

Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality South Africa

December 7–10, 2014



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A Concept for the Sleeper Site in East London

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About the Urban Land Institute

THE MISSION OF THE URBAN LAND INSTITUTE is to provide leadership in the responsible use of land and in creating and sustaining thriving communities worldwide. ULI is committed to

- Bringing together leaders from across the fields of real estate and land use policy to exchange best practices and serve community needs;
- Fostering collaboration within and beyond ULI's membership through mentoring, dialogue, and problem solving;
- Exploring issues of urbanization, conservation, regeneration, land use, capital formation, and sustainable development;
- Advancing land use policies and design practices that respect the uniqueness of both the built and natural environments;
- Sharing knowledge through education, applied research, publishing, and electronic media; and

- Sustaining a diverse global network of local practice and advisory efforts that address current and future challenges.

Established in 1936, the Institute today has more than 34,000 members worldwide, representing the entire spectrum of the land use and development disciplines. Professionals represented include developers, builders, property owners, investors, architects, public officials, planners, real estate brokers, appraisers, attorneys, engineers, financiers, academics, students, and librarians.

ULI relies heavily on the experience of its members. It is through member involvement and information resources that ULI has been able to set standards of excellence in development practice. The Institute has long been recognized as one of the world's most respected and widely quoted sources of objective information on urban planning, growth, and development.

Cover: Alison Johnson

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About ULI Advisory Services

THE GOAL OF THE ULI ADVISORY SERVICES program is to bring the finest expertise in the real estate field to bear on complex land use planning and development projects, programs, and policies. Since 1947, this program has assembled well over 400 ULI-member teams to help sponsors find creative, practical solutions for issues such as downtown redevelopment, land management strategies, evaluation of development potential, growth management, community revitalization, brownfield redevelopment, military base reuse, provision of low-cost and affordable housing, and asset management strategies, among other matters. A wide variety of public, private, and nonprofit organizations have contracted for ULI's advisory services.

Each panel team is composed of highly qualified professionals who volunteer their time to ULI. They are chosen for their knowledge of the panel topic and screened to ensure their objectivity. ULI's interdisciplinary panel teams provide a holistic look at development problems. A respected ULI member who has previous panel experience chairs each panel.

The agenda for a three-day panel assignment is intensive. It includes an advance review of a comprehensive briefing book prepared by the sponsor to highlight relevant background information, data, plans, and studies related to the panel assignment; an in-depth briefing, a site tour, and meetings with sponsor representatives; interviews with key community representatives; and a day of formulating recommendations. Long nights of discussion precede the panel's conclusions. On the final day on site, the panel makes an oral presentation of its findings and conclusions to the sponsor. A written report is prepared and published.

Because the sponsoring entities are responsible for significant preparation before the panel's visit, including sending extensive briefing materials to each member and arranging for the panel to meet with key local community members and stakeholders in the project under consideration, participants in ULI's five-day panel assignments are able to make accurate assessments of a sponsor's issues

and to provide recommendations in a compressed amount of time.

A major strength of the program is ULI's unique ability to draw on the knowledge and expertise of its members, including land developers and owners, public officials, academics, representatives of financial institutions, and others. In fulfillment of the mission of the Urban Land Institute, this Advisory Services panel report is intended to provide objective advice that will promote the responsible use of land to enhance the environment.

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About the World Bank Group

THE WORLD BANK, ESTABLISHED IN 1944, is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. The World Bank is not a bank in the ordinary sense; rather it is a unique partnership whose goals are to reduce extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity globally. The World Bank Group comprises five institutions managed by their member countries, each with a specific role aimed at the achievement of those twin goals.

In South Africa, the World Bank has partnered with the Cities' Support Programme unit of the National Treasury through an advisory services agreement. Those advisory services are provided to the National Treasury and participating metropolitan areas across six thematic areas and draw on the World Bank's global experience and network of urban experts.

The six thematic areas of the advisory service are the following:

- jobs and competitiveness;
- urban renewal and infrastructure;
- land and housing markets;
- public financial management and governance;
- integrated urban transport planning; and
- environmental and social management of urban investments.

About the Cities' Support Programme

THE CITIES' SUPPORT PROGRAMME (CSP) is a unit within the National Treasury that provides a range of support mechanisms to metropolitan municipalities and the broader intergovernmental environment in South Africa. These mechanisms are aimed at:

- creating an enabling intergovernmental environment for city transformation through changes in the policy and regulatory environments;
- restructuring the fiscal and financial framework for cities; and
- providing an integrated package of implementation support to cities.

Acknowledgments

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Not of least importance, the panel also thanks the 60 leaders and representatives from the community, local businesses, and organizations and others who agreed to be interviewed and gave their time and energy to the panel process.

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Executive Summary

THE AMALGAMATION OF EAST LONDON and its surrounding towns and cities into the new municipality of Buffalo City offers an opportunity to rethink how the city is viewed by South Africans and the wider international community. The city's central business district (CBD) is critical to the new identity: it is the point of reference for people using and visiting the city. Its attractiveness as both a place to visit and a center of economic activity will determine how effective Buffalo City will be in attracting and retaining new businesses and employees, especially the highly skilled workforce needed for the services of the future. The municipality's acquisition of the Sleeper site represents one of the most important opportunities to rechart the course of the CBD.

This ULI Advisory Services panel report outlines the observations and recommendations of seven experienced professionals from the United States, the United Kingdom, and South Africa. Their expertise—augmented by that of staff of the World Bank, ULI, and South Africa's National Treasury—spans urban economics and marketing, urban design, planning, economic development, and the management of large-scale urban regeneration projects. The work relies on the wealth of excellent data and studies made available by the Enterprise Project Management Office of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) and reflects the interviews with stakeholders conducted during the panel's stay in the city.

The ULI panel was asked to address three issues concerning the highest and best uses for the Sleeper site:

- What catalytic projects could best unlock investment in the area without privatizing public assets?
- What are practical suggestions for making connections between the Sleeper site and its surroundings?

- How can the BCMM strengthen urban management within the greater CBD, Sleeper site, and central beach-front area so that they become recognized?

In addition, the panel was asked to address two supplemental questions:

- What are the likely impacts (positive or negative) on the CBD and surrounding areas if a consolidated civic center is developed on the Sleeper site?
- What are the likely costs and benefits of developing an extended inner-city university campus within the Sleeper site and the East London CBD?

The ULI panel's conclusions can be summarized as follows:

- **Make revitalizing the CBD the prime objective; both Oxford Street and the Sleeper site have key roles to play.** The development strategies for the two areas must be complementary. It does little good to transplant uses from Oxford Street to the Sleeper site: while the Sleeper site would develop, Oxford Street would decline. Rather, the objective must be to increase the overall number of people coming to the CBD and to plant the seeds for an expanded economy.
- **Improve both the quality of the public realm and the safety of Oxford Street as a critical first step.** Although the Sleeper site should be developed gradually, improving the public realm of Oxford Street could have an immediate positive impact on the CBD. Steps should include (a) basics such as cleanliness and improved safety and a perception of personal safety, (b) expanded and improved pedestrian areas, (c) better pedestrian crossings, (d) better lighting and landscaping, (e) rationalized lanes for minibuses and public transit, and (f) a reduction of travel lanes for automobiles and especially

for trucks. The panel believes that it would be a mistake to close Oxford Street to all vehicular traffic, since the prosperity of the shops and activities depends on their being visible to passing traffic. However, on weekends and special occasions, the street could be preempted for festivals, street fairs, and other special events, drawing new people to the CBD.

- **Create a civic center at the north end of Oxford Street and expand university activities at the south end.** Government activities are currently fragmented throughout the CBD, occupying poor space, which is both confusing to citizens and inefficient for government operations. Locating a civic center at the north end of Oxford Street on land currently owned by the municipality would create a new magnet of activity while providing a one-stop location for those in need of government services.

A civic center would bring thousands of residents to Oxford Street, which would help support shops and commercial services. At the south end of the CBD, the expanding university and justice center will serve as a second magnet for commercial activity. That “dumb-bell” pattern of the two anchors is ideal for a thriving CBD. As government activities are relocated from their current premises, those properties could become housing for university students and those seeking to live near their work, making Oxford Street more of a 24-hour environment.

- **Recognize development of the Sleeper site as an opportunity to stimulate the economy of Buffalo City.** The regional economy has been experiencing a sustained period of slow growth. The panel believes there is an opportunity to capture increased economic activity from two sources that have successfully created thriving urban economies globally: a vibrant CBD and a quality university. To attract the investment and the talent needed for growth, creating a vibrant CBD is critical for urban success in the 21st century. A quality university can be one of the most effective engines of economic development,

attracting and developing talent that will be desirable for high-skill industries.

- **Focus the Sleeper site on the knowledge-based and creative economy, creating a live/work/learn environment.** The city’s future economy depends on training and retaining highly skilled workers capable of creating and attracting businesses not yet in the area. The University of Fort Hare (UFH) is the most dynamic force in the CBD, having redoubled its enrollment over the past several years and having ambitious targets for the future. The municipality should join forces with the university to seek new faculties, particularly in engineering, the built environment, and other technical fields, and to locate them on the Sleeper site as a catalyst for new private development.

