents. Council housing was built near and on adjoining areas to Toxteth to accommodate the growing numbers of its residents needing social housing; cooperative housing associations such as the Toxteth Co-op also began to provide homes for rent or purchase.

The effect of these developments was to engrain more deeply the area's identity as Black since most forms of social housing in the area were targeted or allocated mainly to the Black ethnic minority community. Furthermore, the demise of economic activities in areas such as Granby Street, and continued high unemployment levels, further stigmatized the community. Middle-class "White flight" to the suburbs accelerated while the University of Liverpool's presence in the adjoining ward was slow to integrate or reduce the real and perceived alienation of the community through educational or recreational initiatives.

This was the background to the 1981 Toxteth riots, a violent protest mainly by Black youths in Toxteth against the alienation and poverty commonplace in their lives and neighbourhood. Since then, a series of research reports and economic proposals have been put forward to redevelop and regenerate the area. Efforts at regeneration have led to the redevelopment, primarily through "enveloping" and gentrification, of the better properties in Toxteth and its periphery. This has brought in a new, more affluent population and has proved to be a socially sensitive issue with the local population who view the situation with scepticism. This is because of potential increases in property prices, making rental property in the area too expensive for many of those who are on social benefits and possibly leading to an influx of affluent people at the expense of poorer residents who might have to forfeit their properties or tenancies in the face of successful "regeneration" efforts.

The issue of social and racial stratification, therefore, also has a bearing in the Toxteth case study. The local residents' fear of losing their properties and enforced movement from the neighbourhood as a result of supposedly beneficial upgrading schemes has been articulated through vigorous representation on the Granby Residents' Association. Also, the various ethnic minority community groups who address the needs of their constituents constitute a political pressure group which is able to articulate these needs at local council level.

However, there is the continued city-wide perception of Toxteth as being a problem "Black" area despite the recent development of a stratified but mixed community as a result of the gentrification process. The regenerated part of the neighbourhood now boasts more middle-class White residences and small businesses with the L8 postcode than poorer Black family residences which remain predominantly in the unregenerated part of the ward. Thus, there is still strong spatial segregation in the area which clearly highlights the difficulties and reluctance at public and institutional level to work towards the development of a socially integrated community as part of the redevelopment process.

### III. CITIES COMPARED

THE KEY QUESTION for Toxteth, as for District Six, is what form will local redevelopment take? In both neighbourhoods, most residents who live or have lived in the area would be unable to live an economically viable lifestyle by today's free market criteria. They have, however, against

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the odds, both managed to maintain a strong community identity and to express their views on the issues surrounding the redevelopment of their areas in the face of institutional resistance, opposition or indifference. In this section, the neighbourhoods and city policies which have shaped their destinies are compared.

The historical development and context in which both cities exist are strikingly similar. Both have had a long history and have undergone a transformation in residential pattern in the recent past. Although Toxteth was not physically demolished by the city council, its state of dereliction, economic collapse and subsequent rapid, self-initiated local depopulation resulted in an equivalent destruction of the soul of the neighbourhood. District Six, on the other hand, was systematically taken apart by the government's decision to decant District Six residents elsewhere.

Both neighbourhoods occupy valuable city real estate which has historic connections to the development of the urban core and both remain close to the cities' central business districts and other important areas. They also share in the changing historical fortunes of their respective cities as both Toxteth and District Six were once prominent neighbourhoods with rich cultural histories.

The social make-up of both neighbourhoods is even more similar. Their multi-racial, multi-cultural nature makes them distinctive in relation to their greater city contexts. Cape Town and Liverpool are towns in which there are distinct geographical divisions in residential neighbourhood by race and social class. In their heyday, both Toxteth and District Six managed to defy pressure for social and racial segregation in residential neighbourhoods. This challenged the planning norms of the time which encouraged the development of distinct and separate residential areas as a means of preserving a social and racial status quo. Economically, the problems associated with social underdevelopment have bedeviled both neighbourhoods although this is more pronounced in Toxteth where the levels of structural unemployment have contributed also to the virtual death of economic activity in the area.

Local politics and national policies have been the two most important influences on the development and status of these neighbourhoods. In both countries, national policies on housing have, at crucial periods, turned a blind eye to the specific problems of multi-ethnic neighbourhood development. Thus, in Toxteth, research reports provide substantial evidence that local and government policies ensured that social housing was given to predominantly Black families. In Cape Town, up until the late 1990s, the Nationalist government's policies were paramount in all city council developments. This effectively led to the ultimate destruction of District Six, which was incompatible with the ideologies and policies of the day.

