

Leading with landscape: a regenerative strategy for Johannesburg's inner city

Graham A Young, PrLArch

Senior Lecturer, Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa
Principal, Newtown Landscape Architects

ABSTRACT: Johannesburg's CBD is a 'compressed' urban environment where available land for open space is elusive and mostly derelict. The Johannesburg Development Agency initiated a design competition in 2009 because growing residential densities, along with the lack of adequate green open space, suggested the need for a large scale inner city park. Taking the competition entry as point of departure, this paper will examine the issues related to creating a park system in Johannesburg's inner city. The park would not only provide the amenities associated with green space but along with other infrastructure, such as the recently completed Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system and public transportation nodes, would galvanize development in the inner city. The paper will argue that this approach is fundamental to the planning and design of the inner city, increasing its appeal as a place to live, work and visit, ultimately attracting new residents, businesses and promoting economic development. The implementation of a major park system is vital to the liveability, health and 'fitness' of the inner city. The argument is supported and tested by Landscape Urbanism and Transit Orientated Development (TOD) theories.

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INTRODUCTION

In September 2009, Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) in collaboration with Johannesburg City Parks and the Department of Planning and Urban Management, initiated a design competition to "conceptualize and design a large inner city public urban park. The growing residential densities within the inner city of Johannesburg coupled with the lack of adequate green public open space, suggests the need for a large scale inner city public park. The vision for this park should be of the nature of Central Park in New York" (Johannesburg Development Agency 2009).

The competition document made reference to the Inner City Regeneration Charter (City of Johannesburg 2007), a strategic document which outlines how the city will address issues of urban regeneration and economic development. The document cites 'Public Spaces, Art, Culture and Heritage' as one of the six areas of concern that need to be addressed. Transportation is another, with the emphasis on public transportation and the need for a 'distribution system'. The Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system, which is currently being implemented, was envisaged as the major contributor to the distribution system and Park Station is highlighted as the "largest transportation interchange in South Africa" and there is the "need to optimize its capacity as an integrated intermodal facility" (City of Johannesburg 2007). Another concern highlighted in the Inner City Regeneration Charter (the Charter) is residential development. It states that "the Inner City of Johannesburg is in a process of dramatic change, with the same rapid increase in demand for residential space that has accompanied other processes of inner city transformation and regeneration elsewhere in the world. Supply of residential space has increased exponentially in recent years. This has taken various forms, from transitional housing for the very poor, through to social housing, through to loft developments for the wealthy. This response to the demand is enormously positive" (2007:52). The focus on these concerns supports the notion that a major public park, complemented with public transportation and housing is required to improve the liveability and sustainability of the inner city and be the catalyst for revitalizing the inner city and attracting development?

The creation of an inner city park system would indeed be a brave attempt at renewal but where in Johannesburg's current dense, 'compressed' CBD does one find a 'void' of this scale? In the '70's and 80's there was a major flight of 'white' business and residential base to the outlying centres of Randburg, Midrand and Sandton. "Where buildings were not being sold for an acceptable price they were simply abandoned or mothballed" (Garner 2011:11). This trend along with the decay of infrastructure exacerbated the many problems of the inner city and contributed significantly to its general decline. The inner city has changed dramatically because of opposing trends – on the one hand business leaving and on the other, new people arriving. People, who were previously denied access to centrally located housing by the barriers of the apartheid system, now flock to the inner-city. However, in the case of Johannesburg, unlike other world cities that experienced inner-city decline, the city centre was not entirely abandoned. Instead, it has experienced rapid social change and over time a whole generation of new inner-city property investors and residents is emerging. "Twenty years after the onset of visible inner-city decline, Johannesburg is on the mend. A very different

inner-city – one that is vibrant and energetic but also more accessible and representative of South African society as a whole – has emerged” (Garner 2011:13).

Johannesburg has positioned itself to become ‘A World Class African City’ (City of Johannesburg 2007) and to this end the inner city is of strategic importance to the city. Boosting the economic and social development of the inner city is fundamental to cementing Johannesburg's position in the country if this vision is to be achieved.