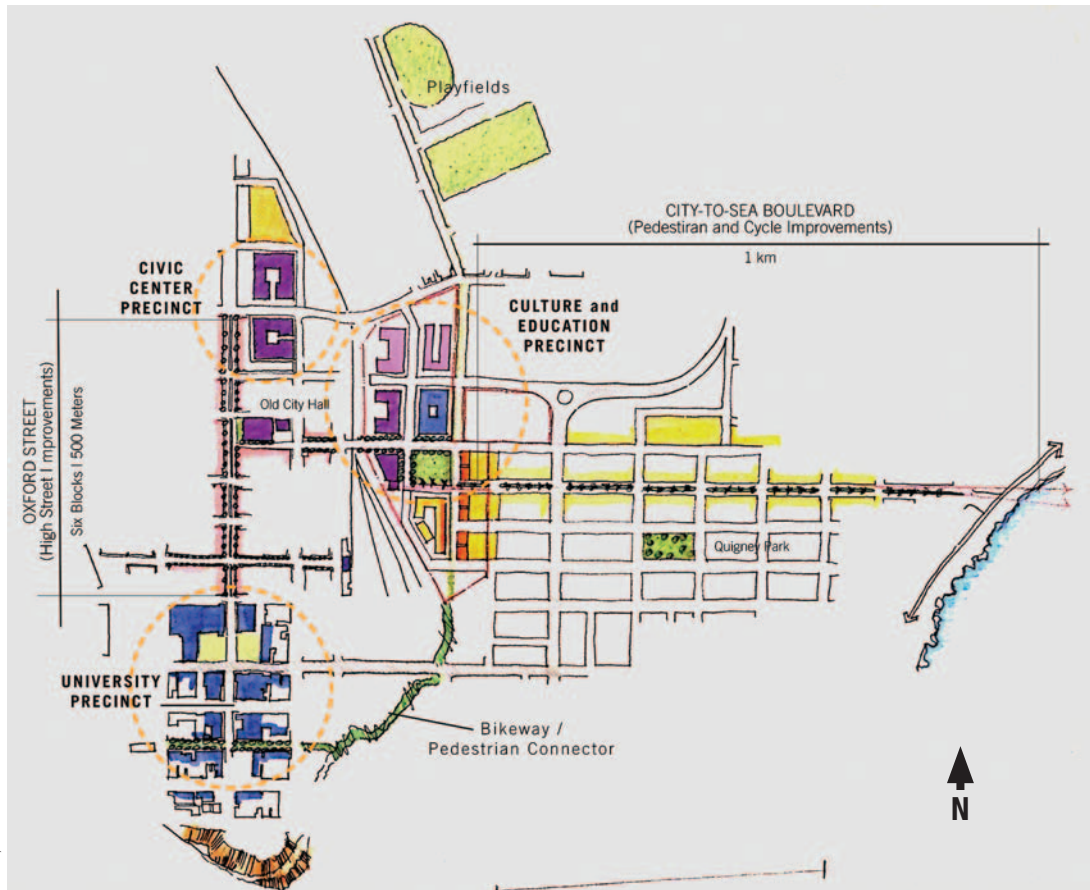
A new public library that the city and university could share would also draw residents to the site and activate it. The south half of the Sleeper site is also an ideal location for immediate construction of much-needed student housing for the university, which would bring both critical mass and an active city center population—further driving retail regeneration in the area.

- **Establish a suitable physical framework within the Sleeper site and maintain flexibility for new types of development.** The site needs to be effectively connected to the existing CBD and the waterfront, the two critical areas that will benefit from its development. The volume of train traffic is low enough that a signalized at-grade crossing to the CBD should be possible at Buxton Street, while transforming Moore Street into a boulevard to the sea will make the waterfront easily accessible. At the center of the site, there should be a safe, clean public park filled with activity. The site needs a well-connected grid plan to provide the flexibility for future uses that are not even contemplated today. It should be viewed as a flexible land bank capable of accommodating new uses that are attracted to a downtown location near skilled employees or that are spun off from the knowledge centers surrounding the university.

■ **Create an independent, business-oriented, self-financing entity to oversee development of the Sleeper site, and a CBD.** The development entity for the Sleeper site needs to be capable of carrying out multiyear development efforts transparently under the direction of an oversight board. It needs an experienced, charismatic, trusted leader and the capacity and authority to broker and seal development agreements involving long-term leases of property. It must be agile enough to move quickly to seize new opportunities and to signal to the business community that Buffalo City is serious about economic development. Its staff must include experi-

enced managers of public development and effective development entrepreneurs. Having a staff capable of harnessing private sector entrepreneurship and investment capital is essential.

The CBD will also require a separate commercial improvement district (CID) to oversee the transformation of streetscapes (“crime and grime”) and to manage maintenance activities and promotion of the CBD. Those functions are sufficiently different from those required for the Sleeper site that separate entities, each highly focused, are justified.



Concept diagram of the BCMM Sleeper site.

Buffalo City Context and Sleeper Site Study Area

LOCATED ON THE EAST COAST of South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality includes the towns of East London, Bhisho, and King William's Town, as well as the townships of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. With a total population of 755,200, Buffalo City is one of eight metropolitan local governments in South Africa and the second smallest in population. In addition, the Eastern Cape has experienced a net out-migration of people over the past few years. Buffalo City's population growth between 2001 and 2011 was the lowest of all eight metropolitan areas, at an annual average of 0.69 percent, compared with the fastest-growing metro areas, which have increased on average at 2 to 3 percent annually (see table below).

A major driving force behind that slow expansion is the lack of job opportunities. Economic growth and job creation have taken place at a stronger rate in Gauteng Province (Johannesburg and Pretoria) and the Western Cape (Cape Town). As a result, the levels of unemploy-

Population Growth for Eight Metro Municipalities, 2001–2011

City	2011 population	Average annual growth
Johannesburg	4,434,827	3.18%
Pretoria	2,921,488	3.10%
Cape Town	3,740,026	2.57%
Ekurhuleni	3,178,470	2.47%
Mangaung	747,431	1.47%
Port Elizabeth	1,152,115	1.36%
Durban	3,442,361	1.08%
Buffalo City	755,200	0.69%

Source: 2011 Census, Statistics South Africa.

Unemployment Rate for Eight Metro Areas, 2001 and 2011

Municipality	2001	2011
Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality	46.4%	36.6%
Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality	53.2%	34.8%
eThekweni Municipality	43.0%	30.3%
Ekurhuleni Municipality	40.4%	28.8%
Mangaung Municipality	40.1%	28.0%
City of Johannesburg	37.4%	24.7%
City of Tshwane	31.6%	24.2%
City of Cape Town	29.2%	23.7%
Average	40.2%	28.9%

Source: 2011 Census, Statistics South Africa.

ment in those communities are lower than in Buffalo City, which has one of the highest levels of unemployment of the South African metro areas at 34.8 percent (2011). The average unemployment rate for all eight South African metro areas is 28.9 percent (see table above).

Despite its relatively low growth rate, overall, the Buffalo City municipality's total population has been projected to increase by about 270,000 people between 2012 and 2020 ("Buffalo City Municipality Integrated Development Plan Situation Analysis 2012/2013"). That population growth is expected to occur primarily among lower-income individuals and households, moving from the agriculture-based rural communities to the city. However, that movement will support continued growth in household demand for retail and housing opportunities in the wider Buffalo City municipal area.

East London is considered the city center of the metropolitan area, situated at the mouth of the Buffalo River. It is the second-largest industrial and urban settlement within

the metropolitan municipality. Naturally constrained by the river on the south and the Indian Ocean on the east, the East London CBD hosts the only river port in the country. The city has historically focused on retaining industrial and service sector companies in this territory, which attracts people from throughout the region in search of work. Cumulatively, manufacturing—primarily automobile, textile, metals, and machinery—represents 16.6 percent of total employment (231,872 people), making it the third-largest employment sector behind wholesale and retail (21.1 percent) and government services (20.9 percent).

Buffalo City needs to consider options for spatial, social, and economic development that support improved job opportunities within the city limits, that lower unemployment, and that absorb the newly arrived residents.

The Sleeper Site

The Sleeper site, 13.6 hectares (33.6 acres) of undeveloped land, presents both an opportunity for and a challenge to the future development of the city center. The main commercial corridor of East London is Oxford Street with the East London Railway Station and Transnet rail lines forming the western edge of the Sleeper site. Since the site was off limits for many years, it formed a barrier between the CBD and the residential districts to the northeast (Quigney) and the southeast (central beachfront). The southern edge of



A view of the Sleeper site from the BCMM offices on Oxford Street.



A view of the Sleeper site from the East London Railway Station.

the site is marked by heavily trafficked Fleet Street, which also separates UFH from the CBD (see map).

To the north, light and medium industries, warehousing, and sales outlets for building materials predominantly occupy the areas adjacent to the Sleeper site. The Sleeper site is largely open, with remnant rail lines, some of which are used as shunting yards. Signal Street provides vehicular movement across the site, but primarily for servicing infrastructure on the northern boundary.

The municipality purchased the Sleeper site because it was viewed as a compelling opportunity for transforming the CBD and connecting it with the central beachfront area of the city. With that objective in mind, the ULI panel was asked to evaluate the work to date on a site development strategy and to engage with key stakeholders to better assess the potential uses that may be located within the Sleeper site.