Both neighbourhoods also suffered from local government neglect in terms of infrastructure provision. It is likely that, as a result of their marginal positions, few politicians or policy makers were willing to make representations on behalf of these controversial areas. Thus both, although close to city centres, were relatively poorly provided for in terms of basic infrastructure such as educational and health facilities once the areas began to fall into decline.

Probably most interesting about District Six and Toxteth, however, is the development of community groups such as the Hands off District Six group and the Granby Residents' Association to articulate local views on the areas' redevelopment. The pro-active and self-motivated nature of

23. Using very different means, both the Eldonian and Cape Malay communities have been able to ensure that they have neither been decanted from their communities nor that their housing has been largely excluded from gentrification efforts through making strong (political) cases for their continued existence and unique identity. See Cowan, R., P. Hannay and R. Owens (1988), "Community-led regeneration by the Eldonians, the light on top of the tunnel", *Architects Journal*, 23 March, pages 37-63; also Mayson, J.S. (1963), *The Malays of Cape Town*, African Connoisseurs Press, Cape Town.

24. Compared to Sofiatown in Johannesburg and Cato Manor in Durban, similar communities elsewhere in South Africa which were forcibly "erased", the District Six community has been particularly successful in gaining publicity and legal redress. Hart (1990), see reference 10, has written a comparative doctoral thesis on these three communities.

these groups is an indication of the great local interest in maintaining existing neighbourhood community structures. It is unfortunately similarly striking that both communities have had to fight for their continued existence in the face of partially realized regeneration plans. As both communities have existed as minority heterogeneous areas in their greater homogeneous city contexts, the constraints and difficulties they have encountered in arguing for local housing and infrastructure requirements may be better understood.

When compared to other less institutionally "oppressed" communities in their respective cities such as the Malay community in the Bo Kaap area of Cape Town and the Eldonian community in Vauxhall in Liverpool, Toxteth and District Six have both had to work harder to achieve the limited successes of ensuring that their community requirements are acknowledged and made paramount in new local development plans.<sup>(23)</sup> Paradoxically, of the two communities, the District Six group, whose community no longer exists in a physical space, has been more successful at this.<sup>(24)</sup>

#### IV. INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD REGENERATION: A PANACEA ?

URBAN REGENERATION HAS proved to be a successful planning strategy. However, it has varying effects and benefits for the different communities, administrative groups and financiers involved. By describing the context to urban regeneration efforts in two neighbourhoods in two different cities, this paper has highlighted the problems faced by these communities which are located in potentially desirable (when regenerated) inner-city neighbourhoods. There are four key issues which inform the urban regeneration debate, namely, the perceived view of who benefits from regeneration; the effects of redevelopment or gentrification; the social costs of urban regeneration; and, finally, the need to consider more locally suited, meaningful forms of development which transcend the problems that current development models have been unable to resolve.

##### a. Who Benefits ?

This is probably seen by residents' groups in both case study communities as the most fundamental issue to the redevelopment debate. Financial benefits have always been perceived by inner-city communities to accrue to the developers and the city councils who are legal trustees of inner-city land. This is a simplistic view of the situation, as both neighbourhoods were in definite need of urban renewal. However, it is true that the free capital market economies of the 1990s have encouraged private participation in housing and considerably reduced government spending in the sector. This has resulted in redevelopment having to become a profitable venture for developers in the private sector.

Thus, although some areas such as Toxteth and the Eldonian community in Liverpool have been able to successfully campaign for the retention of high proportions of social and non-profit (to the developers) housing, the general trend in redevelopment and linked regeneration plans ensures that the benefits are to the developers, to the city authorities and then to those residents who can afford the free market costs of such redevelopment or who can claim the state benefits which make them eligible for it.

Many residents in the poorer neighbourhoods of Liverpool, such as

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most of Toxteth, do not fall into this category and, therefore, are excluded from the economic and sometimes physical benefits of regeneration. In South Africa, the social welfare benefits system covers a very small proportion of the non-White population as a result of the former apartheid planned economy and most of the residents of District Six would have found themselves excluded. Thus, the benefits of redevelopment are minimal to many residents in the case study communities studied.