In his speech at a crucial summit focusing on inner city regeneration in May 2007, the then Executive Mayor Amos Masondo (2007) stated:

“I have been very clear about what I want to see happen in the inner city. Within the next few years ... and [at] the end of this council's term of office, we want the complete transformation of our inner city. We want this inner city to be clean and green. We want it to be safe for residents and visitors. We want a proper balance between residential development and business development. We want it to be a desirable location where both the wealthy, and those who are just getting on to the ladder of prosperity, can live, work and enjoy themselves in harmony”.

Given this vision and with reference to the Charter's principles on Public Spaces, Arts, Culture and Heritage there is an acknowledged lack of meaningful public open space in the form of “parks, walkable streets, iconic public spaces” (City of Johannesburg 2007:53). This along with lack of housing opportunities are issues that the Charter advocates must be addressed for the city to achieve its vision of becoming a World Class African City.

WHY PARKS ...?

Professor John Crompton, who holds the rank of Distinguished Professor of Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences at Texas A&M University, is often quoted for two observations: “There are no great cities in this world that do not have a great park system” and “Parks are a community's canary in the coal mine. They are barometers that convey a visible impression of the city's economic and social health and vibrancy” (Crompton 1999). Sarah Williams Goldhagen, architecture critic for *The New Republic*, argues that the public realm is best served by urban parks that can enable “non-structured and non-goal orientated” interactions among many kinds of people (Goldhagen 2010). She describes the great urban park as “not [to] be so large that inside it one loses a sense of the city. This type of park is typically important enough (and expensive enough) that municipalities work hard to weave it into the overall identity of the city. For a major urban park to develop”, Goldhagen (2010) suggests, “there must be leaders with a strong vision and political clout, garnering public support and funding for the project, shepherding it from design to completion, ensuring that countervailing forces do not derail it.” She cites three urban parks that have been successfully implemented in the USA, Chicago's Millennium Park, St. Louis's Citygarden, and New York City's High Line, which have all “managed to revitalize underused real estate, catalyse economic development, raise local property values, provide ecosystem services, and attract tourists” (Goldhagen 2010).

THE CHALLENGE

It is clear that people want to make Johannesburg's inner city their home (Figure 1), therefore making this environment as liveable as possible is an imperative the city will have address with renewed vigour. This is all fine and well but where in Johannesburg's dense and compressed inner city does one find available land for the development of quality public open space? Open space is extremely elusive and mostly derelict. The only developed park of reasonable size is Joubert Park (5.5 ha), a green oasis in the middle of dense flatlands, which houses a 100 year old glass Victorian conservatory and the 95 year old Johannesburg Art Gallery. Five other recently upgraded inner city parks exist, but for the most part, they are small and serve only their local neighbourhoods. The bottom line is that the inner city has a severe lack of public open space to cater to its rapidly increasing population. There are a number of issues that need to be addressed. First, where and how does one create and find the space required for an integrated park system; second, what would be the new urban form and design of these emerging places; and third, what is required adjacent to the park system to support and sustain it?

In addressing these issues Landscape Urbanism and the theory it advocates about understanding the challenges facing the regeneration of decaying urban environments specifically through the use of brownfield sites, provides an approach to dealing with these issues and also offers clues to the creation of a new ‘landscape’. Supporting this approach is the theory that has been promoted mostly in the USA in auto dominated cities, Transit Orientated Development (TOD) which a mix of land uses cantered around transportation nodes.



Source: (Google Earth 2012)

Figure 1: Johannesburg's Inner City boundary and Joubert Park, the only reasonably sized park in the inner city.

LANDSCAPE URBANISM

The concept of Landscape Urbanism can be traced back to design competitions like Corner's and Allen's proposal for Downsview Park, Toronto, 2000, and their winning proposal of the following year for the Freshkills Landfill on Staten Island, New York. Remarking on James Corner, Goldhagen (2010) says he's perhaps the primary thought-leader in a new theory of landscape architecture: Landscape Urbanism, which aims to reclaim landscape architecture from the preciousness of garden design by marrying it with regional planning and, especially, with urban design. An article by Shane (2003), "The Emergence of "Landscape Urbanism" – Reflections on Stalking Detroit", in the Harvard Design Magazine, possibly brought the idea of Landscape Urbanism into the mainstream. It traces the roots of Landscape Urbanism as a natural outcome of the landscape ecology approach, which defines the landscape very broadly as a mosaic of the total spatial and visual entity of human living space that integrates the environment, living systems, and the manmade.