The Sleeper site in the context of the surrounding areas of Central East London. The yellow outline designates the broader Sleeper area, including the rails and the East London Railway Station; the blue designates the undeveloped land of the Sleeper site.

The Panel's Observations

OVER THE COURSE OF THREE DAYS, the ULI panel shared several general observations resulting from its site tour and interviews with knowledgeable sources, as well as drawing on its collective experience. Several key challenges and opportunities were identified.

Challenges

Buffalo City has experienced sluggish economic growth for more than a decade, with minimal employment growth—averaging 0.3 percent annually over the 2005–2010 period. Manufacturing has been particularly hard hit, while growth sectors, such as government, business services, trade, and transport, failed to pick up the slack. As a result, unemployment is stubbornly high. Mercedes-Benz continues to be a major driver of the local economy, along with modest contributions from the Port of East London, tourism, and a few international companies. However, the economy is not sufficiently diversified and is not well positioned for growth.

Local primary and secondary schools are generally considered good, but the best and brightest students tend to leave the region to attend the nation's top universities. With a perceived shortage of opportunities, few return to the region after graduation, creating a “brain drain.” Furthermore, the region has not been particularly successful in attracting highly skilled workers, creating a shortage of staff for those industries that are expanding. Employer needs and local skills for employment are poorly matched.

Over the past few decades, there has been a significant shift of retail sales and office employment to suburban sites. The challenge will be to reverse that long-term trend through the creation of a more desirable center city environment and viable commercial opportunities.

Turning around recent local economic trends to achieve growth more in line with the national economy will require considerable collaboration between local and regional governments, private employers, and institutions. However, the panel observed an apparent inability of public and private representatives to collaborate; that situation will need to change for the region to achieve an economic turnaround.

Opportunities

The panel noted significant positive factors that could be leveraged for future regional growth. Residents emphasized that the moderate climate, spectacular setting, and relatively low housing costs make for a high quality of life. The panel also experienced that desirable Mediterranean-like climate, beautiful oceanfront location, and rolling topography that provide an excellent setting for a vibrant economy. The panel's experience suggests that high-quality lifestyle communities have an advantage in attracting and nurturing high-value businesses.

Buffalo City has a very strong architectural heritage, especially within its central districts. Oxford Street and its surroundings are particularly well endowed with Victorian and art deco buildings that create a cohesive historic area, albeit one in need of some restoration. Similarly, nearby residential areas offer numerous detached Victorian homes and art deco apartment buildings. The potential exists to attract households of all incomes to some of those areas.

Modern cities generally depend on a university to drive knowledge-based growth. Fortunately, UFH is located in the central district and has significant plans for growth. Historically, a branch of the central university 120 kilometers (74.6 miles) away, the East London campus is increasingly becoming an institution in its own right and

now enrolls approximately 5,000 students. With a national mandate for expansion, UFH has plans to add disciplines and increase enrollment to 15,000 students. A growing urban university has the potential to become the key economic driver for Buffalo City, with a goal of building more of a knowledge-based economy. With the right emphasis on appropriate courses, the university could also help local employers hire local workers with the skills required for expanding both existing and new industries. Retaining university graduates locally is always easier than attracting them from afar.

The panel noted the high proportion of youth in the demographic profile of Buffalo City. The hope is that that population can be encouraged to continue their education locally and to remain after graduation. Globally, pools of skilled employees are a significant attraction to industry.

Buffalo City has considerable potential to further develop its tourism sector. Its beaches are already a strong draw, but the city has no strong brand to attract visitors. Much more could be made of the historic architecture of the city in promoting tourism.

Overall Strategy

THE ULI PANEL PROPOSED A VISION for the future development of the central area of Buffalo City with the major goal of facilitating the expansion and diversification of its economic base. Recommendations have been made for the CBD, with more specific proposals for the Sleeper site and the Oxford Street environs. That vision encompasses the following elements:

- **Facilitate the development of the University of Fort Hare as an economic engine for Buffalo City.** Promoting university expansion, especially by adding technology-driven areas of study (such as engineering, design and construction of the built environment, and communications) could position it to become a significant engine of growth for the economy. In addition, it would add considerable new activity to the area and support other initiatives envisioned for the center city.
- **Promote a vibrant live/study/work/play environment.** For the East London CBD to succeed, more residential, employment, and leisure opportunities will need to be created in a concentrated setting.
- **Reverse the brain drain and attract new talent to central Buffalo City.** The enhanced university should encourage a greater number of youth with the greatest potential to remain in the local area. Creation of a highly attractive urban environment will further assist this effort.
- **Increase the number of people who reside in and around the central city.** To create the vibrant mixed-use environment required of a successful center, desirable new residential neighborhoods will need to be developed, while existing neighborhoods will need to be revitalized. A mixture of income levels should be accommodated.

- **Add urban amenities that foster a dynamic and memorable sense of place.** Such amenities should include public open space, street landscaping, wide sidewalks or pathways, and street furniture.

Ultimately, the goal is to create more economic activity and jobs for the residents of Buffalo City.

Framing the Future of the CBD— Oxford Street and the Sleeper Site

*Revitalization of the CBD is imperative—
Oxford Street + Sleeper site.*

The Sleeper site has great potential. However, there is a danger that it will be used for facilities and uses that are difficult to situate in the CBD. Before embarking on the development of the Sleeper site—committing considerable financial, human, and intellectual resources to the project—the panel believes that a balanced approach that focuses on both the CBD and the Sleeper site needs to be adopted. As the CBD is improved, the Sleeper site will be able to harvest the value of its improved context.

The Sleeper site alone will not be a catalyst for reclaiming downtown, but it could be the beneficiary of an integrated strategy for regenerating downtown.

The East London CBD has considerable assets on which to build economic and quality-of-life improvements. But it also has some daunting challenges.

A recommended vision for the CBD has four key elements:

- A direct and iconic connection from the waterfront to downtown;
- A revitalized Oxford Street, using the time-tested axiom of anchors and connectors;
- The organization and connection of the Sleeper site into the current business district in a way that provides flexibility, synergy, and vitality; and
- Multimodal linkages that integrate all of the assets surrounding the core.

Connect the waterfront to downtown. During the panel's tour, the magnificent waterfront's potential to catalyze and brand East London became evident. A future in

which more people will want to live and visit this area is not hard to imagine, but only if the waterfront is made more accessible and visible. Moore Street, which is wide and direct and slopes gently toward the waterfront, is a hidden gem; it could become an iconic, palm-lined boulevard that brings the waterfront and downtown together. At a little over 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) in length, this potential new "La Rambla" for East London would take advantage of the wonderful scale and grain of the Quigney neighborhood and would come alive with bicycles, pedicabs, and people strolling through the neighborhood on their way between the waterfront and a revitalized downtown.

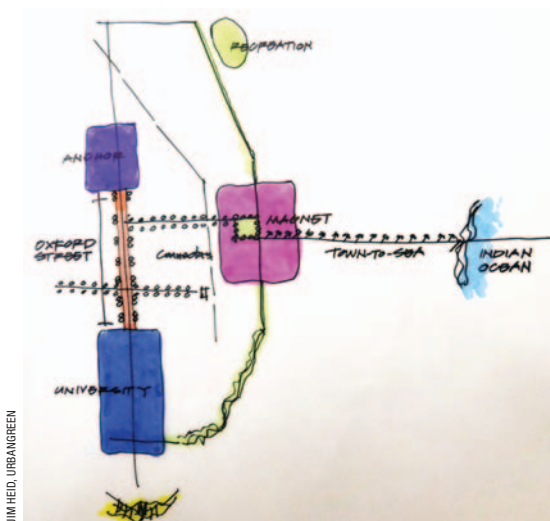


La Rambla (on the right) in Barcelona, Spain, is a 1.2-kilometer (0.7 mile) tree-lined mall popular with both tourists and locals. The mall connects neighborhoods and many cultural attractions to Port Vell, a waterfront harbor.

JORGE LASCAR, FLICKER.COM

Revitalize Oxford Street. Oxford Street has enormous potential to become the vibrant heart of the city. It can become the region's central high street, providing local and national commerce, as well as civic business, tourist attractions, entertainment, and dining.

Borrowing a page from conventional retail center strategy, Oxford Street needs to frame a walkable, delightful street scene between two anchors of users and activity. The success and continued growth of the University of Fort Hare are a ready-made anchor on the south—providing daily activity and many faculty, staff, and students who always create energy and a demand for retail and entertainment. To the north, the BCMM owns three key parcels that could serve as the other anchor.



JIM HEID, URBANGREEN

The development concept proposed by the panelists focuses on interventions of public realm revitalization along the commercial corridor of Oxford Street and reconnecting the central business district to the waterfront on the east-west access (e.g., Moore Street).

After evaluating a number of options, the panel was attracted to the concept of a consolidated set of offices for government activities, a civic center or a one-stop consumer-focused shop. But it would be a mistake to locate it on the Sleeper site where it would draw activity away from Oxford Street. By locating the civic center on the vacant parcels at the top of Oxford Street, it can become the second anchor for the street, stimulating pedestrian and retail activity and bringing thousands of employees to an area that is now a vacuum.