### b. The Effects of Redevelopment and Gentrification on Existing Communities

Redevelopment and gentrification are aspects of urban regeneration that both case study communities are having to deal with. Although most of District Six was razed to the ground, parts of the neighbourhood did survive and, like Toxteth, has buildings in areas of prime gentrification value. Few residents from either community object to redevelopment efforts in principle; there are, however, many residents and ethnic leaders who are wary about the effects of redevelopment in terms of "pricing out" property for local communities. The counterside to this is the redevelopment of such communities for a new monied class to move in. The classic example of this is the forced removal of non-Whites from neighbourhoods in the southern suburbs of Mowbray, Newlands and Harfield in Cape Town by the then government as a result of the Group Areas Act. The same is true of the limited support given to local businesses in local economic redevelopment initiatives.

Residents remain wary of the promises of new economic enterprise which results in chain stores or shops which employ little or no local labour from neighbourhoods with high unemployment levels. The Eldonian community in Vauxhall, Liverpool experienced this when two retail chain stores opened in their vicinity but had no significant impact on reducing the high level of unemployment in the neighbourhood.

### c. The Social Costs of Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration which is seen to have a "sustainable" component scores highly on moral and philosophical grounds. However, as noted earlier, the creation of "sustainable urban environments" is an ill-defined and problematic concept which would prove unrealizable or a moral contradiction, as one interpretation of sustainability in development suggests retaining the status quo which would only benefit certain socio-economic classes at the expense of the rest. We will, however, discuss one environmental sustainability component to urban regeneration in the final section.

As discussed, many sectors of society can only survive in the current context of living in the inner-city housing estates and neighbourhoods to which they belong. The economic and sometimes social costs of moving to the newly regenerated environments further afield or buying into newly created middle-income urban communities are more than many can afford.

In Toxteth, the long-established Somali community is known to need more space than that which is often available in the terraced dwellings of the neighbourhood but few are willing to move farther afield to outer Liverpool where there is more land and property where such units could be specially built. In Cape Town, the post-election revival has meant that

property prices throughout the city bowl area, which partially extends into District Six, have nearly doubled in the past five years. Few former District Six residents could afford to buy back into the redeveloped neighbourhood without financial help.

Thus, creating a truly socio-economically mixed, multi-cultural neighbourhood in a regenerated area is a costly and socially difficult process. This paper has attempted to discuss these problems within the inner-city context using two case studies as real examples. The hypothesis presented, that urban regeneration often benefits the rich in inner-cities more than the poor, has in this paper's final analysis held true. There have, however, been examples in neighbourhoods similar to the case studies where regenerated inner-city housing has been successfully delivered, such as the Eldonian community in Liverpool and mixed housing schemes, mainly found in Scandinavia.

Although these, and other neighbourhoods, are examples of the possibilities of inner-city redevelopment models, this paper would contend that they are exceptions rather than the rule. Generally, successful development has been achieved in the face of difficulties at all levels, from institutional to community. In the last section of this paper, we consider alternative methods or models of inner-city redevelopment.

## V. CONCLUSION - A NEW REDEVELOPMENT AGENDA FOR THE INNER-CITY

INNER-CITIES THROUGHOUT the world, although each uniquely different, share many similarities. The majority, due to their histories, are culturally and ethnically diverse, have inner-city micro-geographies, wealth and poverty, and have (or once had) thriving commercial activities. From these have derived their recognizably different identities.

Inner-city redevelopment or regeneration is crucial to the maintenance of urban life. The advent of the out-of-town shopping centres, relatively cheap private transport (compared to the inefficiency and relative expense of public transport), the information revolution and extensive housing in suburbia have served to encourage the large-scale office, domestic and social flight of residents who can afford it from the inner-city. However, the more recent residents of once imposing inner-city space, predominantly ethnic minorities and other socially excluded groups, have also added a vibrant multi-cultural element to these areas. This positive influence is often overlooked when market forces dictate that they move out and more affluent residents move in. More publicity is given to the reduction in crime statistics following the arrival into newly gentrified neighbourhoods of more affluent residents with different lifestyles than to the causes of the high levels of social deprivation found in the (reportedly) crime-ridden inner-city areas of many cities.

Since most inner-city residents live close to or below the poverty line, free market economics driven redevelopment, the usual inner-city regeneration model, is fundamentally problematic. Also, the real economies of today's city councils, in the North and the South, no longer function within formerly accepted socialist infrastructure provision theories. Thus, regeneration plans which have a mainly social provision bias are similarly unrealistic. This situation suggests that there is a need for a new development paradigm which incorporates a wider functional understanding of the diverse needs of inner-cities and which complements the multi-faceted

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nature of the existing and future communities to be found within. There is a clear need to re-evaluate and redefine the economics of successful urban redevelopment within the contemporary context of the city.