Charles Waldheim (in Shane 2003), turned the landscape ecology approach toward the city in his 1997 Landscape Urbanism exhibit. He highlighted the leftover void spaces of the city as potential commons. Waldheim (2003) sees Landscape Urbanism, as an interstitial design discipline, operating in the spaces between buildings, infrastructural systems, and natural ecologies. He advocates "patience and slow growth in cultivating a new urban form in these residual spaces, with the full participation of all assembled on the commons (including major, institutional landholders as well as the dispossessed)" (in Shane 2003:4).

The concept of Landscape Urbanism is actually "elegantly simple" states Lindholm (2011:4). "It is a theory of urbanism arguing that landscape, rather than architecture, is more capable of organizing the city and enhancing the urban experience". Durak (2004) adds:

It's a call to turn the traditional practice of urban design inside out, starting with open spaces and natural systems to structure urban form, instead of buildings and infrastructure systems. The difficult word here, of course, is "starting". Urban design is usually about intervening in environments where people already live, not working from a clean slate, and it's no wonder that the [main] examples of this approach so far have been for sites like Downsview Park (a vacant air base) and Freshkills (a 1010 hectare landfill), where space was available, albeit 'brownfields' sites. Nevertheless, the idea of Landscape Urbanism reorders the values and priorities of urban design, emphasizing the primacy of void over built form, and celebrating indeterminacy and change over the static certainty of architecture. Its most powerful contribution, however, may be that it recalls nature's restorative cycles and tries to put them back to work in the city. This will be essential to containing the impact of exploding urban growth in much of the world, but it also points to a particularly promising new direction for shrinking [inner] cities.

LEADING WITH LANDSCAPE

The concept of leading with landscape opens the way for a new hybrid urbanism. Landscape organizes the city and enhances the human experience and at the same time an environmentally balanced urban form emerges that attracts development around its edges. Goldhagen (2010) notes that to get a sense of what landscape can do to positively shape the public realm reference to Frederick Law Olmstead's design of Manhattan's Central Park is pertinent. He states:

Olmsted understood that the great urban park is more than a place for people to appreciate the structure of tulips and feel the grass beneath their feet; and more even than a place where different sorts of people could come at

any time for free. Three distinctive features make Olmstead's parks more than simply nice: aesthetic coherence, a deep narrative richly told, and the possibility of a transformative personal experience in the city.

Corner (2006:15) supports this viewpoint by elaborating on the significance of landscape in an emerging new urbanism:

In the opening years of the twenty-first century that seemingly old-fashioned term landscape has curiously come back into vogue. The reappearance of landscape in the larger cultural imagination is due, in part, to the remarkable rise of environmentalism and global ecological awareness, to the growth of tourism and the associated needs of regions to retain a sense of unique identity, and to the impacts upon rural areas by massive urban growth. But landscape also ... [has] the capacity to theorize sites, territories, ecosystems, networks and infrastructures, and to organize large urban fields. In particular, thematics of organization, dynamic interaction, ecology, and technique point to a looser, emergent urbanism, more akin to the real complexity of cities and offering an alternative to the rigid mechanisms of centralist planning.

He also reminds us of the catalytic effect that landscape has on surrounding areas and its significance in driving urban form (Corner 2006:24):

The more traditional ways in which we speak about landscape and cities have been conditioned through the nineteenth-century lens of difference and opposition. In this view, cities are seen to be busy with the technology of high-density building, transportation infrastructure, and revenue-producing development, the undesirable effect of which include congestion, pollution, and various forms of social stress; whereas landscape, in the form of parks, greenways, street trees, esplanades, and gardens, is generally seen to provide the salve and respite from the deleterious effects of urbanization. A most canonical instance of this, of course, is Olmsted's Central Park, intended as relief from the relentless urban fabric of Manhattan – even though the catalytic effect that Central Park exerted on surrounding real estate development links it more closely with a landscape urbanist model. In this instance, landscape drives the process of city formation.