In between those two anchors, Oxford Street could and should be carefully curated and developed to create an active high street. At six blocks and 500 meters (0.3 mile), the scale, grain, length, and architectural character of this area is ideally suited to creating a great CBD main street. The strategies and techniques for resolving some of the basic “crime and grime” issues are discussed below.

As a complement to the north–south orientation of Oxford Street, two cross connectors would weave a pedestrian and access tapestry through the downtown, linking critical transportation and activity centers:

- Buxton Street, which would link Oxford Street to the Sleeper site and would highlight significant heritage buildings; and
- Terminus Street, which would link the transit station and taxi rank to the core of the Oxford Street.

Organize and connect the Sleeper site. With the successful revitalization of Oxford Street, and a new iconic connection to the waterfront, the Sleeper site will be well positioned to realize its potential. With a structure and plan that are flexible, the site should be developed to create a mixed-use precinct that brings together the best that East London has to offer: (a) new cultural offerings, (b) a center of knowledge and learning, (c) research and employment, (d) great public spaces, and (e) a 24-hour population, beginning with student housing on part of the site. Weaving those active uses into the fabric of the community—through pedestrian and vehicular connections across the

tracks and to the waterfront—will create a long-term framework.

Interconnect the core assets. As those key actions take form, the benefits of connecting the Sleeper site to the surrounding areas will become obvious. A new north–south greenway should be considered, providing for walking, cycling, and vehicle connections to areas north and south of the Sleeper site. Routing heavy truck and vehicle volumes away from the CBD also needs to be investigated. Although it is clear that improvements to the R72 present a major challenge to the connectivity and fabric of the community, the goal of a walkable community should not be compromised. Appropriate design solutions that balance more efficient truck movements with neighborhood, pedestrian, and community needs must be developed.

Revitalizing the Oxford Street Business Corridor

In addition to addressing the Sleeper site, revitalizing Oxford Street is an important objective in its own right, ensuring that the center of Buffalo City is an attractive destination. That process can be phased, with discrete projects for improving the streetscape, striping for buses and minicabs, lighting, wayfinding, emergency call stations, and other actions that will have immediate benefits for the public realm and that will establish this corridor as an attractive location for new development. Buffalo City must commit to funding capital improvements that will enhance safety and transport efficiencies within the corridor, although opportunities also exist to partner with private owners and businesses.

An essential step is the creation of a commercial improvement district to manage and operate the Oxford Street corridor. The panel is aware that discussions about a CID have occurred in the past, but that consensus was not reached on its form and function. The panel recommends revisiting the idea of a CID with the purpose of focusing efforts on the Oxford Street corridor between the proposed civic center at the north end of the street and Fleet Street at the south end. That six-block span is a manageable

area where targeted investments will reinforce awareness of the area as the “center” of the metropolis and will provide an immediate positive effect for the CBD.

Functions and responsibilities of CID staff would include (a) maintenance and beautification; (b) an ambassadors program identified by uniformed staff, community affairs officers, or both; (c) management of programming and an events calendar; and (d) other public-facing activities related to Oxford Street.

To revitalize Oxford Street and Buffalo City’s CBD, a new sense of place and community must be established through thoughtful interventions and sustainable development, with a phased approach.

Phase I

In the first phase of revitalization, short-term and immediate interventions should be made that would have a meaningful effect. Improvements to the public realm should focus on the following:

Traffic solutions. Efforts must be made to decrease conflicts between vehicles and pedestrian traffic to make Oxford Street a pedestrian-friendly zone. Street improvements can enlarge the safety zones for foot traffic while smoothing the flow of vehicles through the corridor. Investments in safer pedestrian crossings, curb bump-outs, speed bumps, and variegated pavement will help slow traffic and create safe zones for pedestrians.

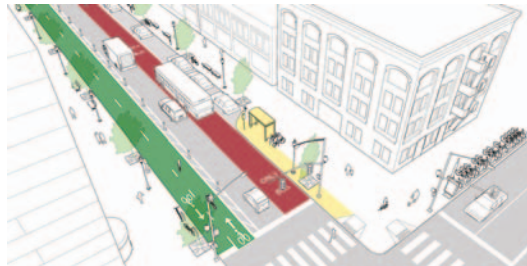
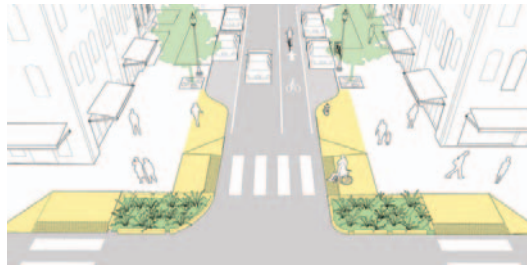
The panel believes it is important to keep Oxford Street open to vehicle traffic to provide visibility and front-door access to shops and businesses. Fragile business streets can often be harmed by completely closing the street to traffic. However, dedicating lanes on Oxford Street for buses, minicabs, and minibuses, and encouraging through-traffic to use parallel streets, will continue to deliver large numbers of pedestrians to Oxford Street. Dedicated lanes could be restricted to certain hours (i.e., 7:00–9:00 a.m. and 4:00–6:00 p.m.), and delivery truck traffic could be encouraged to use parallel streets that feed to commercial alleyways or loading docks.



The central business district along Oxford Street shows small mediations of movement, like the pedestrian plaza in front of City Hall.



An intersection where pedestrians and automobile traffic are incompatible.



MACRO URBAN STREET DESIGN GUIDE

Left and above: These two illustrations show how curb extensions with pedestrian crossing stripes can be applied to improve traffic flows and to raise the visibility of pedestrians in the right-of-way.



This drawing demonstrates how dedicated curbside bus lanes can be conditioned to separate bus service from other traffic. Similar treatments were used for the bus and minicab priority lanes along Victoria Street in Cape Town.

Oxford Street could also be closed on special weekend days to host festivals and events. All of those approaches would require much better signage, enforcement, and monitoring of the street to ensure that regulations are followed.

Public realm improvements. The sidewalk is the first point of interface between people and businesses in an urban environment. At the moment, retail frontages along Oxford Street are lined with vendors, restricting the area for movement and discouraging people from entering shops. Sidewalks are broken, trash is poorly handled, and signage is chaotic.

A first step is to identify intersections where there is an opportunity for wider pedestrian zones and to provide improved lighting, signage, and sanitation bins. Pedestrian refuges should be added at certain nodes, offering seating options or vendor stands for people to casually interact. Ensuring that people have adequate space to “window-shop” is essential.



Conditions along Oxford Street do not provide a welcoming image.



Art and improved seating options along the sidewalks can help brighten the public space while functioning as receptacles for trash and runoff.



GOOGLE IMAGES (CC)

The street ambassadors in Denver, Colorado, U.S.A. (top) and the North of Massachusetts Avenue Business Improvement District (NoMa BID) in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., (above) illustrate the successful use of branded colors and uniforms to provide community assistance and perform moderate street and sidewalk cleaning.

Public art can be used to brighten up vacant spaces or storefronts. Public art also provides a great way for community members to interact with shop and property owners, strengthening the sense of place.

Establishing an “ambassadors” program of volunteers or hourly wage employees will help provide a clean and welcoming service to visitors, while their presence will reinforce a sense of safety.

Phase II

Once improvements are in place that transform the quality of the downtown thoroughfare, a coordinated effort to diversify the mix of attractions can begin. Activities to bring people to Oxford Street on a regular to 24-hour basis should include the following:

Programming and events. Organizing regular special events is the quickest way to bring new people to the CBD and expose them to the opportunities in the area. Such events might include annual *braai* competitions, parades,

musical performances, art shows, night markets, flea markets, and farmers markets that have broad appeal to people across the metropolitan area. Local examples of such catalytic programming and events include Fanwalk 2010 and the Old Biscuit Mill in Cape Town and the Neighbourgoods Market in Johannesburg.

The panel recommends that the CID be responsible for establishing and curating an events calendar to activate the street throughout the year. Although those activities are identified as Phase II interventions, programming can begin once improvements are underway to make a safer, more pedestrianized Oxford Street. Public consciousness about the CBD should be well curated by organized activities that welcome residents and visitors to the renewed space.

Mixed-use development—residential and retail. A vital urban community consists of spaces for people to live, work, shop, and play. The target for Oxford Street should be expanding the purposes for which people want to be there. Integrating residential uses along Oxford Street, by offering rental, student, and ownership opportunities, will create a stable base of customers and provide a sense of commitment to the condition of the corridor.

Many older structures along and around Oxford Street—particularly office buildings that are now too small for current tenants—can be converted or developed into residential mixed-use buildings with community-facing retail and services on the ground floor. Development should



ANDRÉ-PIERRE DU PLESSIS



JAYNE GORMAN

Cape Town's 2010 World Cup Fan Walk (top) and the weekly Neighbourgoods Market in Johannesburg (left) are examples of programmed events that bring new people to the central business district.

focus on attracting new restaurants, university-related retail, recreation-oriented retail, and even flexible communal spaces for a burgeoning residential community.