In order to redevelop inner-cities, there is an immediate need to work towards a proper understanding of local communities' needs with research as a background for practical proposals. This suggests that the communities involved should be organized and autonomous enough to present their needs at development forums. This is a prerequisite for effective community participation which, where successful, manifests itself in the development of independent local councils made up of democratically elected representatives from community groups. Such councils are able to ensure that there is a dialogue between local communities, institutional interests and private interests. Meaningful redevelopment thus requires an enabling climate in which local communities feel that they can present their views and have them considered at all levels.

There is also a need to reinterpret housing and lifestyle requirements. As we approach the end of the twentieth century, living, working and socializing conditions have changed considerably but the buildings and environments where these activities take place have not.

Redeveloped urban environments will often require a reworking of current architectural practice regulations in order to be successful not only because, often, present building regulations would be difficult to enforce in old buildings but also because contemporary urban living often has non-conventional requirements as seen, for example, in the proliferation of "loft" living. At present, regulations can be altered only in specific cases and this might serve to discourage innovative design or provide a barrier to creativity. A change in work patterns from conventional nine-to-five office hours to part-time and home based work practices also has major implications for urban redevelopment and design at a domestic, commercial and social level.

Generally, building materials in most countries are legally required to conform to strict specification standards which favour conventional, western materials such as reinforced concrete over more innovative, locally sourced materials such as local fibre cement pre-formed panels. It would seem that there remains a powerful construction materials lobby which defends the building materials' status quo.

Environmental sustainability is another key issue which needs to be included in the urban redevelopment agenda. There is a clear need to ensure that newly planned urban redevelopment initiatives conform to Agenda 21 guidelines including the requirement for close community consultations within Local Agenda 21s. The perception of the inner-city as a grim concrete wasteland is outdated. By virtue of their location, inner-city areas are well-positioned to benefit from planned public transport networks. The close, concentrated areas of most inner-cities also lend themselves to the use of combined heat and power plants and other fossil fuel-saving technologies or technologies that tap renewable energy sources. Improving or developing the ecology of the inner-city should be a key part of the urban redevelopment agenda.

Housing, commerce and social activities thus all need to be designed within an integrated practical and theoretical framework to create truly cohesive communities. It is not enough to resolve housing problems without considering the employment and social needs of the neighbourhood. The historical and cultural contexts of neighbourhoods and their development should be equally relevant to future design, in contrast to

worldwide planning projects of the 1960s and 1970s which failed to take into consideration the cultural background and socio-economic needs of the communities they were planned for. Both Liverpool and Cape Town have peripheral housing estates which attest to this.

Finally, and most importantly, the new redevelopment agenda must aim at ensuring that there is social integration in the new urban areas at both public and institutional levels. Encouraging planners, policy-makers and local communities to support the development of mixed housing, a variety of domestic and commercial property tenures, the guaranteed provision of public facilities including schools, health and sports centres, and the active promotion of micro-businesses and industries are all possible measures for engendering local integration and a variety of residents and workers in such neighbourhoods. The recognition and promotion of inner-city vibrancy and culture through positive publicity and city-wide activities such as inter-community and business open fora is also a major task for the new redevelopment agenda.

Successful urban redevelopment resulting in reinvigorated inner-city neighbourhoods is a goal which all those involved in urban regeneration aspire to. Contemporary redevelopment planning has had only limited success in providing a well-managed environment and urban lifestyle for all inner-city residents. This paper, through its analysis, has identified the key issues which have influenced the inner-city redevelopment process. Its comparison of two neighbourhoods in very different countries, but with similar contexts, has highlighted the universality of some of these redevelopment issues. The examples of successful inner-city redevelopment schemes and the involvement of all stakeholders in their success were also presented to show that new models in regeneration are practicable and already possible.

Inner-city redevelopment requires a different approach to addressing the issues facing the mixed residential neighbourhoods in today's cities. Most important, however, will be the task of ensuring that the enabling conditions exist for the transformation of the socially and culturally stratified inner-city neighbourhoods of today into multi-cultural communities of socially diverse extraction in city neighbourhoods of the twenty-first century.