It can then be argued that large-scale urban parks are increasingly integral to the sustainable development of cities and should be central to regeneration initiatives, especially when brownfield sites are being developed. Parks offer the opportunity “to stake out new and unique identities, promoting the peculiarities of local geography, ecology, history and cultural quality of life. These large open spaces are seen by many city officials as fundamental to assuring the competitive attractiveness of their cities, retaining and attracting new talent, new residents and businesses, and promoting economic development” (Corner 2009:18).

Leading with landscape, is a successfully concept that has been implemented in a number of cities around the world. The Toronto Waterfront, which was originally envisaged in the 70's is today an area of largely publicly owned land focused around open space systems along the edge of Lake Ontario and the mouth of the Don River. Paris's city administrators commissioned numerous parks in the 80's and 90's on post-industrial land as the focus for new development, while at the same time providing successful recreation and tourism facilities. Parc Andre Citroen is one of the more famous of these. Melbourne developed the old industrial and railway lands adjacent to the Yara River; the focus of the new developments turned the central part of the city into a hive of activity. Federation Square, an important element in this system, created a new urban order on a site that never existed before as it was built over railway lines. The High Line development in New York's West End has gained international acclaim for its simple yet extremely successful approach in bringing life back to a section of the city through the regeneration of a disused, raised railway line.

The JDA competition originators must be applauded for understanding the essential and catalytic importance of a major inner city park and their reference to 'Central Park' as main indicator for an intervention is insightful. Albeit that the planning and design of large urban parks must confront a number of significant challenges, such as multiple competing stakeholders, phased financing, segmentation, conflicting development goals, inaccessibility and difficult implementation, especially on brownfield or contaminated sites. “Consequently, the design of large parks today must inevitably be strategic and time-based. Design initiatives cannot simply be wilful, subjective or formal approaches, but need instead to be intelligent and flexible with regard to what is inevitably a complex field of dynamic variables” (Corner 2009:18).

Creating a park in the inner city of Johannesburg would definitely provide much needed amenities and increase the attractiveness of the city as a place to live, work and visit. It would also contribute to the environmental sustainability, liveability and health of the inner city. But would it be sufficient to attract new residents, businesses and promote new economic activities? The author's contention is that if it is planned and designed to integrate with and support existing transit based infrastructure, such as the recently completed BRT system and other redeveloped existing public transportation nodes, it would attract development and could become the aesthetic, commercial and residential focus of the inner city.

TRANSIT ORIENTATED DEVELOPMENT

Transit Orientated Development (TOD) is a concept originated by Peter Calthorpe (1993) that refers to development activity located along or within walking distance to transit routes and nodes that mixes residential, retail, office, and public uses in a walkable environment, making it convenient for residents and employees to travel by transit, bicycle, or foot. These activities are clustered around a rail or transit station, with density decreasing beyond the core. When it comes to local governments making TOD easier Calthorpe stated: "Strong pedestrian-orientated neighbourhoods are key ... It really comes down to urban design quality, which includes the scale of the streets, the streetscapes, and the fundamental relationship of building to public spaces" (Calthorpe 1993:5).