Developing the Sleeper Site

Once the Oxford Street revitalization effort is well launched, the Sleeper site will become increasingly



JANEK SZYMANOWSKI, VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



JAMES BANBRIDGE



MARTHA COOPER

New and refurbished buildings in Cape Town on Long Street (left) and in the Maboneng neighborhood of Johannesburg (middle and right) illustrate projects of mixed-use development with community-facing services and visitor attractions.

attractive for development. However, the site should not be sitting idle—there is much to be done to plan, prepare the ground, and install infrastructure for development. The goal in developing the Sleeper site should be to augment and add to the vitality of the CBD, and careful attention should be paid not to cannibalize successes underway along Oxford Street. Toward that end, the land use program and development approach need to be constantly viewed within the larger context of what will make the entire CBD successful, not just accelerating the build out of the Sleeper site.

With global competition for businesses, the world is in a sea change of economic winners and losers. Century-old reliance on manufacturing, shipping, and goods production is giving way to knowledge-based economies that are leveraging advances in technology and sciences, art and design, and collaborative working environments.

Most successful city cores rely on nearby universities to provide both the human capital of knowledge-based workers, with a larger environment of energy, creativity, and pursuit of fresh ideas. The proximity, recent growth, and ambitious plans of the University of Fort Hare are a major asset for the CBD, and an immediate opportunity for positioning the Sleeper site as an area that complements (rather than competes with) the Oxford Street corridor.

Evolutionary Framework versus Prescriptive Master Plan

For a location as large as the Sleeper site, it is more important to develop a flexible framework than a fixed vision of what it should become. The framework should consist of a pattern of connected streets, open spaces, and anchor institutions, allowing the balance of the area to be developed over time as opportunities are identified. Mixing uses—businesses, housing, institutions, and shops—is a better strategy for our fast-changing world than segregating them. Over the 15- to 20-year development period, opportunities will arise that cannot be contemplated today.

The redevelopment of obsolete rail yards on the edge of a city core is not unique, but it is an increasing trend. In the United States, instructive examples for East London



The 2005 land use plan for Mission Bay in San Francisco, California, demonstrates how early planning set the context for development on the site before demand flourished.



An at-grade railroad crossing at the Mission Bay site.

include the Central Platte Valley in Denver, Colorado, and Mission Bay in San Francisco, California. The common element of both projects is the use of framework plans that have endured for 20 years, while the projects developed the momentum, attention, and investment needed to bring them to life.

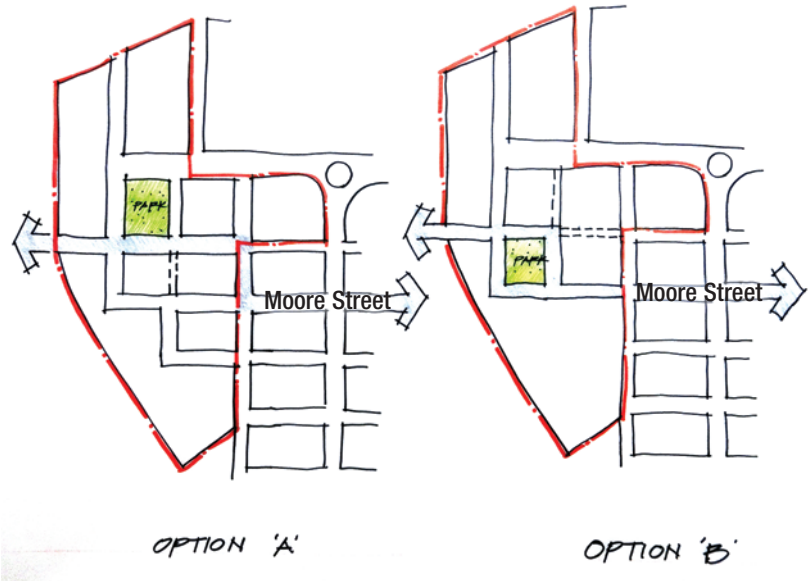
In the case of Denver's Central Platte Valley, the city guided the private landowner in crafting a highly adaptable network of streets and pedestrian ways, once the rail

tracks were removed. A public/private partnership put in place most of the infrastructure—including a significant new and immediately loved park—well before development occurred. That strategy “signaled” to the private markets that the site was open for business and helped the community envision what could be.

The concept of an “evolutionary framework” as opposed to a “prescriptive master plan” is essential for long-term projects where uses, users, markets, and opportunities are unknown. Connecting the street grid well, achieving parcel sizes that promote walkability and active urban edges, and choreographing views and spatial sequences can be accomplished through a well-constructed framework without fully knowing the land uses and final building form.

For the Sleeper site, the basic framework elements include a minimum of at least one connection, and possibly two, across the rail tracks to downtown. At-grade pedestrian and automobile crossings of railroad tracks are commonplace throughout the world. And given the slow speed of trains near the terminal, and the limited number of trains crossing this area, the panel maintains that an at-grade crossing (with signals and safety protection) is entirely possible. A controlled at-grade crossing will positively influence pedestrian behavior into and out of the Oxford Street CBD and will also signal that the downtown streets are a “pedestrian-priority” area. The alternative of pedestrian overpasses and expensive highly engineered grade-separated vehicular crossings can diminish adjoining land values by limiting true connectivity.

Unfortunately, the desire for a town-to-sea boulevard is made more challenging by the misalignment between Moore Street and Buxton Street, which precludes a direct axial link between Oxford Street and the waterfront. However, that challenge provides a creative opportunity for a focal civic space around which traffic and pedestrians can flow in a “pinwheel” pattern, while also forming the practical and visual destination from both the beachfront and the CBD. The civic space will provide natural traffic calming on the Sleeper site and will create an iconic open setting for civic buildings, such as the proposed library, performing



arts facilities, and new educational facilities the university manages to establish.

The remainder of the site and land should be organized so parcel sizes can be crafted on the basis of emerging demand, but always with the ability to create walkable, well-scaled blocks. That means that while a road network may not always be constructed, midblock pedestrian ways or shared streets should be developed to realize a fine-grained, permeable, and walkable urban fabric.

When completely built out, the Sleeper site should not appear as a “new” gated site, but it should seamlessly integrate with the Quigney neighborhood to the west and the Oxford Street corridor on the east.

Recommended Land Uses

The panel feels that a number of new uses are appropriate for the Sleeper site, both to help catalyze further development and to brand the site. If the university realizes its ambitions of creating new faculties of engineering and the built environment, or adds new programs in other technology-driven fields, they should have a prominent position on the Sleeper site, since they can be a catalyst for attracting new uses to the CBD.

Option A and Option B illustrate how the specific parcels within the Sleeper site can be allocated once analysis has been made of how to organize the parcels with the existing CBD street grid.

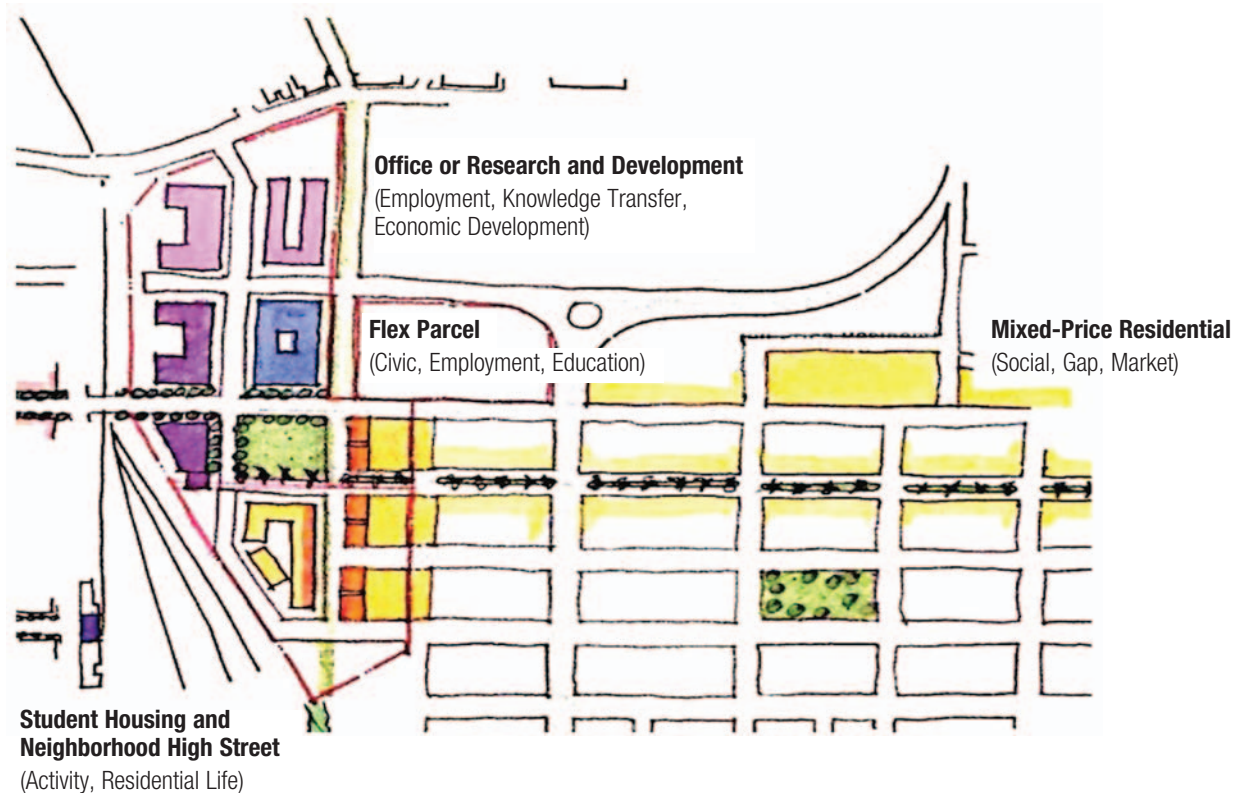
However, the panel also feels that it is important to reserve sites for future uses not yet known, given the uncertainties about how global economies and associated land uses are evolving. Those “flex” parcels should be well sized and usable for a variety of purposes: (a) new research and development offices that want to be near the university, (b) new private or public offices to support the civic center, (c) additional private offices for new employers that want to be near a revitalized downtown core but that have unique office floor plate demands, and (d) expansion of university faculties and teaching facilities.