The numerous benefits of transit oriented development accrue to the transit system, the local host government, society, and individuals who live and work there. Hendricks and Goodwill (2002) state that the benefits for existing transit systems include more efficiency in transit service and increased transit ridership. They also contend that local governments benefit financially from TOD because the approach proposes the concentration of development around transportation nodes. Compact development lowers the infrastructure costs associated with dispersed development, such as roads, parking facilities, schools, sewer, water and electricity lines. Second, properties close to transit stations and TOD often have increased property value (this scenario is currently playing out at the new Rosebank and Sandton Gautrain Stations in Johannesburg and Hatfield in Pretoria). Higher property values, plus the increase in economic activity caused by TOD, create a larger tax base for local governments (Federal Transit Administration. 2002). Society also benefits from TOD due to compact development, integrated land uses and pedestrian friendly environments that all contribute to a balanced transportation system. "Clustering commercial, public, and recreational services near transit stations and within walking distance of where people live and work reduces the need to drive automobiles and shortens travel time and distances, reducing overall traffic congestion and improving quality of life" say Hendricks and Goodwill (2002:9). These are societal benefits "that appeal to the sensibilities of local government, whose job it is to guide development in a way that is best for society as a whole" (2009:9). Lastly, Hendricks and Goodwill (2002) assert that individuals benefit from TOD due to the increase in accessibility and transportation choice it provides to the businesses and residents within the TOD. "While suburban residents might not perceive these as valuable benefits, increased transportation choice translates into more mobility, especially for low-income and transit-dependent people" (2002:9). Additionally, TOD typically establishes places that serve as public squares, where people can congregate and develop a sense of community (2002).

Applying TOD to new development in Johannesburg's inner city would result in tangible benefits to existing bus, taxi and rail systems, the local government, society, and individuals who would wish to live and work in the city. And when this type of development is combined with a significant public park system, the new urban landscape that emerges would be vital to the sustainable development of the city and central to regeneration initiatives.

CASE STUDY: THE SEAM

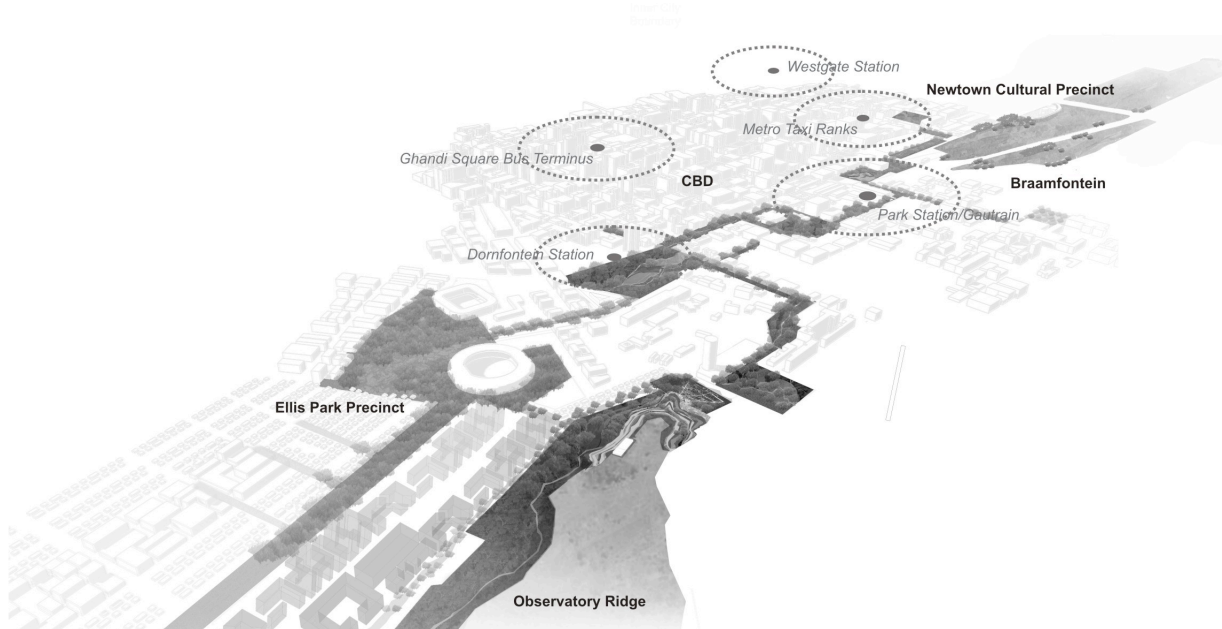
The revitalization of inner cities does not happen overnight as interventions of the required scale and scope cannot occur within a single initiative. Landscape Urbanism theory advocates a long term vision that must be built incrementally and in phases. This is especially true in South Africa where funding would have to rely heavily on public – private partnerships. According to Reed (2006:283), planners need an understanding that long-term implementation would depend on short-term initiatives to initially change public perceptions and to generate political will. This notion falls within the thinking of Nabeel Hamdi, where the importance of starting with something small and where it will have the greatest effect is emphasized (Hamdi, 2004:xix). Hamdi (2010:44) explains that the approach would be to improve lives and livelihoods in incremental stages, starting small rather than comprehensive or once-off. One would begin by searching for starting points but always keeping the final vision in mind. Dewar & Uytenboogaardt (1995:11) emphasize this approach, specifically for the South African context, by stating that "it is important to seek continually to take the minimum actions necessary to create real opportunities for creative responses".

A number of 'starting points' in Johannesburg's inner city already exist in the form of small parks, recently developed urban places, transportation systems, railway stations and housing initiatives. When these 'parts' are first identified and then integrated with TOD initiatives and an inner city park system, a framework emerges for the revitalization of the inner city.

THE SEAM (the name given to the first round JDA competition entry by Newtown Landscape Architects cc, GreenInc Landscape Architects and Mashabane Rose Architects Joint Venture), employs an approach to developing an urban framework that first requires identifying a series of 'voids' and places that would ultimately become the basic 'building blocks' for an open space system of connected parks and other urban spaces. Places that would be used by the citizens and tourists of the city and which would be the catalyst for mixed-use development along their edges. When established the system would stretch across the city from east to west linking Observatory Ridge (a natural ridge line) to the Newtown Cultural Precinct. The starting points are Observatory Ridge, small developed parks including Joubert Park, developed urban spaces (Ellis Park Precinct, Newtown Cultural Precinct, Church Street Mall) and the precinct associated with Park and Gautrain Station. The transportation network and nodes central to the TOD sites are the BRT system, Park Station, the new Gautrain Station, Westgate Station, Metro Mall (taxi ranks) and Ghandi

Square bus terminus. The final piece in the open space 'puzzle' is the land currently used as railway shunting yards, which stretch west from Park Station through to Fordsburg and which would be developed as the main, large central park. THE SEAM, manifest as a city wide linear system, is then augmented with TOD at strategic transportation nodes as indicated in Figure 2 below.

At the western end of Observatory Ridge, on a site with spectacular views across the city and which has spiritual and cultural significance (many religious groups gather and congregate on the ridge and gold was first sought in these quartzite ridges), a new park is proposed. The park would also serve as a catalyst for high density mixed-use residential development along its northern edge. It would be the starting point for the development of THE SEAM and is significant as is the watershed between river systems that originate on the ridge and flow either to the north, and ultimately the Indian Ocean or to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean.



Source: (Newtown Landscape Architects + GreenInc + MRA Joint Venture 2009)

Figure 2: THE SEAM becomes the catalyst for mixed use developments on adjacent reclaimed brownfield sites (programmed primarily as housing units) and sites along the southern edge of Braamfontein. The circles indicate the location of proposed TOD.

THE SEAM then steps down Observatory Ridge in an exciting series of exaggerated steps to meet with Ellis Park Precinct and Stadium Square, which consolidates public space between the two main stadia and other sports and recreation facilities. The precinct would be linked to a new major park intervention and proposed TOD at Doornfontein Station through the westward extension of the public spaces. The Doornfontein Park is integral to the TOD, which is proposed south of the railway line on reclaimed industrial land. The park development would include the recently completed End Street Park along its western edge, a once dilapidated space which has been transformed into a robust, colourful and somewhat enigmatic play park. Going further west, the void would make use of the existing sunken railway line, to create a landscaped deck structure above it to connect the Doornfontein Park to the Johannesburg Art Museum and Joubert Park. Joubert Park is then linked to the new Gautrain and Park Station precinct along Leyds Street, which would be pedestrianized. The station precinct is celebrated as the 'Gateway to Johannesburg' as people arriving on Gautrain from OR Tambo International Airport or on trains from other parts of Southern Africa would move through its various public places.