Some other uses that are immediate prospects for the Sleeper site include the following:

Faculty and student housing. As described above, the university plans to expand education offerings in order to increase registration rolls. Hence, the university is a

motivated partner with which to engage in scoping project opportunities for development. A high-quality student or faculty-housing village, organized as fine-grained blocks with active ground-floor uses and well-crafted architecture, is an immediate and highly viable use for the southern and most awkwardly shaped part of the site. By creating an immediate and captive “critical mass” of residential users on the site, it will benefit from immediate activity and energy, as well as “eyes on the street.”

The addition of new residents to the site will also foster the need for small-scale, ground-floor daily goods and service retail that will benefit the Quigley neighborhood. The concept developed by the panel extends the block structure of the Quigley neighborhood onto the site, while reserving frontages on the western end of each block for higher-density housing that could support ground-floor retail with street-facing residences on the upper floors.



The panel's suggested framework concept for the Sleeper site with key uses and connections.

Town green. Within the central block that shifts traffic and pedestrians from Moore Street to Buxton Street, a town green could create an immediate identity for the site, while adding value to adjacent properties. The town green could be a place of leisure as well as a place for special events and gatherings. A new public library could be an essential bridge between the town green and the Oxford Street area. Libraries are becoming the new gathering places for the knowledge-based economy, places to work, to study, to meet others, and increasingly to gain high-speed internet access. Other edges of the town green could have a mixture of uses—including housing, performing arts or cultural facilities, new university buildings, or research facilities.

Flex parcels. Parcels to the north and east of the town green should be planned as flex parcels. The proposed R72 connector, which will bisect the site, will make the parcels challenging, but the panel feels that the market for those sites will mature over time. With an excellent location, access, configuration, and site conditions, the flex parcels could host a variety of uses—more education facilities, private research and development offices that want proximity to the university's research arm, or private offices.

Further east, the panel feels that expanding the residential character and grain of the Quigney neighborhood is most appropriate. This site is not currently under BCMM ownership, but it holds promise to add residential uses after remediation, and when prepared, it should be designed to host a range of housing types and price points. The panel does not encourage large, singular installations of social housing but instead encourages the use of more mixed-rate, mixed-income housing that has been successful elsewhere in city centers.

Where to Start

Based on a long-term vision and the concept of an evolving framework for the Sleeper site, the panel identified four catalytic or initiator projects:

- **Civic center at the north end of Oxford Street.**
Immediately initiate programming to determine the

requirements and size of civic center facilities, coupled with urban design studies of the sites owned by BCMM. In building the civic center, the objective should be to optimize the buildable area while creating such benefits as easy access routes, shared-use parking, pedestrian linkages to Oxford Street, and an iconic structure that is a statement of confidence in the CBD.

- **Expanded and pedestrianized University of Fort Hare complex.** At the southern end of Oxford Street, move quickly to consolidate uses and improve the public realm in the heart of the campus by reclaiming portions of the broad streets as pedestrian areas. As the buildings currently used by BCMM are vacated with development of the civic center, study how they can be backfilled by the university. Develop a strategy to reclaim the historic market square, perhaps returning it to an outdoor market.
- **Improved Oxford Street.** Implement a CID to take responsibility for the health and welfare of Oxford Street. Improve the condition of the street and safety for pedestrians, and work with owners of heritage buildings to renovate and highlight their important architectural contributions to the street fabric. Rationalize the current chaotic mix of buses, minibuses, and other vehicles, many of which use the area as a through route.
- **New student-housing village.** “Kick-start” the Sleeper site with a robust student-housing complex that provides the appropriate mix of units in a well-scaled neighborhood.

Organizing and Managing the Development Process

SUCCESSFUL PROJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, such as the Gautrain (in Guanteng Province) and Victoria & Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town, are proof that large-scale developments can be delivered when there is an agreed vision and a common goal to implement them. Collective resources need to be drawn on and used in a targeted manner. Two elements are required for that to occur: (a) trust between stakeholders to allow a common vision to be developed and (b) an institutional structure that has the support, capacity, and authority to implement the vision.

Building Trust

In listening to the views of the assembled group of city stakeholders, the panel heard many opinions on what should (and should not) be done on the Sleeper site, and about the successes (and failures) of the past. However, there was no agreement on what needs to be done next, what the priorities are, what the process is, what the preferred uses are, what success would look like, or indeed where the authority and responsibility for progress lie. There was strong agreement on only two points: nothing happens quickly, and many stakeholders (both private and public) are not to be trusted.

Nonetheless, the panel was impressed by the quality of stakeholders who were prepared to give their time to the process of helping plan the Sleeper site, and the great passion they retained for the city. They have a deeply held desire to resolve the issues and to help build pride in both the city center and its wider community so that it can reach its full potential. Although stakeholders acknowledged that skill shortages exist within some organizations, they believe that if resources are pooled—with expertise drawn from wherever available—there will be a collective ability to make the necessary progress. That can happen

only if the current climate of mistrust is repaired and interests can be more closely aligned.

To build trust, all stakeholders, in both the public and private sectors, can take a number of simple steps:

- Start trusting. Be the first to trust; take the risk. Unless you start trusting others, no one has a good reason to trust you.
- Create certainty. Nothing stifles economic progress more than uncertainty. Any organization willing to invest money will be putting its capital at risk; the greater the uncertainty of outcome, the greater the required return, and the less capital companies will be willing to invest, if at all.
- Deliver on your promises in a timely manner. Reliability, like certainty, is key to making progress. Whether in the planning processes or private sector responses, it does not take many fulfilled promises to build a momentum of trust and confidence in third parties.
- Make decisions on a consistent and predictable basis. If decisions (by any stakeholder) are not rational and clearly explainable, momentum is lost, and the motivation for continued involvement dissipates quickly.
- Be transparent in your actions, motivations, and outcomes. Transparency is vital to winning trust; it is often the case that the more uncomfortable the revelation, the greater the trust earned and progress made.

The most successful public/private teams are those that can air forthright opinions without fear of repercussions, where leadership makes informed decisions on the basis of such opinions, always mindful of the best long-term interests of the city, rather than of any one group of stakeholders.

Establishing an Independent Development Entity

An independent entity will be essential to drive the project forward. Given the disparity of views on what “the project” is and what success looks like, it is imperative that the right group of people is empowered to create and implement the vision for the city center that all the stakeholders can support. Although the type of entity could take many forms, a few essential features will determine its success:

Long-Term, Self-Financing, Business-Driven Attributes

If the newly created entity is not both economically and socially sustainable, then any of its successes will be short-lived. If it is led by the public sector, it must think like a private organization with regard to risk and reward, as well as investment and return. An element of the return may be social or intangible (rather than financial), but that factor should not detract from the need to constantly assess, and try to quantify, the return on investment. Ideally, the new entity will have the power to redeploy the resources it receives to ensure that the project moves forward through both good and bad times.

Key Member Representation on Steering Committee or Board

A steering committee or board should be established that includes, but need not be limited to, the following contributors:

- **Chief executive (a determined neutral leader).** Every successful project has a respected leader whose primary responsibility is a successful outcome. Whether from the private or public sector, this individual should be commercially astute, have the ability to win the support of all major stakeholder groups, and have the reputation (and authority) to get things done. Ideally, the chief executive should not be beholden to particular elected officials; the position requires longer-term certainty, and it should be accountable for progress, independent from elections or political persuasions.
- **Buffalo City representative.** The Buffalo City representative must be someone with significant respect and authority within the municipality. Most likely a senior or key council leader, the individual will need to be experienced in valuating short-term costs in accord with the city’s longer-term interests; a junior or inexperienced representative potentially lacks that ability.
- **Private sector representative (chamber of commerce).** Mistrust of the private sector is evident among many members of the city council. This view is not necessarily borne of experience. It is more a fear of making decisions, which may short-change the city council and allow the private sector to make a disproportionate profit at the expense of the city. It is essential that the private sector is properly represented and that its spokesperson helps create a balance between incentivizing the private sector to invest in the city center and attaining the broader socioeconomic outcomes required by the public authorities.
- **Oxford Street CID leader.** The ULI panel’s recommendation is to form an Oxford Street CID that is a separate entity from that responsible for developing the Sleeper site, so that each can maintain focus. However, the leader of that body must be a member of the Sleeper site development entity. The city center should always be viewed as a functioning whole, not as a series of isolated sites; integration is key.
- **Key stakeholders (e.g., university, Transnet).** The most commercially important stakeholders need consideration. The panel’s initial view suggests that cooperation and involvement of both the university and Transnet are vital to the city center’s success. As a consequence, both must be included. Although the net should not be cast too widely, inclusion is invariably better than exclusion, though it heightens the requirement for strong leadership.
- **Community representative.** Ultimately, the people of Buffalo City should always be “front of mind.” If the city is to retain and attract talent, it must be an appealing place to live and work, with access to facilities and places that improve the quality of life. It is important for the committee to remain grounded and to deliver what the community wants, not what it thinks the community wants.

Skills: Draw on All Those Available

Once a steering committee or special entity is formed, it is worth establishing a list of the required skills (planning, architectural, engineering, financial, development, diplomatic, etc.) and then assessing which of those skills are not accessible through member representation, which are best contracted for, and which need to be found within the development entity. Obvious gaps can be filled with a

new dedicated member, but on the whole, it should be made clear which members are expected to bring which skill sets.

Authority to Deliver and Transact the Vision

As with any corporate structure, success is achieved only with a degree of appropriate delegated authority. Once the aims and constitution are clear and have been approved, the development entity needs to be empowered to implement its recommendations within defined parameters. If

Special-Purpose Entities

Delegated authority to deliver and implement the vision

Example: the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront Project, Cape Town, South Africa

A considerable attraction, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront draws more than 22 million residents and visitors annually. They patronize the variety of retail stores, restaurants, and food markets; visit the cultural offerings and tourist activities; and take in the spectacular view of Table Mountain. Situated on the shores of Table Bay, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront is easily accessible from within the central business district; two major freeways provide access from outside the downtown area, and Cape Town International Airport is 20 minutes away.

Before the 1970s, this area was the center of Cape Town's industrial and commercial activities, with a heavy influence on fishing and shipping. But as the economy changed and shipping had less influence on the city's financial stability and workforce, the area became barren. After much debate and campaign effort, a committee was established in 1985 to investigate opportunities for the harbor and waterfront. In 1988, Victoria & Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd. (V&AW) was established as a wholly owned subsidiary by Transnet Ltd. to lead the strategic planning and redevelopment efforts.

Almost 30 years and five development phases later, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront is the attractive destination originally conceived by the first strategic development process. Through careful land planning and reclamation and integration with rail and roadway construction, new infrastructure was put in place to preserve the elements of the harbor that make it unique (e.g., commercial activities and seafaring access), while simultaneously encouraging visitors to experience the waterfront.

The V&AW entity has been the lynchpin of that development process. In 1989, V&AW established an urban plan and development framework that outlined the development goals and objectives. Ultimately, through partnership and cooperation with the public and public leadership, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront is now a profitable, vibrant land asset for Cape Town. However, several factors contributed to its longitudinal success:

- A single-purpose entity was established for its design, development, and management.
- A common vision, which everyone understood and supported, was developed.
- Investments were attracted through anchor projects with critical mass that collectively created a mixed-use development.
- Multidisciplinary project teams were employed to establish a holistic design.
- Planning support was obtained from the local authority, and a flexible planning framework (package of plans) was established.



The revitalization of the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront focused on activities that respect the history of the port with attractions for visitors and residents.

it has no decision-making powers, or is constantly being second-guessed by political bodies, its credibility will quickly evaporate. The scope of authority needs to be crystal clear from the outset.

Transparency, Openness, and Accessibility

With reference to the section on building trust, transparency and progress of this body are essential. At every conceivable stage, it should make public its policies and strategic aims and be open about its decisions. Financial commitments and results should be reported annually. Contractors need to be selected through an open process. Such transparency galvanizes support and will win the confidence of the city stakeholders.

Determining and Delivering the Vision

With the right group of people assembled and the appropriate lines of authority agreed on, work can begin to craft the development scheme with strong cross-party and citywide support. In summary, the vision needs to include a clear understanding of the following:

Main structural elements of the city center. The main structural elements will include the main connectors, public buildings, and spaces. Although flexibility is needed on the more minor routes as the scheme evolves, the main transport connections will drive value and uses. The infrastructure must be designed to attract and retain the desired uses as well as to make the city center a more attractive place to live, work, and play.

Land parcels available for development and their uses.

The broad land parcels available and preliminary indications of the range of their desired uses should be ascertained. In some cases, specific uses can be allocated to some of the parcels where those uses have been identified. However, the uses for the remaining parcels should be broadly defined to allow the accommodation of future opportunities.

Allocations of land parcels. Allocations will include (a) the university, (b) civic uses, (c) the residential mix (social, affordable, "gap"), (d) designated open spaces,

and (e) commercial uses (including retail, restaurants, and offices).

Master-planning architects. Master-planning architects are needed to translate the vision into a detailed planning framework for parcels, massing, and desirable building heights. Even while retaining flexibility for the future, it is essential to have inspiring plans and visuals that model the possible outcome. The public and political decision makers will use that information to help promote its delivery and evolve its outcome. The master-planning architect will need to work with the development entity to determine and to define those design and planning parameters and guidelines.

Development of the financial viability and feasibility, together with an ownership and governance plan.

As previously stated, the development entity needs to be a long-term, self-financing, and business-driven body. Once the basic infrastructure costs and preferred uses are established, work can begin on determining financial viability and ultimately on preparing a business plan. As the value of the land increases, premiums can be used to support the construction of further infrastructure and to subsidize projects that contribute public benefits. Aligning the private and public sectors will be important to ensure that parties share risks and rewards fairly. The granting of long leases (over individual sites or larger areas), with appropriate planning controls, can be an important mechanism for achieving financial viability, as well as for aiding early "loss leaders" that will kick-start the value generation process.

Development of a long-term management plan. In addition to focusing on development, early consideration must be given to how to maintain the new city center—publicly or privately. That decision involves the people and management structure responsible for keeping the city center clean, attractive, and friendly; security measures; and ongoing repair and replacement of public infrastructure. Measures such as centrally monitored CCTV, with a backup team on the ground, can greatly enhance the feeling of safety in public space. In that respect, the information technology infrastructure should be considered

at an early stage. Ways of creating a revenue stream for those management activities need to be considered before development occurs, since they can be enforced through rights within the long leasehold interests sold.

Branding. An aspirational brand of the vision is essential for promoting and delivering a large-scale initiative. The right brand and the right energy behind it can galvanize support across a range of stakeholders as well as the broader community. Branding may include renaming the areas involved. “Sleeper site” does not immediately bring to mind the energetic, knowledge-based, live/work/study/play environment that the site is slated to become. And perhaps Oxford Street needs to be refreshed as the “New Oxford Centrum.” Branding is the first step in mounting a creative public relations and advertising campaign.

Branding of the Vision

An aspirational emotive brand

Example: Liverpool One, Liverpool, England

To promote and deliver a large-scale initiative, it is vital to brand it appropriately. With the right brand and the right energy behind it, a brand can galvanize and unite support across a range of stakeholders, as well as the broader community.

The brand given to the team established by Liverpool City Council to articulate, promote, and deliver the 20-year vision for Liverpool.



THE PARADISE PROJECT

The private sector brand created by the Grosvenor Group to reference the large-scale construction program that would disrupt the city center for four years. The brand would become associated with disruption and inconvenience, but also with hope and anticipation.



The private sector brand created by the Grosvenor Group for the completed retail-led mixed-use development scheme. The “1” references the city center postal code, while “Love the City” was used to emphasize the scheme’s integral part in the city on which its own success depended.

Master-Planning Architects

Translating Vision into Site Plans

Example: Liverpool One, Liverpool, England

The three illustrations show the proposed streetscape, reconnecting parts of the city center, as well as both the shape and “massing” of buildings. Following agreement on those elements, the height and scale of the proposed buildings can be illustrated. At later stages, as detailed planning permissions are sought, architects can start to illustrate the end product.



Conclusion

THE OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTED by the Sleeper site have brought to the fore the larger question of CBD development. Reversing the decline of business depends on bringing new people to the city center.

The Sleeper site can contribute to that goal by attracting new uses to the area. The engine of growth, the panel believes, can be the University of Fort Hare. If it succeeds in its expansion plans, new faculties could be located on the site, and the immediate provision of housing could bring 24-hour life to site.

But development of the Sleeper site will also be greatly affected by whether the Oxford Street corridor is improved, since it is an indicator of the overall health of the area. A new civic center at the north end of Oxford Street could

bring new people to the area and could be an immediate sign that the CBD is moving forward. And the two strategies are complementary: as public agencies move out of existing buildings along the Oxford Street corridor, they can be converted to housing and other university uses.

The panel was impressed by the enthusiasm and goodwill for improving the center of Buffalo City. It is important to seize the moment and move quickly to an agreement on a vision for the area.

About the Panel

Dr. Gary A. Hack

Panel Chair
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

Hack teaches, practices, and studies large-scale physical planning and urban design. He is the former dean of the University of Pennsylvania School of Design, stepping down in 2008 after 12 years. Before coming to Penn, he was a professor of urban design at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a partner in the professional firm of Carr, Lynch, Hack and Sandell in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Earlier in his career, Hack was head of planning for Gruen Associates in New York and directed the Canadian government's housing and urban development research and demonstration programs. He oversaw several large neighborhood demonstration projects and the redevelopment of urban waterfronts in a number of Canadian cities. He has also served as an urban design consultant for projects in China, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, and Thailand.