Another infrastructural void, this time west of Park Station and above the existing railway lines, would be reclaimed and designed as a multi-functional urban park and square that would provide panoramic views to the west and south-west of the CBD and be the focus of adjacent commercial development. This new precinct would be 'stitched back' into the old and new city fabric to become the catalyst for mixed use developments on adjacent reclaimed brownfield sites (programmed primarily as housing units) along the southern edge of Braamfontein. The precinct would also be a main feature of the proposed Park Station TOD. From this elevated position, the park system would step down in a series of smaller parks to culminate at the existing Mary Fitzgerald Square in the Newtown Cultural Precinct.

An 'ecological' park, designed along urban ecology principles on reclaimed railway lands, is envisaged between Braamfontein and Newtown. The park would be the main and largest park in the system with the potential to manage groundwater and stormwater while providing recreational opportunities for local residents and being the focus of

tourist activities. Designed as a living system and to connect Braamfontein to Newtown, it would incorporate wetlands, urban forests, and places for urban agriculture. Food could be grown using intensively managed agricultural systems and energy captured and generated from the sun and wind. The park would collect, store and use ground water and stormwater from surrounding sites for reuse in the landscape and in adjacent buildings.



Source: (Newtown Landscape Architects 2012)

Figure 3: Redundant railway lands would be developed into an 'ecological' park that would be the focus of adjacent mixed use development and connected to the proposed Park Station TOD

This new landscape, along with the nearby Park Station TOD, would offer extraordinary opportunities for city residents to have access to networks of paths, squares and parks. It would also offer distinct opportunities for extensive leisure, tourism, social, and recreational amenities as well as provide a variety of housing, commercial and civic opportunities along its periphery.

CONCLUSION

After the first round of the JDA competition four projects were short-listed. THE SEAM did not advance past the first stage as, the author believes, the organizers were still looking for a 'once-off' type solution. Newtown Landscape Architects (NLA) was then invited to join the MMA Architects + Fiona Garson Architect + Cohen & Judin design team (one of the short-listed groups) as the lead landscape architect for the second round of the competition. NLA again promoted an incremental approach to the project as they had done in their first submission. A competition winner was not announced but this consortium's entry was judged by the organizers as being "the strongest and having the most chance of becoming feasible". Subsequent to the competition, NLA has taken the project further and the design illustrated in Figure 3 is the work of this firm.

The paper has argued that the first step in turning these ideas into reality is to ensure that the vision of Johannesburg being 'A World Class African City' is continually reinforced and politically accepted by all stakeholders. It is also crucial to acknowledge and accept that an extensive urban park system complemented with Transit Orientated Development is fundamental to this vision and for the creation of sustainable development and regeneration initiatives in the inner city. Once the vision is entrenched and 'owned' by all citizens, public/private partnerships would develop the landscape strategically and in incremental stages, starting with the existing, functioning 'parts' and building on these as well as developing previously leftover 'voids' to ultimately become the new commons of the city. This new landscape would be an appealing place to live, work and visit, bring economic returns to its investors and promote civic pride that would ultimately establish Johannesburg's competitive attractiveness, and make it a truly 'World Class African City'.

Note:

1. The SEAM competition entry case study has been published as a chapter "*Closing the void ... Landscape Urbanism – park development in Johannesburg's inner city*" in Stoffberg, H, Hindes C, and Muller, L (eds.). 2010. The South African Landscape Architecture Reader. UNISA Press: Pretoria. It has also been presented as: "*Finding and then activating the void: An regenerative open space strategy for Johannesburg's Inner City*" at the Leisure and Recreation Association of South Africa (LARASA) Congress, Building Liveable Communities through the collaboration of Recreation, Leisure and Tourism Initiatives 11 – 14 March 2012; and "*Finding the void ... a vision for a public park in Johannesburg's inner city*", 3rd International Urban Design Conference, Canberra, Australia, (30 Aug – 1 Sept 2010). This paper elaborates on the theories behind a renewal for Johannesburg's Inner City and thus takes the ideas initially presented in the case study further to include the design of an 'ecological' park and TOD to be the focus of new development and regeneration initiatives.

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