Hack has served on the board of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning and the Planning Accreditation Board. He is a former chair of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, is a member of the board of the William Penn Foundation, and is active in civic affairs in Philadelphia.

He has prepared plans for over 30 cities in the United States and abroad, including the redevelopment plan for the Prudential Center in Boston, the West Side waterfront plan in New York City, and a metropolitan plan for Bangkok, Thailand. He has also worked with smaller communities on urban design issues by preparing downtown plans for Louisville, Kentucky, and Knoxville, Tennessee; downtown development guidelines for the center of

Portland, Maine; design review manuals for Hendersonville and Germantown, Tennessee; and guidelines for the development of the entrance corridors and downtown of Charlottesville, Virginia. Hack was a member of the team that won the competition for the redevelopment of the World Trade Center in New York City and drafted the urban design guidelines for the project.

His research includes studies of urban design successes in the United States, published as *Lessons from Local Experiences*, and an international comparative study of urban development patterns, published as *Global Regional Cities*.

He cowrote *Site Planning*, third edition, and *Urban Design in the Global Perspective*. Recently, with Eugenie L. Birch and others, he edited the most recent edition of the ICMA Green Book, *Local Planning*, the standard introduction to the field. Hack has also written numerous articles and chapters on the spatial environment.

Michael Banner

Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Banner is president and CEO of Los Angeles LDC Inc., a community development financial institution and commercial finance company. Los Angeles LDC has a mission to provide capital and advisory services to foster positive community development impacts in distressed neighborhoods by aligning the needs of borrowers and investors. Since 1995, Banner has been responsible for the delivery of \$250 million in financing and investments to the distressed communities the organization was created to serve in 1980.

Banner has an extensive background in commercial banking, real estate finance with a special emphasis in community, and economic development finance for real estate

and business development. He is active in the leadership of ULI, the New Markets Tax Credit Coalition, the California Reinvestment Coalition, and the Community Reinvestment Fund.

In Los Angeles, he served during Mayor Richard J. Riordan's administration as a member of the Office of Economic Development and is a former member of the Board of Commissioners of the city of Los Angeles Housing Authority and city of Los Angeles Business Tax Advisory Committee. Currently, he is the former financial adviser to the Los Angeles Industrial Development Authority. Before entering the field of community development finance in 1988, Banner was a vice president of a \$35 billion commercial bank based in Los Angeles.

He is a graduate of the Ross Minority Program in Real Estate at the University of Southern California and holds a degree in business administration from Loyola Marymount University.

Alan C. Billingsley

San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

Following a career of more than 30 years in investment advisory services and research for the real estate industry, Billingsley is currently managing and pursuing his own investments interests in the residential sector. He recently departed RREEF (now Deutsche Asset and Private Wealth Management) after 13 years, where he served as head of Americas research. He managed a large team that provided the basis for RREEF's investment strategy. That process is unique to the industry, with Billingsley serving as a key member of the firm's Investment Committee. RREEF's investment strategy includes the office, apartment, industrial, and retail property sectors for RREEF, including core, value-added, and opportunistic investment styles.

Before joining RREEF, Billingsley spent 20 years in all forms of real estate development and investment analysis, including work for both public and private sector clients. He began his real estate career with RCLCO. He served as

a principal with Economics Research Associates where he worked for nearly ten years in its Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco offices. He was a managing partner with Sedway Group, a real estate and urban economics consulting firm with a staff of approximately 30 people and offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. During his eight years at the firm, he helped grow the practice substantially in both size and reputation.

Billingsley is an active member of the Urban Land Institute at both the national and local levels. He is past president of the local chapter of Lambda Alpha International, past president of the local chapter of the Counselors of Real Estate, and a member of the Research Task Force at the International Council of Shopping Centers. He is active in several civic and educational organizations and is a former member of the National Council of Real Estate Investment Fiduciaries and the Pension Real Estate Association.

Billingsley holds a master's degree in architecture and urban planning from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Jim Heid

Healdsburg, California, U.S.A.

Heid is a land planner, strategic real estate adviser, and sustainable development consultant. He is known for his ability to effectively distill the complex layers of community design and real estate development into understandable concepts that lead to actionable outcomes. His strategic advisory firm UrbanGreen advises legacy landowners, developers, cities, and nongovernmental organizations on land and infill development projects, striving for both sustainability and economic success.

An active member of ULI, he is a founding member of the Responsible Property Investment Council; costructor for programs in sustainable community development, mixed-use development, and small-scale development; and an expert adviser to BioRegional's One Planet Living initiative. His publications for ULI span a number of emerging issues, such as sustainable community development, the role of

land development in emerging suburban areas, and new approaches to capitalizing projects.

Starting in 1994, Heid has participated in ULI Advisory Services panel assignments spanning all property types and geographies. Most recently, he chaired a complex international panel assembled at the invitation of the mayor of Moscow, Russia, to review and advise on the proposed regional expansion strategy for the highly urbanized city.

Initially trained as a landscape architect at the University of Idaho, Heid went on to earn a master's degree in real estate development from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a way to more effectively integrate the realms of economics, development, and design.

Tiffany Lau

New York, New York, U.S.A.

As a senior associate of development and capital markets at Jamestown Properties, Lau is focused on the 17-building, 6.5-million-square-foot, 30-acre waterfront industrial and mixed-use redevelopment of Brooklyn's Industry City into a new hub for manufacturing and innovation. Jamestown Properties is a national developer focused on the revitalization of underused urban assets and counts in its portfolio of approximately \$10 billion in gross assets under management such properties as the iconic Chelsea Market in Manhattan's Meatpacking District and the newly opened Ponce City Market in Atlanta, Georgia.

Before joining Jamestown, Lau was an assistant vice president and chief of staff in the Asset Management Group at the New York City Economic Development Corporation, where she worked on asset repositioning, leasing, development, and portfolio monetization projects for the city of New York under the Bloomberg administration.

Previously, she was an acquisitions analyst at ING Clarion (now Clarion Partners) covering the Southeast, Midwest, and Mid-Atlantic regions of the United States and was part

of the Urban Business Unit of Pulte Homes, where she was a member of the land acquisition and development team focused on urban infill multifamily development in the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area.

Lau earned a BA in urban design and architecture at New York University, and an MSc in real estate development at Columbia University.

She is on the ULI Urban Revitalization Product Council and has been involved with ULI leadership for many years as part of the Management Committee for ULI New York as cochair of Mission Advancement. She is also a member of the ULI National Women's Leadership Initiative Steering Committee. In 2010, she was appointed as an inaugural board member for Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation Alumni Association, and she serves as a class representative for Columbia's Real Estate Development program.

Robert McGaffin

Cape Town, South Africa

McGaffin is a town planner and land economist. He has been a town planner for the city of Cape Town and the Gauteng Department of Economic Development and has worked in property finance at several financial institutions. He was the coordinator for the markets theme at the Urban Land Markets Programme of Southern Africa. In that role, he oversaw various research projects, including an overview of the use of value capture in South Africa.

Currently, McGaffin lectures in the Department of Construction Economics and Management at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and is a Mistra Urban Futures researcher with the African Centre for Cities. He is the director for the Housing Finance Course for Sub-Saharan Africa run in partnership by UCT, the Centre for Affordable Housing Finance (Finmark Trust), and the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business.

Christopher J. Taite

London, United Kingdom

Taite joined Grosvenor Group's U.K. fund management team in 2002. He was appointed its investment director in January 2011 and is responsible for Grosvenor's global indirect investment portfolio of approximately £500 million, including investments in its Grosvenor-managed funds, as well as growing Grosvenor's investments with specialist third parties. Prior to this role, Taite spent five years as the fund manager responsible for Grosvenor's Liverpool Fund.

The Grosvenor Liverpool Fund is the investment vehicle that built and owns Liverpool One, which was at one time Europe's largest city center, retail-led development. Liverpool One started construction in 2004 and opened in two phases in 2008, delivering two department stores, 170 shops and restaurants, a 14-screen cinema, two hotels, two office buildings, and over 300 apartments in the heart of the historic city center. Since its opening in 2008, it has transformed Liverpool's city center and now attracts more than 28 million visitors a year, with a total annual rent of close to £50 million.

Among Taite's responsibilities were managing the smooth transition from development to investment and establishing the 150-person team that runs it on a day-to-day basis. In 2010, Taite led the refinancing of the £460 million credit facility secured against the project, which was one of the U.K. refinancings of 2010. In Liverpool One's first three years, it comprehensively outperformed its retail industry peers.

Liverpool One was one of only seven global winners of the ULI Award for Excellence in 2009.

Before Grosvenor, Taite worked in three property companies in ten years (Taylor Woodrow, Lend Lease, and TrizecHahn), as well as having undertaken specialist property research at Reading University.

Taite is the former chair of the U.K. Investment Property Forum's Sustainability Special Interest Group. He has a bachelor's degree with honors from University of the West of England and is a member of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors.



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